

ELEVENTH BIENNIAL  
LESSONS AND LEGACIES  
CONFERENCE ON THE HOLOCAUST

*Expanding Perspectives on the Holocaust in a Changing World*

FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY

NOVEMBER 4-7, 2010

*Sponsors*



The Holocaust Educational Foundation

*and*



Florida Atlantic University

*Program Co-Chairs*

Francis R. Nicosia, University of Vermont

Susannah Heschel, Dartmouth College

*Workshop Committee*

Suzanne Brown-Fleming, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

Donald Schilling, Denison University

Hilary Earl, Nipissing University

Thursday, November 4, 2010

4:30-4:45 PM

Welcome from the Holocaust Educational Foundation and  
Florida Atlantic University

Earl Abramson, Holocaust Educational Foundation

Alan Berger, Florida Atlantic University

4:45-6:15 PM: *Opening Plenary Session:*

Chair: David Frey, U.S. Military Academy

Speaker: Timothy Snyder, Yale University

"Holocaust History: An Agenda for Renewal"

Response: Wendy Lower, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

6:15-7:00 PM *Reception*

7:00 PM *Dinner*

Welcome: Theodore Zev Weiss

8:00 PM, *Keynote Address*

Chair: Susannah Heschel, Dartmouth College

Speaker: Omer Bartov, Brown University

"Genocide and the Holocaust: Arguments over History and Politics"

Friday, November 5, 2010

7:00-8:30 AM *Breakfast*

8:30-10:30 AM *Panels*

Panel 1

**Responses to the Holocaust in the Middle East**

Chair: Jeffrey Herf, University of Maryland

"Nazism and the Arab World. The Ambivalence of a Relationship, Past and Present"  
Götz Nordbruch, University of Southern Denmark

"Mixed and Confused - Egyptian Initial Responses to the Holocaust"  
Esther Webman, Tel Aviv University

"An Assessment of Holocaust Denial in the Arab World since the 1980s"  
Gilbert Achcar, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

"The Reflection of the Holocaust in the Eyes of the Iranian in the latter part of the  
20<sup>th</sup> Century"  
Orly R. Rahimiyan, Ben-Gurion University

Panel 2

**Antisemitism in Europe during the Nazi Years**

Chair: Donald Dietrich, Boston College

"Blutschande": From Incest Taboo to the Nuremberg Racial Laws"  
Christina von Braun, Humboldt University, Berlin

"Segregating Beyond Death: Anti-Semitism, Corpses and the Training of Medical Doctors in  
Poland of the 1930's"  
Natalia Aleksion, Touro College

"Hitler's Antisemitic Hate: A Political-Religious Hypothesis"  
James Bernauer, Boston College

"Pope Pius XII and Antisemitism"  
Jacques Kornberg, University of Toronto

### Panel 3

#### Words of Their Own: Diary Writing During the Holocaust

Chair: Geoffrey Giles, University of Florida

"Victim Perspectives of Perpetrators: Jewish Wartime Representations of Their 'Lords and Masters'"

Amy Simon, Indiana University

"Writing the Indescribable – Diary Writing in Concentration Camps 1933 – 1945"

Dominique Schröder, University of Bielefeld

"Information Transmission as a Jewish Response to the Holocaust: Diaries from Siauliai, Lwow and Siedlce"

Karen Auerbach, University of Southampton

"Warsaw Polish Writers-Diarists Encountering the Holocaust: The Cases of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Maria Dąbrowska"

Rachel F. Brenner, University of Wisconsin-Madison

10:30-1045 AM *Coffee Break*

10:45-12:45 AM *Panels*

### Panel 4

#### The Myth of Silence: Backdating Holocaust Awareness to the Immediate Postwar Period

Chair: David Weinberg, Wayne State University

"The Myth of Silence: Postwar Dissemination of Information about the Persecution and Mass Murder of European Jewry"

David Cesarani, University of London

"Telling the World: Post-War American Jews and the Narrative of the Holocaust"

Hasia Diner, New York University

"The Canadian Mainstream Media Responds to the Holocaust, 1945-1965"

Rebecca Margolis, University of Ottawa

"Trial by Audience: Bringing Nazi War Criminals to Justice in Hollywood Films, 1944-1959"

Lawrence Baron, San Diego State University

### Panel 5

#### The Dynamics of Jewish Slave Labor under National Socialism

Chair: Evan Bukey, University of Arkansas

"Jewish Life and Death in the Organisation Todt"

Steven F. Sage, Independent Scholar

"Social Characteristics and Work Conditions of Jewish Slaved Laborers in 'Organisation Todt' Camps in the Reich, 1944-1945"

Idit Gil, Open University of Israel

"Jewish Slave Labor in the German Armaments Industry in World War II: Gender, Age and Survival"

Therkel Strade, University of South Denmark

Comment: Catherine Epstein, Amherst College

### Panel 6

#### Persecution, Survival and Memory: Jews in Hitler's Germany

Chair: Karl Schleunes, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

"Betrayed Comradeship: German-Jewish WWI Veterans under Hitler"

Michael J. Geheran, Clark University

"Gestapo Denouncers, Suspicion, and Sexuality: A Case Study in Würzburg"

Laurie Marhoefer, Syracuse University

"Reevaluating the Role of Hiding during the Holocaust: The Case of Berlin"

Richard N. Lutjens, Jr., Northwestern University

"German Emigres Confront the Holocaust"

Patricia Kollander, Florida Atlantic University

1:00-2:00 PM *Lunch*

2:00-3:30 PM *Workshops*

Workshop 1

**Creative Assignments in Courses on the Holocaust**

Doris Bergen, University of Toronto  
Tatjana Lichtenstein, University of Texas-Austin  
Rebecca Carter-Chand, University of Toronto  
Kristian Stewart, University of Michigan at Dearborn

Workshop 2

**Preparing an Encyclopedia of German-Run Ghettos: USHMM's  
Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945 (Volume 2)**

Martin Dean, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM

Workshop 3

**The Forced Labor and Displaced Persons Records in the International  
Tracing Service (ITS) Collection: A Research and Teaching Agenda**

Eric C. Steinhart, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM  
Jude Richter, Registry of Holocaust Survivors, USHMM  
Lisa Yavnai, Registry of Holocaust Survivors, USHMM

Workshop 4

**Survivors and Education: Identity, Public Memory and Professionalized  
Narratives**

Deidre Butler, Carleton University  
Anna Sheftel, Concordia University  
Stacey Zembrzycki, Concordia University

Workshop 5

**The Pedagogy of Witnessing: Next Steps**

Dorothy Clark, California State University at Northridge  
Holli Levitsky, Loyola Marymount University

Workshop 6

**Rescue and Rescuers: Reconciling Testimony and Documentation**

Suzanne Vromen, Bard College  
Yehudi Lindeman, McGill University

Workshop 7

**The Creation of a Baccalaureate in Holocaust and Genocide Studies**

C. Paul Vincent, Keene State College  
Nona Fienberg, Keene State College  
Sander Lee, Keene State College

3:30-4:00 PM *Coffee Break*

4:00-6:00 PM *Panels*

Panel 7

**Instruments of the Volksgemeinschaft: New Research on the Pre-War  
Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933-1939**

Chair: Donald Schilling, Denison University

"The Dachau SS 1933-1939: From Bavarian Civil Warriors to Soldiers of the Reich"  
Christopher Dillon, University of London, Birkbeck College

"The Nazi Concentration Camps as a Means of Persecuting Socially Deviant and Criminal  
Behaviour 1933-1939"  
Julia Hörath, University of London, Birkbeck College

"German Public Opinion and the Early Nazi Concentration Camps 1933-39"  
Paul Moore, University of London, Birkbeck College

"Before the Holocaust: Jewish Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933-1939"  
Kim Wünschmann, University of London, Birkbeck College

### Panel 8

#### Raising the 'Walking Dead': Studies on the Meaning of the *Muselmann* for Holocaust Historiography and Representation

Chair: Kees Gispén, University of Mississippi

"Bearing Witness to the Female *Muselmänner* in Treblinka, Birkenau and Auschwitz"  
Lorelee Kippen, University of Alberta

"The '*Muselman*', Shame and Versions of Survival: Reflections on the Life and Work of Tadeusz Borowski"  
Timothy E. Pytell, California State University San Bernardino

"The Making of the *Muselmann*: Genocide as the Production of Unlivable Life"  
Lissa Skitolsky, Susquehanna University

Comment: Lawrence L. Langer, Simmons College

### Panel 9

#### Film and Memory in Postwar Europe

Chair: Amy R. Sims, California College of the Arts

"Most Pitiful and yet Most Precious": Children of War in Seeds of Destiny"  
Simone Gigliotti, Victoria University, New Zealand

"Sources of Realism in Andrzej Wajda's 'Holocaust' Films"  
Tomasz Łysak, Warsaw University

"Out of the Shadows: Cinematic Memory of the Holocaust in Post-Communist Hungary"  
Catherine Portuges, University of Massachusetts

"Holocaust Surrealism, or Chelm in Hell: A *Critical Appraisal of 'Train de Vie'*"  
Simon P. Sibelman, Virginia Holocaust Museum

### Panel 10

#### The Holocaust in the Soviet Union

Chair: Ronald Smelser, University of Utah

"Brilliant Disguise: Jews Posing as Belorussians during the Holocaust"  
Jeffrey Koerber, Clark University

"Everyday Approaches to the Persecution of Jews on the Territory of Generalbezirk Weißruthenien"  
Sergey A. Kizima, Academy of Public Administration, Belarus

"Portraits from a Conjoined War: The 'Holocaust by Bullets,' the German 100th Light Infantry Division, and the Jews of Zinkov, July 1941"  
Robert Bernheim, Holocaust and Human Rights Center of Maine at Augusta

Comment: Alan Beyerchen, Ohio State University

6:00 PM *Reception*

7:00 PM *Dinner*

Presentation of Awards

Chair: Theodore Zev Weiss

8:00 PM, *Keynote Address*

Chair: Francis R. Nicosia, University of Vermont

Speaker: Shulamit Volkov, Tel Aviv University

"German Jews and the Temptation of Racism"

Saturday, November 6, 2010

7:00-8:15 AM *Breakfast*

8:15-10:15 AM *Panels*

Panel 11

**Sexual Violence during WW II and the Holocaust and its Representation**

Chair: Alan Steinweis, University of Vermont

"Forced Prostitution: Sexual Labor and Resistance in the Concentration Camp Brothels"  
Jessica Anderson Hughes, Rutgers University

"Questioning Normalities: Narratives on Sexual Violence perpetrated by German soldiers during the War of Annihilation in the Soviet Union 1941-1945"  
Regina Mühlhäuser, Hamburg Institute for Social Research

"Memories of a Gendered Violation: Wartime Sexual Violence and the Question of Jewish Women"  
Pascale Bos, University of Texas at Austin

"The Aesthetization and Sexualization of Nazi Violence in US and Italian Camp Atrocity Movies (1969-1979)"  
Elissa Mailänder Koslov, EHESS/ CIERA, France

Panel 12

**Crossings: Art and Literature of the Holocaust**

Chair: Norman Goda, University of Florida

"Mickey Mouse in the French Internment Camp of Gurs: Humor, Irony and Criticism in Holocaust Art"  
Prina Rosenberg, Technion, the Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa

"Living in Translation: Affirmation of Humanity in Levi, Delbo, and Foer"  
Margaret Sönser Breen, University of Connecticut

"The Holocaust, *Mischlingkeit*, and the Literature of Mixed Identity"  
Frederick S. Roden, University of Connecticut

"The Politics of Identity: Anselm Kiefer's Painting as Personal Voyage"  
Carol Salus, Kent State University

Panel 13

**German Protestants and the Jews**

Chair: Beth Griech-Polelle, Bowling Green State University

"Racial Statistics and the German Protestant Church"  
Hans-Joachim Dahms, University of Vienna

"Cioma Schönhaus and the Kaufmann Circle: Forged ID and the Confessing Church"  
Robert P. Ericksen, Pacific Lutheran University

"The Bitter Legacy and Unlearned Lesson of Adolf Schlatter"  
James E. McNutt, Thomas More College

"Karl Barth, Elisabeth Schmitz, and her *Denkschrift* against the Persecution of Jews"  
Manfred Gailus, TU Berlin

10:15-10:30 AM *Coffee Break*

10:30-12:30 AM *Panels*

Panel 14

**The Armenian Genocide Reframed: New Currents in Archival Research**

Chair: Richard G. Hovannisian, UCLA

"Orphans, Converts, Prostitutes, Bandits: The Aftermath of the Armenian Genocide"  
Ugur Umit Ungor, University College, Dublin

"Scandinavia and the Armenian Genocide: Eyewitnesses, Interpretations, Aftermath"  
Matthias Bjørnlund Department of Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Copenhagen

"The Armenian Genocide and the Archives of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem"  
Bedross Der Matossian, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"What did Jews and Germans in the Third Reich know about the Armenian Genocide?"  
Wolf Gruner, University of Southern California

Panel 15

**The Churches Confront Nazism and the Holocaust**

Chair: Suzanne Brown-Fleming, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

"Myths and Realities of Clergy Intercession for Jews under National Socialism"  
Kevin P. Spicer, Stonehill College

"Crusading Against 'Judeo-Bolshevism': Catholic Seminarians and *Vernichtungskrieg*, 1939-1945"  
Lauren N. Faulkner, University of Notre Dame

"On the Nazi Occupation of Poland, the Polish Catholic Hierarchy, and the Vatican"  
Jonathan Huener, University of Vermont

"On International Church Leadership and the Persecution of Jewry, 1932-1948"  
Victoria J. Barnett, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Panel 16

**Making Use of Survivor Testimonies: Complementary and Contesting Perspectives**

Chair: Allan Fenigstein, Kenyon College

"'Der Dank des Vaterlandes': Memories and chronicles of German Jewry in the 1930s"  
Mark Roseman, Indiana University at Bloomington

"Towards a 'Thick Description' of Survivor Memory"  
Jürgen Matthäus, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

"Testimony as a Verb"  
Henry Greenspan, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor

Comment: Debórah Dwork, Clark University

1:00-2:00 PM *Lunch*

2:00-3:30 PM *Roundtables*

Roundtable 1

**"Mir zaynen doh!" New Research on the Surviving Remnant after the Holocaust**

Chair: Alan Berger, Florida Atlantic University

Avinoam J. Patt, University of Hartford  
Atina Grossmann, Cooper Union  
Laura J. Hilton, Muskingum College  
Laura Jockusch, Ben Gurion University, Israel  
Margarete Myers Feinstein, UCLA

Roundtable 2

**Beyond History: Challenges and Opportunities of Interdisciplinary Work on Representations of the Holocaust**

Chair: Erin McGlothlin, Washington University

Sandra Alfers, Western Washington University  
Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, University of New Hampshire  
Lisa Nicoletti, Centenary College of Louisiana  
Amy Wlodarski, Dickinson College

Roundtable 3

**Survivors Speak: Examining the Past, Facing the Future**

Chair: Robert Krell, M.D., University of British Columbia

Anna Ornstein, M.D., Harvard University  
Robert Waisman, C.A., Vancouver Holocaust Education Center  
Harry Penn, M.D., Harvard Medical School and Boston Psychoanalytic Institute

3:30-3:45 PM *Coffee Break*



Panel 17

**Regional Particularities: The Holocaust in Estonia, Croatia, and Hungary**

Chair: Susanna Schrafstetter, University of Vermont

"Murder Without Hatred: Explaining Estonian Collaboration in the Holocaust"  
Anton Weiss-Wendt, Norwegian Holocaust Center, Oslo

"The Croatian 'Holocaust' and the Weapon of Forced Conversions: A Failed Genocide"  
Christopher P. Davey, Kingston University, UK

"Reevaluating the Hungarian Holocaust: The Destruction of Subcarpathian Rus' Jewry as a Case Study"  
Raz Segal, Clark University

"Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest: Myth, History & Holocaust"  
Paul A. Levine, Uppsala University

Panel 18

**The Italian Case**

Chair: Franklin Adler, Macalester College

"Fascist Anti-Semitic Legislation in Comparative Perspective"  
Michele Sarfatti, Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea, Milan

"Razza e Civiltà and the Cultural Dynamics of Italy after 1938"  
Guri Swartz, University of Pisa

"Rethinking Fascist Anti-Semitism – a Historiographical Overview"  
Annalisa Capristo, Centro Studi Americani, Rome

"The Economic Persecution of Italian Jews – Fascism and its Aftermath"  
Ilaria Pavan, Scuola Normale di Pisa

Panel 19

**Space, Place and the Holocaust**

Chair: Dagmar Herzog, Graduate Center, CUNY

"Walking in the Footsteps of the Vanished: Using Physical Landscapes to Better Understand *Wehrmacht* Participation in *Einsatzgruppen* Killings in Belarus"  
Waitman Beorn, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

"A Spatial Analysis of the Holocaust in Italy: National and International Dimensions"  
Alberto Giordano, Texas State University

"Experiencing ghetto landscapes: Mapping victims' experiences of ghettoization in Budapest, 1944"  
Tim Cole, University of Bristol

"Understanding the Spaces Inbetween: The Invisible Spaces of SS Personnel as 'Bystanders' at Auschwitz"  
Paul B. Jaskot, DePaul University

Panel 20

**Cross-Cultural Politics and Aesthetic Controversies of Holocaust Films**

Chair: Myrna Goldenberg, Montgomery College

"Hard Currency: Re-Presenting the Holocaust in Stefan Ruzowitzky's Film *The Counterfeiters*"  
Brad Prager, University of Missouri

"Controversy in Holocaust Cinema: The Case of *The Mortal Storm*"  
Alexis Pogorelskin, University of Minnesota, Duluth

"Problems of Representation: Strategies of Re-enactment in Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*"  
Toni-Lynn Frederick, University of Reading

"Popular Holocaust Film: Everyone's Holocaust"  
Phyllis Lassner, Northwestern University

6:00 PM *Dinner*

Greetings: Mary Jane Saunders, Florida Atlantic University

8:00 PM *"Kaddish"*

Composition by Lawrence Siegel,

for Chorus, Soloists and Chamber Orchestra

University Theater,

Florida Atlantic University

Sunday, November 7, 2010

7:00-8:30 AM *Breakfast*

8:30-10:30 AM *Panels*

Panel 21

**The Struggle of Nazis and Jews to Shape German Law before and after the Holocaust**

Chair: Kenneth F. Ledford, Case Western Reserve University

"What was Jewish about the 'Jewish Influence' on German Law as Viewed by Nazi Legal Theorists?"

Robert D. Rachlin, Vermont Law School, and Downs Rachlin Martin PLLC

"The Ernst Fraenkel Dilemma: Nazism, Jewish Lawyers and the Option of Resistance"

Douglas G. Morris, Federal Defenders of New York, Inc.

"The 'Constitution of Freedom': Carl Schmitt and the Nuremberg Laws"

Joseph W. Bendersky, Virginia Commonwealth University

"'Initiative from Secret Go-Between': Jewish Émigre Lawyers, Gestapo Officers, and the Controversy over the Reichstag Fire in the 1950s and 1960s"

Benjamin Carter Hett, Hunter College and the Graduate Center, CUNY

Panel 22

**Holocaust Memory in Place and Time**

Chair: Gershon Greenberg, American University

"Is the German Past Mastered? Holocaust Memory in Germany Twenty Years after Unification"

Eric Langenbacher, Georgetown University

"Memory of the Holocaust and National Identities in Post-Communist Europe"

Joanna Michlic, Brandeis University

"Holocaust Memory in Apartheid South Africa"

Shirli Gilbert, University of Southampton

"The Future of Holocaust Memory? Human Rights Discourse on Genocide"

Elke Heckner, University of California, Berkeley

Panel 23

**Rethinking Consensuality and Coercion: Instrumental Sex and Sexual Violence in the Holocaust**

Chair: Nathan Stoltzfus, Florida State University

"Pipel: Homosexual exploitation of young men and women in Nazi Concentration Camps"

Robert Sommer, Humboldt-University Berlin

"Rational Relationships and Instrumental Sex in Theresienstadt, 1941-1945"

Anna Hájková, University of Toronto

'And this was our liberation': Rape of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, the Re-Evaluation of Liberation, and the Social Meaning of Rape

Monika J. Flaschka, Kent State University

"Sexual Violence, Instrumental Sex, and Genocide: How Holocaust Scholars and Scholars of Other Conflicts Might Learn From Each Other"

Elizabeth Heineman, University of Iowa