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Miller Center Occupies New Quarters in Billings Library

By Will Fitz
UVM Class of 2019



In October 2018 the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies formally opened the doors of its new space in one of the University of Vermont's most historic buildings. Situated on the western side of the fourth floor, the Center hosts a growing library, study space open to all students, and an office for the Center's director.

Billings Library was the gift of Frederick Billings, an 1844 graduate of UVM who committed \$75,000 for the construction of a home for the library of George Perkins Marsh, another native Vermonter, a prominent diplomat, and a pioneer of conservationism. Billings was strongly influenced by Marsh's environmental work, and when he acquired Marsh's collection in 1882, he recognized the need for a place to house it safely. He selected the architect H.H. Richardson to help him realize this dream, as Richardson had designed a number of other small libraries, such as that in Woburn, Massachusetts, in a distinct medieval-influenced style that Billings found appealing. Richardson had achieved

fame designing such prominent buildings as Trinity Church in Boston and the City Hall in Albany, developing his own style that would become known as "Richardsonian Romanesque."

The new library was completed in 1885 (though Billings continued to make a few additions in later years) and immediately became a prominent fixture of the university campus. Over the decades, however, it became obsolete as the university's main library; the shelves overflowed with books and the student body outgrew the available study space. After the construction of Bailey Library (later Bailey-Howe Library, and today, simply Howe Library) in 1960, Billings was remodeled as a student center, hosting the offices of student organizations as well as lounge areas and a snack bar. It quickly ran into the same capacity issues as a student center as it had as a library, and when the Dudley H. Davis Student Center was completed in 2007, plans began for the restoration of Billings as an academic center and library space.

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The renovation was made possible through a number of generous donations from UVM Alumni. The first of these, a \$5 million gift from Carolyn and Leonard Miller (class of 1951), went to the Center for Holocaust Studies. It not only provided funding for the renovation of Billings—the Miller Center’s new permanent home—but also was dedicated to the establishment of endowed distinguished professorships in Holocaust Studies.

The Billings Library is also now home to the Center for Research on Vermont, the Humanities Center, and the Silver Special Collections library, named after Jack (class of 1964) and Shirley Silver, who also donated \$3 million for the renovation. Another \$8.4 million of private donations and UVM funds culminated in Billings Library’s reopening in October of last year.

The rededication ceremony took place on 5 October 2018, attended by Leonard Miller’s daughter Corinne Miller Cott and son Robert Miller, UVM President Thomas Sullivan, President and CEO of the UVM Foundation Shane Jacobson, and Dean of UVM Libraries Mara Saule. The ceremony concluded with tours of the new space, which currently features an exhibit on the history of the building.

The Miller Center for Holocaust Studies space is comprised of a reception office, library, visiting scholar’s office/study room, and an office for the Center’s Director. Along with the Miller gift, a number of other generous contributions also facilitated the transformation of this space. The Rosen Reception Room, where one can find information on the Center, is named after donors Robert (class of 1990) and Jessica Rosen. The Hoffmann Commons, the site of the Center’s own library, takes its name from donor Matthew Hoffmann (class of 1999) and the Hoffman Family. The library’s collection has recently been supplemented by donations from Professor Emeritus David Scrase, Joy Lipmann Fagan (class of 1966), and Robert D. Rachlin. The library’s holdings include standard and foundational works in the field of Holocaust Studies, memoirs of survivors, some rare texts, reference works, and document collections. The Sklar-Shalam Office, to be used by visiting scholars and for student study, recognizes the contribution of Rebecca Sklar-Shalam (class of 1989) and Ari Shalam, while the Salmore Family Office of the Director reflects the donations of Evan (class of 1958), Natalie, Michael (class of 1988), and Paul (class of 1991) Salmore.

The Miller Center is open while classes are in session, although open hours for the coming academic year are not yet set. It is located on the fourth floor of Billings, above the North Lounge and across from the Center for Research on Vermont and the Humanities Center.



Rosen Reception Room



Hoffmann Commons



Sklar-Shalam Office

The Eighth Miller Symposium: Poland under German Occupation, 1939-1945

On Sunday, 21 October 2018, the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies hosted its eighth Miller Symposium, bringing together students, scholars, and members of the community for a day-long event in the Silver Pavilion of the recently-restored UVM Alumni House. Each of the triennial Miller Symposia has focused on a specific theme related to the history of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, and each has brought to the University of Vermont some of the worlds' leading and most innovative scholars. The 2018 symposium, co-sponsored by the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich-Berlin, was no exception, and was divided into five segments with the following themes and speakers:

“The Ghettos: Jewish Sources on the Struggle for Survival in Warsaw and Łódź”

Dr. Andrea Löw, Deputy Director, Center for Holocaust Studies, Institute for Contemporary History, Munich

“Pyrrhic Victories?: Warsaw’s Two Uprisings in the Second World War”

Winson Chu, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

“Uneasy Bonds: Jews in Hiding and the Making of Surrogate Families”

Natalia Aleksion, Touro College

“Stories of Power: Sexual Contacts between Occupiers and Locals in German-Occupied Poland”

Maren Röger, University of Augsburg

“Polish Debates on the Holocaust from the 1940 to the Present”

Dariusz Stola, Polin—Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw

Emerging from the seven previous symposia have been collections of essays that have appeared with Berghahn Books in the series “Vermont Studies on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust” (See advertisement, p. 9). Jonathan Huener and Andrea Löw will be co-editing a volume from this symposium as well, and look forward to its publication in 2020.



Photos by Megan Gamiz

Update on the *Ordinary Soldiers* Project

By LTC Matthew A. Krause, U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's Corps, and
COL (Ret.) Jody M. Prescott, UVM Class of 1983

With the support of the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies, the *Ordinary Soldiers: A Study in Ethics, Law and Leadership* lesson plan was developed and first taught at UVM in the spring of 2012. Now 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 reserve Wehrmacht infantry battalion in German-occupied Belarus in early October 1941. The commander of the 1st Battalion, 691st Infantry Regiment ordered each of his three maneuver company commanders to kill all of 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 then rejected it outright. The third commander hesitated to comply with the original order, and requested it in writing from the battalion commander. Once he received the written order, he directed the company's first sergeant to gather a detail of soldiers and conduct the executions—while he returned to his office and handled administrative tasks. One illegal order to three very similarly-situated small unit commanders—three very different responses. Why?

This year, XVIII Airborne Corps' staff judge advocate's office included the *Ordinary Soldiers* case study as part of its Leadership Professional Development program for its officers. XVIII Airborne Corps is located at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and is one of the largest military installations in the world. It is the headquarters for over 150,000 troops worldwide. The office's deputy facilitated discussion of the case study with over thirty military attorneys, some of whom have since deployed to Iraq in support of Operation Inherent Resolve. The deputy, who has advised tactical forces in combat, is the former Military Advisor at the State Department's Office of Global Criminal Justice. He first experienced the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum when he was a student at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Belvoir, Virginia. He has frequently used historical lessons

from the Holocaust and applied them while training junior officers, advising tactical and operational forces, and while pursuing justice for victims of atrocities in Syria and Iraq.

The context of XVIII Airborne Corps' training also included a discussion of how ordinary soldiers in any military can find themselves in difficult situations where they can be in danger of committing atrocities. Using the example articulated in the Jim Frederick book *Black Hearts*, the students saw that even in the U.S. military, soldiers can be capable of committing atrocities. *Black Hearts* tells of the events leading up to the rape and killing of the fourteen-year-old Iraqi girl Abeer Qassim

Hamza and the killing of her family on 12 March 2006 by members of the U.S. Army's 1-502nd Infantry Regiment near Mahmudiyah, Iraq. The students found that the lesson plan and the book complemented each other well, and that the situations described in each prompted meaningful discussions about the role of leaders and leadership in preventing atrocities in armed conflict.

Another new audience for the lesson plan in 2018 was a group of two dozen Mexican Navy military attorneys

and line officers, who were attending a two-week workshop at the Defense Institute of International Legal Studies, on the campus of the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. The purpose of the workshop was to help the students prepare for the drafting of a law of armed conflict/human rights curriculum to be used with personnel in the Mexican Navy. For the workshop, copies of important documents considered in the case study, such as the Wehrmacht's Jurisdiction Order for Operation Barbarossa, were translated in advance into Spanish. In the workshop itself, simultaneous translation by Spanish-speaking interpreters was used in both the lecture portions of the lesson and in the presentations by small working groups of students on their proposed courses of action to include *Ordinary Soldiers* in the curriculum they would be developing. In the workshop surveys, a number of participants rated the *Ordinary Soldiers* session as the most useful of the individual classes in which they had participated.



LTC Krause facilitating discussion with XVIII Airborne Corps military attorneys

BOOK REVIEW

By Nathan Gondelman
UVM Class of 2009, M.A., 2016

Peter Hayes, *Why? Explaining the Holocaust*

Illustrated. 412 pp. W.W. Norton & Company. \$27.95

With no shortage of new publications on the subject of the Holocaust, it can be difficult for one to sort through the morass and determine which of these works contributes something new and original to the field. Peter Hayes's *Why? Explaining the Holocaust*, published by W.W. Norton & Company in 2017, is noteworthy and refreshing among these recent publications in terms of its unique approach. Although entirely accessible for a reader casually acquainted with the subject of the Holocaust, *Why?* is an equally appealing book for those with a robust foundational knowledge of the topic who wish to step back and assess where current scholarship stands on many of the central issues of the Shoah. Indeed, many of the questions that Hayes identifies and explores in *Why?* are so intrinsic to the Holocaust itself that it can be remarkably easy for a casual observer to dismiss the answers as self-evident, or for an experienced student of the subject to lose sight of them in the admirable pursuit of knowledge based in monographs and highly detailed studies.

The editor and author of a dozen books that focus on everything from memory of the Holocaust to industry in Nazi Germany, Hayes draws upon his years of experience lecturing about the Holocaust in academic and public settings—including three lectures at the University of Vermont—to isolate several fundamental questions about the Shoah that still seem to perplex audiences. Specifically, Hayes examines why Jews were ultimately the central victims of the Holocaust and why it was the Germans who perpetrated it; he then explores why murder was chosen as the ultimate solution to the “Jewish Question,” and why its undertaking was so comprehensive and expeditious. Hayes also reflects on the lack of effective Jewish resistance, the inconsistency of death rates throughout Europe, and the inability and unwillingness of the outside world to intervene. Lastly, he reflects on the memory of the Holocaust and its modern relevance. *Why?* is neither a conventional history of the Holocaust nor, as the author explicitly admits, a thesis-driven work that endeavors to leverage original research in support of a particularly provocative argument. Rather, it is a thematic, high-altitude perspective on several core components of the anatomy of the Holocaust, flowing quasi-chronologically inasmuch as it starts with an exploration of the roots of antisemitism and ends with an examination of memory and what contemporary lessons can be gleaned from the Shoah in a fractured and increasingly volatile and uncertain twenty-first century.

Hayes begins by exploring why the Jews were the victims of the Holocaust. He does so by tracing the provenance of antisemitism to the religious-based hatred of Jews throughout the first fifteen centuries of Christendom. So deeply rooted in the European tradition was antisemitism that it proved adaptable to an increasingly accelerated pace of history beginning in the eighteenth century. Concurrent with the process of Jewish emancipation in Western and Central Europe that began after the French Revolution, Europe was experiencing an enormous growth in its population and undergoing industrialization, urbanization, and democratization at a breakneck pace. This transformation produced winners and losers, and an eager and newly emancipated Jewish population found that it had much to gain from the new, more integrated European landscape. Of course, there were winners and losers among the Jewish population as well, but Hayes is unabashed in pointing out the disproportionately significant Jewish representation in higher education as well as in certain elite professions by the late nineteenth century. Without proper contextualization, acknowledging this could be somewhat provocative, but to his credit, Hayes does offer a historical rationale as to why Jews gravitated toward specific vocations.

It is here where it is important to highlight Hayes's background as an economic historian—particularly one who believes that the prevalence of antisemitism has an inverse relationship to the trajectory of the stock market. Though he does not view it as a primary motivating factor in the Holocaust itself, Hayes does identify economics as a key underpinning of the rise of modern antisemitism in Europe. The rapid socioeconomic evolution of the Jewish community in western and central Europe, along with its physical integration with the rest of European society, gave a fresh bent to the more theologically imbued antisemitism of old Europe.

Hayes contends that this new permutation of antisemitism, which was of a more biological and pseudoscientific nature, was generally held in check and lacking in any political backbone prior to 1914. The First World War helped breathe political life into antisemitism across Europe, but particularly in Germany. In tracing the reasons as to why specifically Germany catalyzed the Holocaust, Hayes notes its unique positioning on the geopolitical continuum of Jewish emancipation in Europe. Germany was west enough to have an emancipated and integrated Jewish population, but east enough to overlap with the more insular *Ostjuden*, many of whom had not enjoyed the fruits of emancipation and were more visibly identifiable as Jewish—and distinct from the German *Volk*. Meanwhile, as the principal loser in the First World War, Germany experienced well over a decade of economic and political turmoil, creating a void that was filled by a uniquely dynamic Nazi party that seemed to offer a chance for national redemption. According to Hayes, antisemitism itself was never the driving force in attracting Germans to the Nazis, but the embedded tradition of Jew-hatred had injured Germans to the point where, in the context of a politically and economically bankrupt Weimar Republic, it was hardly a disqualifier for what was to many an otherwise appealing political party. Even so, Hayes is quick to point out that prior to 1933, the Nazis never had a majority of German support, and it still took the connivance of a cadre of aristocratic German nationalists to facilitate Hitler's ascent to political power.

In seeking to understand why the Germans ultimately chose to murder the Jews, Hayes finds himself situated with the majority of current scholarship, perhaps best captured in David Cesarani's 2016 work, *Final Solution*. Hayes is careful to assert his belief that while destruction was always implicit at some level of Nazi rhetoric, systematic liquidation of Jews was never a preordained endgame for Germany. Hayes traces what he calls the “staccato” course of anti-Jewish legislation through the first five years of the Third Reich, which ultimately demonstrated the unwillingness of the majority of Germans to resist seriously any policy that did not encroach upon their own livelihood. Poignantly, Hayes notes that “attacking Jews was of far greater importance to the Nazis than defending them was to the Germans,” proving to the regime that it had an enormous amount of leeway in terms of just how far it could push its antisemitic agenda. By 1938, as Germany embarked upon a more aggressively expansionist policy, more European Jews fell under the Nazi yoke at the same time as the Reich recognized the limits that its domestic anti-Jewish policies had in inducing Jewish emigration as a solution to the “Jewish problem.” With the full-scale radicalization of the war beginning with Operation Barbarossa in late June 1941, Hayes identifies a final, five-month phase where fears of Jewish partisan activity in the East and the loss of any chance to leverage European Jews as hostages against the United States led Hitler and Himmler to realize “that they possessed not only the motive but also the means and the opportunity to murder the Jews” across the continent.

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Hayes's dissection of the how and why the genocide was so efficient and widespread is particularly startling when he frames it with some impactful statistics. Seventy-five percent of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust were murdered between the invasion of the Soviet Union and the German defeat at Stalingrad, and half of all victims were killed in less than a full year, between March 1942 and February 1943—a pace of 10,000 Jewish fatalities per day. Debunking a popular myth that German devotion to the Final Solution came at the expense of the war effort, Hayes argues that logistically and operationally, the execution of the genocide was relatively simple, inexpensive, and technologically rudimentary. The story of the Holocaust, according to Hayes, is not at all one of a modern, high-tech genocidal apparatus. Meanwhile, Hayes challenges Hannah Arendt's "banality of evil" thesis by isolating the cohort of SS men most involved with the implementation of the Holocaust. A preponderance of these individuals were born in the early twentieth century on the periphery of Imperial Germany's borders—many of which, after 1918, became hotbeds of irredentism. These men spent their formative years in an environment that helped shape them as virulent nationalists and antisemites. Hayes believes that the unique level of commitment and engagement among these men to the Nazi cause helped facilitate the speed and efficacy of the genocide in a way that is difficult to quantify.

With respect to Jewish resistance, Hayes acknowledges that the principal Jewish strategy was one of forbearance and compliance towards the Germans in the hopes of not exacerbating what was an already unimaginably tragic circumstance. However, Hayes is pointed in his criticism of both Arendt and Raul Hilberg regarding their characterization of Jewish responses as enabling and naively passive. To Hayes, any expectation of Jewish resistance beyond what actually transpired would have required full Jewish knowledge of Germany's murderous intentions, a united Jewish community, and a more favorable ratio of Jews to Germans. Instead, the Germans concealed their genocidal designs from the Jews and "mixed the carrot and the stick, bait and threats, to assure compliance with deportation orders." This forced the hand of the Jewish Councils, who generally believed that their acquiescence to German demands would ameliorate the situation as much as reasonably possible, and went ahead with the legwork of assembling Jews for deportation. Hayes, however, is careful not to blame the Jewish Councils, rightfully conceding the hopelessness of their position. Famished and worn down, Jews were often not even physically equipped to carry out any serious resistance, and its futility was reinforced by the legitimate threat of draconian retaliation on the part of the Germans. Meanwhile, the socioeconomic, cultural, and political divisions among Jews often prevented any remote chance for a unified attempt at recalcitrance. Even so, Hayes is quick to recognize instances of Jewish resistance and heroism throughout Europe, notwithstanding the fact that these acts rarely had any palpable impact on the functionality of the German killing machine. Most Jews caught up in the Nazi maelstrom ultimately hoped that obedience would buy them time. Hayes accordingly notes the understandable reality that "Everywhere, Jews took arms only when they knew the certain alternative was death."

That Jews were more likely to die if they resided in a country under German occupation and administration is mostly self-evident, but Hayes notes that this correlation is not unconditional. Also germane to Jewish death rates was whether the Germans began murders and deportations in a particular country before 1943, and whether the Wehrmacht was forced to retreat from that country before 1945. Similarly relevant was, as Timothy Snyder has explored in *Black Earth*, the presence of an "indigenous and at least quasi-autonomous government interested in surviving the war." Any country that had the traditional administrative elements of a state apparatus obliterated, like Poland, the Baltic States, Ukraine, and Belarus, was more likely to have a higher Jewish death rate than one that at least partially retained its administrative infrastructure, like Belgium. One particular case study among collaborationist governments was that of Romania. Responsible for more murders of Jews than any other country besides Germany during the war, Romania murdered roughly 400,000 Jews in the newly annexed regions of Bukovina, Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Transnistria when Germany's

power was at its apex in 1941-42. Nevertheless, as the fortunes of war shifted against the Axis, Romania began to worry about its postwar fate and stalled on deporting Jews within its prewar borders, preserving over three-quarters of its original Jewish population. In Denmark and Italy, Hayes intriguingly contends that a relatively high death rate among Jews was avoided at least in part because of the lack of a disproportionate Jewish presence in left-wing political activities during the interwar years.

Hayes pays particular attention to Poland given the contentious and sensitive elements surrounding memory of Polish responses to the Shoah that reverberate to this day. Interestingly, he argues that a certain degree of Polish complicity was undoubtedly real, but somewhat exaggerated upon examination of discrepancies between testimonies from survivors given in the immediate aftermath of the war and those given years later. The unique nature of the Nazi occupation of Poland, the presence of three million Jews—more than in any other European country—and the total destruction of the Polish state created an environment where "different parts of the population were constantly pitted against each other in a desperate struggle to survive." In no way does Hayes absolve or exonerate the Poles, but he does wish to illuminate the singularly bleak nature of the situation in occupied and annexed Poland.

The explanation as to why the rest of the world did not intervene is as old as the Holocaust itself, and Hayes's account should be familiar to most students of the Shoah. The economically depressed, xenophobic, and antisemitic international climate of the 1930s resulted in limited options for potential Jewish refugees. Interestingly, Hayes does remark on how the United States, in spite of its constricting immigration laws, still took in more Jewish immigrants than any other nation. Like Cesarani before him, Hayes is not one to believe that the Allies had any ability to interdict the operations of the Holocaust in any appreciable way during the war other than winning it as quickly as possible. Bombing Auschwitz, even if successful in an operational sense, would have only served to kill the inhabitants of the camp or, if they had survived, compelled the Germans to find alternative methods and places of extermination. Elsewhere, Hayes reserves especially harsh criticism for the passivity of the leadership of the Catholic Church. While acknowledging the Church's calculation that overt condemnation of Nazi atrocities might have jeopardized the safety of some Catholics or the Church itself, Hayes portrays the Vatican as remarkably submissive, with redemption only coming from the courageous acts of individual members of the clergy scattered throughout Europe.

Hayes concludes, as books of this type often do, with a forward-looking chapter on the Holocaust and the applicability of its legacy to contemporary times. Outside of the Western democracies, antisemitism still persists and has some degree of political power. Meanwhile, the collapse of the stabilizing institutions from the post-1945 world and the presence of a Jewish state in the form of Israel has created a magnet for hatred. To head these off, Hayes argues for vigilance and not fear, as well as independence amongst Jews and other marginalized communities—but not at the expense of meaningful connections and support networks with other groups and identities. Lastly, with respect to the study of the Holocaust, Hayes identifies three main takeaways: responsible engagement with politics to avoid demagoguery, an innovative and persistent will to resist injustices, and a refusal to ever let the ends justify the means.

Output by scholars of the Holocaust remains as vigorous as ever, and the process of understanding every facet of the genocide remains ongoing. *Why?* will likely not provide a reader with any groundbreaking information or arguments about the Holocaust, nor is it designed to work in this manner. Instead, for a reader hoping to access a broad distillation of some of the foundational questions revolving around the Holocaust, it is an accessible and effective work. For those experienced students and scholars of the Holocaust who many not find significant knowledge within its pages, Hayes's sweeping style and use of numbers and statistics as framing devices still offer much that is worthwhile. Indeed, we underestimate the importance of offering succinct and precise answers to a subject as fraught with incomprehensibility and scale as the Holocaust at our own peril.

UVM Student Presents Lecture to USCIS



On April 23rd 2019, Kiara Day, an M.A. candidate in history at UVM, presented a lecture to the office of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) in South Burlington, Vermont. She was invited by the USCIS Equal Employment Opportunity Advisory Committee, which annually hosts nine observances to promote the understanding and appreciation of diversity through special emphasis programs—in this case, a program commemorating the Holocaust.

The content of Kiara's lecture was based on her research conducted for Professor Jonathan Huener's fall 2018 seminar, "The Holocaust in Poland," on Jewish women who passed as non-Jews for the underground resistance. Her presentation, entitled "Clandestine Resisters: Jewish Women Couriers during the Holocaust in Poland," aimed to illuminate this relatively under-researched network of women as vital to each phase of organized Jewish resistance. Utilizing diaries and memoirs from female couriers and a few male resistance fighters, her research shows that this integral courier role was initiated and sustained by young Jewish women who had certain "privileges" that allowed them to pass as Christian Poles in the "Aryan" world outside the ghetto walls. Summarized below, the research she shared at USCIS explores how and why they became couriers, how their identity as women affected their experiences, and the four types of resistance missions they undertook.

Clandestine Resisters: Jewish Women Couriers During the Holocaust in Poland

By Kiara Day

Jewish women who became couriers for the underground tended to have similar backgrounds and motivations. In pre-war Poland, the precedent of Jewish girls attending public Polish schools gave them Polish language skills, knowledge of Christian culture, and networks of non-Jewish friends. In addition, Jewish youth groups that centered around Zionism and Socialism were popular, and girls were allowed into these movements from their inception. These pre-war youth movements later developed into a youth underground, naturally providing space for females. For these reasons, the courier women tended to be between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, usually had a Polish education, and often had previous involvement in youth groups. Regarding their motivation for joining the underground, they frequently cited their desire for active revenge against the Nazis.

When the Nazis invaded and occupied Poland in 1939, Jews faced a variety of restrictions that led to the policy of ghettoization, physically denying them access to the Polish world and to one another. Following the invasion, many male youth movement leaders fled to the Soviet-occupied portion of prewar Poland to join Partisan fighting units or to evade immediate capture. In the midst of this chaos, many Jewish women took over leadership roles within the youth movements and established the courier role in order to communicate between ghettos. After male leaders started to return, women continued as couriers in order to maintain communication networks and links between the youth underground across Poland. The youth leaders reasoned that women had a better chance of survival travelling outside the ghetto walls because they could not be physically identified as Jewish and would raise less suspicion than men roaming the streets.

However, the sources show that not just any young Jewish woman was recruited to be a courier. Those who had an "Aryan" appearance, spoke Polish well, and were prepared to act courageously were chosen for the role. Nazis and Poles had certain stereotypes of "Jewish" features, such as a long nose, dark curly hair, dark eyes, and a dark complexion. It was therefore imperative that the couriers' appearance did not fit these stereotypes. In addition, these women tended to have confident demeanors, fluency in Polish, and a familiarity with Polish customs.

Alongside these characteristics and skills, couriers utilized traditional stereotypes about women to their advantage. The image of an innocent girl as a "damsel in distress" allowed some of these couriers to pass effectively. In addition, some couriers dared to use elements of seduction to distract people from their true identity; some would use heavy makeup, wear particularly attractive clothes, or flirt with Polish men and Nazi policemen. However, despite these advantages on the "Aryan" side, the research also reveals certain obstacles that couriers faced due to their identity as women. For example, the threat of sexual assault and propositioning was pervasive for many of the couriers. Furthermore, unwanted pregnancy occurred. In order to avoid causing any distraction from resistance efforts, couriers often chose to undergo dangerous abortion procedures.

In addition to exploring why and how women couriers could navigate outside the ghetto, this research also examined the four missions they undertook for the underground. The first was to establish underground communication networks and offer cultural activities for youth in the ghettos. The second was to warn Jews about the Nazi plan for mass murder and inspire active resistance. The third was to acquire weapons and ammunition for armed uprising, and the fourth was to secure safe spaces and aid for Jews who went into hiding on the "Aryan" side.

Courier diaries and memoirs reveal that many of these women did not survive because of denunciation by Poles and capture by the Gestapo. Indeed, most couriers did not live more than two or three months, losing their lives while sustaining the Jewish underground. If they were not killed immediately upon discovery, couriers were sent to concentration camps and killing centers.

The couriers who wrote about their experiences convey that their agency as women and their participation in every phase of Jewish resistance deserves serious scholarly attention. Despite the unending tension these women endured playing "hide and seek" outside the ghetto, and even though the underground viewed them as integral to all resistance activity, their stories have not been adequately written into the historical record. Ultimately, this research into the courier network intends to honor these women's actions and identify their resistance as worthy of remembrance.

Report on the Jewish Foundation for the Righteous Summer Institute for Teachers, 2018

By Amy Wardwell, Champlain Valley Union High School

In the summer of 2018 I was deeply honored to be nominated by the UVM Miller Center for Holocaust Studies as one of 29 Alfred Lerner Fellows gathered at the Jewish Foundation for the Righteous' Summer Institute for Teachers. Since 2001, the JFR has brought teachers from all over the United States and Eastern Europe to Columbia University to participate in this amazing program.

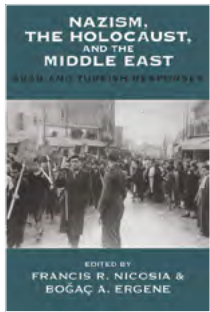
For five days in June, we attended seminars with noted Holocaust scholars, including Doris Bergen, Jeffrey Burds, Daniel Greene, Peter Hayes, Michael Marrus, Michael Steinlauf, and Edward Westermann. We also had the great privilege of hearing from Holocaust survivor Roman Kent, who survived the Łódź Ghetto and four different camps, including Auschwitz. During detailed Q & A sessions with each presenter, we delved into topics ranging from the history of antisemitism, to the role of doctors in the Third Reich, to the work of the "Blue Police" as collaborators, to President Roosevelt's responses to the Holocaust. In break-out groups, my fellow teachers and I discussed how we bring Holocaust studies to middle and high school classrooms, and especially how we wrestle with the emotional and pedagogical challenges that can arise when introducing this history to young people. Prior to our arrival in New York, each teacher read the Institute's core text *How was It Possible?: A Holocaust Reader*, which was introduced and edited by Peter Hayes. This book provided a comprehensive foundation to our study of the Holocaust, and each of our lecturers contributed selections to the book.

A second book, *Voices and Views: A History of the Holocaust*, was generously donated to each Lerner Fellow by Abby Crisses and the JFR Education Committee. Together, these two books have proven to be outstanding resources, and I plan to use selections from each in my work with students at Champlain Valley Union High School. I am also looking forward to serving as a Miller Center resource for Vermont 5–12 educators who want to integrate Holocaust history and literature into their classrooms.

The Summer Institute was not only intellectually stimulating, but also provided an invaluable opportunity to make connections with teachers from all parts of the United States and Eastern Europe. From my Polish and Croatian peers I learned that teaching Holocaust history on the sites where events occurred presents unique challenges, especially when paired with political climates shifting toward more conservative nationalist sentiments and governments that seek to revise or reframe the historical narrative. My American colleagues hailed from diverse educational settings: some teach in urban districts in Seattle, Cincinnati, Chicago, Kansas City, Houston, and Pittsburgh. Others like me are from rural schools in Alabama, Kentucky, and Mississippi. Some participants staff Holocaust Centers and do outreach with their local schools, and some teach in private or charter schools. We discovered that our common bond is a deep commitment to the work we do, not only in helping young people develop into knowledgeable and compassionate citizens, but also in preserving the memory of the victims of Nazi persecution so that the words "never again" may indeed become a reality.



Vermont Studies on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust Series



Volume 7

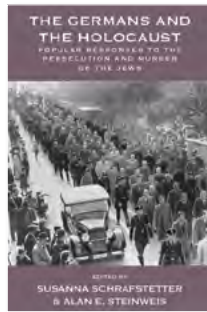
NAZISM, THE HOLOCAUST, AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Arab and Turkish Responses

Francis R. Nicosia and Boğaç A. Ergene [Eds.]

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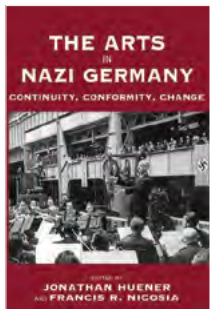
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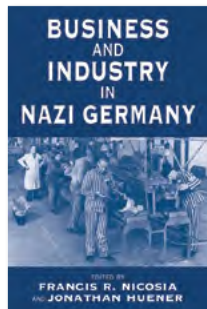
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News from the Faculty



For the first time since arriving at UVM in 2001, **Adriana Borra** (German and Russian; Romance Languages) is teaching more in the German and Russian Department than in the Romance Languages Department, where she is currently teaching French instead of Italian. To get fresh ideas for her “Modern Germany” class, in May she attended “Berlin Berlin,” a two-day hands-on workshop sponsored by the Goethe Institute,

Boston, on how to integrate topics about Germany’s capital into any German language and culture class. The workshop was held at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. After 24 years of work as a lexicographer, she has enjoyed sharing her experience on several occasions. This past April she was a guest speaker both at UVM’s linguistic club, where she spoke on “My Experience as a Dictionary Maker: A Hands-on Approach on a Little-Known Profession,” and in Antonello Borra’s class “Italian 158—Early Italian Literature in Context,” where she presented a modification of that talk: “My Experience as a Dictionary Maker: a Hands-on Approach on a Little-Known Profession. What I Learned working on German-Italian/Italian-German Dictionaries,” to introduce Antonello’s advanced students to dictionary user skills with a strong focus on available Italian-language dictionaries. Borra also worked as a translator of new entries and consultant for the Italian-German section of the 4th edition of Luisa Giacomina and Susanne Kolb’s *Il nuovo dizionario di tedesco / PONS Großwörterbuch Italienisch*, (Zanichelli Editore, Bologna and Klett Verlag, Stuttgart, forthcoming June 2019). In an age when print dictionaries are struggling in a market flooded by free online dictionaries and machine translations, it is an extraordinary proof of its success that both publishers still invest in a paper dictionary of that size (320,000 entries). Borra’s class *Staging German*, her most rewarding teaching experience so far, inspired her to present “Creating an Active Classroom through Theatre Method” at the AATI Conference in Cagliari, Italy, in June. She received so much enthusiastic feedback, that in January 2019 she offered a “Staging Languages” workshop for her colleagues in UVM German and Russian and Romance Languages and Linguistics departments.

Antonello Borra’s (Romance Languages) new volume of poetry “Fabbrica delle idee / The Factory of Ideas” was published by Fomite Press.



In June, Dr. **Andrew Buchanan** (History) was invited to present a paper entitled “World War, Worldwide Mobilization: How Global History Complicates World War II” to the Second World War Research Group conference in London. The paper was then edited for inclusion in a forthcoming collection, provisionally titled *Revisiting the Peoples’ War: The Second World War in Socio-Political Perspective*. Over the summer, Buchanan completed editing work on his book, *World War II in Global Perspective, 1931-1953: A Short History*,

which was published by Wiley in April 2019. He has already had a number of opportunities to present papers based on the new book, including at a symposium on “World War II in the Mediterranean in Global Context” organized at the University of Naples Federico II, as a guest lecturer at the British military’s Joint Services Command and Staff College, and at a seminar jointly sponsored by the History of War program and the Center for Global History at Oxford University.

Meaghan Emery (Romance Languages), Associate Professor of French, had two peer-reviewed articles accepted. “This Strange Mother Tongue of Mine: An Exchange Between Camus’s Meursault and Daoud’s Haroun” will be appearing in the *Journal of the Albert Camus Society*, and “What does *Charlie Hebdo* have to do with US campuses?” will be appearing in the *Athenaeum Review*. She also published a book review of Annie Ernaux’s English translation of *Les Années* (*The*



Years). Her book manuscript, which focuses on the legacy of Albert Camus and the philosophical paradigms of resistance and revolution used by contemporary authors and filmmakers in their works uncovering the Algerian War, is under contract with Routledge press.



Jonathan Huener (History) has spent the academic year completing his book manuscript *The Polish Catholic Church under German Occupation: The Reichsgau Wartheland 1939-1945*, under contract with Indiana University Press. In May 2018 he met, on behalf of the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies, with a delegation of political leaders, community organizers, and educators from Poland visiting Vermont through the U.S. Department of State’s International Visitor Leadership Program. In November 2018 his essay “Polityka Niemiec wobec Kościoła i polskiego Kościoła katolickiego w diecezji Kraju Warty i łódzkiej” appeared in Tomasz Toborek and Michał Trębacz, Ed., *Łódź pod okupacją 1939-1945: studia i szkice* (Łódź: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej - Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Łodzi, 2018). In June of 2019 he will be participating in a conference in Poland on the theme “Recovering Forgotten History—The Image of East-Central Europe in English-Language Academic and Text Books,” and will begin the editorial work associated with the volume emerging from the Eighth Miller Symposium, “Poland under German Occupation, 1939-1945,” which was held at UVM in October 2018. Huener has also served as director of the Miller Center during the 2018-2019 academic year.

Lutz Kaelber (Sociology) published a chapter entitled “Jewish Children as Victims of ‘Euthanasia’ in Nazi Germany” in *Lessons and Legacies: New Approaches to an Integrated History of the Holocaust: Social History, Representation, Theory*, edited by Alexandra Garbarini and Paul Jasot. He is currently preparing manuscripts on Dr. Irene Asam-Bruckmüller, a Nazi physician who headed the “child euthanasia” center in Ansbach, Germany, and on recent research on various forms of public memory of such crimes and their victims.

Dennis Mahoney (German and Russian) co-edited, with Andreas Nolte, *Living by the Golden Rule: Mentor, Scholar, World Citizen. A Festschrift for Wolfgang Mieder’s 75th Birthday* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019). This volume includes tributes and scholarly contributions by many individuals associated with the Miller Center, including his own article on “Maria Hummel’s *Motherland*: True-to-Life ‘Children’s and Household Tales’ about the End of the ‘Third Reich’” (163-176). He has continued work with the International Novalis Society, for which he serves as president as well as co-editor of *Blütenstaub: Jahrbuch für Frühromantik*. Its most recent issue 4 (2018) contains two articles by him: “Aber sinke ich auch, so ist es mir rühmlich zu sinken’: Das Orpheus-Motiv in Novalis’ Dichtungen von den Jugendarbeiten bis zu *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*” (81-95) and “Novalis-Rezeption und Kritik in der späteren Romantik am Beispiel von Eichendorffs *Ahnung und Gegenwart* und *Das Marmorbild*” (245-261). He also has co-written (with Terence Chorba) “Romanticism, Mycobacterium, and the Myth of the Muse” for the March 2019 issue of *Emerging Infectious Diseases* (617-618), the cover of which features the portrait of Friedrich von Hardenberg (Novalis), who died of tuberculosis in 1801 at the age of 28. Later this spring, after presiding over the awarding of the 2019 Novalis Prize at the birthplace of the poet in Oberwiederstedt, Germany, he will attend the ensuing international conference on romanticism and modernity. His talk there will address Herbert Marcuse’s reception of early romanticism and its impact on figures as diverse as Norman O. Brown, Susan Sontag, and Abbie Hoffman.



Wolfgang Mieder (German and Russian) published the three books “*Entwirrte Wendungen*”, *Modifizierte Redensarten in Literatur, Medien und Karikaturen* (Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2018); “*In Proverbiis Veritas*”.

News From the Faculty, continued from Page 10

Sprachkulturelle, literarische und politische Studien (Münster: Waxmann, 2018); and *“Ein Schwert hält das andere in der Scheide”*. *Otto von Bismarcks sprichwörtliche Rhetorik* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2018; with Andreas Nolte). He also edited reprints of Heinrich Leineweber's *Die Weisheit auf der Gasse* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2018), and Friedrich Seiler's *Das deutsche Sprichwort* (Burlington, Vt.: The University of Vermont, 2018). Together with Harry Walter he edited *“Wo der Hund begraben liegt”*. *Studien zur slawischen Parömiologie und Phraseologie von V.M. Mokienko* (Greifswald: Universität Greifswald, 2018), and he is the editor of the thirty-fifth volume of *Proverbium. Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* (Burlington, VT: The University of Vermont, 2018). Among his new articles are “The Word [and Phrase] Detective: A Proverbial Tribute to OED Editor John A. Simpson,” *Proverbium*, 35 (2018), 223-262; “Bevor du deinen Prinzen findest, musst du eine Menge Frösche küssen. Vom Märchenmotiv zum modernen Sprichwort,” *Zurechterzählt! Wie Märchen und populäre Erzählstoffe genutzt, ideologisiert und aktualisiert werden*. Ed. S. Wienker-Piepho and M. Tauschek (Völkach: Walter Kahn, 2018), 44-63; “Neue Zeiten, neue Weisheiten. Plädoyer für eine Parömiographie und Parömiologie moderner Sprichwörter,” *Einblicke und Rückblicke. Beiträge zur deutschen Phraseologie und Parömiologie*. 2 vols. Ed. A. Gondek, A. Jurasz, and J. Szczyk (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag, 2018), I, 17-43; “The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Poorer. Bernie Sanders's Proverbial Rhetoric for an American Sociopolitical Revolution,” *Proceedings of the Eleventh Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs at Tavira, Portugal*. Ed. R. Soares and O. Lauhakangas (Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2018), 38-69; “To Be (All) Greek to Someone. Origin, History, and Meaning of an English Proverbial Expression,” *Platanos efskiotylos. In Honour of Professor Minas Al. Alexiadis*. Ed. M.G. Varvounis and M.G. Sergis (Thessaloniki: Ant. Stamoulis, 2018), 573-592; “It's a Small World. From Widespread Idioms to Widespread Proverbs,” *Modern Phraseology Issues*. Ed. T. Fedulenkova (Arkhangels: Solti, 2018), 74-97; “Life Is not a Spectator Sport. Proverbial Emotions about Modern Life,” *Emotsional'naiia sfera cheloveka v iazyke i kommunikatsii*. Ed. E.R. Ioanesian (Moscow: Institut Iazykoznaniiia, 2018), 7-17; and “The Use of Proverbs in Martin Luther King's 1963 ‘I Have a Dream’ Speech at the Lincoln Memorial,” *Critical Insights. Martin Luther King Jr.* Ed. R.C. Evans (Ipswich, Mass.: Salem Press, 2019), 116-148. His travels to conferences took him to Buffalo, Los Angeles, Moscow and St. Petersburg (Russia), Tavira (Portugal), and several towns in Vermont.



Frank Nicosia (History) retired from UVM in the summer of 2018 after teaching for some 40 years, first at Saint Michael's College, and then at the University of Vermont. He remains active in the field of Holocaust studies. He spoke at the international conference, “First Do No Harm: Medical Science, Ethics and the Holocaust,” at Pacific Lutheran University in October 2018. He participated in his last meeting of the Academic Council of the Holocaust Educational Foundation in St. Louis, after serving for five-years on the Council. He reviewed two books for journals, completed a chapter for a book of edited essays that will be published in the Fall of 2019, and has begun two new projects, including work on some of the private papers of the German-Jewish leader Ernst Marcus in the 1930s, as well as on the question of Hannah Arendt, Zionism, and national identity. In 2019 Nicosia begins a term as chair of the Miller Center's Board of Advisors.

Nicole Phelps (History) helped to organize the 2018 Austrian Studies Association annual conference, which was held at UVM in May 2018, and she also presented a paper there on “The Habsburg Consular Service in Comparative Perspective.” She served as a commentator for panels on US diplomatic history at the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), and reviewed books on central European history for *Contemporary Austrian Studies* and *Passport: The SHAFR Review*. She is proud to have shepherded two M.A. and two B.A. honors students through the successful completion of their theses this year. In May 2019, she will represent SHAFR on a presidential session on the legacies of World War I at the Society for Military History conference.



Jody M. Prescott (Environmental Studies) teaches courses for Environmental Studies (Environmental Law and Energy Law & Climate Change) and for Computer Science (Cybersecurity Law & Policy). He retired from the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's Corps in 2011 after 25 years of active duty service, and now works for U.S. Immigration & Customs Enforcement doing environmental law and commercial litigation. During his Army career,

Prescott served two tours in Germany, two tours in Alaska, and a tour in Norway with the Joint Warfare Centre in Stavanger. He had two operational tours, first as the NATO headquarters claims chief in Sarajevo in 1996, and then with the International Security Assistance Force as the Chief Legal Advisor to the U.S. four-star commander in Kabul 2008-2009. He taught at the U.S. Army Command & General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth 2000-2003, and then at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point 2009-2011. His research and writing focus areas include the operational relevance of gender, cyber conflict, climate change, and ethics and leadership. Prescott continues his work on the Ordinary Soldiers project (see article p. 4) and was recently appointed to the Miller Center's Board of Advisors.



Robert Rachlin (German and Russian; Classics), adjunct lecturer in the Department of German and Russian, stepped down as chair of the Advisory Board of the Miller Center, having served in that capacity for over ten years. He has assisted Miller Center Director Jonathan Huener in reconstituting the Board and developing its bylaws, and has donated his personal library of Holocaust-related books, in English, German, French, and Yiddish, to the Center. They will be integrated into the Center's new library in Billings, and into UVM's Howe Library. Having taught a three-credit course on Ancient Israel as a lecturer in the Department of Classics, he has enrolled as a Continuing Education student, taking two courses in Greek. He undertook this study to fill what he describes as “a gaping hole in my education,” and he expects to continue his Greek studies in the fall. Last fall, as a pianist, Rachlin performed his annual concert with violinist Kevin Lawrence, comprising works of Schubert, Dvořák, and Debussy. Although retired from active law practice, he remains a Director of his firm, Downs Rachlin Martin PLLC.



Susanna Schrafstetter (History) spent the fall 2018 semester in Washington, DC, where she held the Judith B. and Burton P. Resnick Invitational Fellowship for the Study of Anti-Semitism at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. She conducted research in the vast archival collections of the museum, and presented her current research project about German Jews who tried to survive the Holocaust in Fascist and German-occupied Italy. She also spoke in November 2018 at the fifteenth biennial “Lessons & Legacies” conference

of the Holocaust Educational Foundation in St. Louis, Missouri, presenting a paper about Jewish refugees who tried to reach Palestine from Italy. The paper, titled “Stranded in Northern Africa: The Failed Aliyah Bet of the ‘Benghazi Group’ (1939/40),” is now being revised for submission to *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. She published an article titled “Between Skylla and Charybdis: Jews from Munich in Italy, 1933-1945,” in the *Vierteljahrshfte für Zeitgeschichte*, and her chapter “The Geographies of Living Underground: Flight Routes and Hiding Spaces of Fugitive German Jews, 1939-1945,” is forthcoming in the volume *Lessons and Legacies 14: The Holocaust in the 21st Century: Relevance and Challenges in the Digital Age*, edited by Tim Cole and Simone Gliotti.

Helga Schreckenberger (German and Russian) published “Jazz and the ‘New Women’: Lili Grün's Novel *Alles ist Jazz* (1933)” (*Jazz in Word. European (Non-) Fiction*. Ed. Kirsten Kick-Aigner and Marc-Oliver Schuster. Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann,



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News From the Faculty, continued from Page 11

2018), a reading of Nazi victim Lili Grün's interwar novel as a female jazz novel. She also presented "Outcast: The Period from the 'Anschluss' to Exile in Egon Schwarz's *Keine Zeit für Eichendorff*" at the Bi-Annual Conference of North American Society for Exile Studies; "Early Stages of Exile: Somewhere Between Home and Arrival," at Loyola University; and "Irreconcilable Identities: 'Westjuden' and 'Ostjuden' in Franz Werfel's Fragment 'Pogrom'" at the annual conference of the Austrian Studies Association, "Austria and the East" at the University of Vermont.



Alan E. Steinweis (History), spent the fall 2018 semester at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, where he was the Ina Levine Senior Invitational Scholar. At the Museum, he continued work on a general history of Nazi Germany, and initiated work on a project about Georg Elser, a German cabinetmaker who attempted to assassinate Adolf Hitler in November 1939. In December 2018, Steinweis delivered the museum's annual Ina Levine lecture, titled "'The Idea of Eliminating the Leadership Would Not Let Me Rest': Georg Elser's Attempted

Eliminating the Leadership Would Not Let Me Rest': Georg Elser's Attempted

Student and Alumni News

Mark Alexander (B.A., History, 2012, M.A., History, 2015) recently defended his dissertation and received his Ph.D. in history from The George Washington University in Washington, DC. His dissertation, "Nazi Collaborators and Cold Warriors: America's Belarusian Quislings," explores how leading Belarusian Nazi collaborators escaped justice after World War II and immigrated to the United States. Many of these figures participated in American anticommunist politics and the CIA's covert campaigns to undermine the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Alexander presented his research at the November 2018 "Lessons and Legacies" conference of the Holocaust Educational Foundation in St. Louis, and this summer he will resume his work on a series of educational supplements based on the archival holdings of the International Tracing Service for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Kiara Day received her B.A. in history with honors at the University of Vermont in May 2018. She continues her studies at UVM as an M.A. candidate in history, specializing in the Holocaust, modern Germany, and twentieth-century U.S. History, and holds an Altschuler Fellowship in Holocaust Studies to support her graduate work. Her thesis is about American journalist and activist Dorothy Thompson, the first reporter to be ousted from Nazi Germany in 1934 due to her persistent condemnation of Nazi persecution of Jews. In the summer of 2017, Day received the UVM Humanities Center Undergraduate Fellowship to pursue archival research about Thompson. As someone with interest in integrating women's stories more fully into standard Holocaust narratives, her other current research looks at Jewish women couriers as part of the resistance in occupied Poland. In April, Day gave a Holocaust remembrance lecture about these couriers for the office of United States Citizenship and Immigration Services in South Burlington, Vermont (see article, p.7). This past academic year, she also continued to serve as editor of the *University of Vermont History Review*, the History department's student-edited journal. This summer, Day looks forward to being an Auschwitz Jewish Center Fellow in Poland, where she will participate in an intensive travel program to explore Holocaust history in the Polish context, including topics such as pre-war Jewish life, Polish-Jewish relations, collective memory, and commemoration.



Lauren Fedewa successfully defended her UVM master's thesis, titled "Between Extermination and Child-Rearing: The Foreign Child-Care Facilities of Volkswagen and Velpke," in July 2018 and received her M.A. in history in October. She is currently living and working in Hanover, Germany, as the recipient of a ten-month Fulbright research award from the U.S. Department of State and the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board. Fedewa's current project expands upon her thesis by examining other foreign child-care facilities in the former NSDAP *Gau* of Südhannover-

other foreign child-care facilities in the former NSDAP *Gau* of Südhannover-

Assassination of Hitler in November 1939 and Its Aftermath." He also gave two invited lectures in Germany in November 2018: "Der Novemberpogrom 1938 in vergleichender Perspektive: Ausgrenzende Gewalt der Zwischenkriegszeit in Deutschland und der USA," at the Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz, Berlin; and "Die NS-Judenforschung im Zuge des Novemberpogroms 1938," at the Fritz-Bauer-Institut, Frankfurt. This spring, Steinweis was appointed Raul Hilberg Distinguished Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont.



Steve Zdatny (History) has had a busy year of teaching and scholarship. He published an article on "The Old Regime of French Hygiene," in *Rural History* and continues to work, along with his co-editors, on a special number of *French Historical Studies* focusing on the history of French fashion. He wrote a couple of book reviews, gave talks about his work in Lille, France, Pittsburgh, and Indianapolis, spent a happy few weeks in the

Archives de Paris reading about nineteenth-century sewers and public baths, and made some progress on his book project, a history of French hygiene in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Braunschweig, and introduces research in corporate, city, and state archives throughout Lower Saxony. Fedewa is affiliated with the Historisches Seminar at the Leibniz University in Hanover, where she has been collaborating with professors, attending colloquia, and presenting her research to faculty and students at the Research Seminar for Contemporary History. This summer she will present a paper on the postwar memorialization of foreign child-care facilities at the international conference "Studying Public History: Methods, Difficulties, Perspectives" in Wroclaw, Poland. In the fall, she will continue her studies as a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Toronto, working under the primary supervision of former UVM professor Doris Bergen.



Will Fitz graduated with honors in European studies with a minor in political science in December 2018. That same month, he defended his honors thesis, "Reactionary Postmodernism: Neoliberalism, Multiculturalism, the Internet, and the Ideology of the New Far Right in Germany," supervised by Professor Alan Steinweis. The defense was conducted by Professors Schrafstetter and Adriana Borra as a guest speaker to their classes on contemporary Germany, where he presented his thesis research. He continued his work as the Miller Center's student assistant, which included cataloging and organizing the Center's library in Billings, as well as co-editing this year's *Bulletin*. He was inducted into the Phi Beta Kappa honor society, and plans to continue his studies of the German far right, particularly the intersection of far right politics and philosophy, in graduate school in 2020. In the meantime, he plans to move to Germany to sharpen his language skills.

Megan Gamiz is a first-year candidate for a M.A. in history. During her time at UVM thus far, she has engaged in research spanning over five hundred years, from examining the historiography of the French Wars of Religion to analyzing the legacy of Claude Lanzmann's 1985 film *Shoah* in postwar France. Recent research has also explored German scientific and intellectual innovations on display at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. Although her past research has been quite varied and diverse, the areas in which Gamiz is most passionate are modern French history and the Holocaust. She plans to devote the remainder of her time at UVM to exploring French involvement in the Holocaust and, especially, the memory of the Holocaust in France. Over the past academic year, she has worked as a Graduate Research Assistant for professors Paul Deslandes and Felicia Kornbluh. After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in History from Christopher Newport University in 2015, and working in higher education for three years, Gamiz is excited to be back in the classroom and working with the faculty here at the University of Vermont.

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Student and Alumni News, continued from Page 12



Nate Gondelman is a UVM alumnus (B.A., History, 2009; M.A., History, 2016). As a student, his primary focus was the relationship between German military fortunes and the trajectory of the Holocaust. Currently, he is the Services Manager at UVM's Student Accessibility Services Office, where he helps oversee the implementation of accommodations for students with disabilities. Gondelman has served as an editor and author for the *UVM History Review*, and continues to

write for the Miller Center's *Bulletin*. Most recently, he was appointed to the Center's Board of Advisors.

Dženeta Karabegović (B.A. German/Political Science 2008, minor in Holocaust Studies.) recently joined the Division of Political Science and Sociology at the University of Salzburg where she will be completing her *Habilitation*. She holds a Ph.D. in Politics and International Studies from the University of Warwick in the UK. Prior to joining the University of Salzburg, she moved to Bosnia and Herzegovina (where she was born) and worked as a consultant with local and international organizations focused on diasporas and development, returnees, education, and civil society. She was also an Assistant Professor at International Burch University in Sarajevo and a Lecturer at the Sarajevo School for Science and Technology. She completed her M.A. in International Relations at the University of Chicago after spending a year at Uppsala University as a US Fulbright Scholar after graduating from the UVM Honors College. Her academic work has been published in multiple peer-reviewed academic journals, and she recently co-edited a special issue of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* focused on diasporas and transitional justice. Her co-edited volume, *Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy Since Independence*, was published with Palgrave in March 2019.



Julia Kitonis, from Westford, Vermont, is a theatre major with a Holocaust studies and musical theatre double minor. She is finishing her sophomore year at UVM, where she is a recipient of the Green and Gold Scholarship. Her current focus is in cultural understandings of history through performance art. In this vein, she has focused her research on Jewish music and theatre of the Holocaust, specifically inside Polish ghettos. Furthermore, as a student in the Honors College, she intends to pursue a playwriting thesis exploring the interaction between past and present on stage. This summer, she will be appearing in Stowe Theatre Guild's production of "The Diary of Anne



Frank" and beginning pre-thesis research in music composition. She also has a forthcoming article on her work producing and directing a musical with deaf actors which will be published on *The Theatrical Board* (<https://www.thetheatricalboard.com/>).

Since 2016, **Kassandra LaPrade Seuthe** (M.A., History, 2016), has held the position of Curatorial Assistant with the Curatorial Acquisitions and Reference branch of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. In this role she provides support to intake curators at every stage of acquisition and establishes contact with potential donors to acquire original archival, art, and object collections to the Museum's permanent collection. In December, she traveled to the Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland to assess archival collections for the next phase of an ongoing digitization partnership that to date has provided access to hundreds of Ukrainian language DP-era periodicals. In addition to providing introductions to specific content areas of the collection at recent Museum seminars, she has presented at the 2019 Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference with other members of the Museum's archival digitization team. She continues with on-demand translation work and has recently drawn on her language skills to help identify German-language oral testimony for inclusion in a traveling version of the special exhibition *Some Were Neighbors: Collaboration & Complicity (Einige waren Nachbarn: Täterschaft, Mitläufertum und Widerstand während des Holocaust)*, presently on exhibit in Germany.

In Germany and taking classes at the Universität Augsburg two years ago, **Alex Sherbrook** completed her B.A. in psychology, with a minor in Holocaust studies, in September of 2017. She is currently working at the Howard Center, assisting people with developmental and intellectual disabilities, and she is also pursuing her Masters in Public Health at UVM with plans to graduate by May 2020. She recently started volunteering at the UVM Medical Center as a patient advisor in order to bring a patient voice and perspective to many aspects of planning and decision making at the hospital.

Dana Smith is currently an assistant professor in the Holocaust and Genocide Studies Department at Keene State College in Keene, New Hampshire, where she teaches on the Holocaust and Jewish history, including courses on "Women and the Holocaust" and "Art and the Holocaust." She has published two articles over the course of the past academic year: "Munich's Jewish Marionette Theater, *Moses*, and the Jewish Cultural League in Bavaria," in *Lessons and Legacies: New Approaches to an Integrated History of the Holocaust: Social History, Representation, Theory* (Northwestern University Press, 2018) and "Female Musicians and 'Jewish' Music in the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria, 1934-1938," in *Dreams of Germany: Musical Imaginaries from the Concert Hall to the Dance Floor* (Berghahn, 2019).

Holocaust Studies Courses Offered at UVM • 2018-2019

Fall 2018

GERM 122: Twentieth-Century German Culture and Civilization (Borra)
 HS/HST 227: Seminar—The Holocaust in Poland (Huener)
 HS 295: Seminar—Global History of World War II (Buchanan)
 JS 50: Introduction to Jewish Studies (Sugarman)

Spring 2019

HST 102/JS 196: American Jewish History (Kornbluh)
 HS/HST 115/JS 196: History of Poland (Huener)
 HS/HST 190/JS 196: The Holocaust (Steinweis)
 HS/HST 191: World War II (Buchanan)
 HS/HST 227: Seminar—France under German Occupation (Zdatny)

Fall 2019

GERM 122: Twentieth-Century German Culture and Civilization (Borra)
 HS/HST 139: Modern Germany (Schrafstetter)
 HS/REL 180: Moral and Religious Perspectives on the Holocaust (Sugarman)
 HS/HST 191: World War II (Buchanan)
 HS/HST 227: Seminar—Nazism and Fascism (Steinweis)
 JS 50: Introduction to Jewish Studies (Sugarman)



EVENTS OF THE PAST ACADEMIC YEAR

October 21, 2018

*The Eighth Miller Symposium:
Poland under German Occupation*
(See report on p. 3)

November 12, 2018

Annual Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture
The Klaus Barbie Trial and the Jews of France
Norman J.W. Goda, University of Florida

The trial of Klaus Barbie (the so-called “Butcher of Lyon”) in 1987 was France’s most notable Holocaust trial. Professor Goda’s lecture reflected on how the desire by French Jewish leaders to emphasize Jewish Holocaust testimonies pitted them against powerful forces in France that favored opposing narratives, from former members of the French resistance to post-colonial thinkers, who especially opposed Israel and sought to equate the Jewish State with Nazi Germany. The trial, Professor Goda explained, helps us to understand underlying antisemitic forces in France today.

Norman J.W. Goda is the Norman and Irma Braman Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Florida. Among his books are *Tales from Spandau: Nazi Criminals and the Cold War* and *The Holocaust: Europe, the World, and the Jews, 1918-1945*, and the edited volumes *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust: New Transnational Approaches* and *Rethinking Holocaust Justice: Essays Across Disciplines*.

The annual Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture is supported by a generous gift from Jerold D. Jacobson, Esquire, UVM Class of 1962, and his wife Gertraude Holle-Suppa.

March 27, 2019

*Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit
Genocide and Mass Killing*
James Waller, Keene State College

While the macro-level mechanics and structures of genocide are most often our focus of study, at heart, genocide and mass atrocity happen because individual humans choose to kill other individual humans in large numbers and over an extended period of time. Who are the killers on the front lines of genocide and how do they come to do such extraordinary evil? Drawing from over two decades of archival study of Holocaust perpetrators, and face-to-face interviews

with over 225 rank-and-file perpetrators from Latin America, the former Yugoslavia, Africa, and Northern Ireland, this presentation focused on the ordinary origins of these killers and the processes by which they become capable of such atrocities. Understanding these processes can be vital to resolving current conflicts as well as preventing the future occurrence of genocide and mass atrocity.

James Waller is Cohen Professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies, and chair of that same department, at Keene State College, Keene, New Hampshire. He is the author of five books, most notably his award-winning book *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 2007) and *Confronting Evil: Engaging Our Responsibility to Prevent Genocide* (Oxford University Press, 2016). His sixth book, *A Troubled Sleep: Risk and Resilience in Contemporary Northern Ireland*, is scheduled for release by Oxford University Press in late 2019.

This lecture was made possible through the support of the Kinsler Endowment for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont.

May 1, 2019

Remembering the Shoah through Muslim Eyes
Mehnaz Afridi, Manhattan College

In her lecture, Dr. Afridi discussed her journey with Judaism, antisemitism, and the Holocaust, and explored some of the ways in which Muslims and Jews can cooperate both historically and religiously. Based on her struggle with antisemitism in Muslim communities and in light of today’s rise in antisemitism, she discussed how we can work to dispel myths about Jews and the Holocaust. Afridi offered new paths of creating understanding between the two communities through the acceptance of the enormity of the Shoah.

Mehnaz Afridi is an Associate Professor of Religious studies and Director of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Interfaith Education Center at Manhattan College. She teaches courses on Islam, the Holocaust, genocide, and issues of gender within Islam. Her recent book *Shoah through Muslim Eyes* (Academic Studies Press, 2017) has been nominated for the Yad Vashem International Book Prize for Holocaust Research and the Jacob Schnitzer Book Award. She obtained her Ph.D. from the University of South Africa, and her M.A. and B.A. from Syracuse University.

The event was sponsored by the Richard Ader and Paul Konigsberg Endowment for Holocaust Studies at UVM.

PREVIEW OF NEXT YEAR'S EVENTS

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

www.uvm.edu/cas/holocauststudies

UPCOMING EVENTS

Wednesday, September 25, 2019 • 7:00 - 9:00 PM

Waterman Memorial Lounge (Room 338)

***Georg Elser's Attempted Assassination of Adolf Hitler in November 1939
and its Aftermath***

Alan E. Steinweis, University of Vermont

Wednesday, October 23, 2019 • 7:00 - 9:00 PM

Waterman Memorial Lounge

Making Women Work: Privilege and Powerlessness in Nazi Germany

Elizabeth Harvey, University of Nottingham

Monday, November 18, 2019 • 7:00 - 9:00 PM

Waterman Memorial Lounge

Annual Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture

Alfred Rosenberg: Hitler's Chief Ideologist and the Murder of the Jews

Jürgen Matthäus, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Thursday, February 20, 2020 • 4:30-6:00 PM

Waterman Memorial Lounge

Trapped between Nazism and Fascism: German Jews in Italy, 1933-45

Susanna Schrafstetter, University of Vermont

Wednesday, April 1, 2020 • 7:00-9:00 PM

Waterman Memorial Lounge

Annual Holocaust Commemorative Event

Why? Explaining the Holocaust

Peter Hayes, Northwestern University



The University of Vermont

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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.

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