Beyond Camps and Forced Labour: 4 –6 January 2023

Current International Research on Survivors of Nazi Persecution
Seventh International Multidisciplinary Conference

Abstracts

Keynote lecture – 4 January

Emma Kuby, Northern Illinois University, USA
The Expert Witnesses: Nazi camp survivors as activists in the Cold War West

This lecture explores Western European Nazi camp survivors' efforts to expose ongoing crimes against humanity in the decade immediately following the Second World War.

Drawing on her 2019 book about the ground-breaking activism of a major international coalition of non-Jewish survivors – in particular, members' spectacular 1951 restaging of the Nuremberg Trials with the USSR in the dock – Emma Kuby makes the case that former camp inmates' Cold War-era political interventions played a crucial role in shaping contemporary understandings of testimony, witnessing, and international justice for victims of atrocity.

Ultimately, however, she argues that survivors' activism foundered on the limits of their own elitist memory politics, the ideological pressures of the Cold War, and an inability to adapt to new forms of European violence in the context of decolonising warfare.

Emma Kuby is Associate Professor of History at Northern Illinois University. An intellectual, political, and cultural historian of modern Europe, she specialises in postwar France and its empire. Kuby's research centres on the contentious aftermaths of violent conflicts, particularly the Second World War and the Holocaust. Her book *Political Survivors: The Resistance, the Cold War, and the Fight against Concentration Camps after 1945* (Cornell University Press, 2019) received awards from the American Historical Association, the Society for French Historical Studies, and the Council for European Studies.

Panel 1 (Room 1)
Relief and rehabilitation
Chair: Suzanne Bardgett, Imperial War Museum Institute, UK

Mary Fraser Kirsh, College of William & Mary, USA
"Well on the way to normality": rehabilitation, mental health, and the goal of "normality" after the Shoah

Months before the end of World War II, plans were underway for treating the emotional scars carried by the victims of the Holocaust. For example, the Central Committee for Refugees established a Psychiatric Department to address rehabilitation for refugees "who, because of hardships endured under the Nazi regime, are so affected psychologically that they have been unable to adapt themselves to living the life of a normal citizen." This department, once created, would employ a single psychiatrist who made 1,352 visits in a single year. Who, then, *was* providing emotional support for survivors? My research explores social workers and educators who cared for survivors in hostels, sanatoria, and orphanages. While some of these individuals were professionals, most of them appear to be amateur social workers. Indeed, sometimes the caregivers had so little training that the only thing they *could* offer their charges was assistance in finding a version of normalcy. Menachem Silver, a counsellor in Ascot, explains that "the . . . atmosphere was such as to help them on the road to become normal people." My paper will explore this oft-repeated goal of normality: how it was defined, what was required to attain it, and how amateurs and professionals alike struggled to secure this goal for their youngest wards.

Mary ("Maggie") Fraser Kirsh, is Visiting Assistant Professor of Judaic Studies at the College of William & Mary, she earned her PhD from the University of Wisconsin. Her publications include: "La politique de placement des enfants en Grand-Bretagne et en Palestine", in *L'enfant Shoah*, ed. Ivan Jablonka, and "Remembering the 'Pain of Belonging': Jewish Children Hidden as Catholics in Second World War France", in *The Young Victims of the Nazi Regime,* ed. Simone Gigliotti and Monica Tempian. She has been awarded the Life Reborn Fellowship at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Fred and Ellen Fine Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives Fellowship. Presently, she is at work on her book manuscript, *From Survivor to Citizen: Rehabilitating Young Holocaust Survivors in Great Britain and Israel.*

Vojtěch Kyncl, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Prague, Czech Republic
War consequences on human health

The consequences of the Second World War on the health of European population are a neglected theme of historical research. Many liberated states, but also Germany and Austria, provided medical and social services to the civilian population and members of the military in the first wave after the end of the combat actions. The occupation authorities or the state authorities ensured the necessary medical provision within the available means immediately after the occupation of a territory by allied armies. After 1945, systematic healthcare did not only involve the war veterans, but in particular returnees from concentration camps and prisons as well as persons subject to extreme

pressure caused by the peril of their lives. The impacts of the war consequences and above all the stays in concentration and prison camps were examined in the West European countries already at the beginning of the 1950s. There were many international scientific and medical conferences held on this issue where the individual states shared their experience with the "war-affected persons" (1952 in Vienna, 1954 in Copenhagen, 1955 in Paris, 1957 in Moscow, 1961 in Liège, 1964 in Bucharest, etc.). The findings were thus put forward by doctors from France, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Poland, the USSR and the German-speaking countries. Czechoslovakia joined them with a large study carried out by a team of forty doctors in the years 1960–1966. The proposed study compares the results and medical procedures of three countries with relevant data: Czechoslovakia, the Federal Republic of Germany and Norway where the research focused on survivors of concentration camps showing similar consequences of imprisonment on the psychological, physical and social levels.

Vojtěch Kyncl studied history and German studies at universities in the Czech Republic, Germany, and Canada. He is the author of several monographs on the theme of the Nazi dictatorship, the Czechoslovak resistance and collaboration and postwar persecution of Nazi war criminals. He deals with the topic of National Socialism, the issue of postwar settlement with consequences of the Second World War in the field of criminal law, the economy and the social system in Europe.

Silke von der Emde, Vassar College, USA

Dis/abling affect: building community out of trauma at the International Tracing Service

The Arolsen Archives, the world's largest archive on the victims and survivors of the Nazi regime, hold millions of stories of death and traumatic suffering but importantly, also stories of survival. Looking at the Displaced Persons (DPs) who came to the Arolsen Archives (then the International Tracing Service) after the war to find work, we discover remarkable accounts of people helping to build and organise a unique organisation and archive that helped thousands of people find loved ones and receive some form of restitution. But the files in the Arolsen Archives also contain voices – often buried in the more prominent wartime files – that attest to the efforts of these people to (re)construct new identities and deal with trauma. Though many of the DPs employed at the ITS were unable to emigrate to other countries because of their age, disability, or traumatisation, they worked together with international relief workers, members of the allied armies, displaced persons, and a handful of German employees (mainly women) to create an environment and a community where disability and trauma could be openly lived. Analysing the DP personnel files of the Arolsen Archives as well as oral interviews with former DP employees, their co-workers and their children, I use affect theory to bring trauma studies and disabilities studies into conversation in order to excavate the extraordinary postwar stories of the DPs. Reading their files with an eye to the traumatised body offers us some insight into the lived conditions of individual trauma.

Silke von der Emde is Associate Professor of German Studies at Vassar College, NY. She is the author of *Entering History: Feminist Dialogues in Irmtraud Morgner's Prose*, as well as several articles on memory, GDR literature, feminist theory, and German film. She has also co-published articles on foreign language pedagogy. She is currently writing a book with the working title *Gendered Pasts: Women, Memory and the German Past(s)*.

Panel 2 (Room 2)
New beginnings
Chair: Dan Stone, Holocaust Research Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK

Julie Dawson, University of Vienna, Austria
"We are starving and cannot bear the hunger any longer…": marginalisation and impoverishment of survivors in early postwar Romania

Using a recently discovered set of postwar diaries, this paper takes a microhistorical and gendered perspective, examining the daily life of poverty and marginalisation recorded by a female Transnistrian Holocaust survivor in early postwar Romania. In general, the Romanian Holocaust remains underrepresented in scholarship and even less is known about the experience of survivors who remained trapped in Romania in the wake of the war. The dominant narrative is one of mass emigration or rebuilding, but this belies the reality of many. Studies on the experience of Holocaust survivors unwilling, yet compelled, to remain in communist Romania do not exist. Using the diarist's life as a case study, the paper examines the strictures and humiliations experienced by Jewish survivors in postwar Romanian society while also providing an initial analysis of their own intimate perceptions of their persecution and suffering. In doing so, I question whether for individuals such as my subject, adrift without social and familial networks and hindered from beginning anew, the end of the war and release from camps was experienced primarily as a caesura within, rather than conclusion of, an ongoing period of oppression. In exploring acts of agency expressed in the diaries, I ask under what conditions and in what spheres was agency possible for a woman marginalised on multiple levels? What were the limits of agency for an impoverished single woman in a patriarchal, totalitarian society?

Julie Dawson is a doctoral candidate at the University of Vienna's Institute for Contemporary History. Her dissertation examines postwar Jewish life in Romania through the lens of recently found diaries of a Transnistrian survivor. She holds degrees from Columbia University (MA) and Northwestern University (BA, BM). Dawson worked for the Leo Baeck Institute from 2010 to 2019, directing their archival survey of Transylvania and Bukovina (jbat.lbi.org) from 2012 to 2019. From 2016 to 2019 she was researcher-in-residence in Mediaș for the EU Horizon 2020 project TRACES: Transmitting Contentious Cultural Heritages with the Arts. She held a Fortunoff Fellowship in 2020–2021 from Yale University's Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies and the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute. She has published in, amongst others, *European Holocaust Studies Vol. 3: Places, Spaces and Voids in the Holocaust*; *Contentious Heritages and Arts: A Critical Companion*; *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History*; *S.I.M.O.N. – Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation* (forthcoming). Research interests include Jewish Bukovina, communist Romania, Transylvania, women's history, trauma, and memory studies.

Katja Seybold, Bergen-Belsen Memorial, Germany

"A Victim of Landsmanshaftn": Landsmanshaftn in the Jewish Displaced Persons Camp Bergen-Belsen and their meaning for the survivors

Many of the Jews, mostly from Poland and Hungary, who were liberated in Bergen-Belsen, remained in the nearby founded DP camp. They saw no future in their countries of origin and wanted to leave Europe, but there were hardly any opportunities for them to immigrate. So they had to stay in Germany, yet they looked forward to their future and they did first steps towards new lives after the liberation. Most of them were the sole survivors of their family. Beside the formation of families and kibbutzim the formation of *landsmanshaftn* (Yiddish term) was another important group formation at the DP camp Bergen-Belsen, which evolved to the largest Jewish one in Germany. The landsmanshaftn gave the opportunity to commemorate the victims of the hometown and of the own family during a so-called *troyer akademi* (Yiddish term). The gatherings of people from the same region in Poland and Hungary laid the foundation of the Yizkor books amongst others. The paper will consider the meaning of the local and the national origin for the DPs in a time of loneliness and new beginnings.

Katja Seybold, MA, works as a historian at the Lower Saxony Memorials Foundation/Bergen-Belsen Memorial. She is a curator for the POWs in Bergen-Belsen and furthermore responsible for the reappraisal of the history of the former Wehrmacht barracks Bergen-Hohne, the later well-known Displaced Persons Camp Bergen-Belsen. She is also undertaking research for her doctoral thesis which focuses on the DP camp Bergen-Belsen. In this context she is looking at the different group formations (such as kibbutzim, families, and *landsmanshaftn*), the demographic development and social differences at the Jewish DP camp Bergen-Belsen, which existed from 1945 to 1951.

Panel 3 (Room 3)
Remembrance
Chair: Dieter Steinert, University of Wolverhampton, UK

Boaz Cohen, Western Galilee College and Shaanan College, Israel
Israeli Holocaust memory and the Cold War

Holocaust-related discussions in the young Israeli state were permeated with Cold War concerns and cannot be fully understood without taking this into account. The Holocaust was a national and personal catastrophe on a massive scale. Most Israeli families of European origins (and they were the majority, certainly of the leadership and elites at the time) experienced Holocaust-related loss. The destruction of most of European Jewry was a searing trauma and the debates it engendered were forceful and divisive even without bringing the Cold War in. Yet, the debates on the Holocaust took place in the post war years with the alignment of the world on an east–west axis and with apprehensions of an impending third world war. Questions of reparations from Germany, diplomatic relations, arms sales, and purchase to and from Western Germany interconnected the Holocaust and its memory on one hand and the Cold War issues on the other. While there is extensive writing on Israel and the Cold War, most works on Israeli Holocaust memory do not address this issue. The aim of this presentation is to bring together the two strands of research and to provide a fuller understanding of Israeli Holocaust memory in its Cold War context.

Boaz Cohen is the head of the Holocaust Studies Program of the Western Galilee College, Akko, and a lecturer at the Shaanan College, Haifa, in Israel. He is the author of *Israeli Holocaust Research: Birth and Evolution* (2013) and editor of *Was Their Voice Heard* – a collection of papers on early children's testimonies (2016, Hebrew). His work focuses on Jewish post-Holocaust society and the development of Holocaust memory and historiography in its social and cultural context. Dr Cohen's current research is on Holocaust survivor children, their rehabilitation, and its relevance for today, and on Holocaust survivor activism and history writing.

Victoria A. Fernandez, City University of New York, USA
The politics of remembering: Polish communism and historical revisionism at the State Museum of Auschwitz Birkenau, 1947–1989

Auschwitz, in global historical consciousness, is the symbolic representation of the Holocaust, despite misrepresenting the experiences of victims in its early years as a memorial site. Historians have brought to the forefront probable factors that contributed to antisemitism in sites of memory in Poland, specifically the influence of rhetoric maintained by the communist government at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. The act of remembering the Holocaust correctly can be attributed to the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum being established under government ordinance after the war. By analysing three crucial postwar moments – the legal establishment of the memorial museum in 1947, the opening of the museum also in 1947, and the unveiling of the Auschwitz Monument in 1967 – the omission of Jewish experiences at Auschwitz under the guise of Polish martyrdom and victimisation narratives can be observed. This paper seeks to address how official government narratives influenced the establishment of the memorial museum that ultimately failed to portray a historically accurate perspective of

the various victims who were held prisoner at Auschwitz particularly in regard to the experience of Jewish victims.

Victoria Fernandez is currently a Processing Archivist at the Winthrop Group in New York City. She graduated from Queens College with a Dual Master of History and Library Science (MLS/MA) from the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies. She has held several positions within the field of archives, most recently serving as the Museum Coordinator at the Harriet and Kenneth Kupferberg Holocaust Center at Queensborough Community College CUNY and as the Freda S. and J. Chester Johnson Civil Rights and Social Justice Archives Fellow at the Queens College Department of Special Collection and Archives. Her research endeavors focus on exploring experiences related to vicarious traumatisation among archivists, as well as identifying and acknowledging various archival content areas that could potentially be considered traumatic apart from her work in the field of Holocaust studies.

Sarah Grandke, The Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, University of Regensburg, Germany

Moving memories—- memories on the move? Remembrance, initiatives, and Christian Displaced Persons in Flossenbürg 1946/47

After liberation of Flossenbürg concentration camp in April 1945, several pragmatic reuses of the grounds were established: first, as a prisoner of war enclosure. While this was still existing, UNRRA saw the possibility of establishing a DP camp for Poles on the grounds of the former concentration camp. One year after the liberation of Flossenbürg, the first DPs arrived. Before being transferred there, the DPs were living mostly in much smaller DP camps in Austria. The living conditions in Flossenbürg, a camp set up for over 2,000 DPs, were not as good as hoped. But especially the situation of living on the grounds of a former concentration camp, surrounded by fences, towers and a crematorium close by, obviously affected the DPs. Soon a memorial committee was established to build a memorial site. Many of the DPs living in Flossenbürg were former inmates of Mauthausen concentration camp—- not of Flossenbürg—- but also POWs and forced laborers. When the memorial complex "Valley of Death" and a new chapel were inaugurated in 1947, it was one of the first memorials opened at a former concentration camp in Germany. Who were the people in this committee? What was their aim and why does the "Valley of Death" look like it does today? Was there any DP network established after leaving Flossenbürg? What did the time of living in Flossenbürg mean for the DPs? Besides, how did the Flossenbürg villagers react towards the mission to set up a memorial complex?

Sarah Grandke, a PhD candidate, is curator at the Documentation Center "Hannoverscher Bahnhof" Hamburg/Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial, and was from 2016 to 2018 Flossenbürg Concentration Camp Memorial/educational department; curator at the Munich Documentation Centre of National Socialism (temporary exhibition on the persecution of Sinti and Roma in Munich and Bavaria) in 2016; a freelancer and guide at Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial from 2012 to 2016, and from 2013 to 2016 undertook an MA Elite Graduate Program for East European Studies at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich.

Cristina Stoica, Western University, Canada

The "Forgotten Holocaust": remembrance and commemoration of Roma persecution in Romania

According to a 2007 survey, of the 65% of Romanians who had ever heard of the Holocaust, only 28% knew that it had occurred in Romania. Of these, only 11% claimed the responsibility of the Romanian Holocaust lay with the Antonescu regime, compared with the 79% who blamed Nazi perpetrators; and only 33% recognised that Roma were targeted. As a result of strong communist, nationalistic, and xenophobic currents in Romanian society, the silenced history of the persecution of the Roma in Transnistria at the hands of the Romanian army was prolonged for decades. The narrative is complicated, arguably even unique, because while Antonescu saw the deportation of more than 26,000 Roma, his decision to halt deportations in the spring of 1943 saved the remaining Roma community. As a result of Antonescu's nationalistic stance, Romanian officials and intellectuals have claimed that if the Roma and "Jews of Romania are still alive it is on account of Ion Antonescu". This paper will discuss Holocaust remembrance and commemoration of Romani persecution for persecution, alongside the more well-known mass murder of Jews. Holocaust memory in Romania was virtually non-existent prior to 1989. Emphasis will be placed on selective and deflective negation on behalf of the Romanian government, as well as Holocaust education and macrocurriculum in the Romanian education system.

Cristina Stoica is a PhD candidate at Western University. Her dissertation examines the driving forces of antiziganism/antigypsism/antițiganism in Romania and the means to which they violently manifested in the newly formed nation-state. Born in Bucharest, Romania, she completed her Master's degree in European and Russian Affairs at the University of Toronto. She holds an undergraduate degree (with honours) from the University of Toronto with a specialist in history and double minor in European Union Studies and American Studies. Her research interests include, but are not limited to ethnic conflict, violence, and genocide in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

Panel 4 (Room 4)
Visual representations
Chair: David Feldman, Birkbeck Institute for the Study of Antisemitism, University of London, UK

Yvonne Kozlovsky Golan, University of Haifa, Israel
Sexual exploitation of children during the Holocaust and its representations in Israeli film and television

The issue of sexual harassment, rape, and abuse of children during and after the Holocaust has always been a subject that people thought best kept silent. Very few survivors spoke about their experiences. The victims' embarrassment and shame of telling their families about their life in wartime, scholars and teachers who studied the subject, buried the testimonies and repressed memories, keeping descriptions far from the public. If people came forward, very often the victim was blamed. With the technological media developments of recent decades, coupled with the advancing age of survivors and the distance of time from trauma, removal of many barriers in public discourse on sex, sexuality, and sexual abuse, the approach of total secrecy has changed. The opportunity available for a survivor of sexual abuse to sit in a private setting with a video camera, speaking to oneself in a mirror, has become a therapeutic tool and a means of confession and exposure. The result is a wave of testimonies about sexual abuse in childhood whether by an attacker, a host who hid the child, or relatives and other non-related Jews concealed in the same location.

The major goals of the research are to map and evaluate the nature and effects of the current transition of private memories of childhood sexual abuse during the Holocaust to public exposure and confession through various technological mediatisation: recording, digitisation, and conservation of picture, text, and sound. The research examines testimonies from survivors and their representations in the embedded narratives of children during the Holocaust in the audiovisual media. The research will discuss issues relating to the trauma of childhood sexual abuse, how exposure expresses the survivors' own perception of the abuse and their general perspectives on life. The research will further discuss how the identity of the offenders, Jewish or non-Jewish, determined the survivors' feelings towards themselves, the perpetrators, the worth of life, and what we can conclude from these public revelations.

Yvonne Kozlovsky-Golan, PhD, Senior Lecturer, chairs the MA Interdisciplinary Program for Culture and Film Studies Faculty of Humanities, University of Haifa. Dr Kozlovsky-Golan researches the connection between the history of the Holocaust, its presentation and display in media, and the impact of this connection on the collective memory of social communities, individuals and state relations. She examines how memory is shaped in the historical consciousness of the viewer and how this consciousness eventually moves between various centres of power and interests. She is a fellow in Yad Vashem, the International Institute for Holocaust Research. Most recent books: *Forgotten from the Frame*, *The Absence of the Holocaust Experiences of Mizrahim from the Visual Arts and Media in Israel* (Resling, Tel Aviv, 2017). *"Site of Amnesia", The Absence of North African Jewry in Visual Depictions of the Experience of World War II in Europe (France and Italy)* (Brill Nijhoff, Global Oriental and Hotei Publishing Boston, MA, 2019).

Sue Vice, University of Sheffield, UK
Rethinking the modernity thesis: Zygmunt Bauman and Claude Lanzmann

Zygmunt Bauman's classic *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1991) concludes with acknowledgements to Claude Lanzmann's 1985 documentary *Shoah*. In this talk, I ask why Bauman judged the film to support his thesis, that the modern state's suppression of morality in the service of bureaucratic rationality reached its apogee in the Nazi genocide, on the part of both perpetrators and their victims. Bauman's verdict, that *Shoah* reveals "how few men with guns were needed to murder millions", shares with Lanzmann the influence of Raul Hilberg's and Hannah Arendt's contentions about compliance. However, even if such a perspective exists in *Shoah*, a very different image of Jewish responses to the wartime genocide emerges from the 220 hours of excluded footage in Lanzmann's archive, on the subjects of attempted rescue and resistance during the Holocaust years. Indeed, part of the reason for excluding from *Shoah* these interviews, with such figures as Abba Kovner, Ya'akov Arnon, Hansi Brand, Yehuda Bauer, and Richard Rubenstein, is that they conflict with the very impulse that motivated their filming. Lanzmann's confronting what he considered to be a failure to rebel, Jewish Council cooperation and unethically selective rescue, is cinematically subverted in these encounters. Some of the specific examples of "cooperation" in Vilna and Amsterdam from *Modernity and the Holocaust* are cited in the discarded *Shoah* footage to opposite effect, revealing not only the limitations of the modernity thesis, but Bauman's symptomatic errors. When considered alongside Lanzmann's other excluded interviews on the failures of action, with War Refugee Board and Red Cross members, the outtakes point towards a different image of responsibility for the wartime fate of the Jews, and suggest its representation would have taken place through experimental cinematic form. I conclude that *Shoah*'s outtakes allow us not only to reconsider Bauman's modernity thesis, but also to envisage an oppositional new artwork to this effect, arising from Lanzmann's filmic discards.

Sue Vice is Professor of English Literature at the University of Sheffield. Her recent publications include the co-edited volume *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film*, with Jenni Adams, and *Textual Deceptions: False Memoirs and Literary Hoaxes in the Contemporary Era*. Her study of Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* Outtakes is due to be published by Bloomsbury in February 2023.

Panel 5 (Room 1)
Child survivors (I)
Chair: Dan Stone, Holocaust Research Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK

Helga Embacher, University of Salzburg, Austria
"Alone in this world": young unaccompanied survivors constructing (new) identities after the Shoah

There is still very little knowledge about the experiences of child survivors, the special problems they were confronted with, how and what they remembered and how they constructed their identities in the aftermath. This paper focuses on children and adolescents who survived ghettos, concentration camps and in hiding without parents or relatives, and had to find their way back into a "normal" life after the war. Based on the memoires of Aharon Appelfeld, *The Story of a Life: A Memoir* (2003, Hebrew edition 1999), and Leon Zelman, *Ein Leben nach dem Überleben/A Life after Survival*, 1995), I will discuss the following questions: How did they construct their identity in a new country (the former in Israel, the latter in Austria) and in a new language? What did they remember of their life before the Shoah, and how was this memory integrated into (or excluded from) their life afterwards? How did they deal with religion? What role did politics and ideology such as Communism and Zionism play? Another focus will be on taboos that they discussed, such as the instrumentalisation of unaccompanied children for smuggling and black market dealings, and their sexual abuse. Finally, I will show that esteem and success played an essential part in Appelfeld's as well as in Zelman's autobiography to express their pride in finally having made it in a new world.

Helga Embacher, is a Professor of Contemporary History at Fachbereich Geschichte, University Salzburg, Austria. She has been a Visiting Professor at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (1997) and at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (2003/2004). She was curator of the exhibition *Jews in Salzburg. History, Cultures, Fates* (MCA, Salzburg, shown at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York in 2002-2003). She was co-organiser of the exhibition *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944* in Salzburg (1997/1998). From 1998-2001 she was a member of the scholarly staff of the Historians Commission of the Republic of Austria on the subject: Restitution und Jüdische Organisationen am Beispiel der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde und österreichisch-jüdischer Exilorganisationen. Her most recent publication is: *Antisemitismus in Europa. Fallbeispiele eines globalen Phänomens im 21. Jahrhundert* [Antisemitism in Europe. Case studies of a global phenomenon in the 21 century] (Böhlau, 2019, with Bernadette Edtmaier und Alexandra Preitschopf).

Jakub Gałęziowski, University of Warsaw, Poland
Children born to Polish female forced labourers and DPs and fathered by foreigners as a separate category of Children Born of War (CBOW)

Although it would seem that we already know a lot about WWII, there are still some unexplored aspects, especially when it comes to the long-term social consequences of certain phenomena that occurred during the Nazi occupation of Poland and right after it ended. One such remaining blank spot concerns Polish CBOW. They are people born in unique circumstances, when one of the parents, usually the mother, was a member of the occupied local community and the other, usually the father, was one of the

occupiers, simply put: enemies. Persons who contacted me, or who I came across in the course of my research, told me to discard a simplified model: children fathered by German soldiers (born mainly of consensual relations) and children fathered by Soviet soldiers (conceived in rape). My interviewees also included people whose mothers were Poles, ex-forced labourers, many of whom later became DPs, while fathers were German superiors of those women as well as prisoners of war (POWs) of various nationalities, or after the liberation – soldiers of the Allies. At some point of their lives all of them found themselves in the Third Reich and in occupation zones after the war ended as "unaccompanied children". Some of them were repatriated to the home country. Upon the return their life trajectories unfolded in a variety of ways: only some of them were raised by foster families while the remaining ones were destined to live in orphanages until they came of age. Similarly, to other Polish CBOW, they did not experience any discrimination from the state, but just like other CBOW, when they became aware of their roots, they faced most trouble in personal lives. They were also struggling with their subjective perception of themselves as "others" and acceptance of their won entangled identity. In my paper I would like to demonstrate this underexplored legacy of WWII.

Jakub Gałęziowsk is affiliated to the Faculty of Culture and Arts, University of Warsaw. He received a PhD in History from the University of Augsburg and the University of Warsaw in 2021 for his dissertation about Polish children born of war – whose mothers belonged to the occupied society and fathers to the occupiers. He is interested in social history, oral history and biographical method, as well as in ethical aspects and the role of emotions in academic research. He is a co-founder of the Polish Oral History Association and a member of the editorial board of the *Wrocławski Rocznik Historii Mowionej* – the Polish academic journal devoted to oral history.

Anke Kalkbrenner, Selma Stern Center for Jewish Studies Berlin-Brandenburg

Shadow stories of adoption: aspects of transnational adoption of Jewish child survivors

After the end of World War II, the future of the thousands of unaccompanied Jewish children (children who had either been orphaned or separated from their families by persecution and war) in Europe became an urgent matter. Most of them were collected by United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) social workers and placed in special children's centres under the guardianship of the UNRRA committee. Other children were taken in by European governments or local Jewish communities. Most of these children were returned to surviving family members or placed in foster care by a Jewish organisation. Archival records indicate that only a very small percentage of children were given up for adoption. But an extraordinarily large number of people from throughout the Western Hemisphere wanted to adopt a child who had survived the Holocaust. Hundreds of letters or telephone notes, placed by chance and later filed in the organisations' archives, testify to this phenomenon. Despite intensive scholarly study of DP children, this aspect of postwar history has received only marginal attention. Postwar debates about adoption practices are not only central to the history of modern adoption, but more importantly reveal the beginning of transnational adoption as a new social practice. The paper analyses the connections between the representations of Jewish survivors in the postwar media and the increase in adoption inquiries in the United States of America. It also examines the important role American GIs, social workers, and Jewish agencies played in this process. In examining

transnational adoption practices through the lens of Jewish children, personal experiences of children as well as social, legal, and ethical issues of childcare in the postwar period and early transnational adoption practices are juxtaposed.

Anke Kalkbrenner is an associate doctoral candidate at the Center for Jewish Studies Berlin-Brandenburg. Her main research interests are in the field of childhood history and modern Jewish history, with a particular focus on German-Jewish children in the post-World War II period and the political and social forces shaping social upheavals. Her most recent publication (2021), "Chug Chaluzi – Jüdischer Rettungswiderstand in Berlin während des Nationalsozialismus", is an essay about Jewish children in the resistance who joined together as a group in the Berlin underground beginning in 1943. Anke Kalkbrenner has been a visiting scholar at the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at New York University, as well as at the Richard Koebner Minerva Center for German History at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and has volunteered at the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. In addition to her academic work, she is Chief Operating Officer at AKF Fahrzeugteile GmbH, an award-winning e-commerce company in Germany.

Panel 6 (Room 2)
Non-Jewish survivors (I)
Chair: Katja Seybold, Bergen-Belsen Memorial, Germany

Paula Chan, Georgetown University, USA
Lost in translation: French witnesses of Nazi crimes in Soviet Ukraine

In April 1942, the Nazi regime began deporting French prisoners-of-war to the Rava-Russka camp in Ukraine as punishment for trying to escape, with a total of 20,000–25,000 Frenchmen passing through the camp over the course of the war. When the Red Army liberated the region in summer 1944, several of these French soldiers who had escaped captivity and survived in hiding played vital roles in the Soviet government's investigation and publication of Nazi crimes in the surrounding area. Yet once they returned home again, French prisoners-of-war found that joining the Gaullist patriotic narrative of the war depended upon whether they could demonstrate their resistance against the Nazi regime even in captivity, a revision in which having passively observed the slaughter of Jews and Soviet prisoners-of-war in Ukraine had no place. This paper examines how French prisoners-of-war presented their experiences differently to the Soviet and French governments, as well as the divergent ways in which these governments manipulated the testimonies of French soldiers in Ukraine to further political objectives. Drawing upon wartime and postwar records culled from archives in Moscow, Kyiv, Lviv, Paris, and Caen, this paper challenges those scholars who single out the Soviet government for having obscured and distorted the events of the war, in particular the special suffering of Jewish populations. On the contrary, a side-by-side comparison reveals that both during and after the war, the USSR was far more invested than France in investigating and publicising the full scope of Nazi criminality.

Paula Chan is a PhD candidate at Georgetown University studying Soviet investigations of Nazi crimes in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic region during World War II. Her research has been supported by a Claims Conference Saul Kagan Fellowship in Advanced Shoah Studies and a Visiting Fellowship at the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum), among other awards. She has published articles in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, *The Journal of Illiberalism Studies*, and the *Journal of Contemporary History*. She holds master's degrees in Russian Studies and Library Science; prior to Georgetown, she worked as an archivist.

Thomas Irmer, Independent Scholar, Berlin, Germany
POWs in Berlin – Stalag IIID and forced labour during World War II

Prisoners of war seem to have received less attention in scientific research on Nazi forced labour. This is especially true for the histories of POWs in Berlin, the largest armament metropolis in Europe during the Nazi era. In my contribution I want to focus on the history of the barely researched POW main camp Stalag IIID in Berlin. Stalag IIID was not only, as previous research has assumed, an administration of the Wehrmacht for the deployment of prisoners of war. Based on my new findings, I will show that Stalag IIID also had its own subcamps, from which POWs were sent to numerous work detachments all over the German metropolis. Stalag IIID controlled tens of thousands of prisoners of war, including large groups of French and Italian so-called military internees. Among the detainees there were also smaller groups of British or Soviet

soldiers. After a look at the history, structure and actors of Stalag IIID administration, I will use the example of the Lichterfelde-Süd subcamp to discuss the use of forced labour by the various groups of POWs. Also, possible similarities and differences between the use of forced labour by POWs and those of other groups of forced labourers in Berlin will be considered.

Thomas Irmer studied political science at the FU Berlin. He is a historian and curator. He is currently working as a researcher for the Mitte Museum and Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht, both in Berlin. His recent exhibitions include: "Gardelegen 1945. The massacre and its aftermath", a permanent exhibition for the new museum of the Isenschnibbe barn memorial (co-curator); and "Nazi Forced Labor for the Protestant Church of Germany – the cemetery work camp of Berlin-Neukölln" for the new memorial site, The Cemetery Work Camp of Neukölln. His research specialisations include Nazi forced labour and the history of the electrical industry.

Amine Laggoune, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) / CERCEC, France

Soviet survivors of Nazi persecutions in France after the liberation: between resisting repatriation to build a new life or going back to the motherland (1944–1947)

By the end of 1944, between 80,000 and 120,000 Soviet displaced persons (DPs) and prisoners of war (POWs) were located in France. Most had been evacuated from Western Germany and Belgium by the Allies. DPs and POWs were moved to repatriation camps located in different parts of the country to wait for better circumstances to be repatriated to the USSR. Repatriation had two goals for Stalin: first, to destroy any anticommunism sentiments in Western Europe and, second, to bring people back to rebuild the USSR.

In June 1945, repatriation of Soviet citizens became an obligation through reciprocal agreement. A Soviet repatriation mission was sent by Stalin in October 1944 to complete this task, that is, gather all Soviet DPs and POWs and form repatriation camps. More than 100 such camps with Soviets DPs and POWs were located in France between 1944 and 1947. Some only contained POWs while others also held civilians. Within a few months and in a different context, some Soviets moved from Nazi camps in Germany to Soviet camps in France.

Life in and around these camps was punctuated by social activities to create a "return culture" and develop exchanges with the local populations. However, some Soviets who were located in different parts of the country refused to return to the USSR, as they wanted to build a new life in France after several years or months of captivity under the Third Reich. Among them were Soviet women who had met and married French POWs from Germany as well as Soviet men who hid in different regions or joined the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*).

There were various reasons to escape repatriation and many Soviet runaways did everything not to go back to their motherland. While war was still ongoing, Soviet officers responsible for the repatriation in France had to use all means available to them, including negotiating, lying, use of violence and espionage, to repatriate their fugitive citizens. Soviet authorities took advantage of the situation of "disorganisation" in the country during the exit from war and could set up operations against the Soviet runaways and their helpers. Most runaways were destitute and had to move from place to place in order to escape from Soviet officers' operations, using different strategies to

survive and by obtaining help from organisations of the old Russian emigration organisations or French citizens. Finally, some Soviets stayed in France while others returned as they had been abandoned by their French partner, were suffering poverty, or had been called home by their family in the USSR.

This presentation will focus on the different aspects of the Soviet DPs' and POWs' lives after their liberation in France inside and outside the camps (including their daily activities, social integration, strategies, and political commitment). Whatever their chosen path, Soviet citizens had to manage their life after the Second World War by discovering new experiences and possibilities in France.

Amine Laggoune is a PhD candidate in history at the EHESS (École des Hautes Études en Sciences sociales) in Paris under the supervision of Prof. Alain Blum and Prof. Sophie Coeuré. Her thesis "Between Challenges of the Exit from War and Beginning of the Cold War: the Repatriation of Soviet Citizens from France (1944–1947)", examines the question of how the USSR through the repatriation changed from being an ally during the war to becoming an enemy in the exit from war in France. Her work focuses on the relations between the Soviet state and the Allies as it sought to repatriate its citizens in the chaos of the exit from war. It also details a "history from below" - the social life of the Soviets after their liberation and arrival in France (including resistance against the repatriation, social integration, letters, and political commitment). The last part of her thesis is about the return of Soviets to Soviet Ukraine with a study of specific pathways.

Panel 7 (Room 3)
Jewish survivors: Soviet paths
Chair: Eliana Hadijsavvas, Birkbeck, University of London, UK

Alain Blum, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), France
Emilia Koustova, Strasbourg University, France
Jewish trajectories in postwar USSR: a study from the Soviet police archives

Soviet Jews who survived the Holocaust didn't escape the Stalinist violence that followed the conflict. Many police and court materials concerning these populations are available. They allow the reconstruction of part of their postwar trajectories, whether they were among the rare survivors of the ghettos, evacuees, or deportees to Siberia. These sources make it possible to consider a diversity of fates and survival experiences, as well as to study how new relations with the Stalinist authorities were established. They can be used to analyse how Jewish populations were shaken by the return of Soviet power: some survivors sought to flee for Palestine or other territories; others formed a network based on a common experience of survival to face the postwar period. Interrogations, complaints, and appeals before the courts or other judiciary documents depict these biographies and the network they were inserted in. This picture was of course distorted, but can be critically analysed to understand these fates, in articulation with the societies and powers that reconfigured themselves after the conflict. We will study this from the point of view of the Lithuanian Jews, a territory that suffered Stalinist deportation before and after the Second World War and where nearly all the Jewish population was exterminated during the conflict.

Alain Blum is Professor at the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) and senior researcher at the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED). He was the director of the Centre for Russian, Caucasian, and Central European Studies (EHESS-CNRS) from 2004 to 2012. Demographer, statistician, and historian, he has worked on the population history of Russia, Caucasus, Central Asia, and Eastern Europe. His current research focuses on the forced population displacements in their political, social, and demographic dimensions. He is studying trajectories of people deported from Central and Eastern Europe to the USSR, with an emphasis on Western Ukraine and Lithuania. Moreover, within a broader reflection on the social and political history of the USSR, he works on political violence in USSR during the Stalinist period.

Emilia Koustova is Associate Professor of Russian Studies and Director of the Department of Slavonic studies at Strasbourg University. She recently authored several articles and coedited a book about the Russian Revolution and its commemorative culture: *Le spectacle de la Révolution. La culture visuelle des commémorations d'Octobre* (Lausanne, 2017). Her current research deals with history of the Stalinist deportations from Western regions of the USSR, and with the history of WWII and its heritages in Russia and Eastern Europe. She has published several articles on this topic in French, Russian and English, including: "Negotiating Lives, Redefining Repressive Policies: Managing the Legacies of Stalinist Deportations", *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 19/2 (2018) (with A. Blum); "(Un)Returned from the Gulag: Life Trajectories and Integration of Postwar Special Settlers", *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 16/3 (2015); "Equalizing Misery, Differentiating Objects: The Material World of the Stalinist Exile" in Graham H. Roberts (ed.), *Material Culture in Russia and the USSR. Things, Values, Identities* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

Thomas Chopard, French National Centre for Scientific Research, France
Polish Jews surviving the Holocaust in the Soviet Union: combining microhistorical and quantitative approaches

This paper presents one aspect of the ERC-funded project "Lubartworld" that reconstructs the trajectories of the whole Jewish population of Lubartów, a town near Lublin including approximately 3,500 Jews. Like in many places in Poland, many Jews from Lubartów fled eastward in 1939. While this question is usually considered globally, this paper adopts a microhistorical approach by studying precisely all the trajectories of Lubartów Jews that survived the war in USSR: How many have fled compared to the rest of the population? How did they flee? Where did they spend the war exactly? Did they differ from the rest of the local population? The aim is to give a social portrait of the Polish Jews who survived in USSR and to acknowledge the various experiences and different paths followed on Soviet territory. A second part of the presentation will consider the impact of this specific experience in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust, while many survivors were repatriated to their birthplace. Many left as soon as they came back to Poland. How was this wartime mobility articulated with their postwar migration? Was their experience of survival in Soviet Union acknowledged by international authorities (UNRRA, International Refugee Organization, JDC) or concealed by the survivors themselves during this migration?

Thomas Chopard is a postdoctoral researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research. He is a former postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, and at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, and is currently involved in the ERC-funded Lubartworld project that retraces the trajectories of the whole Jewish population of Lubartów, near Lublin in Poland, during the first half of the twentieth century. His research focuses on anti-Jewish violence and Jewish migrations in Eastern Europe. He recently co-edited with Elissa Bemporad (CUNY) a special issue of *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History*, dedicated to "The Pogroms of the Russian Civil War at 100".

Anna P. Ronell, Independent Scholar, USA
Jewish survivors from the Soviet Union: who knew what and when?

As a follow-up to my research presented in 2018, I continue working on researching various aspects of the Soviet Jewish experience during the first months of the German invasion of the USSR based on the testimonials of Russian-speaking Jewish refugees and Holocaust survivors collected by various organisations and private persons. I am presently expanding my research to include testimonials by Soviet-Jewish refugees collected by Yad Vashem and the USC Shoah Foundation. As previously stated, in the discussion of the aftermath of World War II and the new research on survivors of Nazi persecution, it is critically important to include new testimonials of the Jewish refugees from the Western territories of the Soviet Union as they cover a number of under-researched topics, including Red Army defeats during the first days of World War II, breakdown of society, collaborationism, chaos, and mismanagement of the evacuation process, dereliction of duty by Soviet authorities, and the specific situation of Soviet Jews many of whom found themselves outside of normal Soviet policies and procedures. Through a close reading of the testimonials, my presentation will focus specifically on the discussion of information and disinformation in the beginning of the German invasion. The two key questions to be asked are (i) what did Soviet Jews in Western USSR and the

Baltic States know about German anti-Semitism, anti-Jewish violence and discriminatory policies and how did that knowledge influence their decision to leave their homes at the outbreak of the war? (ii) What pertinent information did Soviet authorities release during the beginning of the war and how was the Jewish situation handled in particular? My presentation will review conflicting narratives on whether or not Soviet authorities attempted to prioritise the rescue of Soviet Jews as well as conflicting research on the rescue efforts and the refugee experience as a whole.

Anna Ronell earned her PhD in Near Eastern & Judaic Studies from Brandeis University. She is an independent scholar whose research interests include Jewish experience in the USSR, World War II, and the Holocaust in the USSR, Russian-Israeli culture and society, and worldwide Russian-language Jewish diaspora. She has worked on research and education projects at MIT, Wellesley College, and Tufts University and published in numerous academic journals including *Prooftexts*, *Polin*, and *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*.

Panel 8 (Room 4)
Testimonies (I)
Chair: Christine Schmidt, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Éva Kovács, Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, Austria
Surviving Strasshof: history of ego-documents of Hungarian slave labour in Vienna

At the end of June 1944, 15,000 persons were transported to Strasshof from four Hungarian ghettos. In the camp a regular slave market was opened to meet the demand by Austrian entrepreneurs who urgently needed manpower in their factories and farms. The deported families had to work in Vienna and in Lower Austria on farms, in trade, and, particularly, in the war industry. Most of these families did not include men of working age because these had already been sent to perform slave labour at the front. Children, mothers, and grandparents lived and worked together, maintaining basic forms of family life, something that was impossible in a concentration camp, which clearly helped most of them survive.

The early Jewish documentation initiatives of the 1940s and 1950s produced a huge number of personal accounts. In our case, the so-called DEGOB protocols of 1945–1950 constitute the most significant collection in this respect. However, the "Strasshof children" were hardly ever interviewed for this collection, maybe simply because they were children. We have few (but important) memoirs and fictional accounts, most of which were published by survivors who became public intellectuals under socialism. These stories were published but hardly ever became part of broader public discourse on the history of WWII in Hungary until 1990. The largest segment of our sources are oral history interviews (appr. 450) conducted in the late 1980s and the 1990s and – as all other biographical sources – they also had their specific discursive contexts.

The memory of the Hungarian Jewish catastrophe was canonised almost immediately after the liberation as the last chapter of deportation to Auschwitz and the annihilation of the last sizeable, untouched Jewish community of Europe. The experiences of slave labourers in Vienna could not fit this narration perfectly. How can the suffering of slave labourers in Vienna be recognised on the same level as suffering in a Nazi concentration camp? How can the survival in Vienna be compared with the death in Auschwitz? These questions often emerged in the private commemoration practices of Hungarian Jews after 1945 and significantly influenced the form and meaning of testimonies.

Starting our research project on everyday life in Strasshof, we were confronted with the methodological question of how to construct a reliable narrative if most of the available sources are diaries, works of fiction, and fragmented interviews conducted with people who survived the Holocaust as children. How can one harmonise personal accounts given at different stages of such a long period as seventy years? Not only the dynamics of personal memorialisation but also the changes in cultural and political climate have left deep traces on these sources. In my presentation, I will examine the tension between personal memory and the cultural and political conditions in the past seventy years.

Éva Kovács, is a professor and sociologist. She is the Academic Director of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies. Kovács studied sociology and economics at the Corvinus University in Budapest (PhD, 1994; Habilitation, 2009). She is also Research Chair at the Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her

research fields include the history of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe, research on memory and remembrance, and Jewish identity in Hungary and Slovakia. She has authored five monographs, edited nine volumes, published numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals, and co-curated exhibitions in Berlin, Vienna, Krems, and Budapest. She is the founder of the audio-visual archive "Voices of the Twentieth Century" in Budapest.

Therkel Straede, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark
A death camp known to few: the *Judenlager Kisselewitschi*, Bobruisk, Belarus, 1942–1943

In October 1948, a Danish court convicted a former NCO of the Free Corps Denmark legion of the Waffen-SS, Karl Johan Gerhard Jorgensen of killing a prisoner in a forced labour camp for Jews which was located on the compound of the huge "Waldlager" SS and Police base of Bobruisk in German-occupied Eastern Belarus. The killing took place in winter 1942/43 while Danish SS volunteers served as camp guards and was only one out of many. Of 1,500 male Jews deported from the Warsaw Ghetto to cover the SS' demand for forced labour after the city's own Jews had been annihilated by the Einsatzgruppen earlier on, fewer than 100 survived the sixteen months of operation of the *Judenlager Kisselewitschi*. Most were shot dead in frequent selections, many killed by theatrical cruelty, including extreme forms of sexual torture. Few prisoners survived the war, under a dozen were able to testify to their agony in front of postwar courts and Shoah Foundation cameras. Based on our book *School of Violence* (Danish: *En skole i vold. Bobruisk 1941–44*, Copenhagen 2014, 2nd ed. 2015) and research continuing to this day, we present this unknown and – not only in terms of lethality – unusual forced labour camp for Jews, and discuss the plight of the few survivors: how do their narratives represent the extremely brutal everyday that faced them and caused the death of the majority of their fellow victims, and how do their understandable silences influence our insight into forms of violence and humiliation that – for honourable reasons, like in Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men* – have remained uncovered by most Holocaust research until today? Must we face those repulsive details in order to more fully grasp the experiences of the victims – and understand what the perpetrators were trying to communicate by their violent acts?

Therkel Straede is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense (before that University of the Ruhr, Bochum, Germany). He specialises in Holocaust studies, the history of Nazism, the concentration camps, the Theresienstadt ghetto, and the October 1943 rescue of the Danish Jews. He is the author of a number of books and articles, including *School of Violence. Bobruisk 1941–44*. In 2001 he was awarded the honour Congressional Citation by the US Congress for his achievements in Holocaust research and education.

Panel 9 (Room 5)
Beyond survivor-witnessing – Redefining a field
Chair: Dieter Steinert, University of Wolverhampton, UK

About the panel
Although many survivors of the Holocaust came to and remained in Sweden after the Second World War, Swedish historiography has never shown much interest in their lives and the roles that they played in Swedish political, cultural, and social life. More than twenty years after the Stockholm international forum conferences, this panel thinks it is time that survivors – as complex figures who continued to survive in their new country – receive the scholarly attention they deserve: as historical figures, discursive constructs and as archival subjects. Together, the three panellists are endeavouring to redefine what "Sweden and the Holocaust" means, arguing that victims and victimisation as well as survivors and survival constitute equally important phenomena compared to the much-explored subjects of bystanderism and rescue.

Malin Thor Tureby, Malmö University, Sweden
"Hearing" Holocaust survivors: on collections and research with Holocaust survivors in Sweden, 1945–2020

Malin Thor Tureby will open the session with an introduction to the history of the practice of collecting and archiving survivor stories in Sweden.

Malin Thor Tureby is a Professor of History at Malmö University in Sweden. She is currently the head of three major Holocaust-related research projects with different but related aims such as: working to produce empirically based knowledge on how survivor stories have been created, collected, archived, and digitised over time; writing a history about Jewish women in Sweden and investigating the making of oral history and stories as digital and cultural heritage. She has previously published on a wide range of Holocaust-related subjects such as the *Hechaluz* movement, Jewish rescue and relief work during the war and oral history collections and life stories with the Jewish minority in Sweden.

Kristin Wagrell, Malmö University, Sweden
Jews, gender, and the ideal witness: constructing the Holocaust survivor in Sweden, 1943–1966

Kristin Wagrell, will present some of the results from her doctoral thesis in which she demonstrates how the Holocaust survivor as a discursive figure *came to be* in Swedish public discourse; as effective witness, "ideal" victim and social commentator. Referencing examples such as the flight of the Danish Jews in 1943, the many iterations of Anne Frank's writings in the 1950s and the Nobel Prize awarded to Nelly Sachs in 1966, Wagrell will explain how notions of "silence" and "excess" have always served to discipline the Holocaust survivor in Swedish public discourse.

Kristin Wagrell is a postdoctoral scholar at Malmö University in Sweden. In 2020, Wagrell received her PhD in cultural studies from Linköping University with her doctoral dissertation, "'Chorus of the Saved': Constructing the Holocaust Survivor in Swedish Public Discourse, 1943–1966". Wagrell's research interests lie in the history of survivor activism and the archival practices of cultural heritage institutions.

Victoria Van Orden Martínez, Linköping University, Sweden
Historicizing women survivors in Sweden: agency and action after the destruction

Victoria Van Orden Martínez, will speak on some of the "afterlives" of women survivors who came to Sweden as refugees after the war.

Victoria Van Orden Martínez is a PhD candidate in history at Linköping University in Sweden. Her dissertation, tentatively titled "Afterlives: Histories of Survivors of Nazi Persecution in Sweden", is an analysis of how survivors of Nazi persecution who came to Sweden as refugees were involved in various sociohistorical processes during the postwar period, with a focus on women and the role of gender and other differences.

Panel 10 (Room 1)
Reassembling fractured lives: tangible and intangible elements of reconstruction
Chair: Christine Schmidt, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Elizabeth Anthony, Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM, USA
Protecting the "*Rückstellungsbetroffenen*": experiences of the retention of Jews' former property in postwar Austria

Returned Jews' attempts to regain assets in postwar Vienna met with surprising success in the first few months after the Nazis' defeat. What started under the conquering Red Army and continued in the first year and a half under all four Allied powers, proved much more successful than claims made once restitution laws went into place. One reason was the campaign of the *Schutzverband der Rückstellungsbetroffenen* (the Protective Association for Parties Affected by Restitution), an official, government-sanctioned organisation formed and designed to protect the gentile holders of property that had been gained through Nazi Aryanisation processes.

This paper seeks to elucidate the activities and experiences of the individuals who comprised *Schutzverband* membership and the attempts – and successes – of so-called Aryanisers to retain possession of Jews' former property. How did the beneficiaries of Nazi Aryanisation policies perceive their postwar situation and how did they portray it? How did they defend their plundered possessions from restitution efforts, and with what success? This presentation will illuminate some gentile Austrians' postwar struggles to maintain legal ownership of assets obtained through exploitive and unseemly processes through case studies of the experiences of *Schutzverband* members and an analysis of their postwar trajectories, and will reveal a clearer picture of the obstacles returned Viennese Jews faced as they sought to regain homes, businesses, and possessions.

Elizabeth Anthony is the Director of the Visiting Scholar Programs at the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. She received her PhD in history at Clark University in 2016. Her research focuses on the motivations, expectations, and experiences of Viennese Jews who chose to return home and resettle permanently in their hometown after the Holocaust. She holds an MSW from the University of Maryland and a BA from St. Mary's College of Maryland.

Kierra Crago-Schneider, Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM, USA
Seeking survivors: postwar efforts to reunite with family after liberation

In the immediate postwar period, Holocaust survivors urgently sought to reunite with family. It was the reason hundreds of thousands of emaciated and traumatised Jews trudged hundreds of miles across Europe to follow rumours of surviving family members and friends. The movements of these individuals contributed to the chaos of clogged roads full of those on foot and hitchhiking on military lorries, as well as those fortunate enough to ride on the few operating trains travelling from west to east and back again. While these survivors regularly met with devastating disappointment, and often the threat of physical harm, international aid workers continually recorded their surprise at

the determination of this persecuted group as they continue to search, even after outsiders believed all hope of finding a living relative had passed. This paper will explore how, in a Europe in total upheaval, these Holocaust survivors reunited with their "lost" communities using several different media. While it will touch on early methods of seeking in different countries, the focus will be on Germany after liberation and in the year following. It will examine how people who could barely hold a pencil demanded they get paper and typewriters to create lists and how unsteady legs and improvised modes of transport carried these same individuals hundreds of miles to track down the people from whom they were forcefully separated. My analysis of this history will look at the agency Holocaust survivors took to create a series of systems for searching that allowed them to reunite with their families and friends that provided them with some closure, and some reunions, in the immediate postwar period. It will also discuss how international aid workers helped expand search capabilities for the surviving Jews and created search systems still in use today.

Kierra Crago-Schneider is the Campus Outreach Program Officer in the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. She received her PhD in history in 2013 from UCLA. Her manuscript, *From Barter to Black Market: The Re- Criminalization of the Jews in Germany*, focuses on Jewish Displaced Persons' interactions with their non-Jewish neighbours, international caregivers, and American troops in the American zone of occupied Germany from 1945 to 1957. Her work pays special attention to postwar refugees and aid, antisemitism, migration, the black market, and resettlement.

Alexandra Kramen, Clark University, USA

In the face of Injustice: Jewish Holocaust survivors' narratives of revenge in postwar Europe

In the aftermath of World War II, Jewish survivors of what came to be known as the Holocaust struggled from the outset to find justice for the trauma they and their loved ones had sustained at the hands of the Germans and their collaborators. As historian Laura Jockusch has demonstrated, the Nuremberg trials and other Allied war crimes trials left survivors feeling as if truth had been evaded or obfuscated; many deemed the sentences handed down as failed retribution. The survivors had no power within the international community to hold perpetrators legally accountable for the specific harms they had suffered, a result of their statelessness as well as their minimal role in the Allied trials. No international truth commissions were ever established, the Nazis had shown their desire to eliminate all evidence of the specific crimes committed against the Jews and their intent to deny that they sought to eradicate the Jews as a whole, and the Allies had made it clear even before the first of the Nuremberg trials that, due to their own political agendas, they would remain silent on the distinctly anti-Jewish character of Nazi war crimes and genocidal policies. Jewish survivors thus had to formulate their own ways of seeking justice as they conceived it. What strategies did survivors devise to resolve their lingering justice needs? While one might expect that acts of revenge would be more likely given the extreme brutality and high frequency of the harms committed against Jews as a collective group, the limited existing scholarship on the topic indicates that violent acts of revenge were rare. This by no means suggests, however, that revenge as a concept did not play out within the postwar Jewish survivor communities.

This paper will demonstrate, through an analysis of survivor oral history testimonies from the USC Shoah Foundation, that Jewish survivors' conceptions of justice and the ways in which they satisfied their justice needs were highly diverse, including various forms of non-violent symbolic revenge and other justice-seeking mechanisms that were prosocial in nature. In doing so, the paper offers a new perspective on how Jews coped with the trauma they experienced during the Holocaust and reestablished a sense of justice in the process, while contributing more broadly to the study of transitional justice processes in the wake of mass violence.

Alexandra Kramen is a PhD candidate in History at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, where she holds a Claims Conference Fellowship and the Marlene and David Persky Research Award. Her dissertation, "Justice Pursued: Jewish Survivors' Struggle for Holocaust Justice in Displaced Persons Camp Föhrenwald, 1945–1957", will explore how survivors living in the longest-running Jewish displaced persons (DP) camp in postwar Germany conceived of and acted upon justice for the Holocaust. Her doctoral research has received additional support from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, DC), the Leo Baeck Institute-New York, the Center for Holocaust Studies at the Institute for Contemporary History (Munich), the JDC Archives (New York), the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture (New York), and the Center for Jewish History (New York). Kramen received her BA in History and Political Science with special interest certification in Holocaust Studies from Albright College in Reading, PA. She subsequently earned a JD from Temple University Beasley School of Law in Philadelphia, PA, and an MA in Holocaust and Genocide Studies from West Chester University of Pennsylvania in West Chester, PA. Her broader research interests include Jewish responses to the Holocaust in the wartime and postwar periods, Jewish life in modern Europe, and modern Jewish displacement and diaspora.

Panel 11 (Room 2)
Jewish victims, self-representation, and the politics of victimhood/survival in global contexts
Chair: Suzanne Bardgett, Imperial War Museum Institute, UK

Eliyana R. Adler, Pennsylvania State University, USA
Representing survival: the Holocaust's discursive eclipse of Polish Jewish refugees in the USSR

It was not a foregone conclusion that the memory of the suffering of Polish Jews during World War II would be confined to the Nazi Holocaust. Indeed, Poland was invaded by two countries in 1939, and Jews suffered under both regimes. Writing in March 1940, after arriving in Palestine from Soviet-occupied Poland, Moshe Kleinbaum described what he had witnessed before his escape via Soviet Lithuania: "Hitler is persecuting the Jews; Stalin is persecuting Jewish life. Both of them represent a danger to our people's existence. We must save both the Jews and Jewish life. We must wage our Jewish struggle on these two fronts." Although he recognised distinct methods and goals of occupation, Kleinbaum saw great cause for concern on both sides of the new border. Vestiges of this unified discourse appear in the immediate postwar years as well. In his 1947 memoir of visiting Poland as a representative of the Jewish Labor Committee, Jacob Pat opens his description of visiting a children's home with the evocative: "They are curly-headed children from Oswieczem and Siberia, from forest caves and Catholic convents, from ghettos and swamps." Yet over time, the stories of Oświęcim came to eclipse those from Siberia. This paper seeks to interrogate when, how, and why an integrated narrative of the war and its tragic consequences for Polish Jewry gave way to a bifurcated version emphasising only one part of a larger story.

Eliyana R. Adler is Associate Professor in the Department of History and Program in Jewish Studies at the Pennsylvania State University (PSU). She has held fellowships from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Yad Vashem, the German Historical Institute of Warsaw and the Humanities Institute of PSU. Dr Adler's book, *In Her Hands: The Education of Jewish Girls in Tsarist Russia* (Wayne State University Press) received the Heldt Prize for the Best Book in Slavic/Eastern European/Eurasian Women's Studies in 2011. She is the co-editor of *Jewish Literature and History: An Interdisciplinary Conversation* (University Press of Maryland, 2008), *Reconstructing the Old Country: American Jewry in the Post-Holocaust Decades* (Wayne State University Press, 2017), as well as *Polin 30: Jewish Education in Eastern Europe*, and has published articles in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, *Yad Vashem Studies*, *East European Jewish Affairs*, *Polin*, and other journals. She is completing a project on the experiences of Polish Jews who survived World War II in the unoccupied regions of the Soviet Union and starting a new one on memorial books.

Sara Halpern, Cardiff University, UK
The myth of silence among Shanghai's Central European Jewish refugees

Public exhibitions of Shanghai as a refuge for persecuted Jews during the Holocaust have prominently featured 500 Polish rabbis, students, and their families. Because the survival of this group is one of few known aspects of the Holocaust that has resonated with the Orthodox, the Orthodox have readily share that history. Yet,

Shanghai also welcomed 17,000 non-Orthodox Jews from Central Europe. This group's own story has recently received scholarly and public attention as a result of child refugees beginning to identify themselves as "survivors" and to openly share their experiences. Using memoirs and testimonies, this paper argues that the interplay of shifting genealogical discourse of survival and memory and the changing politics of survival motivated Central European Jewish refugees to narrate their flight from Europe and life in a ghetto in Shanghai. Until they heard about Nazi atrocities in 1945, refugees convinced themselves that Shanghai was "hell". When the truth of the Nazi crimes emerged, Shanghai "paled in comparison". Avoiding direct competition with those who were in Europe, the adult refugees refused to publicly discuss their wartime experiences. Instead, they privately gathered to reminisce about Shanghai. As the public narrative of the Holocaust began to diversify to include voices of German and Austrian Jewish refugees, the child refugees, now adults themselves, began to identify themselves as "survivors". Some began connecting with other child survivors, sharing the viewpoint that their childhood and familial relationships had been forever changed by Nazism too.

Sara Halpern is a Lecturer in Modern Jewish History at Cardiff University. She has a PhD from Ohio State University. Her research focuses on twentieth-century Jewish migration, international humanitarian politics and diplomacy, and citizenship in transnational and global contexts. She is currently working on a book derived from her PhD thesis, 'Saving the Unwanted: Shanghai's Jewish Refugees in the Wake of the Second World War'. Her work has received multiple fellowships and grants, among them the Association for Jewish Studies, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Leo Baeck Institute, the Social Science Research Council, and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

Yael Siman, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City

Between the personal, local, and global: rendering public Holocaust testimony in Mexico, 1950s–2000s

It is commonly thought that Holocaust survivors in Mexico shared the silences and efforts at oblivion of survivors elsewhere. Nevertheless, these survivors spoke of their experiences in public spaces much earlier than what it is usually acknowledged. Led by Dunia Wassertrum, members of the Unión de Sobrevivientes del Holocausto y Miembros de la Resistencia made connections between their suffering and the experience of other victims worldwide. These "marginal" voices in the 1950s to the 1970s understood their identity as circumscribed to the ghetto and camp experiences, thus silencing or self-silencing other experiences. In the late 1990s, an important change took place as the global politics of rendering testimony influenced local survivors, leading to a mainstream collective act. Still, testimony of Holocaust survivors and victims of mass violence in Mexico followed disconnected paths. A third moment is underway in our century when survivors approach the end of their life, their adult children turn into renders of testimony, and local violence spirals, thus leading to a plurality of victims. Globally, Holocaust testimony and testimony of victims of violence acquires greater visibility. Based on historical documents and oral history archives, this paper traces the evolution of rendering public Holocaust testimony in Mexico, as well as the motivations, discourses and identities of survivors. It investigates the connections between global, local and personal processes, as well as the intersections between what it means to be a

victim/survivor of the Holocaust and a victim/survivor of mass violence in today's Mexican context.

Yael Siman has a PhD in Political Science from University of Chicago. She teaches Holocaust and genocide at Universidad Iberoamericana and Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México. She was the A.G. Leventis Chair in Cyprus Studies at Universidad Anáhuac. She is Professor-Researcher at the Social and Political Sciences Department, Universidad Iberoamericana. She is affiliated researcher of the Center for Advanced Genocide Research, USC Shoah Foundation. Siman has been academic coordinator of USHMM-UNESCO Holocaust projects in Mexico. Her research focuses on the experiences and narratives of Holocaust survivors who immigrated to Mexico; and the trajectories of displacement of victims of violence in Mexico. Her most recent publication is "Migration Narratives of Holocaust Survivors in Chile, Colombia and Mexico" in Tim Cole and Simone Gigliotti (eds), *Lessons and Legacies XIV: The Holocaust in the 21st Century: Relevance and Challenges in the Digital Age* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2020).

Panel 12 (Room 3)
Trials and justice (I)
Chair: Toby Simpson, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

René Bienert, KZ-Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg, Germany
Survivors helping survivors: Simon Wiesenthal, his early search for Nazi criminals, and the survivors' rehabilitation

This paper explores the early years of Simon Wiesenthal's postwar activities, which so far have not received much attention. Immediately upon his liberation from the Mauthausen concentration camp, he began, in Linz, Upper Austria, to search for Nazi criminals. However, this early search is closely linked to Wiesenthal's support for other Holocaust survivors: helping them in dealing with authorities as well as early attempts to collect information for compensation payments. But more importantly, especially for the survivors, was to help them find information about the whereabouts of their relatives and loved ones, by creating and circulating search lists. When survivors came to check the new lists, they were also asked where they came from and which names of perpetrators or which crimes they could still remember. This was – also regarding the increasing numbers of survivors who arrived in the Linz area in context of the Bricha – soon systematised. And indeed, this approach of survivors helping survivors was rather successful: hundreds of survivors got involved as witnesses in investigations and trials carried out by the US, and soon also by Austrian authorities – and Wiesenthal had laid the fundaments for his later work. Not least, Wiesenthal's early work will be examined, if and how far it can be seen as a contribution to the survivors' rehabilitation and if and to what extent it, with all its facets, can be seen in context of what we nowadays understand as Transitional Justice.

René Bienert holds an MA in European Ethnology, Cultural History and Sociology from the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. He works at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust-Studies (WVI) responsible for the Simon-Wiesenthal-Archive and for the Holocaust-related materials from the Archive of the Viennese Jewish Community. He was research assistant in the department for Research and Education at the International Trancing Service and later at Friedrich-Schiller-Universität in the project on renewal of the permanent exhibition at the Buchenwald memorial. Besides archival topics his current work and research focusses on displaced persons and on coming to terms with Nazi crimes.

Rachel Blumenthal, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
Advocate for reparations for Jewish survivors of National Socialism

Hitler's war against Jews targeted women, men, and children living in many countries throughout Europe and Northern Africa. Little, if anything united the victims, except for their persecution by Germany and its allies during the twelve-year reign of the Third Reich. In the midst of the Second World War, the Allied Powers planned a new world order that included the payment of reparations by Germany and Japan. Politicians and jurists assumed that countries would be the sole recipients of reparations. No state advocated the payment of compensation to Jews, the group that had suffered the most from German persecution. Existing literature credits Israel with the creation of the Claims Conference and views the new alliance as a sidekick to the Jewish state. Archival

documents undermine this view. They show that at the outset, Israel opposed the participation of a second advocate for reparations in negotiations with West Germany. Subsequently, Israeli politicians hoped that the diaspora alliance would limit its role to the support of their claims for compensation. This proposal traces the emergence of the advocacy agency and its transformation into the main actor on behalf of Holocaust victims. It examines why a nongovernmental organisation with limited resources represented the transnational community of survivors. In addition, how did its status make the Claims Conference a more favorable negotiating partner for West Germany.

Rachel Blumenthal researches the consequences of the Second World War. Her projects include an examination of the German judiciary's failed attempt to try one of its members for his role in the *Volksgerichtshof* and the search for compensation of Jewish Holocaust victims. Rachel is now researching confrontations between locals and refugees in Austria after the war. She was awarded a PhD by the Hebrew University in 2017 for her thesis on "The Claims Conference, the State of Israel and the Diaspora: 1951–1964". In 2015 she received fellowships from the New York Center for Jewish History and the JDC.

Michael Fleming, The Polish University Abroad, London, UK
The Polish Government in exile, the United Nations War Crimes Commission and the Holocaust

This paper discusses the ways in which jurists from Poland engaged with legal and political debates on the issue of war crimes during the Second World War. It considers how understanding of war crimes developed in various fora – the International London Assembly, the International Committee on Penal Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-Allied Commission on the Punishment of War Crimes, and the United Nations War Crimes Commission. The paper analyses how information of German atrocities against Jews was handled by the Polish War Crimes Office and manner in which that Office attempted to ensure that those responsible for the atrocities would face justice (postwar). The paper draws on a range of archival sources to reconstruct the composition of Charge Files submitted to the UNWCC, and highlights the contribution made by various jurists. The final part of the paper reflects on how the transfer of international recognition from the Polish Government in Exile (London) to the Polish Government in Warsaw, and the rise of East/West tensions, impacted on the work of jurists involved with the Polish War Crimes Office and the UNWCC.

Michael Fleming is a historian at The Polish University Abroad, London. His publications include *Communism, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Poland, 1944–1950* (2010), *Auschwitz, the Allies and Censorship of the Holocaust* (2014), and (as editor) *Essays Commemorating Szmul Zygielbojm* (2018).

Philip Ginnings, Independent Scholar, UK
Reactions to the Belsen Trial in 1945

The discovery of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp by the British Army in April 1945 caused shock and outrage in Britain. Politicians, the press and the general public expressed their horror and disbelief as more and more eyewitness reports, film and photographic evidence came to light of atrocities committed by the Nazi regime. As it was liberated by the British, Belsen has acquired, over time, the cache of being

considered "the British camp". It was quickly decided that the British would put the SS personnel and other guards they captured there through a proper legal process of accountability. My thesis examined the Belsen Trial by considering what and how British people knew and understood about Nazi crimes in 1945. It also explored what popular attitudes towards the Germans and Jews at the time were, as expressed in the media and in personal diaries and correspondence. BBC broadcasts, newsreels, national and local newspapers, and periodicals, as well as material from Mass Observation, were searched for clues as to what the British were expecting from the Kramer Trial (as it is also known). Were those expectations fulfilled? Does this shed any light on the British themselves? My thesis also suggested several reasons why certain parts of the Belsen story loom large in the public consciousness – even today – whilst the Belsen Trial is largely forgotten by many.

Philip Ginnings graduated with an MA (with Distinction) in Second World War Studies: Conflict, Societies, Holocaust from Wolverhampton University. A teacher for twenty-five years, he sought a career change and now works as an educator for organisations like the Holocaust Educational Trust and as a history tour guide for schools and adults across Europe. He is also an Imperial War Museum Fellow of Holocaust Education.

Panel 13 (Room 4)
Family and gender studies
Chair: Elise Bath, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Ildikó Barna, Eötvös Loránd University Budapest, Hungary
Gendered analysis of Hungarian Jewish displaced persons in Italian DP camps

The paper presents a gendered analysis of Hungarian Jewish Displaced Persons in Italy using the IRO Care and Maintenance Program (CM/1) files from the Arolsen Archive and the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. According to estimations, at the end of 1947, Jews made up around 18,000 out of the 22,000 Displaced Persons in Italy assisted by the Preparatory Commission of the IRO, and approximately 6% of them were Hungarians. As many male and female applicants had very different experiences during the eligibility procedure to become a DP and their lives in the DP camps, it is important to describe and understand these differences, especially those structure-based ones. The paper is based on interdisciplinary research that combines the methods and perspectives of history and sociology. In my analysis, I use a mixed-method approach, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. There are almost 1,190 CM/1 envelopes in the Arolsen Archive regarding Hungarian Jews from Italian DP Camps, and as relatives had joint CM/1 envelopes, these cases refer to approximately 1,800 persons. For the quantitative analysis, I created a database of all the Italian CM/1 files referencing to Hungarian Jewish applicants. This database makes it possible not only to describe these people according to various attributes but using multivariate statistical models to compare male and female applicants quantitatively. For the qualitative analysis that helps go beyond the numbers, I use the stories told to the eligibility officers and recorded in the CM/1 files as well as testimonies from the Visual History Archive.

Ildikó Barna is a sociologist. She is an Associate Professor at ELTE University Faculty of Social Sciences Budapest, Department of Social Research Methodology, where she also serves as Department Chair. In 2015, she was a Visiting Fellow at the USHMM, Washington DC, where she started her research project on Hungarian Jewish Displaced Persons. In 2017, she was granted the EHRI Fellowship and the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for 2017–2020 to continue her research. Her publications include *Political Justice in Budapest after WWII* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2015, with Andrea Pető).

Karl Krotke-Crandall, St. Mary's College of Maryland, USA
Memory uninterrupted: a case study on collective memory transmission within Jewish survivors and their kin living in the former Soviet Union

New research on the collective memory of the Soviet-Jewish population shows that the transmission of memories about the Holocaust differs from Jewish groups outside the Iron Curtain. Soviet ideology, identity repression, and selective memory-sharing within the family all altered the shape of collective memory generationally bestowed upon many within this body. This paper will present a case study on collective memory transmission within one family living through the Soviet experience to argue that collective memory transmission can exist, uninterrupted, in an environment not suited for such a progression. The Welstein family presently resides in Moscow and contains three living generations of Jews that experienced familial losses in the Holocaust. Unlike

their contemporaries, the Welstein family regularly discussed and shared their family history of victimhood in Ukraine during the Nazi occupation of Odesa. As they shared the stories of persecution within and across the family sphere, the collective memory narrative that emerges from this family's history is drastically different from their peers. The Welsteins' collective memory remains intact and simultaneously altered from the Holocaust memory narratives presented outside of the Soviet Union. Thus, the Welstein family produces a unique picture into the preservation of Jewish collective memory from within the boundaries of the USSR that their contemporaries do not express.

Karl Krotke-Crandall is Visiting Assistant Professor of Modern East European History at St. Mary's College of Maryland. His research examines the development and transmission of collective memory within the Soviet-Jewish body. He spent the 2018–2019 year researching in the Russian Federation with the support of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES).

Martina Staats, Memorial at the Wolfenbüttel Prison, Germany
Broken silence: how family members deal with the consequences of Nazi court verdicts

The paper examines the issue of the consequences of National Socialist court verdicts and the prison sentences for survivors and their families. Since family memory and the way in which Nazi crimes are dealt with is always dependent on the national social conditions of the present cultural environment, the paper also examines how the social perception of the victims of the Nazi justice system affects and changes how the family members deal with the situation. For the surviving victims of justice, imprisonment was often a break in their lives, a lifelong trauma that determined their future life. There was often – quite wrongly – a feeling of shame because of the convictions. Although dealing with the experiences of persecution was very individual, a frequent characteristic is the (family) silence of the "first generation". The experiences of persecution also influenced the lives of their family members. In some cases, they took over the traumatisation or anxiety disorders of their parents and grandparents, in others the persecution experiences were concealed. Only through conscious personal confrontation in therapy sessions, working through the material heritage, writing biographical recollections, and so on, could they break the silence and turn the past, perceived as a great burden, into a positive part of their lives. Biographical memoirs and life history video interviews form the research basis of this presentation.

Martina Staats is a historian and Director of the Memorial at the Wolfenbüttel Prison. Her research focuses on the history of National Socialism and the culture of memory. She was the head of the redesign project of the Memorial at Wolfenbüttel Prison. Her latest publication (co-edited with Jens-Christian Wagner) is *Recht. Verbrechen. Folgen. Das Strafgefängnis Wolfenbüttel im Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen, 2019).

Panel 14 (Room 5)
Internment and displacement in the memory of Holocaust survivors
Chair: Eliana Hadijsavvas, Birkbeck, University of London, UK

Natalia Aleksiun, Touro College, USA
Shattered homes: Jews in hiding in Eastern Europe during the Shoah

This paper explores the material culture that Jews took into hiding with them and temporarily and tangentially reconstructed by Jewish men, women and children who survived in hiding in Eastern Galicia during the Holocaust. She proposes a close reading of a variety of ego-documents, including literary texts, diaries, and testimonies. In some accounts physical objects came to identify the person and his and her particular struggle for survival. Found in Jewish homes or taken on the road objects could be both personal and familial, generic, and imbued with meaning. Thus, she argues that various material objects, but also luck thereof can serve as an important prism that refracts Jewish experience in hiding and more generally during the Holocaust.

Natalia Aleksiun is a Professor of Modern Jewish History at the Graduate School, Touro College. She is a historian of East European Jewish history and the Holocaust and published *Where to? The Zionist Movement in Poland, 1944–1950* (in Polish) in 2002. She co-edited the twentieth and the twenty-ninth volumes of *Polin*. She is currently working on a book about the so-called cadaver affair at European Universities in the 1920s and 1930s and on a project dealing with daily lives of Jews in hiding in Galicia during the Holocaust.

Sara Ann Sewell, Virginia Wesleyan University, USA
Train sounds: sonic experiences in deportation trains

In 1943, Bella Cambi was forced on a three-week journey from her home in Salonika, Greece, to Auschwitz-Birkenau. "Oh God, that train, that train it was... I just can't believe how we survive [*sic*]. I can't believe it." Survivors describe the horrific conditions they suffered on trains to death camps: suffocatingly packed into dark cars; the ghastly stench from bodies, excrement, and corpses; unquenchable thirst; torrid heat. There is no doubt that deportation was marked with profound trauma – an assault on both the body and the mind. Yet these experiences are often only cursorily recounted in survivors' and historians' writings, cast mainly as preludes to experiences at the camps. As Simone Gigliotti contends, [S]cholars have made little effort to, figuratively speaking, enter the cattle cars..." Gigliotti offers a valuable addition to the scholarship by analysing the degradation that Jews endured on the trains. However, she leaves critical questions unaddressed, including victims' sonic experiences. How did deportation sound? What noises filled the trains? How did victims respond to the sounds? Did they even listen? This paper investigates sonic experiences on deportation trains. Survivors recall screaming, weeping, quarrelling, singing, praying, as well as the jolting shouts of the perpetrators' language – German. Meanwhile the trains slowly clattered along the tracks. To examine these sonic episodes, this study takes its methodological cues from the burgeoning field of sound history. I approach the sonic experiences as all-encompassing corporeal processes to investigate the ways that train sounds shaped Jews' somatic, mental, emotional, and spiritual experiences.

Sara Ann Sewell is a professor of history at Virginia Wesleyan University in Virginia. She has published on the everyday life of German communists during the Weimar Republic. This paper marks a new research project with the working title of "The Sounds and Silences of the Holocaust: Victims Recount their Experiences".

Aleksandra Szczepan, Jagiellonian University, Poland
Cartographies of witnessing: maps as a form of Holocaust testimony

In my presentation, I explore the significance of the map as a form of Holocaust testimony. By focusing on maps created or used by Shoah survivors, I investigate the numerous roles played by these documents in the act of bearing witness. Holocaust maps are, I argue, much more than mere visual representations of a given space: they might serve as evidence, as a way of referring to and imagining the past, a tool for memory, an intimate medium of experience, and alternative testimonies: referents of multidimensional temporalities, social relations and spatial processes. I will present examples of two types of maps created during the Shoah and after the war: firstly, those published as a part of memoirs, included in Yizkor books or donated to the museums by the survivors; secondly, maps used by the survivors recorded for the video testimony archives. These documents represent both camps and surroundings of survivors' home towns or villages; they can be handwritten or in a form of topographic map simply adjusted with individual signs, drawings, and colours. Maps are used by the witnesses for multiple purposes: to narrate their survival; to invigorate their own memory; to prove their credibility, to engage the interviewer with the realities of their story. Basing my presentation on aforementioned material, I intend to tackle more general issues: Can we consider maps as a form of testimony? Can the map be an effective model of transmitting the knowledge of the Holocaust to future generations?

Aleksandra Szczepan works as a researcher at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland, where she trained in literary studies and philosophy. She is a co-founder and member of the Research Center for Memory Cultures at the Faculty of Polish Studies. She authored the book *Realista Robbe-Grillet* (2015) together with numerous articles. Her research interests include the redefinitions of realism in twentieth-century literature, video testimony, performative practices of memory and oral history. She recently completed the oral history project "Lemberg", carried out with the USHMM and she is working now on space-based testimonial practices of witnesses to the Shoah.

Hannah Wilson, Nottingham Trent University, UK
From a Polish shtetl to the shores of California: the spatial and material memory of Sobibór survivor Thomas "Toivi" Blatt

Presented as a case study, I focus specifically on the private archive of Thomas Blatt, a participant in the Sobibór Death Camp uprising in 1943. I investigate the cultural, social, historical, and emotional significance of this collection. Following his passing in 2015, this micro-historic archive has since become a record of Blatt's personal, material, and spatial memory and provides tangible evidence of how meticulously he integrated his wartime experiences into his new life in California. In utilising the Blatt archive, my paper seeks to emphasise the increasing importance of material memory, not only in within the wider historiography of Sobibór, but within personal and family histories as well.

Hannah Wilson, MA is a graduate of the Weiss-Livnat International MA program in Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa. In 2016, she was awarded funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council to begin her PhD research at the Department of History, Nottingham Trent University. From 2014 to the present, she has participated as a research student at the archaeological excavations at Sobibór and Treblinka Death Camps. She is currently working with the Imperial War Museum London to help develop their new Holocaust Galleries, and recently received a research grant from the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah.

Panel 15 (Room 1)
Emigrés from National Socialist Germany
Chair: Christine Schmidt, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

John V. Jensen, Vardemuseerne Varde, Denmark
Turning of the tables: German emigrants as influencers

The newspaper *Deutsche Nachrichten* (German News) was published in German refugee camps in Denmark from 1945 to 1948. Right up to the German capitulation, the newspaper had been the illegal organ of the German emigrants in Denmark. During this time, it was edited by socialists and intellectuals who had fled Nazi Germany and now living in Denmark. Following the defeat of Nazi Germany many of these exiled Germans returned to Germany, however quite a few stayed. In the summer of 1945, the newspaper was transformed into the official paper for the almost 250,000 German refugees, who had been evacuated to Denmark from East Prussia and Danzig areas by the Nazi authorities in the very last months of the war. Some of these exiled German socialists now became editors and journalists on the official newspaper distributed in the camps. They came to play an important role as influencers in reeducating the German refugees in Denmark, however their political point of views quite often differed from that of the refugees, who in general were more conservative orientated than socialist and anti-fascist. The tables had completely turned with Germans interned in refugee camps, and German emigrants now living outside the camps. The expelled had become the victors. This paper discusses the political agendas of these editors and writers of *Deutsche Nachrichten*. Were they simply dancing to the Danish authorities' tune? And how were their opinions were received by their countrymen living behind barbed wire in a foreign country?

John V. Jensen holds an MA in History, Nordic Languages, and Literature and Philosophy from the University of Aarhus, Denmark. He is curator at Vardemuseerne, Denmark. Amongst others he has published several articles and books about WWII, including the Atlantic Wall, the removal of the landmines in Denmark in 1945, and a biography of the German Wehrmacht officer Günter Toepke. He has recently written a new book about the German refugees in Denmark, 1945–1949.

Andrea Strutz, LBI for Research on the Consequences of War and University of Graz, Austria
Building a new life elsewhere: integration experiences of Austrian Jewish refugees and contributions to the post-1945 Canadian society

Austrian Jewish refugees arrived in Canada not only during the Second World War, quite a number also immigrated in the immediate the post war years. For example, some who had found asylum in the UK or in the US decided in the post war years on further migration to Canada (motives varied, for example, possibility of a family reunion, job opportunities, marriage). My paper will discuss integration experiences of Austrian expellees during the war as wells in the postwar era, when immigration policy and the attitude towards Jews (e.g. in regard to anti-Semitism) in Canada started to change. In that context, especially age, education/knowledge and contacts will be analysed and to what extent these factors promoted or hampered societal integration and the building of a new life and existence in Canada. Further, attention will be paid to contributions of

Austrian Jewish refugees to various fields in their new home country such as technology, economy, academia, media or art. In that context the families Pick and Bentley could be mentioned, who successfully established a furniture and panelling veneer company in Vancouver or the work and research of Vienna-born ethnomusicologist Ida Halpern, but there are many more interesting life stories of former refugees to discover. The paper is based on oral sources (collected from 2011 to 2019) as well as on archival material from several Canadian archives (UBC University Archives, Simon Fraser University Archives, Library and Archives Canada, Alex Dworkin Jewish Canadian Archives).

Andrea Strutz is a historian and key researcher at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on Consequences of War, and lecturer at the Universities of Graz, Linz, and Klagenfurt. Her research interests include historical migration studies, Jewish displacement, exile studies, memory and migration, National Socialism and restitution matters, biographical studies, gender, methodological questions of oral and video history. She has served as speaker and chair of the History Section of the Association for Canadian Studies in German-speaking Countries (GKS) since 2017, as network chair of the Oral History and Life History Network for the bi-annual European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC) since 2012. She is also a member of the Austrian Network for migration history (University of Salzburg).

Anne Uhrlandt, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich, Germany
A survivor of a double exile: Dr Max Stern

This paper presents the double exile history of the art historian and art dealer Dr Max Stern (1904–1987). The youngest son of a German art dealer family of Jewish origin did not only suffer from National Socialist persecution in Germany – where he was forced to liquidate the family's prominent Galerie Stern in Düsseldorf in 1937. After leaving Germany for England in 1938, he spent only two years in "freedom", since in 1940 the British feared spies amongst the Germans in their country and started interning them. Stern was amongst these internees. He was transferred as a war labourer to Canada in 1940 where he found himself again interned for another two years. The paper analyses this trajectory of exile and internment from Düsseldorf to London to the Isle of Man and onward to Canada and the Canadian internment camps. Drawing from notes in his daily calendars of the critical years (1938, 1940), the assessment of Stern's case allows a close look into the experiences of a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany and as an internee in England and Canada. Coupled with further survivor testimonies (correspondence as well as autobiographical notes), the transformative impact of forced migration will be studied by investigating the creative potential of adapting to adverse circumstances, both individually and professionally. Reflecting on Stern's attempts to come to terms with losses, the paper will include his efforts regarding restitution, reparation, and recognition, and will discuss whether this exemplary Canadian career possesses paradigmatic elements of coping with persecution and annihilation.

Anne Uhrlandt is an art historian**.** She is the project coordinator of the Stern Cooperation Project at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich. She has also worked at Munich's Jewish Museum.

Jacqueline Vansant, University of Michigan-Dearborn, USA
Bringing the past to life: epistolary conversations of Jewish-Austrian classmates (1938–1944)

In an essay included in a volume on recent refugees to Europe, the sociologist Tom Wengraf maintains that "At any given moment, each person has been formed by their previous life history and choices and now can, has to, re-form them again. Constructed by their previous biography, they have to reconstruct. To come to terms with these life transitions, individuals are constantly under pressure to *do* biographical work." A group of Austrian-Jewish classmates, who were fifteen and sixteen years old in March 1938, used an extraordinary round-robin correspondence that stretched over fifteen years (1938–1953) and criss-crossed three continents to engage in such biographical work. In this talk, I first provide a brief history of the correspondence, which has been housed at the Archiv für die Geschichte der Soziologie Österreichs since 1994. I then turn the experiences of the five young correspondents, who fled to England between Septebmer 1938 and April 1939 and who represent a microcosm of youth fleeing the National Socialists. Reading the lives presented in the letters through multiple and interrelated lenses, drawing on archival research and interviews for context, I argue that the "biographical work" allows the correspondents to come to terms with the life transitions resulting from their forced emigration and to to reflect on the possibilities or limits of expressing agency in their respective surroundings. It also shines a light on the range of possibilities for refugee youth in England at this time.

Jacqueline Vansant is a Professor of German at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. Her publications on Austrian literature and culture after 1945 and exile include: *Against the Horizon. Feminism and Postwar Austrian Women Writers* and *Reclaiming 'Heimat': Trauma and Mourning in Memoirs by Jewish Austrian Réemigrés.* Publications on the group correspondence include: "'Bitte vergeβt nicht, alle Briefe gut aufzuheben': *Shared Agency* in einem Briefwechsel österreichisch-jüdischer Schüler in der Emigration", *S.I.M.O.N. Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation* 8 (2019) 1, 4–19 and "Cohesive Epistolary Networks in Exile" in Helga Schreckenberger (ed.), *Networks of Refugees from Nazi Germany. Continuities, Reorientations, and Collaborations in Exile*.

Panel 16 (Room 2)
Compensation and restitution
Chair: Dan Stone, Holocaust Research Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK.

Naida-Michal Brandl, University of Zagreb, Croatia
Navigating repatriation and restitution: Jewish survivors in Croatia in the immediate postwar period

It is estimated that out of the 23,000 to 26,000 members of the Jewish community in Croatia, only between 4,000 and 5,000 survived the Second World War. The period immediately after the war was difficult for survivors, who had to face the return to their prewar homes where they were often only survivors and their property was destroyed, looted or occupied. There were different categories of survivors: survivors of German camps for prisoners of war, survivors of German concentration camps, members of the partisan movement or civilians in the liberated territories, Italy or other places of refuge. The smallest number of the returnees were those that survived by hiding within the so-called Independent State of Croatia (1941–1945). Repatriation was obligatory and directly connected to application for property restitution. Both private and communal immovable property was placed under temporary state administration. The owners, in certain cases, could become interim managers of a portion of such a property (up to a certain value), whether it was communal or private property. These circumstances, as well as their financial situation (confiscation in 1941 and usually the lack of restitution after 1944/5) resulted in the departure of about two-thirds of the surviving Jews, between 1944 and 1952. This paper will focus on two parallel processes: repatriation and restitution. It will explore correlation between citizenship and the possibility of restitution and different reactions of survivors coping with the new political system in Yugoslavia, affected, among other things, by their experiences during the war and political orientation.

Naida-Michal Brandl is Associate Professor, Chair of Judaic Studies at the University of Zagreb. Her research topics include Jews in Croatia during Yugoslav periods (1918–1990): question of identity(ies), Jews in economic, social and cultural life of Croatia, aftermath of the Shoah, tangible and intangible Jewish heritage in Croatia. She holds a PhD from the University of Zagreb and was recipient of the Fred & Ellen Lewis JDC Archives Fellowship for 2017 for research on the role of JDC in the reestablishment of Jewish religious communities in Croatia in the aftermath of the Shoah and outside consultant for WJRO and Claims.

Juliet D. Golden, Syracuse University Abroad, USA
Under the blue sun: the identity games, property expropriations and after-lives of H. Mikolas(ch)ek across Central Europe's borderlands

In May 1939, more than a year after the *Anschluss*, a Vienna-born shoe salesman H. Mikolas(ch)ek acquired *Under the Blue Sun*, an imposing Art Nouveau building located on the Market Square of Breslau, Germany, in an auction of expropriated Jewish properties. In 1947, the new Polish administrators of what was now Wroclaw, Poland, recognised Mikolas(ch)ek's ownership rights to the building. In 1997, eight years after the collapse of Communism, the heirs of H. Mikolas(ch)ek successfully sold *Under the Blue Sun* to the

real estate division of Thyssen-Krupp, despite legal challenges by the legitimate heir of the pre-1939 Jewish owners.

In this presentation, I consider the "life after" of an invisible participant and beneficiary of Nazi era anti-Jewish policies who (together with his heirs) continued to profit from formerly Jewish properties through European border shifts, communist nationalisation programmes and the post-1989 transition to democratic rule. I argue that Mikolas(ch)ek's success in regaining and retaining rights to stolen property rested in his ability to self-reinvent his identity, citizenship and national belonging starting in interwar Czechoslovakia, in Nazi Germany, where he held a top management post in a factory slave-labour camp in Upper Silesia, and as a postwar Austrian citizen sheltered by the "first-victim doctrine". I contrast Mikolas(ch)ek's case with the fates of German-Jewish Holocaust survivors from Breslau who, returning to their "Polonized" native city, were not only systematically denied restitution of stolen properties, they were treated with hostility as perpetrators by the Polish civil administration .

Juliet D. Golden holds a PhD in Education (2015; University of Lower Silesia, Wroclaw, Poland) and is currently the Director of Syracuse University's Special Program in Central Europe. In her research and teaching she focuses on the politics of memory, citizenship and public space as they relate to the history of Central Europe under Nazi occupation, Communism and Democratic rule. Her research has been published by Palgrave Macmillan and by *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, *Urbanities, Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society, Pedagogical Studies, Český lid.* In 2018, she was a summer fellow of the Holocaust Educational Foundation at Northwestern University.

Dóra Pataricza, Szeged Jewish Community, Hungary
The restitution of looted everyday objects in Szeged, Hungary

The Jewish community of Szeged, Hungary, has a rich cultural and historical heritage reaching back two centuries. Like most Jewish cities in Europe, much of the Szeged Jewish population vanished in the Holocaust, yet incredibly, its synagogue and most of its archive stayed intact. These archives are currently being entirely processed, catalogued, indexed and partly digitised in a two-year project. In May 1944, the Jewish population was asked to hand in their possession. These were stored at the synagogue together with the objects of the community itself. In June 1944, 4,000 people were deported from Szeged within only three days. One of the most heart-wrenching batches of documents in the archives is the letters and requests of the survivors in which they ask their essential and necessary items back which remained at the synagogue. Even though there are several studies concerning the fate of Hungarian and specifically Szeged Jews during the Holocaust, the fate and everyday life of survivors is rather understudied.

This paper aims to present the restitution of looted everyday objects and the way survivors of the Shoa rebuilt their lives upon repatriation. It will discuss the rich heritage of the Szeged Jewish Community, and present both its archives as well as other objects. These are tangible fragments and remnants from a bygone era that can be preserved to teach future generations about the Jewish life that is no more.

Dóra Pataricza, PhD, is a postdoctoral researcher in History. She has worked in the Szeged (Hungary) and Helsinki (Finland) Jewish Communities at projects aiming to index, catalogue, and digitise Jewish archives. Currently, she is working as a part-time

postdoctoral researcher at Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Finland, in a project entitled "Boundaries of Jewish Identities in Contemporary Finland". Since January 2020, she has also been a project director in the Jewish community in Szeged, financed by the Claims Conference and IHRA, to reconstruct the fate of Holocaust victims from the Szeged region.

Paul Weindling, Oxford Brookes University, UK
Compensating survivors of Auschwitz Block 10

This paper looks at diverse compensation strategies for the women consigned to the experimental Block 10 in Auschwitz. They had endured experimental inter-uterine chemical injections to induce infertility, multiple injections in their breasts, as well as painful cervical excisions. Compensation was difficult to obtain and was set at low levels. I will discuss how the German Federal Finance Ministry evaluated the applications, and compare this to awards made in France and Hungary. Compensation records and witness statements for the preparation for the Clauberg Trial provide information not only the experimental procedures in Block 10 but also about postwar health: issues include difficulties with conception and on the survivors, who were able to have children. French and German compensation policies for survivors differed markedly. The Federal German Ministry of Finance compensated victims as if for an industrial accident. The sole German concern was loss of a woman's earnings, which was set against a husband's earnings. There was generally no concern for loss of fertility, and pain, both at the time and enduring. In contrast to the Germans, the French considered pain, suffering, and shame. However, the French medical panel thought a man's shame when castrated would be worse than that of a woman's interior damage. The shame for the man was considered to be constant and visible whereas the internal damage to the woman meant a lesser level of damage. This presentation uses victim compensation claims placed after the war, and how victims' pain, shame and loss of fertility were devalued by the limited criteria for compensation. Hungarian compensation was handled by the International Committee of the Red Cross and awards were more generous. Finally, the recording of the poor health status of the next generation raises transgenerational issues.

Paul Weindling is a Professor at Oxford Brookes University. He researches the life histories of the victims of coerced experimentation under National Socialism. He researches how brains from Warsaw Jews came to be held by the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Brain Research. He is co-president of the Commission of the Université de Strasbourg to research the medical faculty of the Reich University Strasbourg 1941–1944. His publications include: *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism* (1989); *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe 1890–1945* (2000); *Nazi Medicine and the Nuremberg Trials: From Medical War Crimes to Informed Consent* (2004); *John W. Thompson, Psychiatrist in the Shadow of the Holocaust* (2010); and *Victims and Survivors of Nazi Human Experiments: Science and Suffering in the Holocaust* (2014). He also researches Austrian refugees in medicine who came to the UK after the Anschluss, and is reconstructing the Kindertransport from Vienna to the UK (including the arrival of his mother to be).

Panel 17 (Room 3)
Testimonies (II)
Chair: Dieter Steinert, University of Wolverhampton, UK

Silvia Goldbaum, Independent Scholar, France
Written in Sweden in April 1945: the earliest testimonies from Danish survivors of Ghetto Theresienstadt

On 18 April 1945, the liberated Theresienstadt prisoners originally deported from Denmark arrived in Sweden. After a thorough medical examination they were sent to quarantine camps in Rosöga and Tylösand. Within a few days they received a letter from the Office of Relief and Rehabilitation of the Swedish branch of the World Jewish Congress (WJC). It had a threefold purpose: an offer to inform relatives and friends of the survivor's arrival to Sweden; a request for the survivor to list names, ages, and nationalities of people s/he had met in Theresienstadt; and lastly a call for writing a short account of the experiences in the ghetto. Some carefully filled out all the pages, others only the message part or the list of names of acquaintances back in the ghetto. This unexplored material was handed in to the WJC before the war had ended. In my paper I will address the following questions: How do these early testimonies differ from later texts? What did the survivors know about the fate of relatives in Germany and other countries? And what do the messages and lists of names convey about the survivors' hopes and dreams for the future?

Silvia Goldbaum Tarabini Fracapane holds a doctoral degree in history (2017) from Technical University Berlin and an MA in comparative literature (2001) from University of Copenhagen. She worked at the Danish Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Copenhagen (2001–2005). Currently she is preparing a book based on her doctoral dissertation, *Experiences of Persecution and Ghetto-life. Danish Testimonies about Theresienstadt*. Selected publications include "Hvorfor Theresienstadt?" *RAMBAM* 26, 2017; "'Wir erfuhren, was es heißt, hungrig zu sein'. Aspekte des Alltagslebens dänischer Juden in Theresienstadt" in A. Löw, D. Bergen, and A. Hájková (eds), *Alltag im Holocaust. Jüdisches Leben im Großdeutschen Reich 1941–1945* (Munich, 2013); "Déportations au Danemark sous l'occupation allemande", in T. Bruttmann, L. Joly, and A. Wieviorka (eds), *Qu'est-ce qu'un déporté?* (Paris, 2009).

Sharon Kangisser Cohen, Yad Vashem, Israel
"The cold shower of a new life": Child Survivor Yehuda Bacon and his early postwar writing

Yehuda Bacon was born in Moravska Ostrava, Czechoslovakia, on 28 July 1929. In September 1942 when he was thirteen years old, he was deported to Terezin (Theresienstadt) with his family: his father, mother, and sister. One of his sisters, Rella, had managed to leave Czechoslovakia before the war and was in Palestine. In December 1943 Yehuda was deported with his family to Auschwitz–Birkenau. They were incarcerated in the "Family Camp" in Birkenau for six months. In March 1944 prisoners from the family camp were murdered in the gas chambers of Birkenau. On 10–12 July 1944, the family camp was liquidated. A selection took place during the liquidation and one of its victims was Bacon's father. The death of his father is a central theme in his diaries and whilst certain of his father's fate, remains overwhelmed by it. Yehuda's

mother Ethel and sister Hanna were deported from Birkenau to Stutthof but did not survive the war. In January 1945 Yehuda was sent on a death from Auschwitz to Mauthausen and then to Gunskirchen. He was liberated on 5 May 1945 by the US army. After the war, he made his way to Prague and was moved to one of the homes run by Přemysl Pitter in Stirin until his Aliya in 1946. Between the years 1945 and 2015, alongside his work as an artist, Yehuda Bacon wrote over 240 notebooks describing his experiences during the war and the process of his rehabilitation. Bacon begins writing his diaries out of his own need to express himself and this process was encouraged by AG Adler who was working in the rehabilitation home. Bacon as a young boy was already identified as a talented artist. He drew throughout the war years and after. However, he chose to write a diary – another medium to express his feelings and thoughts.

This presentation will reflect on the first six notebooks that Bacon wrote from 1945 whilst in Stirin, located outside Prague, and after his arrival in Mandatory Palestine. Bacon wrote almost every day and throughout his dairy there are sketches which either illustrate his words or are sketches through which he is practicing his art. Bacon began writing in 1945 and continues until today. This rare manuscript traces the individual efforts in living with their memories of the past whilst taking the first steps towards rebuilding a new life. The notebooks provide readers with an almost daily barometer of his feelings and thoughts at a very specific point in time. The presentation will present the first six notebooks and aims to present some of the concerns and challenges that Bacon raises during this transient period which reflects the experiences of many children in the first years following their liberation. The notebooks also provide readers with an insight into the turbulent period which characterised the end of the Mandate and the ensuing tensions that resulted. It is interesting to explore how a child survivor who has just been freed from captivity and endured war reacts to living once again in a context of violence, uncertainty but also enormous hope.

Sharon Kangisser Cohen is the Editor of *Yad Vashem Studies* and the Director of Eli and Diana Zborowski Centre for the Study of the Holocaust and Its Aftermath at Yad Vashem. Sharon was the former Director of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People. She holds a PhD from the Hebrew University in the field of Holocaust Studies. She is, in addition, a lecturer at Rothberg School for international students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Haifa University She has published numerous articles relating to the postwar lives of survivors of the Holocaust.

Kateřina Králová, Charles University, Czech Republic
Matalon family secrets: silenced memories and network dynamics in Holocaust testimonies

During World War II, many Jewish survivors witnessed how their parents, spouses, and children were being taken away to Nazi camps, some even saw them suffering till the end. Nevertheless, those who came back were hoping to find a peaceful haven and finally sit back with at least some of the family members. Their ties, however, were irrevocably disturbed. In my presentation, I focus on one well-off family from Thessaloniki, of which several children survived the war hiding with their non-Jewish guardians. However, they had to come to terms with the fact that their mothers were deported, and their fathers murdered in Auschwitz while other family members found a sanctuary within Greece. After the war, the fate and whereabouts of their parents were yet uncertain as was the future development of Greece rushing into a bloody conflict,

which became a three-year-long civil war. Once the mothers returned, nothing was the same anymore. This created traumatic layers in the family memory (each of them on a different ground) often suppressed for decades to come. Dwelling on rich oral testimonies (VHA, HVT, EME, Centropa), memoirs, family papers and archival testimonies, I will bring closer this silenced bitterness within the traumatised family network stemming not only from the tragedy of the Holocaust but interplaying with the Greek civil war. I will reflect on the questions of whom they gave the credit for their survival, whom they made responsible for their ordeal, and how they positioned themselves in retrospect.

Kateřina Králová is an Associate Professor in Contemporary History at the Charles University, Prague, and a 2020/21 VWI Research Fellow. In her work, she focuses on reconciliation with the Nazi past, the Greek Civil War, conflict-related migration, and postwar reconstruction. Her PhD thesis on Greek–German relations was later published in a book form as *Das Vermächtnis der Besatzung* (Böhlau, 2016/BPB, 2017). Her most recent publications in English include: "In the Shadow of the Nazi Past" (*EHQ* 2016), "Being traitors." (*SEEBSS* 2017), "The 'Holocausts' in Greece" (*Holocaust Studies* 2017), "Being a Holocaust Survivor in Greece" (book chapter, Cambridge University Press 2018), and "Voices of Greek Child Refugees in Czechoslovakia" (with K. Hofmeisterová, JMGS 2020). Her second book, about Holocaust survivors in Greece, is currently in review.

Ellis Spicer, University of Kent, UK

"One sorrow or another": narratives of hierarchical survivorship and suffering in Holocaust survivor associations

This paper engages with the controversial issue of a hierarchy of suffering that is widely perceived to exist within Holocaust survivor associations. It explores personal narratives of members who belong to the '45 Aid Society and the Child Survivors' Association of Great Britain, both recently conducted interviews and written accounts from the last few decades, to reveal how a hierarchy manifests in these groups and the impact it can have on survivor individuals. The existence of a hierarchy challenges a widely held perception of unity and harmony within close-knit Holocaust survivor groups. The sense of belonging for these survivors is continually affected by how they are ascribed as part of these survivor groups, based on a mutable definition on what a survivor is. The paper, which is informed by the concepts of composure and discomposure, both key issues in oral history theory, will argue that in terms of hierarchy, composure for some comes at the cost of discomposure to others whilst presenting age, nationality, and experience as key markers of difference and comparison.

Ellis Spicer was awarded her PhD from the University of Kent in 2021. Her thesis, under the supervision of Dr Juliette Pattinson, examined the effects of Holocaust survivor associations on Jewish identity and memory using an oral history methodology.

Panel 18 (Room 4)
Trials and justice (II)
Chair: Toby Simpson, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Darcy C. Benson, Ohio State University, USA
Remembering resisters: the nuanced identity of resisters in France and the evolution of monuments in their honour

One of the most important resistance organisations in France during World War II was the FTP-MOI (Francs-Tireurs et Partisans – Main d'Œuvre Immigrée), a militant, communist organisation composed of immigrants from across Europe and first-generation French men and women – many of whom were Jewish. During the war, FTP-MOI networks were decimated by arrests, executions and deportations. Throughout the postwar period, monuments and memorials to members of the FTP-MOI were erected in major cities across France. These memorials, however, portrayed only pieces of these men and women's identities. At first, Frenchified versions of names were used, descriptions listed these men and women as French, their Jewish faiths ignored. It was only as the Gaullist myth of the French Resistance began to unwind that the true and nuanced identities of these resisters were celebrated. In this paper, I propose to trace how monuments memorialising FTP-MOI members in Paris and Toulouse evolved from 1945 through 2010. Celebrated for their actions and their commitment to France, memorials highlighted their "differences". In the 1950s, these monuments commemorated their communist ideals and their sacrifices. By the 1970s, monuments began to feature their identities as immigrants and first-generation French men and women. The Jewish faith of many FTP-MOI members grew more prominent in memorials throughout the 1980s and 1990s. By 2009, the nuanced identity of the FTP-MOI as communist, immigrant and majority Jewish was celebrated and glorified in mainstream film with *L'Armée du Crime*.

Darcy C. Benson is a PhD candidate at Ohio State University. She graduated with Phi Beta Kappa and Magna cum Laude from Dickinson College in 2014 and received her MA in History from Boston University in 2015. Her research interests focus on themes of migration, racism, nationalism, and everyday life in times of war. Her dissertation analyses the development of community networks among communist immigrants in France in the 1930s and the ways in which these networks supported resistance during World War II.

Joanna Beata Michlic, University College London, UK / Lund University, Sweden
Stigmatizationof genuine rescuers of Polish Jews within Polish society: early postwar recollections

Between 2012 and the present, due to the critical refugee crises in Europe and beyond, the history and memories of Jewish young survivors has been evoked in the discussion of the plight of young victims and survivor-refugees of wars and genocides in the first two decades of the twenty-first century. In my own work ('Mapping the History of Child Holocaust Survivors', May 2021), I have argued that the history of child Holocaust survivors "can offer a valuable template for historical and contemporary comparisons that, in turn, could advance our understanding of the impact of displacement and the loss of families on today's young survivors. Jewish child survivors' voices can offer

warnings about avoiding making long-lasting mistakes in the treatment of today's child survivor-refugees." Therefore, social workers, humanitarians, pedagogues, and policy makers should pay more attention to the painful memories of young Jewish survivors in their own work with young survivor-refugees. However, in the popular, public representations of Jewish young victims, the more complex and difficult memories of their wartime and early postwar experiences are generally glossed over. More aesthetically sanitised, "happy memories" of survival seem to be more socially acceptable, as for example was visible in the exhibition on "One Family. Three Cities Six Years of War" staged at the Wiener Library (The Wiener Holocaust Library in 2017).

Is it possible to convey memories of difficult past and silences of Jewish child survivors in specific cultural and national and transnational contexts to make them effective educational tool? How can we draw public attention to painful memories of Jewish child survivors? This paper proposes to discuss these challenging issues by examining the 2015 exhibition on Jewish child survivors "My Jewish Parents, my Polish Parents", originally staged by Polin Museum of Jewish History in Warsaw and in the context of the wealth of child survivors' testimonies.

Joanna Beata Michlic is a social and cultural historian, and founder and first Director of HBI (Hadassah-Brandeis Institute) Project on Families, Children, and the Holocaust at Brandeis University. She is an Honorary Senior Research Associate at the UCL Centre for the Study of Collective Violence, the Holocaust and Genocide, UCL Institute for Advances Studies, and an Honorary Senior Associate at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) in London. Her research focuses on social and cultural history of Poland and East European Jews, the Holocaust and its memory in Europe, East European Jewish childhood, and antisemitism and nationalism in Europe. She is a recipient of many awards and fellowships, most recently Gerda Henkel Fellowship, 2017–2020. Her publications include *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (translated into Polish in 2015 and nominated for the Best History Book of Kazimierz Moczarski Award 2016 in Poland); *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe* (Lincoln: NUP, 2012, co-edited with John-Paul Himka) and *Jewish Family 1939–Present: History, Representation, and Memory* (Brandeis University Press/NEUP, 2017), included on the Ethical Inquiry list of the best books published in 2017 at Brandeis University.

Panel 19 (Room 5)
Child survivors (II)

This panel has been withdrawn.

Jakub Gałęziowski, University of Warsaw, Poland, **'**Children born to Polish female forced labourers and DPs and fathered by foreigners as a separate category of Children Born of War (CBOW)' will now speak on Panel 5.

Rita Horvath, Independent Scholar, Austria / Israel, 'Investigating the concepts/terminology through which Hungarian Jewish child forced labourers related and understood their experiences during the Holocaust' will now speak on Panel 28.

Panel 20 (Room 1)
Women's experiences and recollections
Chair: Elise Bath, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Lauren Cantillon, King's College London, UK
Embodied remembering and textures of emotion(s): women's recollections of sexual violence during the Holocaust

Shame is a ubiquitous part of the discourse around sexual violence and the Holocaust. Scholars have suggested that shame is inescapable (Dror and Linn, 2010), that it has resulted in silence (Shik 2008; Levenkron, 2010), and that any allusions toward memories of sexual violence given by survivors are covert and offered without detail, echoing their personal modesty or shame (Hedgepeth and Saidel, 2010) around this taboo (Sinnreich, 2008).

Using audiovisual testimony interviews from the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, this paper explores emotion(s) in personal memory narratives of Jewish women who experienced sexual violence during the Holocaust. Building on the work of Kraft (2002, 2004), Baldwin (2010), and Horowitz (2020), I identify emotion(s) embodied by survivors in the moment of remembering as well as remembered emotion(s) that survivors describe as part of their narrative. How do these specific moments of remembering sexual violence compare to the survivor's wider personal Holocaust narrative? By examining the relationship between these emotional points, I will highlight how these women embody and recollect memories of sexual violence *beyond* feelings of shame. My approach will deepen our understanding of individual experience as reflected in personal testimonies of survivors, while challenging the dominant analysis of women Holocaust survivors who also experienced sexual violence as a homogenous group in terms of their long-term emotions (shame) around these specific memories. Investigating emotion(s) involved in the recounting of personal memories will "expand the dialogue between personal memory and history writ large" (Shenker, 2015), as well as contribute to our understanding of how taboos may be narrated (Hájková, 2018).

Lauren Cantillon is a PhD candidate in the Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries at King's College London. Lauren's research is located at the intersection of gender, memory, sexual violence and testimony, with her PhD project examining how Jewish women's memories of sexual violence during the Holocaust are remembered and remediated in connection with 'infrastructures of forgetting'. She was awarded the 2020–2021 Katz Research Fellowship in Genocide Studies by the USC Shoah Foundation Center for Advanced Genocide Research. She is a volunteer for the Wiener Holocaust Library.

Beth B. Cohen, California State University, USA
Ruptured grief: Shoah rituals of bereavement and mourning

The Shoah fundamentally ruptured the observance of time-bound Jewish rituals of bereavement and grief such as burial and *shivah*. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, when survivors took stock of family members, living and dead, they also confronted the knowledge that times and places of loved ones' deaths eluded them. As a result, neither men nor women were able to follow the calendar of traditional Jewish mourning. That being said, postwar synagogue rituals did provide a formal public structure for men to take steps to begin the bereavement and grieving process through a traditional religious

context. These practices were generally inaccessible to women. How did women find other ways to mourn and grieve? Were the alternatives in line with traditional, prescribed gender roles, such as motherhood with the underlying goal being the reconstruction of orthodox Jewish family life? Did bearing children exacerbated women's traumatic losses? The Orthodox commandment "to be fruitful and multiply" provided a framework that encouraged moving forward but, at the same time, may have eclipsed sufficient mourning. If so, did this have delayed consequences? What were the costs for survivors who were unable to have children? Using early psychological research on survivors, oral testimonies, and current literature on "complicated grief", this paper addresses these questions. It will explore Holocaust survivors' expressions of mourning and grief and the impact that gendered differences in orthodox ritual may have had for women and men, with a particular focus on women.

Beth B. Cohen received her PhD in Holocaust history from Clark University and her Master's Degree in Developmental Psychology from Harvard University. Her first book, *Case Closed: Holocaust Survivors in Postwar America* analyses the reception of adult survivors by the American Jewish community. Her second book, *Child Survivors of the Holocaust: The Youngest Remnant and the American Experience* focuses on child survivors and their complex identity as survivors, children and Americans. Her work is also in: Fogelman, Kangisser Cohen, and Ofer, eds. *Children in the Holocaust and its Aftermath*; Patt and Berkowitz, eds., *We Are Here*: *New Approaches to Displaced Persons in Germany*; Cesarani and Sundquist, eds, *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence* and others. Cohen is currently a lecturer at California State University, Northridge.

Alexandra M. Szabo, Brandeis University, USA

The trembling Holocaust in women after survival: a look at miscarriages

My research examines women's experiences of pregnancy loss caused by the Holocaust in the postwar setting. Not only does the importance of these events surface from the surviving perspective that it was now the women's social duty to bear a new generation of healthy children (Waxman), but because such inquiry is still unexplored, mainly for methodological and historiographical issues. My findings will exhibit that miscarriages were just as present after the Shoah for years, or even for decades as it was during the initial times of persecution and the active years of the Shoah. This shows that the defined timelines of the end of the Holocaust, specifically the interpretation of liberation (Stone), and the demographic indicators do not necessarily align to the social reality of corporeal experiences or of gendered experiences. Therefore, through an overview of those methodological steps the historical examination of Jewish women and their rather silenced experiences entail, first I will discuss the most relevant merits and weaknesses of social historical inquiry. Furthermore, I will present my research placed into the interpretation models offered by leading scholars of Jewish and women's studies (Weitzman, Ofer) in order to conform my findings about failed pregnancies. By presenting some specific cases, I will integrate the information obtained from Holocaust survivors with the theoretical models of female coping mechanisms in order to prove that the timeline of the Shoah in corporeal experiences did not necessarily end with liberation in 1945 and had a longer lasting effect on a larger scale in surviving Jewish communities.

Alexandra M. Szabó is a PhD student at Brandeis University in the field of history. She also works as a researcher at RC2S2, ELTE University. She graduated from ELTE University in Literary and Cultural studies, as well as from the Central European University in Comparative History with a Jewish Studies specialisation. Her research interests include immediate postwar social history, Jewish and Roma survivors, women's history in the Holocaust with a specific focus on fertility events and experiences that translate to sexual violence. She is the recipient of the Crown Fellowship at Brandeis University and the 2021 EHRI Kristel Fellowship. She has won graduate research awards of the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute and of the Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry, as well as the 2019 ISCH Essay Prize for Cultural Historians.

Panel 21 (Room 2)
Non-Jewish survivors (II)
Chair: Helga Embacher, University of Salzburg, Austria

Robert Obermair, University of Salzburg, Austria
Repressed, dismissed, forgotten: coming to terms with the past of former satellite camps in Austria based on the example of the Vöcklabruck camp and its Spanish inmates

Opened in 1941, this camp was one of the first satellite camps of Mauthausen. Roughly 350 inmates (almost exclusively Spaniards – quite on the contrary to the usual SS routine to try to have very diverse groups of inmates in satellite camps) were primarily exploited for road construction and hydraulic engineering. The camp was already closed in May 1942 and most of the inmates relocated to the Ternberg satellite camp. It is quite astonishing that even though the Vöcklabruck camp had been closed three years before the liberation, a number of Spanish survivors returned to the city in 1945, some of them staying there for good. At the same time, even though the former satellite camp was located within the limits of the city, the camp soon faded into obscurity. It was only due to the changes in Austrian society starting in the 1960s that several locals started to show interest in the history of the former satellite camp. Conducting first research on the topic they managed to organise an exhibition and publish their initial findings in the mid1980s. In doing so, they finally gave the survivors of the camp a voice. In my presentation I will both analyse the motivation for Spanish survivors to remain in Austria after the liberation and to return to a place they had been exploited before as well as local commemoration and lift these findings into a broader context by comparing it with the general Austrian situation concerning such matters.

Robert Obermair is a Salzburg (Austria)-based historian. He studied history and English language and literature in Salzburg and Leicester. He has been involved in national and international research projects in the field of contemporary history. He currently works as a history educator for the Salzburg Museum, as a programme coordinator for erinnern.at and teaches at the University of Salzburg, where he is also a PhD candidate. Additionally, he is involved in various research projects related to the period of National Socialism and the postwar period.

Riki Van Boeschoten and **Antonis Antoniou, University of Thessaly, Greece**
Greek forced labourers in the Third Reich: an untold story

Recent research on forced labour in Nazi-occupied Europe has largely ignored the presence of Greek non-Jewish prisoners in labour camps. Apart from their relatively small numbers (according to recent estimates not more than 50,000), this silence is linked to the vicissitudes of Greek postwar history and the related politics of memory. Liberation was followed by civil war, authoritarian regimes and a military dictatorship. After the restoration of democracy in 1974 historiography focused first on the resistance period, then on the civil war and the deportation of the Jews. Thousands of other deportees were simply forgotten until it was nearly too late. In this paper we will try to rescue from oblivion part of these forgotten stories, drawing on the recorded life stories of thirteen individuals sent to labour camps in 1944. Our analysis will focus on their memories of the "life after", the often chaotic situation at liberation, the odyssey of the journey home and the often hostile reception in their home country. In fact, upon their

return to Greece, forced labourers were often stigmatised by the state agencies as leftists, on the presumption that they had been deported as members of the left-wing resistance. In the wake of the unfolding civil war, their return became a political issue triggering Cold War rhetorics, in which the victims of Nazi violence were turned into perpetrators of communist crimes.

Riki Van Boeschoten has taught Social Anthropology and Oral History at the University of Thessaly (2000–2015) and is chair of the Greek Oral History Association. She has published extensively on the history of the 1940s in Greece, on the anthropology of violence, on migration and on ethnic minorities. She co-authored with Loring Danforth "Children of the Greek Civil War. Refugees and the Politics of Memory" (Chicago University Press, 2012).

Antonis Antoniou received his PhD in History (2016). His main research interests and publications concern oral history, memory and contemporary political history. He has collaborated with several research programmes focused on oral history methodology, including "Memories of the Occupation in Greece" (Free University Berlin). Over the last few years, he has been lecturing for the Department of History-Archaeology-Social Anthropology at the University of Thessaly, Greece.

Panel 22 (Room 3)
Trials and justice (III)
Chair: Toby Simpson, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Franziska Exeler, Free University Berlin, Germany/University of Cambridge, UK
Ghosts of war: personal responses to the aftermath of Nazi occupation in Soviet Belorussia

In my paper, I analyse personal responses to the aftermath of Nazi occupation. The focus is on the immediate post-occupation months and years in Belorussia, a Soviet republic that doubled its territory after the annexation of Eastern Poland in 1939 and that was then under German rule from 1941 to 1944. After the Soviets returned in 1944, the choices that people in occupied territory had made, and the choices that they had been forced to make, haunted local communities and individuals alike. Drawing on memoirs, oral history interviews, complaint letters as well as secret police and party reports, I examine the ways in which men and women, people from East and West Belorussia, evacuees and those who had experienced German occupation first-hand, Holocaust survivors, partisans, and returning Red Army soldiers investigated, addressed, and evaluated the issue of someone else's wartime behaviour. How did individuals find out about another person's wartime actions? How did they respond to this information? And how did people try to seek what they perceived as justice and retribution, in other words, punishment that they believed to be morally right?

Franziska Exeler is a Junior Research Fellow at Magdalene College and Mellon Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for History and Economics, University of Cambridge. She is also a Lecturer in History at Free University Berlin, where she teaches courses on Russian and East European history, war, and society, the history of international criminal law and war crimes trials, and myth, memory, and trauma. She gained her PhD in History from Princeton University and has held postdoctoral fellowships at the European University Institute in Florence and the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. Her work has appeared in *Kritika*, *Slavic Review* and elsewhere. Her book manuscript *Ghosts of War. Nazi Occupation and Its Aftermath in Soviet Belorussia* is under review with Cornell University Press.

Lukasz Krzyzanowski, University of Warsaw, Poland / University of Ottawa, Canada
Village heads on trial: village communities and early postwar trials in provincial Poland

Although the historiography on the WWII in Poland is growing, little attention has been given to daily life in Polish villages in the wake of German occupation. This is even more surprising when one acknowledges that approximately 70% of Poland's population lived in villages at the time. Hence, it was in provincial Poland where the vast majority of Polish citizens experienced German occupation. Many of these people faced intractable dilemmas concerning collaboration with the Nazis and complicity in the Holocaust. This was even more true for Polish village heads (the lowest representatives of the authorities present in every village). After 1 September 1939 they were most often left at their posts but now were subordinated to German authority. The nature of their work had changed and their position in the village community became profoundly liminal. After the war, many of these village heads faced accusations of collaboration with the Nazis and

were put on trial. Extensive documentation of these court proceedings sheds light on how local Polish rural communities coped with the legacy of the German occupation in the immediate aftermath of atrocities. The trials taking place locally often brought very imperfect justice to wartime collaborators, but they also served as a space for the negotiation of meanings and an opportunity to work through of the violent past in local village communities.

This paper is based on several cases of early postwar trials of village heads from the Kielce province (central Poland). It is part of a larger three-year research project bridging sociological research with historical inquiry. By turning its focus on the lives of village communities, this inquiry facilitates a better understanding of the social history of provincial Poland in the immediate aftermath of WWII.

Lukasz Krzyzanowski is an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He received a PhD in Social Sciences from the University of Warsaw and was a postdoctoral research fellow at the Freie Universität Berlin (2016 to 2018). His monograph, *Dom, którego nie było: Powroty ocalałych do powojennego miasta* had two editions in Polish: in 2016 and 2018. Its English-language adaptation, *Ghost Citizens: Jewish Return to a Postwar City* was published in 2020 by Harvard University Press. He has held scholarships from the University of Oxford, Yad Vashem, and the Claims Conference (Kagan Fellowship).

Panel 23 (Room 4)
Survival and survivors (I)
Chair: Yvonne Kozlovsky Golan, University of Haifa, Israel

Maya Camargo-Vemuri, Johns Hopkins University, USA
Finding autonomy in victimhood: sex and sexuality for survival in the Holocaust

In general, we understand the experience of victims in genocide to be one of suffering and disenfranchisement. In many genocides, the recurring phrases uttered by survivors are: "I was lucky", "I don't know why I survived", "I could have just as easily been killed". Although survival is a matter of chance for some, there are certain factors that can improve chances for survival for others. While some research has been done on factors of survival in the Holocaust, this research has so far shed little light on the use of sex and sexuality as a means of survival. However, emerging research on gender, sexuality, and violence in the Holocaust suggests that sex and sexuality could indeed be used by victims to improve chances of survival in a number of ways.

This paper will discuss the variety of ways that some Holocaust victims were able to use their position as victims or targets of sexual acts to survive. These methods range from passively allowing rape to occur to actively using sex to barter for food or medicine. This paper will also consider how and why such acts have been suppressed from political memory, and look at the importance of remembering such acts for the history of the Holocaust and social science research, in general.

Maya Camargo-Vemuri is a PhD candidate at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. Her dissertation focuses on the instrumentalisation of sexual violence in genocide, focusing on the Holocaust and Nazi-occupied territories in Eastern Europe. Her research focuses on issues of politics, identity, social performance, and prejudice in conflict and genocide, and is regionally focused on Eastern, Central, and South-Eastern Europe.

Lauren Fedewa, University of Toronto, Canada
"Always one step away from death, and always afraid": Jewish women who passed as Polish-Christian forced labourers in Germany

This paper analyses the oral and written testimonies of four Jewish women who survived the Holocaust by passing as Polish-Christian forced labourers in Nazi Germany. It examines the factors that made this an effective survival strategy, revealing how Jews took on a new identity and maintained it without detection until liberation. Drawing almost entirely from first-hand accounts—two independently published memoirs, an oral history interview, and a volume in a historical series—this paper asks, what factors and attributes helped Jews pass as Polish-Christian forced labourers? In what ways did Jews construct and uphold this identity? What did a passer have to do to avoid betrayal and exposure? These four women were faced with the everyday difficulties of forced labour, as well as the added burden of abandoning their former selves and convincing others they were someone else entirely. They had to overcome issues surrounding their appearance, language, and religion, and demonstrate that they were part of the Polish national and cultural group. Furthermore, these are not only stories of survival, but stories of rescue, as all required the assistance of gentiles. Finally, avoiding detection

meant that it was as important to convince Polish workers of their Polish gentile status as it was to convince Germans.

This paper provides a pioneering analysis of Jewish survival strategies, the ways in which Jews hid "on the surface" and the challenges they faced, and Polish-Jewish relations in Poland concerning rescue, and in Germany relating to interactions among forced labourers.

Lauren Fedewa is a PhD candidate in History at the History Department and the Anne Tanenbaum Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Toronto. Her research focuses on Polish and Soviet forced labour in Germany during the Second World War, particularly the establishment, management, and operation of "foreign child-care facilities," and the issues of pregnancy, childbirth, and child-rearing among women forced labourers. She has a BA in History and Germanic Studies from the University of Maryland (2015) and an MA in History from the University of Vermont (2018).

Andrea Feldman, University of Zagreb, Croatia
The way out of Hades: Vera Erlich and the question of repatriation of the Yugoslav Jews in the aftermath of WWII

The experience of Vera Erlich (1897–1980), a sociologist, anthropologist, feminist, as well as a progressive Jewish intellectual, provides a telling example of how an extraordinary individual tried to come to terms with devastating impact of the WWII in Croatia, as well as in Italy during the 1940s. Heiress to one of Zagreb's most influential Jewish families, Vera Erlich came of age in the aftermath of the WWI, at the time of crumbling patriarchal mores in an otherwise fragmented political culture of interwar Yugoslavia. Ehrlich's attempts to foster more democratic and pluralist culture in academic and political work although marginal in Yugoslavia of the 1930s, nevertheless prepared her for wartime and postwar developments.

The paper will present her little-known case as she was a part of the organised assistance to Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria as they came through Croatia during the 1930s. In daring circumstances of the WWII Erlich managed to escape, leaving Zagreb, first for Split, and then moved with the partisans across the Adriatic to Italy. Herself a survivor, Erlich spent eight years in Italy, working for the UN-related organisations (UNRRA, among others) as trained social worker on rehabilitation of the survivors from the Nazi camps, as well as on their repatriation to Palestine, and Israel, upon the proclamation of the new state. Based on the material from her personal archive, the paper will reveal the art of survival of a Jewish intellectual woman before the WWII, under the fascist dictatorship, as well as her subsequent exile in Italy, and her coming to terms with the challenges of her work with Holocaust survivors.

Andrea Feldman received her PhD in history from Yale University. She is an Associate Professor of History at University of Zagreb. She edited the first collection of works in women's history in Croatia: *Women in Croatia: Women's and Cultural History* (Zagreb, 2004) and is the project leader of *The Modern Thinking Women in Croatia*, the first women's history project financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. As the Vice President of the Liberal Party she served as the Advisor for Human Rights and Civil Society to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Croatia (2000–2003). She was executive director of the Open Society Institute – Croatia.

Keynote public lecture – 5 January

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, Technische Universität Berlin, Germany
Antisemitism, Racism, National Socialism, and what does this history mean for public memory today?

In this talk, Stefanie Schüler-Springorum will give an overview of the entanglements of antisemitism and racism that characterised National Socialism and which led to millions of victims – albeit from very different groups – all over German-dominated Europe. For a variety of reasons, these diverse victim groups have been remembered in different ways which now, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, have come under close scrutiny.

In public debate the relationship between antisemitism and racism is being reassessed and their relationship to the mass murder of European Jews is now contested. She proposes that a sober look at historical developments will help put this debate back on its feet and help us move to a more worthy discussion of public memory today.

Stefanie Schüler-Springorum is a Professor of History and Director of the Center for Research on Antisemitism, Technical University Berlin. She is also Co-Director of the Selma-Stern-Center for Jewish Studies, Berlin and Director of the Berlin branch of the Center for Research on Social Cohesion. Her research focuses on Jewish, German and Spanish history, as well as gender history. Her recent publications include: *Football and Discrimination. Antisemitism and Beyond* (Routledge, 2021, co-ed. with P. Brunssen); *Four Years After: Antisemitism and Racism in Trump's America* (Universitatsverlag Winter, 2020, co-ed. with N. and M. Zadoff, H. Paul); and *Gender and the Politics of Anti-Semitism, American Historical Review* 123 (2018), pp. 1210–1222

Panel 24 (Room 1)
Testimonies (III)
Chair: Barbara Warnock, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Katherine Aron-Beller, Hebrew University of Jerusalem / Tel Aviv University, Israel
Between perception and memory: 1945 and 1995

On 16 June 1945, Ralph Aron, an eighteen-year-old German Jew from Recklinghausen who had been incarcerated in Theresienstadt, recovered from typhus and began his journey home. On re-entering the town, he found his house occupied by German neighbours who refused to move out but, under pressure, allowed him to occupy the ground floor. Aron soon discovered that none of his immediate family had survived except for one aunt who returned to the town in October, four months later, and set up home with him. Although she offered much emotional support, she never once confided to him what her own experiences had been in the Holocaust and how she had lost her husband and son. It was a topic they never discussed. Aron was quick to regain an element of functionality and began to work as an interpreter for the British Army stationed in Recklinghausen. Before he had even thought about his own future and whether he would stay in Germany, he decided to record what had happened to him during the Holocaust and the torture he had suffered in the various camps to which he had been sent – including Kaiserwald, Buchenwald, Bochum, and Theresienstadt – and the nightmare journeys between them. His fifteen-page record, fuelled by extreme emotion, and an inability to understand the shocking tragedy that had struck his family and the Jews of Europe, his work has remained unpublished until this time. His sense of guilt for his survival underpins his writing. In 1995, two years before his death, Aron again recorded his experiences – this time with more reflection and a developed sense of having processed his experiences and survival, as he looked back at the life that he had built up for himself firstly in the state of Israel between 1946 and 1955 and then in England. In this work, he backed up the record of his Holocaust experiences with photographs of his family and documentation – in particular his German ration cards and his liberation papers from Theresienstadt.

My intention in this paper is to compare these two memoirs by my late father, investigating the differences between his perceptions in 1945 and his memories in 1995. What changes in his testimony? What were his intentions in recording both memoirs at those particular times? How much of his experiences had he been able to process in that fifty-year gap without ever receiving psychological help? How does the explanation of his survival in the second memoir differ from that in his first? Such questions will, I believe, provide a deeper understanding of his emotional, social, and psychological state in 1945.

Katherine Aron-Beller teaches Jewish history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv University, Gratz College in Philadelphia, and the Schechter Institute in Jerusalem. She received her doctorate in Jewish History at the University of Haifa in 2002. From 2000-2007 she served as the head of the Photographic Archive in the Judaica and Jewish Ethnography Department of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. In 2007–2008 she was a Visiting Assistant Professor at the George Washington University, Washington DC, where she taught classes on antisemitism, Italian Jewish history, and Inquisitional studies. Her main research topics include the Italian Inquisition, antisemitism and Jewish–Christian relations in early modern Europe. She is author

of *Jews on Trial: The Papal Inquisition in Modena 1598–1638* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011) and co-editor with Christopher Black of *The Papal Inquisition: Centre versus Peripheries* (Leiden: Brill, 2018) Her most recent articles include "Image Desecration in Spilamberto: Jews and Christian Images in Seventeenth-Century Italy", *English Historical Review* (August, 2017), and "Ghettoization: The Papal Closure and its Jews", in the *Brill Companion to Early Modern Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). She is currently finishing a book titled *Jews as Image Desecrators: Tracing an Allegation*. She is also co-editor of *H-Judaic*.

Wolf Gruner, University of Southern California, USA
Individual Jewish resistance in Nazi Germany: Why had it been forgotten after 1945?

Resistance during the Holocaust is still understood by most scholars as organised and armed group activities that rarely occurred during the Holocaust. Yet, if we apply a new broader definition of Jewish resistance that includes individual acts, the new approach quickly challenges the common misperception of the Jews as passive victims. My research at archives in Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Munich, Leipzig, and other cities, as well as with video testimonies of the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, unearthed that many German Jews performed individual acts of defiance and even protested in public against Nazi persecution. Starting in 1933 and until well into the war, Jews developed changing responses, first against Nazi propaganda and exclusionary laws, then against violent attacks and municipal restrictions, and finally against forced labour and deportation. The fact that many men and women protested in public and resisted Nazi measures gives back agency to ordinary German Jews in extraordinary circumstances. Unfortunately, this important facet of Jewish experience during the Holocaust had been forgotten until recently. While we are able to trace how scholarship lost track of individual Jewish resistance, what about survivors and their memories?

Using Jewish community files and newspaper articles from the postwar period, this talk will investigate the question: was there a debate about Jewish resistance in Germany after liberation? And if there was, what did survivors discuss and how did this influence later historiography on resistance, survival, and victimhood?

Wolf Gruner is Professor of History, Shapell-Guerin Chair in Jewish Studies, and Founding Director of the USC Shoah Foundation Center for Advanced Genocide Research, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Amy Smith, Yale University, USA
When is testimony "testimony"? Exploring conversations between Jewish survivors about the Holocaust in the immediate aftermath of the war

In the decades since the end of World War II, Holocaust survivors' accounts of their experiences during the Holocaust have become synonymous with survivors' testimony about the Holocaust. This linguistic shift reflects the level of significance assigned to survivors' accounts. In giving testimony, survivors are not only sharing their memories of the traumatic events they survived, but bearing witness to a historical event of profound significance. But to what extent is this association between sharing their memories and giving testimony a product of the historical context of when these testimonies were created? Has speaking about the Holocaust and bearing witness to the Holocaust always been equivalent for survivors themselves? This paper will explore these

questions by analysing conversations between Holocaust survivors in 1945, immediately after they were liberated and often before Germany's surrender. The first priority of these newly liberated Jews' was to discover if any other members of their families had survived. In the chaos that was Europe in 1945, they found their best sources of information about missing family members in each other. As a result, survivors spoke to each other frequently about the Holocaust. The purpose of these conversations, however, was not to bear witness to the events of the Holocaust. Rather, it was to exchange information about the fates of the specific individuals other survivors were hoping to find. In 1945, survivors were not bearing witness to what they themselves had endured – they were sharing what they had witnessed happening to others, or even passing on information they had heard from others. Although survivors were speaking as eyewitnesses, they were doing so informally, and in very different ways than they would later. This suggests that the relationship between Holocaust memory and Holocaust testimony is much more dynamic than is often assumed.

Amy Smith is an advanced doctoral candidate in Judaic Studies at Yale University, where she is pursuing a joint degree in the departments of History and Religious Studies. She is writing her dissertation on how the ways in which Jewish survivors understood their experiences during the Holocaust changed over time. She has been the Lillian Goldman Fellow at the Center for Jewish History in New York, and the Ben and Zelda Cohen Fellow at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC.

Panel 25 (Room 2)
Expanding histories of liberation: encounters between liberators and survivors of Nazi terror

This panel has been withdrawn.

Patricia Kollander, Florida Atlantic University, 'Recent émigrés from Germany and Austria in the US Army and their encounters with victims and perpetrators of Nazi terror' will now speak on Panel 31.

Panel 26 (Room 3)
Trials and justice (IV)
Chair: Toby Simpson, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Giurgea Florinela, George Emil Palade University, Târgu Mures, Romania
Deportation of Jewish and Roma in Transnistria during World War II: some differences

The deportation of Jewish and respectively Roma people in the territory between rivers Dniester and Bug – so-called Transnistria – during World War II by fascist regime of Ion Antonescu registered some interesting differences during the trial of war criminals in 1946 and also in the process of obtaining the reparations, in spite of the fact that the fate of these groups was similar. In Transnistria, both Jewish and Roma people faced hunger, typhus, cold, and the peril of being shot. In 1946, the perpetrators faced the accusation of crimes against humanity, the accent being on the fate of Jewish people during the war. Afterwards, the access to compensations was much harder for the Roma, because of the reluctance of the court and of the court of public opinion in recognition of the motive of their victimhood. The motive of so-called asocial behaviour (and not a racist one) lasted until in the late 1960s in the whole of Europe, particularly in Germany's court of justice. In the particular case of Romania, the communist regime's attitude was fluctuant in this matter, of obtaining recognition and compensations for the victims of fascist politics. After the 1990s, the process was easier for Jewish people, who benefited from international support and had a more articulate voice. In the fight for obtaining recognition of their status as victims and also compensation, Roma NGOs claim, even today, the existence an institutionalised racism.

Giurgea Florinela has a PhD in History from the University of Medicine, Pharmacy, Sciences and Technology "George Emil Palade" from Târgu Mureș. In 2016–2019, she attended UMFST "George Emil Palade" from Târgu Mureș and Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza" from Roma (ERASMUS traineeship – 2018/2019). Her thesis, "Romania's Public Policies Regarding Roma. Deportation in Transnistria", was presented publicly on 31 October 2019. Her areas of interest include the Holocaust, Genocide Studies, Population Policies, and Romani Studies. She has two bachelor's degrees – in International Relations and European Studies and in Journalism and Communication Sciences – and a Master's degree in Publicity.

Monika Kokalj Kočevar, National Museum of Contemporary History, Slovenia
The Dachau trials in Slovenia

The Dachau trials were mounted political processes similar to Stalinist processes. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia gained power and consolidated its position also by removing opponents or potential opponents. Trials took place in Slovenia between 1948 and 1949. On ten processes thirty-seven people were accused of collaboration with Gestapo and providing espionage in concentration camps. The majority of them were former concentration camp inmates from KL Dachau, Buchenwald, and Auschwitz. They were prewar communists, republican volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, resistance activists, and partisans. Among them were teachers, lawyers, doctors, and other technical intelligentsia. Some were even Italian or Austrian citizens. By threats, violence, false documents, false statements of witnesses, and threats to imprison relatives, they confessed to what they were accused. Most of the judgments were written in advance.

Twenty people were sentenced to long-term prison (one, a well-known prewar communist, died on the Croatian island of Goli, which was known for being the strictest prison), three died during the trial, and ten were shot in unknown locations. All were convicted of confiscation of property and loss of their civil rights. Among them was also a woman who was justified together with his husband. Newspapers informed the Slovene population about the processes and Radio Ljubljana broadcast the trials live. A few thousand people were investigated. Many have been marked for life. Between 1970 and 1976, restoration processes and rehabilitation took place. In 1986 the League of Communist of Slovenia finally abolished the conviction.

Monika Kokalj Kočevar PhD, is a Curator at the National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia. Her research focuses on: Slovenian forced and slave labourers in WW2, resistance movement in Slovenia, Axis collaborating formations in Slovenia, forcibly mobilising Slovenians into the German Army. She has curated many exhibitions, and authored exhibition catalogues, articles, books and documentary films.

Verena Meier, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany
Transitional justice of Nazi crimes against Sinti and Roma in the Soviet Zone of Occupation and GDR

The genocide of Sinti and Roma under the Nazi regime was a state crime carried out by a modern administrative apparatus and I analyse this from a regional perspective with a focus on the city of Magdeburg in the years between the 1920s and 1989/90. For the period after 1945 I use the multidisciplinary concept and investigation field of "transitional justice", that is, an analysis whether perpetrators of the Nazi regime in the Soviet Occupation Zone and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) were prosecuted or amnestied, the extent to which victims received compensation, measures to commemorate them and institutional reforms were initiated. Through the 585 personal files of the criminal police in Magdeburg I was able to trace back individual biographies of perpetrators and victims. I analyse to what extent the persecuted did or did not receive compensation as well as the judicial prosecution or amnesty of Nazi perpetrators. Furthermore, commemoration practices in the "East" of Germany are analysed. A guiding question is also whether there were continuities in stigmatising Sinti and Roma or whether there were institutional reforms against antigypsyism. The geographical focus of my analysis is the Soviet Occupation Zone and GDR but I regard this area as entangled and reciprocal to the other Allied Zones of Occupation and the Federal Republic of Germany ("asymmetrically intertwined parallel story", cf. Kleßman).

Verena Meier studied History, English Philology, European Art History, and Philosophy at the Ruprecht-Karls University Heidelberg and Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She is now a PhD candidate at the Research Centre on Antigypsyism (Forschungsstelle Antiziganismus) at the University of Heidelberg. In her previous role at the Documentation and Cultural Centre of German Sinti and Roma, she assisted in creating exhibitions. She has also worked at the Working Group on Minority History and Civil Rights in Europe, at the Grafeneck memorial site, and at the Documentation Centre of North African Jewry during WWII in Jerusalem. Her research interests include minority history, the history of ideas, and research on historical antisemitism and antigypsyism.

Panel 27 (Room 4)
"Refugee heißt nebbich": émigrés, Jewish DPs, survivors, and their belongings
Chair: Suzanne Bardgett, Imperial War Museum Institute, UK

Christoph Lind, Institute for Jewish History in Austria
People and things: The Jewish DP camp in the former Rothschild-Hospital of Vienna

Between 1945 and 1952, around 250,000 Jews from Eastern Europe went through the DP camp at the former Rothschild-Hospital at the Währinger Gürtel in Vienna. They had been liberated from the Nazi concentration camps, survived the Shoah otherwise, or could not be murdered by the Nazis "in time" due to the advance of the Red Army. Among them were many people who had fled to the Soviet Union at the beginning of the war and now returned to their "empty murdered" homelands, where they were anything but welcome. Another Jewish refugee movement started with the establishment of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. All these people were looking for a new home in the West or in Palestine, respectively Israel, where a Jewish state was emerging. On their escape, they could usually only take what they could carry with their own hands – the clothes on their bodies, suitcases, sacks and bundles with a few belongings. This becomes clear by evaluating several hundred photos from collections in Europe and the USA, which are supplemented by sources from the Austrian State Archives, giving us an impression and new insights into daily life – ways and means of transport, accommodation, nutrition, medical care and religious life – in and around the "Rothschild Camp".

Christoph Lind PhD, is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Jewish History in Austria. He has also worked as an Associated Researcher at the Institute for Historical Intervention (IHI). He has a MA in History and Political Sciences from the University of Vienna, and a PhD in History, also from the University of Vienna. His research focuses on: Austrian Jewish History since 1782, National Socialism and Shoah in Austria, Jewish art in exile, memorial culture. His current project is exploring: "Kosher in Vienna. Production and Consumption 1848–1918".

Philipp Mettauer, Institute for Jewish History, Austria
Materialised memory: "Aryanisation" and the meaning of things in exile

Jews expelled from the Third Reich were allowed to cross the German border with only ten Reichsmark in cash; the taking of art and valuables was completely prohibited. While real estate and business were "Aryanised", the persecuted tried to rescue abroad at least household items, everyday objects, furniture, books, and clothes. Depending on the moment of the escape, some managed to bring so-called lifts (container loads) to their new place of residence, while others could only take the essentials in two suitcases. A current research project at the Institute for Jewish History in Austria investigates the importance of these personal items and asks how the émigrés dealt with the loss of the left-behind property. Not only are the memories of the "old homeland" attached to the "things of exile", but also those of relatives who were murdered or scattered around the world. They served both to construct one's own identity abroad and to "materialise" one's own life and survival story. As heirlooms, they finally developed a transgenerational impact and shaped the family memory to this day. With a few exceptions, the objects themselves are no longer tangible, but descriptions can be found

in "Aryanisation-dossiers" and restitution records, or are discussed in Oral History interviews, letters, and autobiographical texts that serve as the basis for the lecture.

Philipp Mettauer PhD, is a Scientific Assistant at the Institute for Jewish History in Austria. He has studied history and political sciences at the Universities of Vienna, Madrid, Salamanca and Basel, undertaken "Commemorative service" at the Fundación Memoria del Holocausto, Museo de la Shoá and had various long-time research stays in Buenos Aires. His research and publications focus on: Austrians in exile 1938–45 in Argentina; Jewish remigration; the forced displacement of Jews to collection flats in Vienna 1938–42; and National Socialism and Shoah in family memory. He has conducted oral history interviews with survivors of the psychiatric clinic "Am Spiegelgrund" in Vienna and National Socialist "Euthanasia" at the psychiatric hospital of Mauer-Öhling in Lower Austria. His current research is on "Aryanised" things and "Things of exile" in the framework of "Mobile things, people and ideas. A mobile history of Lower Austria".

Gerhard Milchram, Wien Museum, Austria
Escape and immaterialised belongings: Robert Haas' photographs of apartments of the exiled, 1938

In 2015 the Wien Museum (The Historic Museum of the City of Vienna) purchased the photographic legacy of the renowned Austrian-American photographer Robert Haas. He was forced into exile by the Nazi terror, which swept Austria in 1938, but managed to bring almost all his artistic work into exile into the United States. In the stock was a set of photographs of empty bourgeois flats, furnished but without their residents. This historically unique portfolio has raised numerous questions. Already the dating of the photographs to 1938 leads to the assumption that the flats could have belonged to exiled Jews. But who were the owners of these apartments? And why were these photographs taken? There is only one parallel to be found, namely the photographs from Edmund Engelmann of the practice of Sigmund Freud taken in May 1938. A project of the Wien Museum finally found evidence of the connection to the persecution of Jews in Austria and the photographs. It was able to identify two of the flats and found promising indication for the identification of two more. This talk presents the exciting search for the owners of the photographed flats and the possible interpretations of the photographs as an immaterialised belonging, personal memory and documentation of normality already ruined by the Nazi terror.

Gerhard Milchram, MA, is a Curator at the Wien Museum and works in its History-Department. His work focuses on Viennese and Austrian History in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and Austrian Jewish History. He also carries out provenance research for the Museum. He has curated numerous exhibitions, mainly for the Jewish Museum Vienna and the Wien Museum.

Panel 28 (Room 5)
Child survivors (III)
Chair: David Feldman, Birkbeck Institute for the Study of Antisemitism, University of London, UK

Nicole Freeman, Holocaust Memorial Miami Beach, USA
"Tanned and taller, heavier and healthier": Jewish summer colonies in Poland after the Holocaust, 1945–1949

In the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) funded summer colonies for Jewish child survivors throughout Europe. Sick and undernourished children regained their health at summer colonies in the countryside, mountains, and by the sea. They enjoyed fresh air, played games, and ate wholesome food. At the end of their summer vacation, these children returned home "stronger and better able to start their new lives of decency and dignity". These summer colonies were operated on the ground by subsidised local agencies and not the JDC proper. Between 1948 and 1949, the JDC provided more funding to the summer colonies in Poland than in any other country. Therefore, this paper specifically focuses on summer colonies run by the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce, CKŻP). I argue that CKŻP summer colonies not only played an important role in rehabilitating the physical health of Jewish child survivors, but they also prepared children to be the future of Jewish life in Poland. The educational goals of the summer colony programme reflected both the ideology of the CKŻP and evolving political landscape of postwar Poland. Educational activities emphasised the importance of learning and appreciating the Yiddish language while also prioritising such socialist values as gaining respect for workers and the Soviet Union. Ultimately, studying Jewish summer colonies in Poland provides a glimpse into the contentious postwar period when many Jews questioned whether it was possible to rebuild Jewish life in Poland at all.

Nicole Freeman is a History PhD candidate at Ohio State University. She earned her MA in History from Ohio State University in 2015 and received her BA in History and Secondary Education from Salem State University in 2012. She is currently writing her dissertation on the care and education of Jewish children in Poland after the Holocaust. Her research interests include children, families, migration, and displacement in twentieth-century Central and Eastern Europe.

Abby Gondek, Independent Scholar, USA
The Holocaust, Jewish refugees and psychiatric care for Black youth in New York

In my position as Morgenthau Scholar-in-Residence at the FDR Library, I am researching the intersection of the experiences of Jewish refugees from the Holocaust and the psychiatric treatment of Black "delinquent" youth at the Wiltwyck School (1936–1981) in New York. I explore the networks between Jewish and Black judges, activists and mental health practitioners (like Justine Wise Polier, Jane C. Bolin, Hubert T. Delany, Nathan Ackerman, Salvador Minuchin) who were involved in the development and maintenance of the Wiltwyck School. Many on the leadership team were Jewish, and some, like Ernst Papanek, were refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe. In this paper, I will focus on Papanek who was from Austria and eventually worked at the OSE with refugee children in France (1938–1940). He escaped in 1940, attended the New York School for Social

Work (1943), and from 1949 to 1971 he served in a leadership capacity at Wiltwyck School. Using the New York Public Library's Ernst Papanek papers, I examine how his earlier work with Jewish refugee youth and his own experience of the Holocaust influenced and connected with his later work with Black youth. I would like to demonstrate how Ernst Papanek was connected with a complex network of Jewish and Black practitioners at Wiltwyck and how Jewishness and experiences of and responses to the Holocaust impacted Wiltwyck's philosophies and practices with Black young men.

Abby Gondek undertakes research that investigates Jewish-Black social science networks during the early to mid-twentieth century. Her dissertation research (now a book project) analyses the theorising of Jewish women anthropologists and sociologists about Black women's sexualities and family structures in various locations in the African diaspora. She is interested in how their specific Jewish positionalities (class, political and organisational affiliations, personal relationships) differently impacted their subjectivities and theorising in relation to Black communities and reflected their placement in racialised national hierarchies. A new aspect of this research is a much sharper focus on how the Holocaust in particular impacted Jewish relationships with Black communities.

Rita Horvath, Independent Scholar, Austria / Israel
Investigating the concepts/terminology through which Hungarian Jewish child forced labourers related and understood their experiences during the Holocaust

Through in-depth analyses of testimonies of Hungarian Jewish child forced labourer survivors given both in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust and much later, in the second half of the twentieth century, I propose to scrutinise the witnesses' use of key concepts of Holocaust research. I will analyse the use of basic concepts, such as "survivor", "victim", "witness", "perpetrators", "forced labour", and all the characteristic terms connected to "forced labour". After examining the testifiers' use of these key concepts, I would like to investigate how scholarly texts drawing upon the survivor testimonies in the field of Holocaust research employ, change, construct, and reconstruct the concepts used by the testimonies. I am interested in the historiographical implications of the use of contemporary terminology. There are crucial, yet unexplored historiographical consequences of drawing upon terms used by the testimonies or introducing terminology coming from other sources than the testimonies to construct historical writings.

Rita Horvath is a literary scholar and a historian. She received a PhD from Bar-Ilan University (Ramat Gan, Israel) in 2003. She has been a scholar-in-residence at Hadassah-Brandeis Institute (2009/2010), Brandeis University (Waltham, MA, USA) and a research fellow at the Wiener Wiesenthal Institut für Holocaust-Studien in Vienna, Austria (2018/19). She is currently participating in a project entitled "The Numerus Clausus in Hungary: Antisemitism, Gender, and Exile a Hundred Years On", led by Professor Judith Szapor, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. Her fields of research are the history of the Holocaust in Hungary, Holocaust literature, trauma, and literary theory. She has published numerous studies, articles, and conference papers in these fields. Her book, entitled *The History of the National Relief Committee for Deportees, 1944–1952*, was published in 1997 in Budapest by the Hungarian Jewish Archives. Her second book, *"Never Asking Why Build—Only Asking Which Tools": Confessional Poetry and the Construction of the Self*, was published by Akadémiai Kiadó in 2005. Her most

recent book (co-edited with Anna Szalai and Gábor Balázs) is *Previously Unexplored Sources on the Holocaust in Hungary* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007).

Anna Shternshis, University of Toronto, Canada
Do not forget that we existed and how we died: Soviet Yiddish songs documenting the Holocaust in Ukraine

Between 1941 and 1947, a group of scholars working for the Cabinet for Studies of Jewish Culture, affiliated with the Ukrainian Academy of Science, documented over 200 songs created by Jewish survivors and victims of ghettos and concentration camps of Transnistria region of Ukraine. Sung by children, women, and other prisoners of ghettos in Tulchin, Pechora, Bershad, and Kryzhopol, these pieces document the initial stages of German occupation, Romanian rule, roundups, deportation, starvation, pandemics, and everyday life of Jewish prisoners. Some of these songs are the only eyewitness documents of Jewish experiences that survived the war, others were created days before their authors had been murdered or died.

This paper looks at how authors of these amateur songs describe their experiences, what they consider important to document and why, as well as analyses the trajectory of themes as the war evolves. For example, in 1941, many songs criticised the lack of unity between Jews in these difficult conditions, whereas in early 1942 they meticulously documented the atrocities committed by local collaborators and Romanian guards, whereas towards the end of 1942 and early 1943, they focused more on commemorating the dead, and calling for revenge. Above all, the goal of this project is to analyse the emergence of public discourse on victimhood, resistance and heroism in Soviet Yiddish cultural sphere in the 1940s.

Anna Shternshis holds the position of Al and Malka Green Professor of Yiddish studies and the Director of the Anne Tanenbaum Centre for Jewish Studies at the University of Toronto. She received her doctoral degree (D.Phil) in Modern Languages and Literatures from Oxford University in 2001. She is the author of *Soviet and Kosher: Jewish Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006) and *When Sonia Met Boris: An Oral History of Jewish Life under Stalin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017) and is the co-editor-in-chief of *East European Jewish Affairs*. She created and directed a Grammy-nominated *Yiddish Glory* project, together with an artist Psoy Korolenko, which brought back to life the forgotten Yiddish music written during the Holocaust in the Soviet Union.

Panel 29 (Room 1)
The internment of Jewish refugees across the British world
Chair: David Feldman, Birkbeck Institute for the Study of Antisemitism, University of London, UK

Eliana Hadjisavvas, Birkbeck University of London, UK
Exile in East Africa: European refugees and political detainees – legacies of the Holocaust in Kenya, 1940–1950

In April 2022, the British government unveiled its latest policy in the management of migration, stating that it would detain future arrivals of undocumented migrants in offshore processing facilities in Rwanda. The following months have seen legal challenges temporarily halt Whitehall's plans, against a backdrop of increasing "illegal" immigration passages and inflammatory rhetoric, with Home Secretary Suella Braverman defining such movements as an "invasion". While parallels between British policy and Australia's long-standing detention programme have been made, little attention has paid to Britain's own historical past and its legacy of detaining "undesirables" throughout its Empire. During the Second World War and its aftermath, it was European Jews who found themselves detained in British imperial outposts as both "illegal Jewish immigrants" and at times, "Zionist terrorists" who threatened the stability of British rule in Mandate Palestine. Approximately eighty years before the Rwanda plan was established, Britain's East African territory of Kenya became a space for the detention of Jews.

This paper will focus on the complex, and at times, controversial history of the Holocaust in Kenya. It will examine the role Kenya played as both a site for refuge and detention for Jews during the war and its aftermath. Despite territories in both Southern and Eastern Africa playing host to a number of Jewish communities throughout the 1940s, scholarship on these places has remained limited. However, as will be shown, these spaces, such as the Gilgil camp in Kenya, became key sites not only for Jews, but thereafter, in national campaigns for independence with Gilgil infamous for its use as a torture camp during the Mau uprising. What can these histories tell us about the interconnections between the Holocaust and the British Empire? How can we understand Britain's contemporary management of migration in light of these silenced historical pasts?

Eliana Hadjisavvas is an Alfred Landecker Lecturer at Birkbeck Institute for the Study of Antisemitism and the Department of History, Classics and Archaeology, Birkbeck, University of London. She is a historian of migration and displacement, with a particular interest in the British Empire. She completed her DPhil in History at the University of Birmingham and was a Postdoctoral Fellow in Jewish History at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, between 2018 and 2021. She has received funding from the AHRC and ESRC and has also held fellowships at the Library of Congress' Kluge Center in Washington DC.

Alan Morgenroth, Independent Scholar, UK
The deportations of civilian internees from the UK to Canada and Australia in June and July 1940: who was deported and what was the effect on Jewish refugee trajectories?

By 21 June 1940, the UK had interned approximately 800 Category "A" Alien Men and Women, 2,000 Civilian Merchant Seamen taken from Enemy Merchant Ships, 4,000 men and 2,500 women in Category "B" and some 20,000 Category 'C' men aged sixteen to

seventy. Additionally, there were 1,200 Italians believed to be Fascists and about 5,000 Italian men aged sixteen to seventy. Most of the Category B and C German and Austrian internees were recognised as refugees from Nazi oppression and up to 90% were of Jewish origin. With a massive shortage of accommodation on the UK and on the Isle of Man, Canada reluctantly agreed to take 4,000 POWs and 5,000 internees and Australia up to 6,000 internees. In a mad rush to sort the huge influx of internees, the UK internment Camp Commandants persuaded, coaxed, or conned internees to agree to be sent overseas with four transports sent to Canada (one being sunk en route) and one sent to Australia. This paper answers for the first time: (1) Who the deported internees were, including when and why they were interned in the UK; (2) What effect their deportation had on their prospects for release, return to the UK, onward emigration or being freed in Canada or Australia; (3) The comparison of the prospects of the internees deported to Canada and Australia and the effects on their trajectories created by the lottery of which ship had transported them overseas.

Alan Morgenroth is an independent researcher investigating the experiences of the refugees interned by the British during WWII. Inspired by his own father's experiences as a "Dunera Boy" deported to Australia, he has spent twelve years delving deep into all aspects of Australian internment and has extended this research into the experiences of those deported to Canada. As a qualified Chartered Accountant and entrepreneur Alan is the leading expert on the economics of the Australian Internment camps, their banking systems, and banknotes.

Rachel Pistol, King's College London / EHRI, UK

Second World War internment of Jewish refugees in Great Britain: archival challenges and opportunities

Some 80,000+ refugees from Europe sought refuge in Great Britain during the 1930s. Upon the declaration of war in 1939, Germans and Austrians automatically became "enemy aliens". The British government was aware that the majority of immigrants were refugees from Nazi oppression and instituted tribunals to ascertain whether or not an enemy alien was dangerous. Although a flawed process, the tribunals did stem the calls for mass internment until the rapid fall of France and the Low Countries led to mass hysteria and increased anti-German feeling. From May 1940, all men over the age of sixteen, regardless of classification, were interned, as were many women and children. Due to the speed at which the orders for internment were given, records of internment are often fragmented and incomplete. The aliens index until very recently was only available at the National Archives, Kew, on microfilm of only selected records. Digitisation with genealogy sites and the full cataloguing of the index cards have transformed the ability to trace individuals who were interned. Additionally, records at World Jewish Relief (formerly the Central British Fund for German Jewry) are becoming available to family researchers. For the first time it is becoming possible to paint a fuller picture of Second World War internment in the UK. This paper will consider the challenges of piecing together the records from local, national, and family archives to try to give the fullest picture of internment to date of the treatment of Jewish refugees in Britain during the war.

Rachel Pistol is a Research Fellow at King's College London on the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI). In December 2019, her co-edited collection *The Jews, the Holocaust, and the Public: The Legacies of David Cesarani* was published by Palgrave

Macmillan. Rachel has published widely on Second World War internment in the UK and the USA including a monograph with Bloomsbury Academic. She has discussed Second World War internment on BBC TV and radio and Sky News and has written articles, comparing internment with modern day issues, that have appeared in *Newsweek*, *The Independent*, and *Huffington Post*.

Panel 30 (Room 2)
Survival and survivors (II)
Chair: Christine Schmidt, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Jan Burzlaff, Harvard University, USA
Victimhood and survival in Poland: the case of Bełżec

Research on all groups of survivors of the Nazi persecution is blossoming. Within the recent micro-turn in Holocaust studies, my paper explores survival and victimhood around the death camp of Bełżec (1941–4). How may we write the history of a place that has been obliterated, of people who could not leave written traces, and of archives that have been destroyed? Despite its centrality, the so-called Operation Reinhardt, the Nazi codename for the murder of a third of all Holocaust victims, has often remained a blank spot. Using twelve non-Jewish video testimonies from Bełżec, my paper argues that the strength of social ties conditioned survival, rescue and Nazi ethnic policies in the shadow of the gas chambers. These untapped interviews, which are located at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), do not simply shed light on comparative experiences of Jewish and non-Jewish survivors in the surrounding of one of the most lethal Nazi death camps. Consistent with the conference's overall topic, my paper moves beyond a mere focus on the camp to offer a methodology for this type of non-Jewish testimony that must be embedded in Soviet and Polish memory politics and public discourse. As my paper reveals new insights into the daily and gendered facets of survival during Operation Reinhardt, this shift from the death camp to Bełżec's neighbours will add a crucial layer to the history of Jewish survival, both during the extermination phase (1942–3) and its legacy under Soviet rule.

Jan Burzlaff is the William A. Ackman Fellow for Holocaust Studies at Harvard University. He is a former fellow (*Normalien*) of the École Normale Supérieure, Paris, and the 2016–2017 Jane Eliza Procter Fellow at Princeton University. His dissertation is on a transnational history of Jewish survival during the Holocaust. His publications include "The Holocaust and Slavery? Working Towards A Comparative History of Genocide and Mass Violence", *Journal of Genocide Research* (February 2020), and "Confronting the Communal Grave: A Reassessment of Social Relations during the Holocaust in Eastern Europe", *The Historical Journal* (December 2019). His research interests include interdisciplinary approaches to comparative genocide, the Holocaust, and modern European history.

Roni Mikel-Arieli, The Hebrew University Jerusalem, Israel
Ungrateful survivors or unfortunate victims? The *Yishuv* perception of the Jews detained at the Beau Bassin Camp in Mauritius

This paper is part of a larger project exploring the transnational history and memory of the Jewish deportation to Mauritius during World War II. In November 1940, three ships arrived in Palestine, carrying 3,500 illegal Jewish immigrants escaping Nazi-controlled Europe. The refugees endured a long journey on crowded ships from Bratislava to British Mandatory Palestine. However, upon their arrival, 1,580 of them were forcibly deported by the British authorities to a remote colony in the Indian Ocean. After travelling in overcrowded ships for seventeen days, the refugees arrived at Port Louis, the capital of Mauritius, and were later transferred to the Central Prison of Beau Bassin. There, behind

iron gates, they were imprisoned for four years and seven months under strict conditions. Nevertheless, they were constantly reminded by both the British authorities and the *Yishuv* institutions that they were relatively safe in Mauritius, and few in numbers compared to the remained Jews in Europe. An analysis of reports from the *Yishuv* institutions; press coverage of the *Yishuv* media; and memoirs, personal diaries, and testimonies of the Jewish detainees, reveals a constant tension between the perception of the detainees as ungrateful survivors and as unfortunate victims. By exploring this tension, this paper seeks to shed light not only on the *Yishuv* decision-making process and the priorities of its leaders, but also on postwar processes of memory construction in Israel, with a particular focus on the process of forgetting of the Jewish deportation to Mauritius.

Roni Mikel Arieli received her PhD in Jewish History and Contemporary Jewry from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, under the supervision of Professor Louise Bethlehem and Professor Amos Goldberg. Her dissertation focused on cultural and discursive aspects of Holocaust memory in Apartheid South Africa. She was awarded a 2019–2020 Phyllis Greenberg Heideman and Richard D. Heideman Fellowship at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, to work on her research project, "Memories of Migration and Migration of Memory: The Transnational History of the Jewish Refugees Deportation to Mauritius (1940–1945)".

Michał Studniarek, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland

After the war: life experience of the Robinsons of Warsaw

The paper presents the experience of the so-called Robinsons of Warsaw; people, who following the fall of the Warsaw Uprising remained hidden in the ruins of Warsaw from October 1944 to 17 January 1945. Over 1,000 people: Poles and Jews, insurgents and civilians, were hiding together in violation of German regulations. Their accounts are scattered in numerous diaries, testimonies, memoirs, and oral history interviews. I would like to show how they describe their experiences from the present perspective, often supplemented with later historical knowledge. How they describe their hidden life, coming out at night, cooking without smoke, salvaging food, and gathering all the necessary objects. Every group developed their own code of conduct and often also contacts with neighbouring groups. Sometimes they managed to leave the city undetected. Several hundreds of them survived until the liberation and their lives took different paths after the war. I describe from an anthropological perspective how they remembered it, how they described their experience of being hidden, and their hideouts. These events also left traumas that were described by the Robinsons themselves and by their families. After the war, their lives took different paths, but they also tried to organise themselves as a group and achieve the status of a combatant/veteran. I also examine how their experience fits in with the narrations of Holocaust survivors or Polish memories of surviving the war.

Michał Studniarek is writing a PhD about the Robinsons of Warsaw at the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, under the tutelage of Professor Tomasz Szarota. He holds an MA in history from the University of Warsaw. He is a member of the Polish Oral History Association and as a volunteer, he has conducted interviews with witnesses to history for the Oral History Archive of the Warsaw Rising

Museum. He also works in a team editing the biographical dictionary of the insurgents. His research interests include the Second World War, oral history, and the history of Warsaw.

Panel 31 (Room 3)
Trials and justice (V)
Chair: Toby Simpson, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Peter Davies, University of Edinburgh, UK
Knowledge, testimony, translation: interpreters at the first Frankfurt Auschwitz trial

Where their work is acknowledged at all, courtroom interpreters are often seen as mediators, making mutually comprehensible the statements by the various participants in the courtroom exchanges. Their job is not to interpret at all, but to stay objective; their expertise may be drawn on to explain cultural differences in the understanding of legal concepts, but otherwise codes of professional ethics oblige them to preserve a strict neutrality. There are significant problems with this view, as studies of courtroom interpreting have shown (e.g., Inghilleri 2012). Depending on the mode of interpreting, it is the interpreter who determines the structure, rhythm, duration, and pacing of the interpreted courtroom exchange, and interpreters exercise a significant degree of agency in organising the discourse of witness questioning. The presence of the interpreter influences the framing of testimony even before he or she begins to translate. A convenient fiction of neutrality is necessary for the court to function, but it masks a multitude of occurrences, processes, and attitudes that are of vital interest for scholars of Holocaust testimony. This paper considers interpreted courtroom testimonies as communicative exchanges evolving in time and within a complex institutional and discursive context. Although codes of professional ethics require strict neutrality, the power dynamics of the Frankfurt trial mean that there is no neutral position for the interpreters to take up: they occupy an ambiguous position between enabling testimony to take place and be understood, and making witnesses available to the dominant knowledge processes of the court. I ask what other kinds of knowledge are available when our view is shifted away from questions of historical or juridical evidence, and when the interactions between interpreters and other trial participants are analysed in their own right.

Peter Davies is Professor of Modern German Studies at the University of Edinburgh. He has published widely on the challenges posed by translation for our understanding of Holocaust testimony, and on the ethical issues faced by translators of testimony. His most recent publications are *The Witness between Languages: The Translation of Holocaust Testimonies in Context* (Camden House, 2018) and, with Jean Boase-Beier, Andrea Hammel, and Marion Winters, *Translating Holocaust Lives* (Bloomsbury, 2017).

Jens-Christian Hansen, Vendsyssel Historiske Museum, Denmark
Bringing justice to the subcamps: former prisoners as key witnesses in postwar trials

After the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps, former prisoners played a key role in the persecution of their perpetrators. The aim of this paper is to discuss the correlation between the choice of former prisoners as witnesses during different types of trials and their role and position within a satellite concentration camp (subcamp or *Außenlager* in German) during the war. The discussion will take place within the theoretical framework of the prisoners' society (in German *Häftlingsgesellschaft*) (Neurath, 1943/2004; Suderland, 2009). Postwar trials regarding major camps like Auschwitz, Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, and Buchenwald have been subject to a great amount of research and are commonly known to the public. However, this is only the

case to a very limited extend for the majority of trials against the perpetrators of the subcamps, which were often located in rural areas in Germany and German-occupied Europe. Former research has primarily focused on the legal preconditions of the trials and how they were organized and accomplished (e.g. Hassel, 2008; Möller, 2010; Bästlein, 2014). This paper will differ from the above and will focus on the trials regarding the subcamps Husum-Schwesing, Ladelund, and Meppen-Dalum as an example, which were part of the Neuengamme concentration camp complex. This paper will present the coherence in the use of witnesses in the British, Danish and West German trials. Who were the witnesses and why were they chosen to testify in postwar trials? The paper will discuss the significance of nationality, ethnicity, reasons for deportation, and the prisoners' function in the camp society when a former prisoner became a witness.

Jens-Christian Hansen PhD, is a German-Danish historian. He is Head of Outreach and the Department of History at the Vendsyssel Historiske Museum in Hjørring, Denmark. Hansen finished his dissertation, "The Husum-Schwesing Concentration Camp – Studies of the Prisoners' Society in a Subcamp, Its Legal Consequences and Late Culture of Remembrance", at the University of Southern Denmark in 2017. He has published articles about concentration camps in which he has focused on different groups of Danish victims, deportation as part of German retaliations in occupied Europe, and memorial culture. He is currently working on a publication about Nazi counter terrorism as retaliation for Danish resistance in the northern part of Denmark.

Nadine Jenke, Friedrich Schiller University Jena, Germany

On the relationship between persecution and prosecution: former camp inmates and prosecution of Nazi crimes in West Germany

In recent years, interdisciplinary research is in the process of shifting its analytical perspective on survivors of Nazi persecution. Scholars are broadening the perspective specifically on the still understudied postwar period and the diversity of survivors beyond their (supposed) singular status as Nazi victims. By this means, we have to consider the role of survivors as active players in postwar society with agencies, opportunities, and actions. The presentation will discuss, based on new empirical findings, how to analyse the involvement of former concentration camp inmates in the prosecution of Nazi crimes in West Germany. Initial studies indicate a wide range of survivors' actions in this field. As they formed a highly heterogeneous group, this seems obvious at first glance. But how can we study the role of survivors in justice beyond a mere enumeration of their actions? Whereas most scholars are already considering the influences of socio-political circumstances on actions, there is another crucial point the proposal calls attention to: the specific experience of persecution. Taking this into account enables us to thoroughly analyse survivors' decisions to engage in trials, to collaborate with other survivors (or not), but also to support perpetrators. Furthermore, it offers a new perspective on former "functionary" inmates: some of them have served as experts for public prosecutors based on their broad knowledge of committed crimes. How did their specific insights shape the prosecution of Nazi crimes? The new analytical approach allows a deeper understanding of the survivors' engagement in justice and after-effects of Nazi persecution.

Nadine Jenke is a PhD candidate at Friedrich Schiller University Jena, awarded a PhD scholarship from the Federal Foundation for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Eastern Germany. She holds an MA in Contemporary History from the University of Potsdam. She has been a Research Associate at Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, an Assistant Curator at the Museum in der Kulturbrauerei, Berlin and an Academic Trainee at Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp Memorial, Nordhausen.

Patricia Kollander, Florida Atlantic University, USA

Recent émigrés from Germany and Austria in the US Army and their encounters with victims and perpetrators of Nazi terror

To date, historians have paid scant attention to the contributions of thousands of recent émigrés from Germany and Austria who served in the US army during World War II. Many found their true niche military intelligence, where their linguistic talents, knowledge about German customs and culture, coupled with their specialised training, made them an invaluable asset to the struggle against Nazism. Their wartime experience differed from that of their American counterparts for many reasons. Many interrogated enemy soldiers whom they had known from childhood. They were also more deeply affected by their discovery the fate of Jews in Hitler's concentration and extermination camps. While American soldiers were duly shocked by what they saw when they liberated the camps, their German- and Austrian-born counterparts were simultaneously dealt two tremendous psychological blows: first, they came face to face with a fate that they narrowly escaped. Second, they had to confront the possibility that families and friends left behind suffered the same fate as the victims that they saw before them. Hence their encounter with horrors of the Holocaust was unique. The impact of this encounter made them especially keen to capture Holocaust perpetrators and bring them to justice. This paper will highlight these personal encounters, and considers how they influenced the process of liberation and the prosecution of war criminals.

Patricia Kollander received her PhD from Brown University (Rhode Island, USA), and is a Professor of History at Florida Atlantic University. Her publications include two books: *Frederick III: Germany's Liberal Emperor* and *"I Must be a Part of this War": A German-American's Fight against Hitler and Nazism.* Several scholarly book chapters and articles have also appeared in *German History*, *The Historian*, and *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. Her current research focuses the exploits of recent German and Austrian émigrés in the US army during World War II, and their unique contributions to the war against Hitler and Nazism.

Panel 32 (Room 4)
From generation to generation: children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors and Holocaust-inflected humour
Chair: Dan Stone, Holocaust Research Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK

Gabriel Finder, University of Virginia, USA (retired)
"I'm allowed, I'm a Jew": Oliver Polak and Jewish humour in contemporary Germany after the Holocaust

Born in West Germany in 1976, Oliver Polak is one of Germany's most popular comedians and TV talk show hosts. He is also the son a Holocaust survivor. Since he took the world of German stand-up comedy by storm in 2006 with his act *Ich darf das, ich bin Jude* (I'm allowed, I'm a Jew), he has shamelessly and provocatively reminded Germans of the Holocaust. But he does not recoil from deploying antisemitic stereotypes for his own comic purposes, either. Polak pulls no punches – this is clear from his in-your-face declaration of his Jewish identity. Nevertheless, even though the focus of his act is the awkward and pretentious, self-righteous and self-serving manner in which anything to do with Jews in dealt with in German society in the aftermath of the Holocaust, what he really wants, I argue, is to normalise relations between Jews and non-Jews in Germany; he wants to belong. This becomes patent in his subsequent routine *Lasst uns alle Juden sein* (Let's all be Jews). But the way in which he proposes to do this is subversive, if not mindboggling. Instead of encouraging Jews to assimilate, Polak imagines a world in which non-Jews become Jews! Now that's funny! In this paper, therefore, I aim to show how this German Jewish son of a Holocaust survivor deploys the Holocaust in his comic act not only to criticise but also to reimagine contemporary German society.

Gabriel Finder, PhD, JD, is a professor in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures and the Jewish Studies Program at the University of Virginia. He is also an associate editor of the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. He is co-author with Alexander Prusin of *Justice Behind the Iron Curtain: Nazis on Trial in Communist Poland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018); and co-editor with David Slucki and Avinoam Patt of *Laughter After: Humor and the Holocaust* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2020).

Avinoam Patt, University of Connecticut, USA
Laughing off the trauma of Jewish history: *HaYehudim Ba'im* (The Jews are coming)

The Israeli sketch comedy series *HaYehudim Ba'im* (The Jews Are Coming) is a satirical TV show (2015–2020) devoted to sketches that target the entire history of the Jewish people from biblical times to the 1990s through a humorous lens, including sketches on World War II and the Holocaust. The show's creators, Natalie Marcus and Asaf Beizer, both descendants of Holocaust survivors (all four of Marcus's grandparents and Beizer's father), have argued that they see this format as a secular reclaiming of religious texts, part of a broader project in Israel to wrest control of the Jewish canon from Orthodox gatekeepers. From a Zionist perspective, while the show focuses primarily on biblical and Israeli history, it also integrates Israeli history into the broader scope of Jewish history. If the show works hard to tackle all of the sacred cows in both Israeli and Jewish history

then, it is worth considering how the show approaches the Shoah and what it reflects about the sensibilities of its creators and their relationship to the post-memory of the Shoah. This paper will consider what the Holocaust-inflected humour on the show can tell us about the place of the Shoah in Israeli society, how the Holocaust is used as a prism for critiques of contemporary Israeli society, whether this humour translates to a broader non-Israeli audience, and what, in turn, this might tell us about the role descendants of survivors play in the creation of Holocaust-inflected humour in Israel. *HaYehudim Ba'im* takes the state to task for trivialising the Shoah as part of a broader critique of the ways in which history and historical education have become politicised. Above all, it continues a tradition of self-deprecating Jewish humor that encourages Jews not to take themselves too seriously.

Avinoam Patt, PhD, is the Doris and Simon Konover Chair of Judaic Studies and Director of the Center for Judaic Studies and Contemporary Jewish Life at the University of Connecticut. Most recently, he is the co-editor of a new volume on *The Joint Distribution Committee at 100: A Century of Humanitarianism* (Wayne State University Press, 2019) and is currently completing a new book on the early postwar memory of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Together with David Slucki and Gabriel Finder, he is co-editor of a new volume *Laughter After: Humor and the Holocaust* (April 2020) and is co-editor of the forthcoming volume *Understanding and Teaching the Holocaust* (University of Wisconsin Press, June 2020).

Liat Steir-Livny, Sapir College / Open University, Israel

"The mufti made me do it": humorous internet memes by the "second and third generations"

Research indicates that Holocaust memory has a very powerful presence in Israel and is a cross-generational defining trait of the Jewish population. Scholars claim that the Israeli media, educational and cultural fields, and public discourse in Israel frame the Holocaust as a current, ongoing local trauma rather than an event that ended decades ago in another place. Moreover, the Jewish-Israeli-Arab conflict, which is accompanied by politicisation of the Holocaust, have caused the trauma of the Holocaust to be integrated within the Israeli present-day. In this historic-cultural environment, "second generation" and "third generation" – or "2G" and "3G" – are not only biological but also cultural terms. Since the 1990s members of the second and third generation – and Israelis who see themselves as 2G and 3G – try to fight this politicisation and the acting out of the trauma in multiple ways. Humour, satire, and parody are weapons in this battle.

The talk will focus on a prominent example: In his speech to the World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem on 20 October 2015, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu asserted that Hitler didn't want to murder the Jews but rather to expel them, and that it was the Arab Mufti, Haj Amin El-Husseini, who advised him to murder the Jews. This statement created turmoil in Israel. My talk will analyse the humoristic memes left-wingers released and shared on social media as a prominent tool of the young generations in fighting Holocaust politicisation and manipulation. The talk is based on research on internet memes, which claims that they are more than just a fun pastime or simple jokes and should be taken seriously. They shape and reflect general social mindsets and can be part of political participation.

Liat Steir-Livny, PhD, is an Assistant Professor (Senior Lecturer) in the Department of Cultural Studies, Creation and Production at Sapir College, and a tutor and course coordinator for the Cultural Studies MA program and the Department of Literature, Language, and the Arts at the Open University of Israel. Her research focuses on the changing commemoration of the Holocaust in Israel from the 1940s until the present. She has authored numerous articles and five books. In 2019 she won The Young Scholar Award given jointly by the Association for Israel Studies (AIS) and the Israel Institute.

Panel 33 (Room 5)
Literary representations
Chair: Barbara Warnock, The Wiener Holocaust Library, UK

Lúcia Bentes, Independent Scholar, Portugal
Spaces of colours and liberty in the autobiographies by Theodor Wonja Michael (1925–2019) and Hans Jürgen Massaquoi (1926–2013)

As an example of the literary treatment of "survivors of Nazi persecution" and of the so-called racially impure, I have chosen two autobiographies written by Afro-German authors, Michael and Massaquoi. This paper focuses on the "life after" the Second World War. The main questions addressed are: 1) How do the main characters perceive themselves, their relationships with other characters, and the relationships between the characters by the skin colour?, and 2) How is this perception responsible for their social behaviour and for their search in finding new paths of survival? I will focus on the following topics: racism and social discrimination between Black and White (main character's skin colour and other characters; racial segmentation between characters; dysphemism, euphemism; sarcasm, irony); silence and self-depreciation; displaced feeling / alternative nationalities and identities; alternative pathways / professions. I intend to show that both autobiographies reveal a common narrative pattern. The topics can help the reader understand how people of African descent, an ethnic minority during the Nazi period, experienced racism and social discrimination even after the liberation in 1945. Both texts are important testimonies to give voice to African-Germans that remained in general invisible after the war.

Lúcia Bentes born and raised in Germany, earned her PhD at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon (2017). Her dissertation was titled "Eccentric Figures and Constructions in German Contemporary Literature", and deals with social outsiders, collectors of objects and experiences, and the relationship of men with their objects and memory. Her research interests include the links between literature and the other arts, namely photography, cinema, painting, and music, as well as philosophy, aesthetics, and visual culture. She is a German and English teacher in Lisbon.

Simo Muir, University College London, UK
Riikka Tuori, University of Helsinki, Finland
"In the lands of slaughter": a Finnish response to the Holocaust

In 1946, Polish Jewish writer Hersz Frydberg (b. 1895), living in Finland, wrote a Hebrew lamentation (*kina*) with 138 verses commemorating *Churban*, the Holocaust. Frydberg had survived the war in Finland, the ally of Nazi Germany, but many of his family members had been murdered in occupied Poland. Our paper analyses Frydberg's *kina* as part of what is now known as Holocaust literature. Roskies and Diamant describe two "zones" of Jewish writing during the Holocaust: the "Jew zone" of the Nazi-occupied territories and the "free zone" of the Allied countries. Finland did not deport its indigenous Jewish community, but as an Axis ally it cannot be defined as part of the "free zone": Jews living in Finland feared deportation and destruction. In the poem, the Holocaust is observed through the experiences of a secondary witness surviving the war in between the "zones". Besides the suffering in the camps, Frydberg describes the variety of the Polish Jewish experience before its destruction, Hasidim, Socialists,

Zionists, and the life of the *shtetl*. The ongoing trials in Nuremberg also occupy a prominent place in the poem's fabric. In a dialogue with previous literatures of Jewish suffering, the lamentation begins with the first lines of the Ashkenazi liturgical poem, *El male rachamim*, and its title, *Bimdinot ha-harega* ("In the Lands of Slaughter") resonates with Bialik's famous poem on the Kishinev pogrom, *Be-ir ha-harega* ("In the City of Slaughter"). By analysing Frydberg's lamentation we aim to bring the Finnish Jewish situation, between the "zones", as part of the wider post-Holocaust experience.

Simo Muir is currently an Honorary Research Associate at the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, University College London. He received his MA in Yiddish Studies at SOAS (University of London) in 2000, and his PhD in Yiddish Studies at the University of Helsinki in 2004. Muir has published widely on Jewish history and culture in Finland. His latest articles include "'Mother Rachel and Her Children': Artistic Expressions in Yiddish and Early Commemoration of the Holocaust in Finland", *East European Jewish Affairs* 48/3 (2018), and "'Not on the Jewish Migration Route': Finland and Polish Holocaust Survivors, 1945–1948", *Yad Vashem Studies* 44/1 (2016).

Riikka Tuori is a University Lecturer in Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Helsinki, where she teaches Hebrew and Jewish Studies. She has also worked as a research associate at the Seminar für Judaistik, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. Her current research interests include early modern Judaism and Hebrew literature, Jewish mysticism and poetry. She has also co-edited the first Finnish-language Talmudic anthology (Gaudeamus, 2018).

Traci S. O'Brien, Auburn University, USA
What is to be remembered? Writing literature in the aftermath of the Shoah

In my paper, I will discuss the works of three Czech-German Jewish authors – Lenka Reinerová (1916–2008), H.G. Adler (1910–1988), and Herman Grab (1903–1949) – in order to discuss memory and bearing witness in a post-Holocaust world. These authors lost their families in the Shoah; all three affirm a humanist tradition and invest the German language with faith and trust. Rather than an absolute breach that some read into the Second World War, these three authors affirm that language continues to mean something and that (human) connection is a possibility. In "Kein Mensch auf der Straße", for example, Reinerová's narrator returns to Theresienstadt in the mid-1990s for the first time since her mother was deported from there to Auschwitz. In her confrontations with the space, she discovers that human optimism is still possible. In "Hochzeit in Brooklyn", Grab shows that a veneration for the objects of high culture without connection to actual human beings overlaps with the crass artificiality of consumerism and capitalism run amok. Adler portrays the possibility of a moving kind of postwar redemption in the love of another human being in *Die unsichtbare Wand*. Each work confronts the reader with the question: what is to be remembered? The answer lies in a living humanism. Without denying the horror, all three affirm that the good is still possible.

Traci S. O'Brien is Associate Professor of German and Chair of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at Auburn University. Her book *Enlightened Reactions* focuses on the articulation of (feminine) autonomy via racialising metaphors. In addition, O'Brien has published on the twentieth-century Austrian poet and critic Ernst Schönwiese, the contemporary Viennese crime fiction writer Eva Rossmann, and "Kafka's

last living heir", Lenka Reinerová. O'Brien has also published pedagogical pieces on "bridging the gap" between students' proficiency levels in upper-level content courses and on the importance of assessment strategies for graduate student teachers.