

The Bulletin

OF THE CAROLYN AND LEONARD MILLER CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES

VOLUME 21

THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

SPRING 2017

In Memoriam Marion Pritchard 1920–2016

by Yehudi Lindeman



Photo Credit: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of "Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust"

During the summer of 1942, when the Germans started moving thousands of Jewish men, women and children out of their homes in the Netherlands for transport to camps in Poland, no nucleus of rescuers existed, let alone any organized rescue operation. Marion Pritchard was among the first to step forward and give active support to those targeted for deportation.

Marion Pritchard, a social worker, psychoanalyst, and teacher who helped rescue and hide dozens of Dutch Jewish children during

World War II, died on December 11, 2016, in Washington, D.C. She was 96. She had been a long-time resident of Vermont, and was, for many years, active as a guest speaker at the University of Vermont.

Born in 1920 as Marion Philippina van Binsbergen, she grew up in Amsterdam in a comfortable middle-class home. Her father, a judge, was liberal and progressive in outlook, and had a strong sense of right and wrong. Her mother, who was English, came from a family that valued the Anglican faith, and Marion spent several years at an English boarding school. She also became a Girl Guide in the international scouting movement that was active in England at the time.

Back in Amsterdam, Marion chose to enroll in the School for Social Work. During her first year, from 1940 to 1941, she became affiliated with a group of fellow students who participated in clandestine work. She said that she was present, though not involved in the work, when the Germans invaded the apartment of a fellow student. Marion was arrested, along with a number of her fellow students and friends, for mimeographing and distributing news bulletins based on illegal radio transmissions from the BBC. She spent seven months in the notorious Amsterdam prison before being released.

Not long afterwards, when she was back studying at the School for Social Work, on her bicycle on her way to class she witnessed an event that would change her life. Taking her usual route and passing through a familiar street, she accidentally watched a *razzia*, the word used by the Dutch for *Aktion*, or raid. Sitting on her bicycle, frozen to the spot, she witnessed how German policemen emptied out a Jewish children's home in order to deport the young children, many of them orphans. Silently, she observed how the Germans impatiently threw or dumped the children, aged two to eight, into a waiting truck, picking them up by an arm or a leg or the hair. From then on, the direction of her life would radically change. As she put it, "I sat on my bike, watching and doing nothing. Total overwhelming rage. I don't think I was ever as enraged as that in my life before."

From then on Marion started to participate actively in the Resistance, often working by herself or cooperating with a network that located hiding places for Jewish children. Her mandate was to work as a courier, visit children at their hiding address, and transport them to a new address, by train or simply on the back of her bicycle,

Continued on next page

IN THIS ISSUE

<i>In Memoriam</i> Marion Pritchard 1920-2016 1	Update on the <i>Ordinary Soldiers Project</i> 8	Student and Alumni News 14
Marion Pritchard-van Binsbergen's Legacy 3	Teaching "World War I in Global Perspective" . . 9	Events of 2016-2017 15
Review of Cesarani, <i>Final Solution: The Fate of the Jews, 1933-1949</i> 5	Review of Fillmore, <i>An Address in Amsterdam: A Novel</i> 9	Preview of Events, 2017–2018 18
Holocaust Studies Courses offered at UVM 7	News from the Faculty 11	Volumes from the Miller Symposia 19
		Contact Information 20

In Memoriam, continued from front page

and supply them with fake identity papers, ration cards and, when needed, medical aid.

Of her many missions, two stand out. She succeeded in finding a relatively stable and secure hiding place for a family of four, a Jewish man and his three young children—hardly a simple task. The man's half-Jewish wife had left the family to go into hiding by herself. For the next two years, Marion looked after him and the children (aged less than one year, two, and four), and helped them survive. At one point, using a small pistol that a colleague in the Resistance had given her just in case things went wrong, she shot the Dutch Nazi collaborator who was about to arrest the family. With a nearby friend she engineered a successful plot to erase all traces of her spontaneous, but cold-blooded action.

On another occasion, she received an unexpected phone call from a young woman colleague who was too sick to carry out an unusual rescue mission. The woman asked her to pick up a “package” at the child care center, or *crèche*, as it was known, opposite the Hollandsche Schouwburg (Holland Theater) that was used as a temporary holding pen for large numbers of Jewish families arrested in Amsterdam and singled out for deportation. Upon arrival, she was given a bundle containing a young baby. When, after a seemingly endless journey by train, she arrived at the right station, the man waiting for her told her that something had gone wrong, and that the address for the baby was no longer available. Eventually, the man's wife accepted the newborn child, explaining to her children that Marion was its mother, and a sinner, for having a baby out of wedlock was considered a terrible sin at the time. “My punishment was that I would never be allowed to see the baby again.... But I understood that when the people of the village would ask the children, ‘Where did this baby come from?’ they would give a perfectly (in the context of those times) acceptable explanation.”

Removing young children from the *crèche* and taking them into hiding, always with the consent of the parents who were waiting to be deported, was one way in which the Jewish Underground, operating at the Hollandsche Schouwburg, was able to save hundreds of lives. It involved a risky and complicated administrative sleight of hand, for in order to disappear physically, the child's file had to be lifted from the carefully guarded central filing system. It is estimated that in this way, between seven hundred and a thousand children's lives were saved.

After the liberation of the Netherlands by the Canadian First Army, Marion went to work for the UN in Displaced Persons (DP) camps in Germany. There she looked after the needs of survivors of the war, most of them Jewish, and assisted those who would be settling in the United States (“Most of them wanted to go to Israel,” said Marion). During that time, she met her future husband Anton “Tony” Pritchard, a captain in the U.S. Army. Captain Pritchard had been part of the force that liberated Buchenwald, which left an indelible impression on him. The couple met at a DP camp in Windsheim in Bavaria, where both of them worked for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, or UNRRA. Marion was an Area Team Welfare Officer, and Tony was Director of the UNRRA Area Team.

Marion and Tony married in April 1947, and decided that, after working for the UNRRA for two years, it was time to move on, which for them translated into emigration/repatriation to the United States. On May 29, they flew out of Berlin and landed the following morning in New York. The couple settled in North Providence, Rhode Island.

In the 1970s Tony and Marion Pritchard became residents of Vermont, Tony working as a health care consultant and Marion as a psychoanalyst. The couple and their three children occupied a large farmhouse and sprawling property outside the small village

of Vershire. Marion was a member of the external Advisory Board of the Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont from its inception in the early 1990s. I remember picking her up at the farmhouse in Vershire and driving her back home on at least two occasions. Getting a ride was the one condition on which Marion, already in her late seventies or early eighties, would attend the Board meetings.

Marion was an active participant, along with a number of survivors and guest lecturers, in the Summer Seminar for Teachers, organized annually by the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies and coordinated by Robert Bernheim beginning in the mid-1990s. According to Bernheim, “she could silence a room with her presence.... Her message was timeless: it is essential to care about our fellow human beings. Values matter.... But in expressing these sentiments, she never preached or spoke down to her audiences.” Dignified and somewhat reserved, Marion made a deep impression on her audiences, who were mostly high school teachers from across Vermont and other New England states. On a number of occasions, she spoke to students at Champlain Valley Union High School, in Hinesburg, Vermont. Marion also served for many years as a co-teacher of the annual seminar on the Holocaust, alongside Debórah Dwork, at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, where Dwork was the Rose Professor of Holocaust Studies.

On a personal note, I was a young boy in hiding for nearly three years in mostly rural parts of the Netherlands from 1942 to 1945. One of my fondest memories during those often very dark times was when a courier, usually a woman on a bicycle, came to take me from one hiding address, a place where for various reasons I could no longer stay, to a new location where, at least for the time being, I would be more welcome and secure. I vividly remember sitting on the rear seat of a bicycle, usually in the early evening or at night, sometimes with rain gushing down on the empty road or bicycle path, and treasuring the sense of safety and protection as I was huddled up against the back of the invariably anonymous person in front of me.

I have had a chance during the past 25 years to express my gratitude to only two of the women who looked after me then as part of the “children's work,” as it is called in Dutch. I want to include Marion, knowing that she was one such woman. There is even a remote chance that I passed through her hands, or the hands of one of her immediate colleagues, on my way to safety. I have for many years wondered who the people were who so quietly risked their lives to keep us secure. Here is a thanks to all of them.

Finally, it is appropriate to note here some of the public distinctions awarded to Marion Pritchard. She

- was honored as one of the ‘Righteous among the Nations’ by Yad Vashem in 1983,
- received the Anti-Defamation League's prestigious Courage to Care award in 1990,
- was honored with the Wallenberg Medal in 1996, in memory of the rescue work undertaken by the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg during World War II, and
- received the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of Vermont in 2003.

With the passing of Marion van Binsbergen Pritchard the world lost a brave and noble woman who acted on her convictions at a time when most other people stood by and looked on in dismay, or turned away. May the memory of Marion be a blessing to us all.

Yehudi Lindeman is Professor Emeritus of English at McGill University and a member of the Board of Advisors of the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies.

Marion Pritchard-van Binsbergen's Legacy

by Debórah Dwork

Editor's note: the following essay originally appeared in David Scrase, Wolfgang Mieder, and Katherine Quimby Johnson, eds., *Making a Difference: Rescue and Assistance During the Holocaust. Essays in Honor of Marion Pritchard*. Burlington: The Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont, 2004, pp. 11-19.

It is my privilege to sit at Marion Pritchard's side every week for one semester each year. She joined me at the head of the seminar table five years ago to co-teach a course on Jewish children in Nazi Europe. It was but the beginning of what developed into a cycle of classes on a variety of topics: rescue and resistance; life and death in the cities of Nazi Europe; life for gentiles and for Jews in occupied Europe. When we began our work together, I aimed to found the nation's first degree-granting center for Holocaust and genocide studies. Marion's strength and wisdom proved a supporting pillar of that enterprise. She championed the mission of the center: to teach undergraduate and graduate students about the history of the Holocaust and other genocides around the world.

In awe of Marion—and rightly so—the students hardly breathe when she speaks. They read a book a week, and her practice is to tell them about the history she experienced that relates to that text. For them, this generosity of spirit is an extension of the generosity she showed during the war years. “Professor Pritchard was an exceptional joy,” Dottie Stone, a second year PhD student at the Center, has explained. “She was frank and honest about her experiences in rescue and resistance, sharing events of a personal nature that were painful for her, but ones that she saw as important for our understanding of the situation in which she found herself. Her unselfishness helped save lives during the Holocaust and helps broaden the knowledge and understanding of young scholars today.” The students understand, too, that—although she would shrink from the mere idea—she teaches them to be better human beings. “Professor Pritchard has a quiet intensity about her,” Kate Weiss '03 observed. “To be in the presence of a person of such boundless courageousness and heroism is such an honor. I am drawn to the study of the Holocaust because of the mind-boggling and utter disregard for human life; I am drawn to Professor Pritchard and her teachings because of her overwhelming compassion and respect for human life.”

Marion and I function as a team in the classroom. If I am a historian of the Holocaust, Marion was there: an active, engaged, energetic rescuer. As then doctoral student Beth Cohen (who has since earned her degree) put it, “We had the benefit of Debórah's historical expertise and we had the rare opportunity to hear first-hand from Professor Pritchard, a woman who brought her perspective as rescuer and also as a psychoanalyst into the discussion.” So much for the students' point of view. The truth is that she teaches me, too. Certainly, this is due in part to her history.

Marion van Binsbergen (her maiden name) was a social work student at the University of Amsterdam when the Germans invaded the Netherlands. What prompted her to undertake illegal, clandestine, and dangerous activities? Every day, on her way to the university she passed a small children's home. One day in 1942 she was frozen by the sight of Germans “taking the children out to a truck. The children didn't move very fast. They were crying and they were upset. The Germans just picked them up by an arm, or a leg, or by their hair, and threw them in the truck. I was sitting on my bike watching this. I knew this street as long as I'd been around. It was like—it was like a murder enacted in the next room right now. It's so shocking, you are immobilized. Two women came down the street from the other end and tried to stop them, and they threw the women on the truck too. And I sat on my bike, watching and doing nothing. Total overwhelming rage. I don't think I was ever as enraged as that in my life before.” (1994)

It was the last time Marion van Binsbergen “did nothing.” She did not belong to a network. Like the vast majority of people involved in rescue, she worked on her own. Helped by many others, and aiding others in turn, Marion van Binsbergen responded to the problems that arose day by day. “There was always work to be done. The people I knew and the people who knew me called on me, but it wasn't organized. Sometimes I was called twice in a day, sometimes weeks would go by without anything special being asked.” (1994)

As Marion has pointed out to our seminar, she, like all rescuers at the time, was untrained in clandestine work. Given her character, it does not surprise that she was a passionately committed rescuer. She was also lucky. She brought food, clothes, and papers to people in need. She sought out hiding places and escorted the hunted to safe havens. And she took on special missions. Relaying one such incident to the class, Marion focused on the role and function of social assumptions and prejudices, and elaborated on the details of daily life in the occupied Netherlands. “An old friend of mine, a friend since we were born, called me and said she was supposed to deliver a ‘package’ to the north of Holland the next day, and she's running a fever, and she can't do it, and will I? I said yes. She told me where to pick it up: behind the crèche. I knew what the crèche was. I knew what the function of the Hollandse Schouwberg was. But I didn't know that this rescue operation was going on.” (1994) The rescue operation involved spiriting Jewish children out of a day care center that the Germans had taken over as an annex to the Hollandse Schouwberg, which functioned as their deportation depot.

Marion went to the crèche, not quite sure what the “package” would be. “I figured it was something illegal or something secret. And I thought it might be a child, but I didn't think about it. It could have been a number of other things too.” So she was not taken aback when “somebody came out and gave me a practically newborn baby girl. I was standing on the sidewalk and somebody gave me the baby.” Marion took the first tram to the central station. The train journey north “took all day because the Germans took all our equipment.” In German-occupied Holland, Marion observed, there were “no new tires, no new bicycles, no new baby carriages.” It took a long time to get anywhere, which made every move arduous and frustrating. And, as Marion explained, “being constantly cold and hungry was debilitating.” In this case, the trip took “hours and hours and hours.”

I had been told that I would be met at the station by a man. There was indeed a man, and he told me I was expected, but the people I was supposed to go to weren't around any more. They had been arrested.

He clearly felt he had done his duty by telling me that I had just better get back on another train and go back to Amsterdam. I was tired and cold and hungry, and sick and tired of this poor baby. I had been given a bottle for it, but that was long gone by then. The baby was fussy, and I just wanted to drop it and leave.

This man said I could come to his house with him and rest for a little while. Maybe his wife could find some milk for the baby before we went on our way.

We went to a modest house at the end of the street that runs through the village. We went inside and it was warm. I sat down on a chair and fell asleep. When I woke up, the woman was changing and feeding the baby—and telling her own children that I was a sinner. I had this baby out of wedlock. My punishment was that I would never be allowed to see the baby again.

As he walked me back to the station, the husband apologized for saying these terrible things about me. (In those days, a girl didn't do such things.) But I understood that when the people in the village would ask the children, “Where did this baby come from?” they would give a perfectly (in the context of those times) acceptable explanation. (1994)

continued on Page 4

continued from Page 3

Marion responded to the many immediate calls for assistance and, at the same time, she hid three Jewish children and their father. From Marion, the students learned how these eight words “I hid three Jewish children and their father,” translated into daily life. How did this come about? How did they manage? What were the consequences? Family friends, Miek and Piet Rutgers van der Loeff, asked if she could find a place for their friend Freddie Polak and his children aged four, two, and newborn, she explained. “I couldn’t find any place that would take a man plus three children. So then Miek arranged for me to live in the servants’ quarters of his mother-in-law’s house.” It was a nice house at 3 Patrijslaan, “a dirt road out in the middle of nowhere” near the village of Huizen. From the fall of 1942 to the fall of 1943, “I went as often as possible on weekends. When I finished the School of Social Work in November of ’43, I moved in twenty-four hours a day and took over.” (1994) There was a lot to do: caring for the children, cleaning them, obtaining food. She was the only one who could move about and, as food got scarcer, Marion ranged ever farther afield.

Danger lurked constantly. Miek and Piet had prepared a hiding place under the floorboards in case of raids. It was large enough for a desk, and Freddie, who was writing his doctoral dissertation, worked on it there. “The Germans had to come in a motorized vehicle. There was enough time so that we would hear the engine, and by the time they found the house and opened the gate and figured out which was the front door and which was the back door, we could hide. We could do it in thirty seconds. We practiced a lot.” (1994) A kind of Anne Frank story. But with a very different ending.

One night three Germans and a Dutch policeman, who was also an NSBer [Dutch Nazi] came. I had managed to get everyone into the hiding place, but I didn’t have the time, or take the time, to give Erica, the baby, her sleeping powder. It was usual for Nazis who had been and hadn’t found the people they were after to come back after an hour, and then they would find them. We knew that, but Erica started to cry, and I took the children out. Freddie was in the middle of a chapter or something, and he decided to stay.

I put Lex and Tom back to bed and Erica in her crib. Maybe half an hour later, the Dutchman came back by himself. I hadn’t locked the door and I hadn’t put the hiding place back together. I don’t remember if he said anything, but I knew that if I didn’t do something he’d definitely find the kids...

He came in. By this time I was standing between the stove and the head of the bed. There was a bookshelf above the bed, and the gun Miek had given me—and I hadn’t thought about at all, and I don’t remember him teaching me how to use—was behind the books on the bookshelf. I grabbed it and shot him.

I don’t know if Lex heard the commotion and noise and got [my friend] Karel, or if Karel heard the shot, but there he was. (Karel, by that time, was in the garden house of Mr. and Mrs. de Wette next door.) Karel walked to the village—which was a very dangerous thing to do; it was after curfew—to talk to the baker, who had a wooden cart and horse to deliver his bread. Before he returned, the two of them made arrangements with the local undertaker who agreed to put the body in the coffin with another body and bury it the next day. It was a big family funeral. I never learned whether the family minded.

I wish there had been another way. But I have thought about it for fifty years, and I still do not know what that might be. I wasn’t going to let him take the children. And so I shot him. (2001)

By the end of the war, Marion noted, she had “killed, stolen, lied, everything. I had broken every one of the Ten Commandment, except maybe the first.” Still, she did not see her work as part of the “real Resistance.” She, like most rescuers, says she did what had to be done. “I didn’t think about it. I just did it.” The students thought differently. “I was struck—hard—by her modesty; telling the class about her truly heroic acts and all the while insisting that she did nothing extraordinary,” Beth Cohen observed. “She is a true *eshet chayil*, woman of valor.”

Marion and I have sat together for hours on end in Vershire, New Haven, Wellfleet, and Worcester recording her oral history. Her experience as “participant

historian” has shaped mine as “analytic historian.” Jews were at least as active in rescue operations as gentiles, Marion asserted on several occasions. Not solely to save themselves, but also to aid others. Some were at least as vulnerable as the people they sought to save. This was a point we stressed in our seminars. For example: Marion had found the place for Karel Poons, a gay Jewish ballet dancer, in the garden house of the de Wettes’ villa next door to hers. He dyed his hair and passed as a gentile. And he was involved in rescue activities. In July 1944, Karel and Marion were asked to rescue a two-year-old girl who was held under guard at a physician’s house in another village. The Gestapo hoped to get more out of their interrogation of her parents if they knew she was in danger. “Karel insisted on coming with me. I didn’t want him to. I could have been in trouble if our plan hadn’t worked. But there was absolutely no doubt about the fact that he would have been in serious trouble. He was Jewish. He was gay. He was hiding from the Nazis, and he was now going to kidnap the child the Nazis wanted.”

Their plan worked. Karel chatted to the guard at the front door while Marion went in the back where she found the child upstairs, with the doctor’s wife and their children. The doctor’s wife tried to stop Marion, but “I gave her a good shove. I picked up the little girl, ran downstairs and put her on the back of my bike.” Karel kept on talking to the guard as Marion pedaled away.

The students in our seminar wrestled with the meaning, and the significance, of this genre of resistance. As did I. Actions such as these clearly illuminate how people (Marion, Karel) transcended the hardships they endured each day and organized help for others and for themselves. Despite the terror of the German rule, it was possible to circumvent difficulties and negotiate obstacles. Not everyone stood by silently. Not everyone participated in genocide. Other forms of behavior were practicable and feasible.

At the same time, the history of the Holocaust is a story of utter perdition and ruin. It poses an existential question mark to the very notion of “western civilization.” What do such words mean? What, in light of the Holocaust, is the definition of the word “civilization”? And why are the rescuers significant?

I suggested that we think again about the devastation of Sodom. When God decided to destroy the city of Sodom because sin and injustice ruled, Abraham reminded God that the righteous would fall with the wicked. Perhaps, Abraham suggested, there were as many as fifty righteous people in Sodom. God agreed with Abraham: the city would be saved if he found fifty such souls. Abraham had won the point. And so he haggled. If God would spare the city for the sake of fifty, why not forty? Or thirty? Or twenty? Or ten? And there the bargain was struck.

Ten righteous people were not to be found. Sodom was destroyed, unlamented to this day. During the Holocaust, by contrast, hundreds of thousands of righteous—Jews like Karel Poons; gentiles like Marion Pritchard-van Binsbergen—came forward throughout German-Europe. Still: there is no silver lining to the Holocaust. One cannot say, “it was the most lethal, most geographically comprehensive genocide in the history of western civilization *but* the rescuers were heroes.” What one can say, however, is “The Holocaust was the most lethal, most geographically comprehensive genocide in the history of western civilization, *and* the rescuers were heroes.” At the same time. And thus, Marion’s legacy to all of us is hope.

NOTE:

It has been my privilege to record Marion Pritchard’s oral history on a number of occasions throughout the years. In addition to hours of informal conversation, we have taped sessions recorded in New Haven (6 June and 31 July 1994); Wellfleet (2 and 3 August 1994); Vershire (24 October 1994); and Worcester (29 August 2001). The quotes cited here come from those sessions. Students’ comments were solicited and recorded by Rachel Iskov, presently a third-year graduate student in the Holocaust History PhD program.

© Debórah Dwork

Debórah Dwork is Rose Professor of Holocaust History and Director of the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts.

BOOK REVIEW
by Nathan Gondelman

Final Solution: The Fate of the Jews, 1933–1949

By David Cesarani. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016.

In the autumn of 2014, the University of Vermont's Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies welcomed Professor David Cesarani of Royal Holloway College at the University of London to deliver the annual Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture. Cesarani's presentation focused on his upcoming book, a comprehensive study that integrated the history of the Holocaust with that of the Second World War. Tragically, Professor Cesarani died in October 2015 before the publication of *Final Solution: The Fate of the Jews, 1933–1949* this past November. Though his passing will undoubtedly leave a void in the field of Holocaust studies, academics and students of the Holocaust alike can be grateful that Professor Cesarani's final work is a significant contribution to the current scholarship on the Shoah.

Structurally, *Final Solution* is a complete and chronological history of the Holocaust, commencing with Hitler's ascent to the German chancellorship in January 1933, though the bulk of the book covers the wartime period. Cesarani's emphasis is specifically narrowed to the Jewish experience during the Holocaust, and he weaves first-hand accounts from individual Jews in Europe into his narrative to lend a decidedly human counterbalance to his more macroscopic arguments. Indeed, the excerpts from diaries, letters and, to a lesser degree, postwar accounts and memoirs, provide corroboration to Cesarani's overall thesis. With respect to timeline, Cesarani takes a non-traditional approach in ending his study not at the liberation of the camps or at the German surrender in May 1945. Instead, Cesarani addresses the frequently neglected aftermath of liberation, including the often heart-wrenching experiences of Jews who attempted to return to their prewar homes, as well as those who remained in displaced persons camps while attempting to reunite with any surviving family members and find a new national home. This is a work of integrative history positing some new and relatively controversial ideas, and it should be noted that Cesarani elected to use only English-language sources.

From the outset of the book, Cesarani laments the increasing discrepancy between the popular memory of the Holocaust and the contemporary scholarly trends within the field. While this divergence between memory and history is hardly uncommon, Cesarani contends that the use of the term "Holocaust" is at the core of the problem and actually perpetuates this dichotomy because it carries with it an inextricable linkage to the more misleading aspects of the popular understanding of the subject. To extricate popular memory from the misapprehensions endemic to the word "Holocaust," Cesarani proposes an alternative term that is eponymous to his book: "Final Solution." While the importance and implications of terminology are not to be disregarded, Cesarani's concentration on the nomenclature seems of far less consequence than the substance of what he identifies as the familiar popular misconceptions about the Holocaust.

Specifically, Cesarani believes that the term "Holocaust" is irretrievably attached to an overemphasis on death camps (specifically Auschwitz) and deportations of Jews from Western Europe, relative to the open-air shootings and the experience of ghettoized Jews in Eastern Europe. An effort to correct this imbalance, which is borne out by the statistical fact that Auschwitz accounted for less than twenty percent of Jewish fatalities, not to mention that a significant majority of the Jews who were killed in the Holocaust were from Eastern Europe, is certainly not new to *Final Solution*. Recent works including Timothy Snyder's *Bloodlands* and Stephen Fritz's *Ostkrieg* have posited similar corrective arguments. However, Cesarani is unique in incorporating this evidence into a comprehensive and continental history of the Holocaust that spans from *Einsatzgruppen* actions in the Caucasus to deportations of Jews from Norway.

Cesarani also asserts that survival testimony, while undeniably valuable, has distorted the associations the average person makes with the Holocaust. That some of these pitfalls are self-evident but often overlooked makes them particularly troublesome. Cesarani finds that reliance on survivor testimony is problematic because survival itself was so aberrational among Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe during the Second World War. According to Cesarani, disproportionate attention toward survival narratives has led to a propensity for finding redemption amid a singular and unmitigated humanitarian calamity. Consequently, Cesarani detects an unwillingness to devote popular—and, until more recently, scholarly—attention toward some of the more unseemly and delicate aspects of the Holocaust, including sexual abuse, widespread venality among the Jewish hierarchy in ghettos, and compulsory cooperation between Jews and Germans, among other challenging issues. Indeed, Cesarani's candid examination of the role of the *Ordnungsdienst* (Jewish ghetto police) in facilitating roundups of Jews throughout the Warsaw and Łódź ghettos is certain to be controversial by striking an interesting balance: it unflinchingly places overall culpability with the Germans, without exonerating individual complicity and self-interested cooperation by Jews in specific scenarios. A similar thread is manifest in Cesarani's thorough analysis of the conspicuous class and national hierarchies within the ghettos, as he juxtaposes the comparably comfortable residences and elegant dining habits of some affluent and well-connected Jews against the famished and squalid existence of the destitute within the very same sealed walls.

Echoing his talk at UVM in 2014, Cesarani's most compelling and provocative argument in *Final Solution* is that the trajectory of the Holocaust can only be understood in the context of the prosecution of the war. Accordingly, scholarly studies that have

continued on Page 6

continued from Page 5

focused on the Holocaust at the expense of the military conflict have failed to recognize the symbiotic relationship between German military outcomes and the fate of the Jews. Consciously transcending the intentionalist-functionalist dialectic, Cesarani aims to debunk the presumption that the Holocaust was a preordained, systematic, and organized German undertaking by demonstrating that the experience and ultimate fate of the Jews was more an outgrowth of the fortunes and exigencies of the war than the product of pure, unadulterated antisemitic ideology. Ideology was undeniably intrinsic to the murderous relationship between the Third Reich and the Jews of Europe, and the decision to annihilate the Jews undoubtedly emanated from Hitler. But the way in which the Holocaust unfolded was, according to Cesarani, far more the function of an incoherent, non-linear, and slapdash German wartime improvisation than has been previously realized.

Cesarani asserts that during the early, victorious phase of the war, from autumn 1939 through late summer 1941, the Reich's preferred method of disposing of the Jews under their yoke was through "a combination of forced emigration and expulsion." For the Germans, these heady days opened up potential territorial solutions to the one dilemma precipitated by the Wehrmacht's dizzying triumphs: an increasing number of Jews under German occupation. Each successive German military campaign facilitated another potential grandiose geographic solution to the Jewish question. The subjugation of Poland in the fall of 1939 saw the germination of the "Nisko Project," a proposal involving the deportation of Jews to a secluded reservation near Lublin. Hurried and careless preparation quickly undermined this plan before it was ever undertaken on a grand scale. In the wake of the German conquest of France the following summer, the Reich considered deporting the Jews of Europe to the remote French colony of Madagascar. This scheme proved similarly abortive because of geopolitical realities—specifically British intransigence in the face of German appeals for surrender—that precluded the kind of German access to the high seas necessary for such a colossal undertaking. Lastly, the prospect of the destruction of the Soviet Union in summer 1941 presented the option of deporting Europe's Jews to an area of isolated desolation beyond the Ural Mountains. While Cesarani implicitly acknowledges that the successful execution of any of these three options would surely have had disastrous effects on the Jewish population, he does not seem to envision it immediately resulting in the kind of large-scale genocide that we now associate with the Holocaust. Of course, a detailed attempt to extrapolate the outcomes of any of these three plans would be a counterfactual exercise unfit and impossible for a scholar. However, Cesarani's assertion that the "Jews paid the price for German military failure" obliquely insinuates that German military success could have saved Jewish lives, making his ambiguity in this area a bit provocative.

Far less assailable is Cesarani's exploration of the direct relationship between the downturn in German military fortunes and the commencement and trajectory of the Final Solution. Though many in the public understand Operation Barbarossa in June 1941

as the true initiation of the Holocaust, Cesarani points out that, for the first six weeks or so of the campaign, *Einsatzgruppen* killings were primarily limited to adult men. Recent scholarship, including the work of David Stahel, has brought a new perspective to the German campaign in the East. This new trend has deemphasized the scale of the Wehrmacht's strategic successes in summer 1941 and has drawn attention to evidence that, after the first month and a half of the campaign, it was becoming apparent to Hitler and the rest of the German military leadership that the opportunity for a lightning victory had passed. Thus, the Reich was destined for the kind of static, protracted warfare that would immensely favor the Soviet Union. Cesarani notes how this timeline dovetails with the order, at the end of July and beginning of August, for *Einsatzgruppen* units in the field to begin murdering all Soviet Jews, including women and children. Moreover, this coincides with Hermann Göring's order to Reinhard Heydrich on 31 July 1941 to create an administrative plan for the Final Solution of the Jewish question. It was not victory fever in high summer, as many scholars from the school of moderate functionalism—most notably Christopher Browning—have believed, but a sense that total victory had eluded the Reich that precipitated the decision to undertake the most extreme measures against the Jews of the Soviet Union. By autumn 1941, Hitler doubted whether Germany could achieve total victory in the military sphere, but he was vindictively determined to win the Reich's other war—this one, against the Jews.

Indeed, Cesarani contends that the choice to commence a continental-wide genocide (as opposed to a genocide limited to the territory of the Soviet Union) was crystallized by the role of the United States in the war. Hitler had famously prophesized on 30 January 1939 that another world war would result in the destruction of the Jewish people. Meanwhile, Cesarani argues that a primary German rationale for keeping most of Europe's Jews alive deep into 1941 was for insurance against ongoing American neutrality. In the twisted world of Nazi ideology, America was but another country controlled by Jews, so naturally it would act in the best interest of saving as many imperiled Jews in Europe as possible. Therefore, German strategy was to maintain several million Jewish people in Europe as hostages to help guarantee continued "good behavior" by the Americans while Germany was preoccupied in the East. The Atlantic Charter of August 1941, which Hitler perceived as a decisive step toward American involvement in the war, coincided with the incipient stages of his realization that the Russian campaign would continue into 1942, and it hastened consideration of a radical solution to the Jewish question. Of course, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the ensuing German declaration of war ensured American involvement and created the exact scenario Hitler had outlined in his Reichstag speech almost three years before. Hitler was determined to follow through on this prophecy, though Cesarani believes his arrival at this outcome was the ultimately the result of the geopolitical vagaries of the war as much as it was about ideology.

The Reich's ability to actually carry out the Holocaust was,

continued on Page 7

continued from Page 6

as Cesarani demonstrates, not the result of a meticulous and well-organized operation. Instead, inconsistencies, haphazard planning, and clumsy execution plagued the entire enterprise of the Final Solution, and these mistakes were manifest in every facet of the endeavor, from ghettoization to open-air shootings to the administration of extermination camps. Cesarani contends that, as much as German failure to win the war by the end of 1941 sealed the fate of Jews, Allied inability to win the war quickly from 1942 on afforded the Reich with the necessary time and space to commit wholesale murder in spite of the relatively improvisational nature of the effort. Strategic mistakes and the fundamentally cumbersome nature of grand coalition warfare on the geographic scale of the Second World War frustrated the Allies and prolonged the agony of European Jews. Furthermore, Cesarani is sharply critical of Anglo-American intractability with respect to providing succor for refugees throughout the period of 1933-1949. He is also harsh in his assessment of Allied unwillingness to bomb Auschwitz and its surrounding rail tracks during 1944, though he curiously absolves Stalin for failing to come to the aid of the Polish uprising in Warsaw in August of the same year. Ignoring vast scholarship on the subject as well as the political storm that occurred as the Warsaw Uprising

unfolded, Cesarani attributes Soviet passivity to logistics, claiming that their summer offensive had stalled and any assistance to the Polish resistance on the other side of the Vistula would have been beyond the capabilities of the Red Army.

Like any work of scholarship—particularly of such a vast scope—*Final Solution* is not without its flaws. Overall, however, it is undoubtedly a worthy addition to the literature in the field. Cesarani's deft integration of the Holocaust within the greater military context of World War II, and his thesis that a separation of the two events can undermine our understanding of the Holocaust, could very well compel scholars to follow a similar paradigm moving forward. That the terminology by which we refer to the destruction of the European Jews is unlikely to change in the near future should not distract from Cesarani's greater effort to recalibrate the popular understanding of the Final Solution. If his arguments are taken seriously, Professor Cesarani's final work will augment his legacy as a significant contributor to the field of Holocaust studies.

Nathan Gondelman, B.A. History, 2009, M.A., History, 2016, is currently a staff member at the University of Vermont.

Holocaust Studies Courses Offered at UVM • 2016-2017

Fall 2016

HS/HST 115: History of Poland (Huener)
 HS/HST 190: The Holocaust (Nicosia)
 HS/HST 226: The Holocaust in Poland (Huener)

Spring 2017

HCOL 086: Hitler's Racial State (Nicosia)
 HS/HST 139: Modern Germany (Nicosia)
 HS/HST 191: History of World War II (Buchanan)

Fall 2017

HS/HST 139: Modern Germany (Schrafstetter)
 HS/REL 180: Moral and Religious Perspectives on the Holocaust (Sugarman)
 HS/HST 190: The Holocaust (Huener)
 HS/HST 227: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany (Nicosia)
 HS/HST 227: France under German Occupation (Zdatny)
 JS 50: Introduction to Jewish Studies (Sugarman)
 WLIT 017: Women in Nazi Germany (Schreckenberger)

Update on the *Ordinary Soldiers* Project

By Jody M. Prescott, UVM Class of 1983

With the support of the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies, the first iteration of the *Ordinary Soldiers: A Study in Ethics, Law, and Leadership* lesson plan was taught to UVM Army ROTC cadets in the spring of 2012. Published under the auspices of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and the West Point Center for Holocaust and Genocide studies, the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan is the result of a multidisciplinary team making a case study of the actions of a Wehrmacht infantry battalion in German-occupied Belarus in early October 1941. In the first week of that month, the commander of 1st Battalion, 691st Infantry Regiment ordered each of his three maneuver company commanders to kill all the Jews in their respective areas of operation. One commander, a member of the Nazi Party since 1929, complied immediately. A second commander considered the order, and refused it outright. The third commander hesitated to comply, until the battalion commander confirmed the order in writing. Once it was confirmed, he directed the company's first sergeant to gather a detail of soldiers and conduct the executions, while he went back to his office and handled administrative tasks. One illegal order to three very similarly-situated small unit commanders—three very different responses. Why?

For the fifth year, UVM and Norwich University Army ROTC cadets conducted the three-hour *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan in evening sessions at each location. Importantly, in the summer of 2016, the U.S. Army Cadet Command accepted the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan as curriculum that could be used by ROTC instructors to teach their lessons on the Law of Armed Conflict. The *Ordinary Soldiers* team had been working towards this goal since they had started developing the lesson plan in 2011, and this will hopefully lead to greater opportunities to conduct the lesson with ROTC detachments. To make it easier for new instructors to use the lesson plan, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum has created a short video featuring instructors who have successfully used the lesson plan explaining its value and the importance of teaching ethics, law, and leadership simultaneously. This video is now posted on the museum's website, www.ushmm.org/military/case-studies.

The summer of 2016 also saw the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan being used with non-military audiences for the first time. Working with the Virginia Bar's Continuing Legal Education division, the



International officers at the Defense Institute for International Legal Studies (DIILS) conducting their group work on the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan

Ordinary Soldiers team presented the lesson for members of the Virginia bar at the Virginia Holocaust Museum in Richmond, and then at a site near the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. The lesson plan proved its flexibility in adapting well to these new audiences. The attorneys were placed in the position of being on an advisory board providing feedback to a general who is wondering how the lesson plan might be used in her division to improve training on the law of armed conflict, ethics, and leadership. In their post-course surveys, the attorneys noted how much

they appreciated the opportunity to discuss the lesson in the “mass small group” format, because most of the continuing legal education courses they had attended consisted of them sitting for a number of hours and listening to one speaker.

This year also marked the second full year in which the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan was used at the Defense Institute of International Legal Studies (DIILS) in Newport, Rhode Island. DIILS runs a two-week human rights course twice a year, drawing students from many different countries across Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and South America. The students are primarily line officers, rather than legal advisors, and vary in rank from junior lieutenants to seasoned colonels. The three-hour version of the lesson plan is taught the same day that the students view a documentary on the massacre of South Vietnamese civilians at My Lai by U.S. soldiers in 1968. As with the U.S. cadets, these officers are placed in small groups for the lesson, but their task is different and directed toward their practical experiences. In this version, they are tasked with preparing a course of action sketch for how they would develop a training program in the law of armed conflict and leadership for a multinational unit being deployed on a hot Chapter 7 UN mission—incorporating what lessons they believe they learned from the case study. The response of the international students to the lesson plan has been very positive. Importantly, each group inevitably concludes with a training sketch that uses unique approaches to training, and the students appreciate the opportunity to present to each other these plans that reflect their varied operational experiences.

COL (Ret.) Jody M. Prescott is an adjunct faculty member in the UVM Political Science Department and the Environmental Studies Program, teaching environmental politics and environmental law.

Teaching “World War I in Global Perspective”

by Nicole Phelps and Andrew Buchanan

World War I was fought from 1914 to 1918, right? And its outcome largely explains why World War II happened from 1939 to 1945, yes? That is undoubtedly what many of us learned in school and even in our college history courses, but it is an interpretation that is being challenged by a new wave of scholarship that emphasizes the temporal and geographic scope of these conflicts. In the fall 2016 semester, Andrew Buchanan and Nicole Phelps of the History Department offered a course on “World War I in Global Perspective” to explore these new approaches with forty UVM students.

In taking a global approach to both of the world wars, rather than a Euro-American centered approach, the timing of the wars expands dramatically, arguably eliminating the “interwar” period entirely. World War I easily fills the timeline from the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911 to the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne with the new post-Ottoman Turkish state. In looking carefully at the Bolshevik Revolution and the long process of securing Soviet rule and establishing borders from Turkey to Japan, one sees the conflict stretching through the 1920s and contributing to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931—arguably, the start of World War II. The global approach also makes it easier to see World War I as a conflict of empires. Indeed, it was a conflict that expanded imperial holdings, especially those of Britain and France in the former Ottoman lands, and those of Japan in China and the Pacific, generating instability and contributing to nationalist movements and calls for decolonization that added layers of complication to World War II and the subsequent Cold War.

In the course, we first covered the basic, established chronology of World War I and the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Then we delved into units on individual experiences of war, the changing relationship

between citizens and states, and global geopolitics, all of which provided opportunities to challenge and adapt the basic narrative. We went far beyond the trenches of the Western Front, considering the mobilization of economies around the globe, the military service of colonial and indigenous populations, the ways in which the war transformed political relationships within empires, and the haphazard nature of the peace conference, among numerous other topics.

The wide array of people who participated helped make the class exciting. Buchanan is a specialist on World War II, military history, and approaches to global history, which nicely complimented Phelps’s specialties on World War I, Austria-Hungary, and US diplomatic history. (Buchanan’s enthusiasm for the working classes and Phelps’s skill at impromptu cartography added something indefinable, too!) In addition to the co-instructors, ten members of the UVM History Department gave lectures or participated in panel discussions, bringing welcome expertise on India, Russia, China, Mexico, and a range of other places and topics. Prof. Christopher Capozzola of MIT also visited campus, speaking to students in class and giving a public lecture at the Bailey-Howe Library’s Special Collections Department based on his book *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (Oxford, 2010).

The students’ response to the course was extremely positive, and many participated in the discussion sessions that were built into the syllabus. Phelps and Buchanan look forward to offering an updated version of the course in 2018.

Nicole Phelps and Andrew Buchanan are faculty in the Department of History

BOOK REVIEW

by Mark Pendergrast

An Address in Amsterdam: A Novel.

By Mary Dingee Fillmore. Berkeley, CA: She Writes Press, 2016.

An Address in Amsterdam, by Mary Dingee Fillmore, is a remarkable Holocaust novel, deeply researched and fully realized, with believable characters coping with the unfolding reality of the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands. At the end, it offers a valuable selected bibliography, a chronology of events from 1940 to 1943 in Amsterdam, and a discussion guide.

As the novel begins, in May 1940, eighteen-year-old Rachel lives in a comfortable Amsterdam home with her parents, Jacob and Rose, who are arguing about how seriously to take the war, as German planes fly overhead. “Why aren’t we in London with my aunt instead of here? Can you tell me that?” Rose demands of her husband, a Jewish physician who refuses to abandon his patients or home. He doesn’t want to believe that the Germans are invading, but they are. Still, Jacob can’t imagine that things will ever get so bad....

Rachel meets Michiel, an activist who argues that they must work against the invaders, while Rachel, influenced by her father, whose

family came from Germany, prefers to think the best. Michiel disagrees. “What makes you think the Germans will keep acting like gentlemen? All our good, conscientious Dutch civil servants are working for them.” The disagreement is ironic, since Michiel is a gentile. Gradually, Rachel and Michiel fall in love, though Rachel breaks it off for a time because she knows her parents would never accept her gentile boyfriend as a potential husband. Indeed, she never tells them about her relationship.

What makes this novel so powerful and believable is the detailed world of Amsterdam that emerges through dialogue and description, and the implacable way that each chapter, with the advancing months as titles (e.g., “July-August 1940”), carries the story forward. It is at the same time a coming-of-age novel and a tragic story of courage in the face of violence and inconceivable evil. In retrospect, we all know what is going to happen, but Mary Fillmore succeeds in bringing the reader into the present moment of her characters, who never know for sure what is coming.

continued on Page 10

continued from Page 9

Despite their ever-closer relationship, Michiel has to disappear, leaving the city to avoid being arrested. Shortly before that, he and Rachel make love. Rachel struggles to continue her schoolgirl life with friends. In a scene in February 1941, the Germans gather young Jewish men, making them stand in a square for hours before bundling them into trucks as Rachel watches. Here is a compelling passage from that chapter:

Into the scuffling silence punctuated by insults, a four-year-old girl set up a howl. A nearby Nazi turned his gun on her, pointing straight down her screaming throat. Rachel wanted to rush forward between the gun and the child, but she didn't, couldn't. A woman—the child's mother?—covered the open mouth with both hands, holding it tight. The child's eyes bulged as she tried to close her mouth. The adult flinched as her hands were bitten inside the child's mouth, but she held on. Would Rachel have had the presence of mind to do that? Luckily, an order turned the man's head and weapon away....

Across from her [Rachel], one Nazi's cheeks kept puffing out, as though he might be sick to his stomach. Was Rachel imagining that? He might simply be cold. He held his rifle aloft, his eyes fixed on its lethal tip, and stayed on the edge of the crowd. Rachel thought she saw him flinch when another Nazi kicked a man in the kidneys. Couldn't he have said something or done something to stop his comrade? But she was doing nothing herself.

This passage, about the first roundup of Jews in Amsterdam, illustrates the strength of this novel, which manages to humanize even a Nazi soldier and compels readers to ponder how they would have behaved or felt in a similar situation. Rachel is no extraordinary hero. But she is a caring, observant young woman caught up in horrendous circumstances. "After what I saw today," she thinks, "I have to do something to stop the Nazis."

A few days later, in response to the roundup, a general strike (the only such protest in Europe during the war) brings the city to a halt, though it also leads to further German oppression. During the strike, Rachel meets a contact who helps her join the local resistance, making secret deliveries around the city that become ever more dangerous as the Nazi persecution of Jews gets worse. Rachel keeps her activities hidden from her parents and friends. At one delivery spot, she is hustled to a basement wardrobe, where she is crammed in with others as German soldiers raid the house. "From the front of the house came one crack, then three others. The wooden door finally splintered. Some instinct made Rachel reach for the other woman's hand and clutch it. Heavy, booted footsteps stomped overhead. The air inside the wardrobe soured. Shouting, then clomping feet up to the second floor. A collective exhale in the closet as they realized the boots were not yet headed downstairs. Sweat stuck skin to skin."

Between such tense scenes, there are moments of normal life and joy. One day, Rachel rides her bicycle out of the city, up the Amstel River. "A thin sunshine burnished the fields. Rachel gave herself to the ride, and thought of little but the fresh smells of the water, the occasional squawk of a heron, and the bounce of the pathway under her wheels." She ends up visiting a Sephardic Jewish cemetery. "The bones of my people are in its roots," she thinks, "reaching over me and turning into branches."

In the second half of the book, which begins in August 1942, Jacob finally acknowledges the need to go into hiding, and the family moves to a cramped basement protected by a hidden floor access port. Until now, the book has been written only from Rachel's point of view, but now it alternates between Jacob, Rose, Rachel, and eventually Rolf, a young resistance fighter who killed a German and has to go into hiding with them. The shifting points of view work, especially in the context of the cramped little world they must now occupy. Rachel makes a chess set for her father out of paper. Her mother nearly gives up on life but gradually comes back.

The family's life in hiding, in such claustrophobic, dismal quarters, is imagined in excruciating detail, along with their evolving relationship with Rolf, which includes unexpected plot twists. I will not reveal how the book ends, since I don't want to ruin it for readers.

I should also note that the book includes explicit sex scenes, which some readers may find disturbing, given the Holocaust context, but they are a vital part of life, especially precious when death is so near.

I highly recommend *An Address in Amsterdam* for high school through adult readers. Sometimes fiction can convey historical experience more vividly than a documentary account, and this novel will engage readers in a way that a straight history could not. *The Diary of Anne Frank* has stood the test of time precisely because it is a real voice from such a time. Unlike Anne, however, who was eleven when the Nazis invaded, Rachel is eighteen and thus has to make her own difficult choices. Her story, as imagined by Vermont writer Mary Fillmore (who has spent a great deal of time in Amsterdam), provides another important story from that troubled time.

In an afterword, Fillmore explains how she came to write the novel. At the end, she writes that the thread that took her back to Amsterdam during World War II began with her own childhood in North Carolina, when the first black child entered her all-white school. "I had to decide whether to collude, collaborate, or resist. Those choices are still before all of us, every day, as we read about the latest environmental outrage, or the unmet needs of desperate people. I think of Rachel, of how she did the right thing again and again, in peril of her life, even when she was tired and scared."

Mark Pendergrast is a Vermont author who has taught the Holocaust and edited *The Aftermath*, by Henry Lilienheim, a Holocaust memoir. For information on Mark and his books, see www.markpendergrast.com.

<http://www.uvm.edu/~uvmchs/>

News from the Faculty



Antonello Borra (Romance Languages) taught in the spring 2017 semester a course titled “Turin: Identities and Cultures,” a significant part of which was devoted to Jewish-Italian identity and writing and the Holocaust. His new book *Guittone d’Arezzo: Selected Poems and Prose* has just been released by The University of Toronto Press (<http://www.utppublishing.com/Selected-Poems-and-Prose.html>). This is the first

English edition of works by Guittone d’Arezzo (ca. 1230-1294), the most important, prolific, and influential Italian poet and prose writer of the thirteenth century. Borra’s article on contemporary Italian poet Camillo Pennati is in press, as is a selection of translations from the poetry of German poet Michael Krueger. Borra’s own poetry has also been appearing in several journals and magazines, both in Italy and the United States.



In the spring 2016 semester **Andrew Buchanan** (History) was on sabbatical at Oxford University as a research fellow at the Modern European History Research Center. He was working on a project examining universal military service, citizenship, and state formation. In the fall, his article “I Felt Like a Tourist Instead of a Soldier’: The Occupying Gaze—War and Tourism in Italy, 1943-1945” was published in *American Quarterly*, and Buchanan presented a number of conference papers on this and related subjects. He is currently working on a textbook for Wiley-Blackwell, provisionally entitled *World War II in Global Perspective*.



Meaghan Emery (Romance Languages and Linguistics) is currently on sabbatical completing her manuscript, “The Poetics and Politics of Rebellion,” on the philosophical paradigms of resistance and revolution used by contemporary French state officials, authors, and filmmakers when speaking about the still controversial and hitherto state-censored events of the Algerian War. Her research interests have also led her to delve into

the thorny issues surrounding free speech as a democratic principle and hate speech as a pop culture vehicle for subversive discourse and/or form of populist political rhetoric, particularly in regard to the controversial French weekly *Charlie Hebdo*. On this topic, she has submitted an essay entitled “French Satire and the State of Free Speech Rights in an Age of Pluralism.” In the spring 2018 semester, she will be teaching a World Literature course on French Jews.



Jonathan Huener (History) is completing his book manuscript titled *The Polish Catholic Church under German Occupation: The Reichsgau Wartheland 1939-1945*, which is under contract with Indiana University Press. In October 2016 he delivered at lecture at the University of Michigan-Dearborn on “Poland, Auschwitz, and the Memory of the Shoah” in conjunction with the exhibit “Forbidden Art: Illegal Works by Concentration

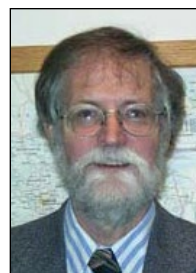
Camp Prisoners.” In the fall 2016 Huener also presented a paper on “Germanization and Kirchenpolitik in the Reichsgau Wartheland: The Case of the Nonnenlager Schmückert” at the biennial “Lessons and Legacies” conference of the Holocaust Educational Foundation at Claremont-McKenna College in Claremont, California. He also presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies a paper on “Pope Pius XII and the Polish

Catholic Church in the Reichsgau Wartheland, 1939-1945.” In May 2017 he participated in an international symposium at the University of Toronto on “Religion and Ethno-nationalism in the Era of the Two World Wars, speaking on “Vatican Responses to the Nazi Persecution of the Catholic Church in German-Occupied Poland.” Finally, Huener has served during the 2016-2017 academic year as Interim Director of the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies.



Lutz Kaelber (Sociology) continues his research project on Jewish mixed-raced children who died at the Hadamar psychiatric facility between 1943-45 and the fate of their Jewish parents during and after the war. He presented a lecture on restitution records as a source of information at the spring 2017 conference of the Working Group for Research on National Socialist “Euthanasia” and Forced Sterilization. In 2016, he gave the 27th Annual Holocaust

Lecture on “Forgotten Victims: Medical Crimes Against Disabled Children in Nazi Germany” at Washington University in St. Louis. In the fall of 2017, he will be teaching a course on the sociology of religion and ideology that is cross-listed as a Jewish studies course.



Dennis Mahoney (German and Russian) was re-elected president of the International Novalis Society at its May, 2016 annual meeting at the birthplace of the poet in Oberwiederstedt, Germany. That same weekend, in cooperation with the University of Jena, he presided over the awarding of the second biannual Novalis Prize for innovative interdisciplinary research in the field of European Romanticism, and also had the privilege of giving a public lecture at the garden

house of Friedrich Schiller—Novalis’s professor of history during his studies at Jena—on the Orpheus motif in the poetry of Novalis. In the fall of 2016, he gave a presentation on Novalis and the Jesuits at an international conference in Oberwiederstedt on Novalis’s idea of religion within the context of Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, Islam, and the Enlightenment. In other Novalis-related work during 2016, he co-translated with his wife, Maria A. Mahoney, a booklet on *The Novalis Museum at Oberwiederstedt Castle* and co-edited the catalogue for the dual exhibit on “The Idea of Europe and the Reception of Classical Antiquity in the work of Novalis and his early Romantic collaborators”—both published by the Forschungsstätte für Frühromantik und Novalis Museum Schloss Oberwiederstedt. He also saw the publication of an article co-written with Wolfgang Mieder: “Gregor Had Yet to Discover that Life Was Truly Stranger than Fiction’: Proverbial Messages in Marc Estrin’s Kafkaesque Novel *Insect Dreams. The Half Life of Gregor Samsa*” in *Proverbium* 33 (2016): 281-318.



Wolfgang Mieder (German and Russian) published the three books: “*Entflügelte Worte. Modifizierte Zitate in Literatur, Medien und Karikaturen* (Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2016), “*Beim Wort genommen. Sprichwörtliche Haiku und andere Sprüche von Dietmar Beetz* (Erfurt: Edition D.B., 2016), and “*Stringing Proverbs Together. The Proverbial Language in Miguel de Cervantes’s “Don Quixote”* (Burlington: The University of Vermont, 2016). He

News From the Faculty, continued from Page 11

also edited Albert Richter's *Deutsche Redensarten. Sprachlich und kulturgeschichtlich erläutert* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2016), the thirty-third volume of *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* (Burlington: The University of Vermont, 2016), and co-edited Lutz Röhrich's *Begegnungen. Erinnerungen an meinen Kollegen- und Freundeskreis* (Münster: Waxmann, 2017). His co-edited book with David Scrase, *The Holocaust: Personal Accounts* (Burlington: The Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont, 2001) has now appeared in German translation as "*Nichts konnte schlimmer sein als Auschwitz!*" *Überlebende des Holocausts und ihre Befreier* berichtigt (Bremen: Helmut Donat, 2016). Among his new articles are "Gregor Had Yet to Discover that Life Was Truly Stranger than Fiction: Proverbial Messages in Marc Estrin's Kafkaesque Novel *Insect Dreams. The Half Life of Gregor Samsa* (2002)," *Proverbium*, 33 (2016), 281-318 (with Dennis Mahoney); "Ein Schriftsteller abgeschnittener deutscher Zunge: Zur späten Vernetzung des Exilautors Arthur Feldmann," in *Networks of Refugees from Nazi Germany. Continuities, Reorientations, and Collaborations in Exile*. Ed. Helga Schreckenberger (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2016), 262-284; "An American-Romanian Friendship in Paremiology," *Revista de etnografie și folclor*, 1-2 (2016), 165-182; "Zur Diachronie des Sprichworts 'Wer zuerst kommt, mahlt zuerst,'" in *Historisch syntaktisches Verbwörterbuch. Valenz- und konstruktionsgrammatische Beiträge*. Eds. Albrecht Greule and Jarmo Korhonen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016), 237-260; "The Dynamic Qualities of Proverbs in Performance: Roger Abrahams' Pioneering Contributions to Paremiology," *Western Folklore*, 75 (2016), 397-420; and "Concordia domi, foris pax: Willy Brandt's Non-German Proverbial Rhetoric," in *Proceedings of the Ninth Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs, 1st to 8th November 2015, at Tavira, Portugal*. Eds. Rui J.B. Soares and Outi Lauhakangas (Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2016), 114-144. He also presented lectures in Berkeley and Miami, and abroad in Trier, Germany, and Tavira, Portugal.



Francis Nicosia (History) completed copy-editing of his edited collection of 208 annotated German documents from 23 Archives in Germany, Israel, the United States, and Russia. The volume will be published this fall with the title *Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Zionismus 1933-1941*. It will appear as Vol. 77 in the Leo Baeck Institute's series "Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts." Volume 1 in this series was published in 1959, and the series has since been

published by the same academic publisher, Mohr/Siebeck Verlag, in Tübingen. With a colleague in the Department of History, Bogac Ergene, Nicosia completed editing for the forthcoming book *Nazism, the Holocaust, and the Middle East: Arab and Turkish Responses*. This co-edited collection of essays is based on the lectures presented by a group of international scholars at the 7th Miller Symposium at UVM in April 2015. Berghahn Books will publish the book in the late fall of 2017, or early 2018, as part of the series "Vermont Studies on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust." Nicosia also participated in several conferences, and continued his service as a member of the Academic Council of the Holocaust Educational Foundation at Northwestern University. Finally, during the academic year 2016-2017, Nicosia taught the first-year seminar "Revolutionary Ideologies in the 20th Century," (History 095), as well as the courses "History of the



Holocaust" (History/HS 190), "Modern Germany" (History/HS 139), and a new course in the Honors College, "Hitler's Racial State" (HCOL 086).



Nicole Phelps (History) joined the editorial boards for *Contemporary Austrian Studies* and the soon-to-launch *Journal of Austrian-American History*, and served on the selection committees for the 2016 Center for Austrian Studies Dissertation Prize and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations' Link-Kuehl Prize for Documentary Editing. She presented aspects of her current research on the US Consular Service in the long nineteenth century at a conference on Transimperial US History hosted by the Rothermere American Institute of Oxford University, at the University of Minnesota's Legal History Workshop, and at the 2017 American Historical Association (AHA) conference. One can read about consuls—and chickens!—on her research blog: <http://blog.uvm.edu/nphelps/>. At the annual meeting of the AHA, she also served as a commentator on the first-ever panel to be co-sponsored by the Society for Austrian and Habsburg Historians and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, titled "Scales of Diplomacy: Austria-Hungary, the United States, and Statecraft in Unlikely Places." Phelps also compiled a substantial annotated bibliography on "Expansion and Diplomacy after the Civil War, 1865-1914," which will appear as part of the upcoming third edition of *American Foreign Relations Since 1600: A Guide to the Literature*, and reviewed books for H-SHGAPE (Society for Historians of the Gilded Age & Progressive Era), *The Historian*, *Diplomatic History*, the *Austrian Studies Newsmagazine*, and the *Journal of American History*.



Robert D. Rachlin, Chair of the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies Board of Advisors and adjunct faculty member in the Department of German and Russian, will additionally serve as adjunct in the Department of Classics to teach a three-credit course on Ancient Israel in the 2018 spring term. This course will also be a component of the new Jewish Studies program, which was approved by the faculty and administration last year. As pianist, he performed last fall his annual concert with violinist Kevin Lawrence at St. Paul's Cathedral in Burlington. The program comprised works by Schubert, Prokofiev, and Copland. He retired from active law practice on his eightieth birthday, July 22, 2016, but continues to serve as a director of Downs Rachlin Martin PLLC, the firm he co-founded with the late John H. Downs.



Susanna Schrafstetter (History) spoke at the Holocaust Educational Foundation's 14th biennial Lessons & Legacies Conference "The Holocaust in the 21st Century: Relevance and Challenges in the Digital Age" at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, California in November 2016. Her presentation was entitled "Rural Hiding Spaces: Fugitive Jews in the Bavarian Countryside, 1941-45," and she was invited to submit an article based on her paper for inclusion in the conference proceedings to be published by Northwestern University Press. Her essay "'Life in Illegality Cost an Exortionate Amount of Money.' Ordinary Germans and German Jews Hiding from Deportation" was published in Andrea Löw and Frank Bajohr (eds.), *The Holocaust and European Societies: Social Processes and Social Dynamics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan,

continued on Page 13

News From the Faculty, continued from Page 12



Susanna Schrafstetter delivers the annual Holocaust Memorial Lecture in January at the University of Frankfurt, Germany

2016). From January to March 2017, Schrafstetter held the Senior Research Fellowship at the Leibnitz-Institute for European History in Mainz, Germany, where she worked on her new project on German-Jewish Refugees in Italy, 1933-50. In January 2017 she gave the annual Holocaust Memorial Lecture at the Fritz-Bauer Institute, University of Frankfurt, and spoke on the theme "Stille Helden und heimliche Profiteure. Erfahrungen von untergetauchten Juden mit ihren Helfern, 1941-1945" ("Silent Heroes and Secret Profiteers: Experiences of Fugitive Jews with their Helpers, 1941-45). During the summer of 2017 Schrafstetter is holding a senior research fellowship at the Center for Holocaust Studies of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, Germany.



Helga Schreckenberger (German and Russian) published two collections, *Networks of Refugees from Nazi Germany: Continuities, Reorientations and Collaborations in Exile* (Leiden: Brill/Rodopi 2016) and, with Bettina Banasch and Alan Steinweis, co-editors, *Exil und Shoah/Exile and the Holocaust*. vol. 34 of *Exilforschung. Ein internationales Jahrbuch* (München: Text + Kritik, 2016).

She also authored within these works the chapters "Salka Viertel's Transnational Hollywood Network" (in *Networks of Refugees from Nazi Germany*) and "'Ungerechtes gerettet': Überlebensschuld in der Lyrik von österreichisch-jüdischen ExilantInnen" (in *Exil und Shoah/Exile and the Holocaust*). In addition, she authored the book chapters "Prevent World War III: Emil Ludwigs publizistische Aktivitäten im amerikanischen Exil" in Thomas F. Schnieder, ed., *Emil Ludwig* (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2016), and "Karl Farkas" in the *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit* (LexM online at <http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/content/below/index.xml>). Schreckenberger also presented two conference papers: "Negotiating Conflicting Identities: Vladimir Vertlib's *Zwischenstationen* (1999) and *Schimons Schweigen* (2012)" at the Annual Conference of the German Studies Association, San Diego, and "Between the Fronts: Jewish Refugees in Bolivia," at the International Conference on Exile Studies at Aberystwyth University, Wales.



With Wolfgang Mieder, **David Scrase** (German and Russian, emeritus) oversaw the German translation of *The Holocaust: Personal Accounts* (Burlington: The Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont, 2001), which appeared in October 2016 as "Nichts konnte schlimmer sein als Auschwitz!" *Überlebende des Holocausts und ihre Befreier berichten* (Bremen: Donat Verlag). Scrase also spoke about the collection of memoirs and its evolution at three venues in northern Germany to help promote the book. He is now engaged with the German publication of the Center's *Festschrift* for the late Marion Pritchard, David Scrase, Wolfgang Mieder, and Katherine Quimby Johnson, eds., *Making a Difference: Rescue and Assistance During the Holocaust. Essays in Honor of Marion Pritchard* (Burlington: Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont, 2004).



Alan E. Steinweis (History), was on sabbatical leave over the 2016-2017 academic year, pursuing research and writing for a variety of projects, and spending the spring 2017 semester at the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. He published three co-edited volumes over the past year: *Holocaust Memory in a Globalizing World* (Wallstein, 2017), based on a series of conferences co-organized by the Miller Center with partner institutions in Augsburg, Jena, and Haifa; the *Jahrbuch für Exilforschung* issue on "Exil und Shoah" (2016), based on a conference sponsored by the Miller Center at UVM in September 2015; and the *German Yearbook of Contemporary History* issue on "Holocaust and Memory in Europe" (2016). He delivered two presentations: "The Diary of Anne Frank in Holocaust Denial Discourse," at the University of Basel, which will be published in a volume organized by colleagues at the Universities of Frankfurt and Gottingen; and "The Globalization of Holocaust Memory and its Discontents" at the biennial meeting of the Holocaust Educational Foundation at Claremont-McKenna College. In addition, Steinweis was a panel discussant at the public presentation of Gildad Margalit's work *Schuld, Leid und Erinnerung* at the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich, and he presented the co-edited Holocaust-related issue of the *German Yearbook for Contemporary History* at the American Jewish Committee, Berlin Ramer Institute for German-Jewish Relations, in Berlin, Germany. Steinweis also published a short essay in the *Süddeutsche-Zeitung* about the controversy over the recently published scholarly edition of *Mein Kampf* in Germany.



Steve Zdatny (History) continued work on his book, a history of hygiene in modern France. A section of it, on the dirtiness of country life, was submitted as an article. He also published a couple of book reviews, gave a talk in Paris on women's fashions and the First World War, and finished out his term as executive director of the Society for French Historical Studies.

Student and Alumni News



Mark Alexander received his B.A. (History, 2012) and his M.A. (History, 2015) from UVM, and is now completing his second year in the Ph.D. program at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Last year he worked as a Summer Graduate Research Assistant at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and he is currently working as a Research Assistant for both the Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Alexander has recently received a fellowship

that will enable him to spend the summer 2017 pursuing research for his dissertation. He is also a 2017 recipient of a Warren Fellowship for Future Teachers, which will allow him to participate in a seminar on teaching the Holocaust at the Holocaust Museum Houston.



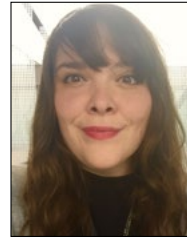
Kiara Day, a junior history major and Holocaust studies minor, has had a busy year. In the spring 2016 semester, she was inducted into the Phi Alpha Theta national history honor society, and her article “With the Stroke of a Pen: Dorothy Thompson’s Call for Action, 1930-1945” was published in the *UVM History Review*. This past semester she worked closely with her advisor, Professor Frank Nicosia, researching the American intentions for and influences on the post-World War II Nuremberg Trials. She has just been accepted into UVM’s Accelerated Master’s Program in history, where she will receive both her B.A. and M.A. in five total years of study. She plans to work closely with the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies as she completes this program. Her senior honors thesis will be supervised by Professor Alan Steinweis, and is an expansion on her research into Dorothy Thompson, the renowned American journalist who tirelessly reported on the rise of Nazism and the Jewish refugee crisis during the 1930s and 1940s. Her research has recently been highlighted by the College of Arts and Sciences in an article titled “Research in 1930’s European Extremism Yields Lessons for Today” (https://www.uvm.edu/cas/news/research_1930s_european_extremism_yields_lessons_today). Her project has been awarded an Undergraduate Summer Research Fellowship through UVM’s Office of Undergraduate Research. This fellowship offers her the chance to travel to the Special Collections Research Center at Syracuse University, where Thompson’s papers are held. Day continues to work as a staff assistant in the History Department and as a peer mentor for the Honors College. She is also serving as secretary for the newly-chartered UVM Historical Club and as a member of the editorial board for the *UVM History Review*.

Lauren Fedewa is a first-year candidate for a Master of Arts in History with a concentration in Holocaust studies. For her M.A. thesis, she will focus on interactions and relationships between Germans and foreign forced laborers in Germany during World War II. Over the past academic year she worked as a Graduate Research Assistant for professors Jonathan Huener, Francis Nicosia, and Alan Steinweis. Lauren graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in History and German from the University of Maryland in 2015. After graduating, she served as an AmeriCorps VISTA volunteer with the Jewish Social Service Agency’s Holocaust Survivor Program in Rockville, MD. Over the past few years she held several internships with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), most recently with the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies writing, editing, and translating entries for a forthcoming volume of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945*. In the summer of 2016 she will work as a Graduate Research Assistant for the USHMM’s Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies and travel to Poland as part of the Auschwitz Jewish Center Fellowship Program.

Will Fitz won the “Best Undergraduate History Essay of 2016” award for his essay “Aesthetics and Ideology in the Third Reich.” From Dayton, Ohio, Will is currently a junior in the Honors College pursuing a degree in European Studies with a minor in Political Science, focusing on German history and culture. Will worked for the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies during the spring 2017 semester, publicizing the center’s events and providing assistance with its activities, and will continue in this role during the 2017-2018 academic year.

Dženeta Karabegović recently defended her doctoral dissertation at the University of Warwick, UK. Her work was funded by a European Research Council project on “Diasporas and Contested Sovereignty,” and analyzed diaspora influence on a weak state in a post-conflict environment. In her dissertation, she explained how diaspora mobilizes transnationally, and how host land and homeland contexts influence diaspora engagement, integrating diaspora academic debates into the study of transitional justice. Her wider research interests are rooted in international and comparative politics, with a particular focus on transnationalism, diaspora, migration, democratization, human rights, transitional justice, and a regional focus on the Balkans. Her academic work has been published in *Global Networks* and *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, and she is currently preparing a co-edited special issue on diasporas and transitional justice, as well as a co-edited book on Bosnian foreign policy over the last twenty-five years. Karabegović was a commendeé for the 2016 Warwick Award for Teaching Excellence. She was a Guest Researcher at Mid-Sweden University’s Forum for Gender

Studies and a Visiting Scholar at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University during her doctoral studies. She holds an M.A. in International Relations from the University of Chicago and was a US Fulbright Fellow at the Hugo Valentin Centre at Uppsala University in Sweden. Previously, she worked for the North American headquarters of a German engineering firm as the Assistant to the President, was involved in multiple local political campaigns in Vermont, and served as an AmeriCorps VISTA volunteer. Karabegović graduated with a B.A. (Honors, Political Science and German, minor in Holocaust Studies) from the University of Vermont in 2008, and is a graduate of the Vermont Leadership Institute.



In the year since obtaining her M.A. (History, 2015) from the University of Vermont, **Kassandra LaPrade Seuthe** has accepted a position at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum as a curatorial assistant. Her primary responsibilities include the acquisition of artifacts, documents, and photographs for the museum’s collection. With a recent donation of material concerning the Hamburg Jewish orphanage, LaPrade Seuthe has resumed research on Jewish community welfare within the Reich, an area of her scholarly interest while at UVM. This has included tracing the fates of adolescents who received care and education at the facility in the years prior to their deportation from Germany. These details of individual experience constitute a powerful touchstone when giving tours through the permanent exhibition to groups of students and law enforcement personnel. During her time at the museum, LaPrade Seuthe has been a member of the team working toward the comprehensive digitization of the museum’s document collections. The aim of the project is to ensure the accessibility of the collection to a broad researcher base. To date, more than 700 collections have been arranged, scanned, and catalogued. While on-site access will continue, digitization allows for researchers unable to come to Washington, D.C. to draw on the museum’s holdings remotely. Contributing to the institution’s mission to rescue the evidence of Nazi crimes and to support a robust scholarship in the field of Holocaust history has fulfilled many of LaPrade Seuthe’s professional goals, and she looks forward to continuing this work in the future.

Alex Sherbrook is a senior at UVM, majoring in Psychology and minoring in Holocaust Studies. When Sherbrook was sixteen, she traveled to Germany on a high school trip that was part of a class on the Holocaust. This trip sparked her passion for German history and the Holocaust, and it motivated her choice of minor at the University of Vermont. During her sophomore year at UVM, she enrolled in a German class to fulfill a language requirement, and became enchanted by the language. Along with her studies of German history, she decided that the next important step in her education was to study in Germany. Thus, through a UVM study abroad program, Alex is currently spending her last semester studying abroad at the University of Augsburg in Augsburg, Germany, immersing herself in German culture and sharpening her German language skills.



Dana Smith (M.A., History, 2012) graduated from Queen Mary, University of London, with a Ph.D. in history, where she held the Leo Baeck Institute John A. S. Grenville Studentship in German Jewish History and Culture. Her thesis, entitled “The Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria, 1934-1938: Art and Jewish Self-Representation under National Socialism,” examined the intersection of gender and regionalism in Jewish self-representation under National Socialism. The thesis challenges the existing narrative of an assimilationist German-Jewish cultural elite that misunderstood, or even ignored, the warning sirens of National Socialist antisemitism—a narrative based almost entirely on the male experience in Berlin. Instead, as the Bavarian example shows, German Jewish women, particularly those living outside of Berlin, were *active* socio-political agents who created a self-described “Jewish” art program meant to lead a process of community dissimulation and reconceptualization—efforts that sought to mobilize the Jewish community and prepare its membership for emigration. She has two forthcoming articles in English: “Female Musicians and ‘Jewish’ Music in the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria, 1934-1938” in *Dreams of Germany*, ed. Neil Gregor and Tom Irvine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017) and “‘Jewish’ Art: Munich’s Jewish Marionette Theatre, Moses and the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria” in volume 13 of the Holocaust Educational Foundation’s *Lessons and Legacies* series, forthcoming with Northwestern University Press in 2018. Currently, Smith is the project manager in charge of research and content development for an informational kiosk and website for the Ohio Holocaust and Liberators Memorial. The memorial, designed by architect Daniel Libeskind, is located at the Ohio Statehouse in Columbus, Ohio. This coming fall, Dana will hold, for the duration of the 2017-2018 academic year, the “American Academy for Jewish Research (AAJR) Postdoctoral Fellowship in American Jewish Studies,” based at the Center for Jewish History in New York City.

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR 2016–2017

September 18, 2016

Symposium

Psychiatry in the Third Reich: Historical, Scientific, and Philosophical Perspectives, Legacies, and Lessons

Lectures and Speakers:

“The Bureaucratic State and Redemptive Racial Hygiene,” Sheila Faith Weiss, Clarkson University

“Psychiatry during the Nazi Period: Historical Knowledge, Open Questions,” Volker Roelcke, University of Giessen

“Genes and Environments: Promises and Pitfalls of Psychiatric Genetics for Diagnosis and Treatment,” Robert Althoff, University of Vermont

“Why the ‘New Psychiatry’ is For All of Us: The Future of Psychiatry is Now,” James Hudziak, University of Vermont

“Degeneration, Essences, and the Concept of Mental Illness in Nazi Germany,” Peter Zachar, Auburn University, Montgomery

“Bending Public Policy in Psychiatric Research and Practice,” John Sadler, University of Texas Southwestern

Conveners:

G. Scott Waterman, Professor of Psychiatry Emeritus, UVM College of Medicine

Alan E. Steinweis, Professor of History and Miller Distinguished Professor of Holocaust Studies, UVM

Sponsored by the Leonard and Carolyn Miller Distinguished Professorship in Holocaust Studies, the UVM College of Arts and Sciences, the UVM College of Medicine, the UVM Department of Psychiatry, the Howard Center, and the Vermont Center for Children, Youth and Families

October 15, 2016

Concert

“Tales from the Forgotten Kingdom”: Traditional Jewish Sephardi Songs and Legends that Trace the History of the Ladino People

The Guy Mendilow Ensemble

A cultural diaspora told through song and story, “Tales from the Forgotten Kingdom” traced the history of the Sephardic Ladino-speaking people. Expelled from their homes in Spain and Portugal in the 15th century, they wound their way through Europe, settling and bringing their distinctive music, food, language, and culture to Sarajevo, Salonica, and Jerusalem. At this event, the award-winning Guy Mendilow Ensemble performed traditional Jewish Sephardi songs and legends, sung in the endangered Judeo-Spanish language, Ladino. Epic tales of sailors and love lost to the seas, fantastic dreams, and the intrigue of kings and queens all came to life in a performance that crackled with rich musical storytelling, beautiful singing, and exquisite arrangements.



A production of the UVM Lane Series co-sponsored by the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies, and underwritten by the Kinsler Endowment for Holocaust Studies.

A production of the UVM Lane Series co-sponsored by the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies and underwritten by the Kinsler Endowment for Holocaust Studies

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR 2016–2017

October 26, 2016Lecture***The Voyage of the St. Louis and American “Refugee” Policy***

Paul Vincent, Keene State College

What do we know about the 1939 voyage of the *St. Louis* and how much of that knowledge corresponds to what actually transpired with this ship of Jewish refugees in those waning months of peace before Hitler invaded Poland? In his lecture, Paul Vincent addressed these questions and provided an overview of the *St. Louis* voyage, placing it in the historical context of the summer of 1939. He also examined the evolution of American immigration policy, stressing the importance of analyzing the Roosevelt administration’s behavior in 1939 on the basis of both legislative and executive decisions of the 1920s.

Paul Vincent is chair of the Holocaust and Genocide Studies Department at Keene State College. He directed the college’s Cohen Center for Holocaust Studies from 1998 until 2007. Author of *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915-1919* (Ohio University Press, 1985) and *A Historical Dictionary of Germany’s Weimar Republic, 1918-1933* (Greenwood Press, 1997), his research focus over the past decade has been on America’s response to the growing refugee crisis in the 1930s. Honored in 2008 as Keene’s distinguished teacher, he held a fellowship in 2007-08 at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and was a visiting Fulbright Professor at Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland, in 2015.



Underwritten by the Henry and Lili Altschuler Endowment for Holocaust Studies at UVM.

November 14, 2016The Annual Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture***“Out of the Limelight or In”: Raul Hilberg and the Future of Holocaust Studies***

Doris L. Bergen, University of Toronto



Photo: Michael Rajzman

Academic study of the Holocaust has changed dramatically since Raul Hilberg published *The Destruction of the European Jews* in 1961. The 25 years since Christopher Browning delivered the first Hilberg Lecture at the University of Vermont have been particularly intense, with the proliferation of museums, monuments, institutes, and chairs devoted to Holocaust research and commemoration. What challenges does this extraordinary growth pose, now and for the future? What place does Hilberg have in a field that is increasingly global and digital, and whose practitioners are as likely to confront fame and sensation as obscurity and indifference? Is Hilberg’s work still relevant? These were the themes addressed by Doris Bergen in her lecture, as our center commemorated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Professor Bergen was a fitting guest for this occasion, for as a history professor at UVM, she was one of the founders of the Center for Holocaust Studies in 1991.

Doris Bergen is the Chancellor Rose and Ray Wolfe Professor of Holocaust Studies in the Department of History at the University of Toronto. Before coming to Toronto in 2007, she held positions at the University of Notre Dame and the University of Vermont (1991-1996). Her research and teaching focus on religion, gender, and ethnicity in the Holocaust and World War II. Bergen is the author or editor of five books, including *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*, which has been translated into Polish; *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich*; and *Alltag im Holocaust: jüdisches Leben im großdeutschen Reich 1941-1945* (co-edited with Andrea Löw and Anna Hájková.) She is a member of the Academic Committee of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC.

The Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture is made possible through a generous gift from Jerold D. Jacobson, Esquire, of New York City, UVM Class of 1962.

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR 2016–2017

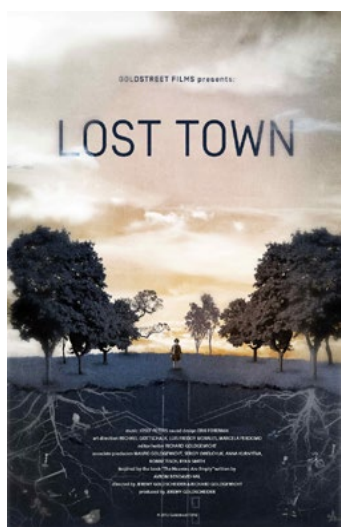
April 5, 2017Lecture***Martin Heidegger and the Far Right in Contemporary Europe***

Richard Wolin, City University of New York Graduate Center

This lecture addressed the German philosopher Martin Heidegger's legacy in relation to the rise in contemporary Europe of far-right parties, which are threatening to tip the political balance from democracy to new forms of autocracy. Among the intellectuals who have nurtured the ideology underlying the new political authoritarianism, Heidegger's doctrines and ideas have played a central role. These linkages are especially disturbing in light of the recent publication of Heidegger's *Black Notebooks*, which demonstrate his unstinting support for National Socialism and its agenda of genocidal imperialism.

Richard Wolin is Distinguished Professor of History, Political Science and Comparative Literature at the City University of New York Graduate Center. Among his books are *Heidegger's Children: Hannah Arendt, Karl Löwith, Hans Jonas, and Herbert Marcuse*; *The Seduction of Unreason: The Intellectual Romance with Fascism from Nietzsche to Postmodernism*; and *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution and the Legacy of the 1960s*, which was listed by the *Financial Times* as one of the best books of 2012. He frequently writes on intellectual and political topics for the *New Republic*, *The Nation*, and *Dissent*.

Underwritten by the Richard Ader/Paul Konigsberg Endowment for the UVM Center for Holocaust Studies.

**April 23, 2017**Annual Holocaust Memorial Event***"Lost Town": Film Screening and Discussion with Avrom Bendavid-Val***

In observance of Holocaust Memorial Day, this event was a screening of the documentary film *Lost Town* followed by a discussion with the author, historical consultant, and subject of the film, Avrom Bendavid-Val. *Lost Town* is an 85-minute documentary film that tells the story of Trochenbrod, the only all-Jewish town that ever endured outside of Palestine. The story unfolds as the film follows one man's search to uncover the secrets of his father's home town and bring together its descendants. Trochenbrod was first made famous by Jonathan Safran Foer's novel, *Everything is Illuminated*. Though Foer's novel was fiction, its setting, the town of Trochenbrod hidden deep in the forest, was real—home to 5,000 Jews, virtually all of whom were slaughtered in the Holocaust. Not a trace of the once bustling town remains. *Lost Town* combines contemporary and archival footage and still photography, animation, survivor interviews, and original music to deliver a unique and moving historical and cinematic experience.

Avrom Bendavid-Val was working in Poland in 1997, when he decided to visit the village his father and grandfather came from, Trochenbrod, in what is today northwestern Ukraine. He found that there were no physical remnants of Trochenbrod, but learned also that it was not a village, but a town of 5,000 people—a town that was unique in many ways. Bendavid-Val became an impassioned researcher into Trochenbrod's history and what life there was like, documenting the history of the town from its creation in the early 1800s to its destruction in 1942. The product of his research is his book *The Heavens are Empty: Discovering the Lost Town of Trochenbrod* (Pegasus Books, 2010), which served as the inspiration for the film *Lost Town*.

Co-sponsored by the Russian and East European Studies Program at UVM and underwritten by the Leonard and Carolyn Miller Distinguished Professorship in Holocaust Studies

PREVIEW OF EVENTS FOR 2017–2018

*Please check our website for details and
up-to-date scheduling information!*

<http://www.uvm.edu/~uvmchs/>

October 18-20, 2017

Conference

Raul Hilberg und die Holocaust-Historiographie

Berlin, Germany

October 19, 2017

Discussion

An Evening with Art Spiegelman

October 24, 2017

Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture

Recent Holocaust Scholarship in Light of the Work of Raul Hilberg

Dan Michman, Yad Vashem

November 9, 2017

Lecture

The Child Murder Accusation against the Jews of Norwich

Miri Rubin, Queen Mary, University of London

November 13, 2017

Concert

The Semer Ensemble

Presented as part of the UVM Lane Series

February 26, 2018

Lecture

The Red Cross in the Shadow of the Holocaust

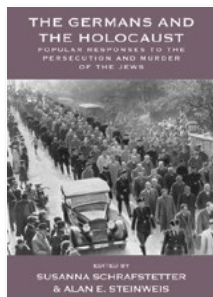
Gerald Steinacher, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

April 12, 2018

(date tentative, program t.b.a.)

Holocaust Remembrance Day Event

Vermont Studies on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust Series



Volume 6

THE GERMANS AND THE HOLOCAUST Popular Responses to the Persecution and Murder of the Jews

Susanna Schrafstetter and Alan E. Steinweis [Eds.]

198 pages • 978-1-78238-952-1 Hardback

"This volume brings to light fresh material from hitherto neglected primary sources, and also makes available in English some findings only previously available to German readers. Especially valuable is the careful evaluation and comparison of reports about life in Nazi Germany from Nazi perpetrators, Jewish victims, and foreign bystanders." **Geoffrey J. Giles, University of Florida**

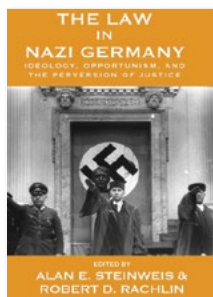
Volume 3

THE ARTS IN NAZI GERMANY Continuity, Conformity, Change

Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia [Eds.]

236 pages • 978-1-84545-359-6 Paperback

"This slim volume accomplishes a remarkable feat. It provides concise, beautifully crafted essays that provide access to the best scholarship in Nazi cultural history even as they represent the current state of research by leading experts...supplemented with illustrations and primary sources, this work would make an ideal addition to undergraduate and graduate courses on the Third Reich, sure to provoke lively discussion and further study on the arts in Nazi Germany." **German Studies Review**



Volume 5

THE LAW IN NAZI GERMANY Ideology, Opportunism, and the Perversion of Justice

Alan E. Steinweis and Robert D. Rachlin [Eds.]

288 pages • 978-1-78238-921-7 New in Paperback

"This collection of essays on *The Law in Nazi Germany* achieves two main objectives: first, it provides a concise overview of the current research strata on law in Nazi Germany, and second, the essays leave enough space to invite the reader to pose additional questions about the subject and pursue further reading." **German History**

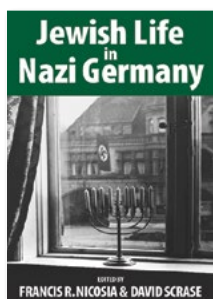
Volume 2

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY IN NAZI GERMANY

Francis R. Nicosia and Jonathan Huener [Eds.]

176 pages • 978-0-57181-654-2 Paperback

"With its five concise case studies, the book gives good insights into methods, trends, and results of recent research." **Historische Zeitschrift**



Volume 4

JEWISH LIFE IN NAZI GERMANY Dilemmas and Responses

Francis R. Nicosia and David Scrase [Eds.]

256 pages • 978-0-85745-801-8 Paperback

"The volume provides an excellent overview of some recent approaches and research themes. Together with the appendix of documents, it makes for a good choice for use in the classroom." **German Studies Review**

Volume 1

MEDICINE AND MEDICAL ETHICS IN NAZI GERMANY

Origins, Practices, Legacies

Francis R. Nicosia and Jonathan Huener [Eds.]

180 pages • 978-0-57181-387-9 Paperback

"Brief and synthetic as the essays are, they will...be of most use to students or to those new in the field. However, they provide engaging reading for those with more in-depth knowledge too." **Journal of Modern History**

about the series

General Editor:

Alan E. Steinweis, Miller Distinguished Professor of Holocaust Studies and Director of the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies

Editorial Committee:

Jonathan D. Huener, University of Vermont

Francis R. Nicosia, University of Vermont

Susanna Schrafstetter, University of Vermont

The University of Vermont has been an important venue for research on the Holocaust since Raul Hilberg began his work there in 1956. These volumes reflect the scholarly activity of UVM's Center for Holocaust Studies. They combine original research with interpretive synthesis, and address research questions of interdisciplinary and international interest.



www.berghahnbooks.com



The University of Vermont

CAROLYN & LEONARD MILLER
CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES
Old Mill, Room A506
94 University Place
Burlington, VT 05405-0114

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Burlington, VT
Permit #143

How to Join Our E-Mail List

The Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at UVM has established a mailing list (listserv) for members of the community who would like to receive notices about the many guest lectures and other public programs sponsored by the Center. If you would like to join the mailing list, please refer to the following directions:

To join the list, send an email message to listserv@list.uvm.edu and place a subscribe command, sub chs your_name_here, in the body of the message. Replace "your_name_here" with your first and last name, for example:

sub chs Mary Smith

(You may receive a confirmation message from LISTSERV; just follow the instructions in the message.)

If you would like to consider making a gift to support the teaching, research, and community outreach activities of the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies, please contact the UVM Foundation, 802-656-2010, or foundation@uvm.edu.

Contact Information

*Carolyn & Leonard Miller
Center for Holocaust Studies
Old Mill, Room A506
94 University Place
Burlington, Vermont
05405-0114*

Website:
www.uvm.edu/~uvmchs

Telephone:
802-656-1096

Email:
Holocaust.Studies@uvm.edu

Director:
Alan E. Steinweis

Program Administrative Coordinator:
Marilyn Eldred