The Bulletin

OF THE CAROLYN AND LEONARD MILLER CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES

VOLUME 24 THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT SPRING 2020

A Message from the Director

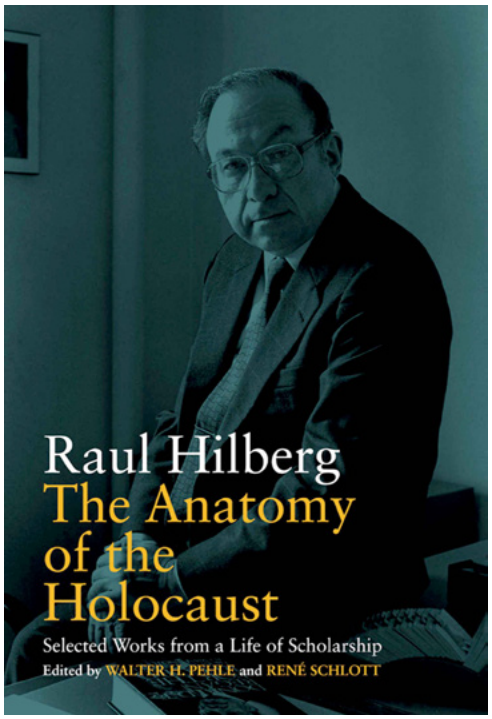
By Alan E. Steinweis
Professor of History
Raul Hilberg Distinguished Professor of Holocaust Studies

We have just come through a semester like no other. In the third week of March, just after spring break, the University of Vermont was forced into remote teaching mode by the COVID-19 pandemic. As at other universities all over the country, students, faculty, staff, and administrators at UVM, faced with a public health crisis unprecedented in our lifetimes, abruptly and dramatically transitioned to a form of teaching and learning that was new to most of us. Making extensive use of technologies such as internet-based videoconferencing and on-line discussion boards, UVM followed through on its commitment to educate its students under circumstances that had been unimaginable at the start of the semester. For their part, the students showed grit and determination in completing their assignments, and they can be proud of their accomplishments. In my own class on the history of the Holocaust, which was at full capacity with an enrollment of 40, the quality of the students' written work remained high despite the difficulties of accessing library materials.

The pandemic forced the Miller Center to cancel three public events that had been scheduled for the month of April. One of these would have been a presentation by UVM alumnus Terrence Petty, a retired journalist with the Associated Press, who would have spoken about his new book about anti-Nazi journalists in Munich before Hitler's rise to power. Another event was to feature UVM's own Lutz Kaelber who, together with German scholar Annette Eberle, would have spoken about Nazi eugenics and its legacy. A third event would have brought to UVM the eminent Holocaust scholar Peter Hayes of Northwestern University, who was scheduled to speak about his important recent book *Why? Explaining the Holocaust*. As we move forward, and as circumstances permit, the Miller Center will explore possibilities for rescheduling these events in the future. Please check for announcements on our website—http://www.uvm.edu/~uvmchs—where you can also sign up for our e-mail listserv.

Despite the difficulties, the Miller Center has good news to report. As you will read in this *Bulletin*, our students are doing fascinating work, our alumni continue to excel in doctoral programs and professionally, and our faculty remains highly productive. We have a new volume in our book series – a collection of articles by our distinguished, late colleague Raul Hilberg – and we will be welcoming a post-doctoral fellow, Dr. Catherine Greer, who will be teaching classes on Holocaust memory. The research of our colleague Jonathan Huener was featured in *Smithsonian Magazine* on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz (see the reprint of the article in this *Bulletin*).

On behalf of my colleagues at the Miller Center, I want to wish you and your families good health as the extended UVM community moves through the current crisis.



New Volume in Miller Center's Book Series

We are pleased to announce the publication of the eighth volume in our Center's book series with Berghahn Books. During his long and illustrious career as a scholar of the Holocaust, Raul Hilberg published several books, most notably his seminal studies *The Destruction of the European Jews* and *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*. But Hilberg also published numerous journal and magazine articles, which, while not easily available today, continue to offer important insight into the causes, course, and consequences of the Holocaust. This new volume, *Anatomy of the Holocaust*, brings together thirteen of Hilberg's articles. The volume is edited by René Schlott of the Center for Research in Contemporary History in Potsdam, who is writing a biography of Hilberg, and Walter Pehle, Hilberg's German publisher at the Fischer-Verlag in Frankfurt. Please see page 21 of this *Bulletin* for more information about our book series and for instructions for purchasing volumes at a fifty-percent discount.

IN THIS ISSUE

Report from Leipzig

By Will Fitz, UVM Class of 2019

In late August of 2019 I left Burlington to spend a year or two in Germany before I begin graduate school, with the intention of improving my language skills and acquainting myself firsthand with contemporary German politics and culture, especially the subject of my undergraduate thesis, right-wing populism, to aid me in my continued studies. I had little in the way of concrete plans except for a seven-week German course at the Goethe Institute in Berlin, after which I would be moving to the former East German city of Leipzig to find a job.

Will Fitz, UVM Class of 2019

In Berlin I mostly met other recent immigrants with a variety of origins: Russia, Morocco, Switzerland, Turkey, and China, to name a few. Some had been there for a year already, while others were "right off the boat" like me. One, the man from Morocco, was seeking a job before his tourist visa ran out. If he didn't find one, he'd face the possibility of deportation.

I was in the uncertain position of being an EU citizen through the United Kingdom, which was due to officially leave the Union on October 31st—then pushed to January 31st. After Brexit's completion, I would have no official status in the country, as there was no legal precedent for these bizarre circumstances.

Luckily, as Germany never wanted Brexit in the first place, it has been rather accommodating to UK citizens. The withdrawal agreement with Germany ultimately included a transitional period through December 31st, 2020, during which UK nationals already in Germany retain the same rights as EU citizens. In 2021 they will be integrated under a new but as of yet undetermined status, likely with most of the same rights, although freedom of movement in the rest of the EU may not be included. In mid-October, just a few weeks before the original Brexit date, I moved into an apartment in Leipzig and began what would be a protracted search for a job.

The workforce in Germany is much more multi-tiered than in the US, mainly on account of a system of semi-skilled vocational qualifications known as *Ausbildungen* (singular: *Ausbildung*). They are usually two-to-four-year training-working programs in a specific occupation, e.g. baking, product presentation, or warehouse logistics. If one browses job listings in Germany, a large percentage of the available jobs will be *Ausbildung* programs. The advantage of this type of work over standard wage-labor is job security for the worker and return-on-investment for the employer. The trained, specialized worker is more efficient and holds a formal qualification (Germans love their formalities). As such they are both less easy to replace and less likely to leave, so they receive better pay and benefits. More people build careers out of retail jobs in Germany than in the US, where cashier and shelf-stocking jobs don't offer as much in the way of advancement.

The disadvantage of the *Ausbildung* system is for those who are in fact looking for unskilled or transitional work. For instance, a new immigrant to Germany will find it very difficult to be accepted into an *Ausbildung* program. Especially if one is non-Western, e.g. African or Middle Eastern (prejudice is not uncommon here), convincing an employer to take one on for a three-year program is difficult. The *Ausbildung* system increases the barriers of entry for non-natives. Simple non-*Ausbildung* "shelf-stocking" jobs are much harder to come by, and often only come in the form of "Minijobs," i.e., sub-part-time work (often only 6-10 hours/week) that does not include healthcare or other benefits, and the earnings for which are capped at 450 Euro per month. Even in an uncommonly cheap city like Leipzig, this is not much. Compounding the labor insecurity of those at the bottom is so-called *Probearbeit*, or provisional, unpaid work. It is not uncommon to have to work at least the first day of a new job for free, after which the company can still decide not to employ you. In my job search I was taken on twice, once at a bar, and another time in fast food. The first time I was expected to work unpaid for a week, and the second time I learned that the firm had been bringing in provisional work for months—one day, one free worker, the next day, another free worker. I finally found a stable part-time position in retail after six months and approximately 30 job applications. But less than two weeks before my start date, the COVID-19 shutdown began.

Another source of labor insecurity I've learned about is the prevalence of "freelance" work. Many graduate and postgraduate jobs, though they resemble "normal" academic work (e.g. being an archivist or researcher) have been reclassified as freelancing. Even though they're more or less constantly employed by a single firm or institution, this reclassification makes each academic worker a "small enterprise"—effectively, a one-person small business—which is responsible for providing "its" own healthcare for its "workers." The employing institution no longer has to pay the normal percentage (around half) of such workers' healthcare costs, which are now passed solely onto the "freelancers" themselves. There are currently around four million freelance workers in Germany. On the whole, about 30% of German workers do not work in *sozialversicherungspflichtig* jobs, meaning their employer does not pay their health insurance.[1]

This is a situation unique to more "corporatist" (as opposed to "universalist") social democracies. Germany's healthcare system is more regulated by the state than in the United States, but one

continued on Page 3

***Report from Leipzig**, continued from Page 2*

must still buy into health insurance providers (*Krankenkassen*). Even for the standard "public healthcare" coverage, one must register with a non-profit or private company, which the state entrusts to provide social services. This "ordoliberal" approach is rather typical of many areas of the German economy. The "public" transport system is also more or less contracted out to companies, such as the *Berliner Verkehrsbetrieb* or *Deutsche Bahn*. The argument is that the market economy will more efficiently meet the goals determined by the state, which oversees the operations of non-profit and private companies to ensure that they continue to provide adequate public services. This contrasts to more centralized "universalist" social democratic policies. A universalist healthcare system would be the British National Health Service (NHS), which functions more like Medicare; everyone is covered, automatically, and regardless of employment status—the NHS is not insurance-based. The mixed public-private German system, which is tied to status and type of employment (as in the freelancer example), allows many people to fall through the cracks, and employers to find loopholes.

It is illegal *not* to have health insurance in Germany, but many people struggle to afford it—and some cannot do so. If you are born in Germany, you are automatically eligible for the cheaper public health option. I was not, and because I do not yet have official employment history in Germany, I am only eligible for private insurance, which is usually more expensive. But I don't yet have a job, so I can't afford it. I'm certainly not the only one in this Catch-22—there may well be up to 600,000 people without health insurance[2]—and this fact is especially unsettling in the midst of a global pandemic.

In my undergraduate thesis I came across the term *Zweidrittelgesellschaft*—the "two-thirds" society, used to describe the German socio-economic landscape.[3] The "1% vs. 99%" narrative is much less applicable to Germany than in the United States.[4] A larger share of the benefits of economic growth have remained in the hands of the middle class, the upper two thirds, likely because of measures like the above-described *Ausbildung*. The bottom third, however, consisting of both immigrants and native Germans, faces very high barriers to upward mobility on account of the labor market and the complex and frustrating bureaucracy which regulates it. (For example, for my one day of burger-flipping, I had to navigate the German health bureaucracy, take a course, and pay €30 for a certificate. The entire process took a month.) Much of the bottom third of German society is a pool of political disillusionment and, among native Germans, prime ground for the right-populist Alternative for Germany (AfD). Poor and less educated non-immigrant Germans often regard immigrants as competitors for limited jobs and social resources. Such Germans are overrepresented in the population in the regions that formerly constituted East Germany, a fact strongly related to the disproportionate popularity of the far right in this region.

I haven't encountered much young right-wing sentiment in Leipzig. As original residents are pushed outward, the inner city here is increasingly made up of left-leaning students and young professionals, many of whom grew up in the former West. Much more common than neo-Nazi youths are disgruntled older people, overwhelmingly native East Germans, who have seen drastic changes in their city since the fall of the Berlin Wall, at a level perhaps rivalled only by Berlin. Leipzig is currently the fastest growing city in Germany—even the central train tunnel did not exist 10 years ago—and I can only imagine what it looks like to those who have been here since the *beginning* of the GDR. The past 30 years have introduced neoliberal economics (Minijobs were introduced by Chancellor Schröder in the 1990s), in addition to tens of thousands of middle and upper-middle class students from the West and the world, bringing exploding rent prices, rapid gentrification, and liberal multicultural "post-material" politics with them.

Though I have not yet managed the ethnographic study of right-wing organizations I hope to undertake while I am here, I have learned quite a lot about the state of German social democracy, partially by experiencing some of its flaws firsthand—many of the same flaws that have fueled growth of opposition on both the left and the right. In many ways the sources of disillusionment are similar to those on the left and right in the U.S., with Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump running against the neoliberal center. In both contexts there is a strong sense of distrust toward the political establishment, stemming from economic, social, and cultural insecurity. The particular articulations of this discontent, however, exhibit some marked differences.

Germany, like many countries, is currently experiencing somewhat of a political crisis. An old consensus is disintegrating, and it is unclear how it will be reconstituted. But what is manifested mainly in partisan political terms in the United States is more *explicitly* understood here as a struggle for competing conceptions of culture and identity. In Germany, left-wing *Antideutsche* ("Anti-Germans") compete with Habermasian liberals, and both of them with a staunchly traditionalist right stoking fears of over-foreignization (*Überfremdung*). Of course, all of these currents have their equivalents in American politics to some extent. Although no serious political movement in the United Sates with the intention of surviving would call itself "Anti-American," one does encounter a sharply critical view of the country's history on the American left. For example, the left responds to the myth of American "greatness" with reminders of segregation and the

continued on Page 4

***Report from Leipzig**, continued from Page 3*

systematic destruction of the Native American people, similar to the emphasis placed by *Antideutsche* on the incompleteness of Germany's denazification and confrontation with the Holocaust. On the American right, one encounters Spenglerian narratives of cultural decay—why else would one need to Make America Great *Again*? Although the American right makes less of a claim to essential, rooted identity than the German right—the United States has a stronger self-image as a "Melting Pot" for immigrants," and German right-wingers explicitly insist that Germany is not a "land of immigration"—both seek to defend their own imagined pasts of homogeneity and social cohesion. And the political centers of both countries (even though the center of German politics sits to the left of its American counterpart) seek to uphold the primacy of deliberative bureaucratic politics as the most effective vehicle of "progress" defined in the cultural and philosophical tradition of the Enlightenment.

But because of Germany's unique experience of coming to terms with its Nazi past and its self-understanding (they even have a compound word for it—*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*), "culture" seems to occupy a more prominent, conscious position in the public discourse. The hard left has its own strong traditions and history, its own image of what Germany represents, to draw on: Rosa Luxembourg, the 1918-19 revolutions, and 40 years of a Socialist Germany (though the latter remains extremely contentious). The liberal center sees liberal democracy as a welcome import from the western Allies, marking a break from the Germany of empire and dictatorship and the creation of something new. The right, for its part, has its appeals to *Heimat* (a cultural idea of "home") and the supposedly 'ancient' rootedness of the German "spirit." It is much more obvious, at least to an American visitor, that the current uncertainty represents a crossroads between multiple distinct "Germanys," each vying for a greater piece of the future. Its relative clarity has prompted me, as I continue to follow the politics of my American *Heimat*, to ask what the equivalent existential questions about and conceptions of "America" are, embedded in their own unique histories.

Citations

[1] Rudnicka, J. "Sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigte in Deutschland Bis 2019." Statista, March 27, 2020. https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/39187/umfrage/sozialversicherungspflichtig-beschaeftige-seit-2000/; "Erwerbstätigkeit." Statistisches Bundesamt, September 13, 2019. https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Arbeit/Arbeitsmarkt/Erwerbstaetigkeit/_inhalt.html;

"Beschäftigungsstatistik - Sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigte Am Arbeitsort Am 30.06. Des Jahres Für Frauen, Männer, Insgesamt Darunter Ausländer/-Innen Für Die Jahre 1999 Bis 2019." Statistisches Bundesamt, January 16, 2020. https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Arbeit/Arbeitsmarkt/Erwerbstaetigkeit/Tabellen/insgesamt.html;jsessionid=516A9DFD93C66D6FF9A7DCCBC62C401C.internet8711.

[2] Amjahid, Mohamed. "Menschen Ohne Krankenversicherung: 'Der Zugang Zu Corona-Tests Darf Nicht Am Versicherungsschutz Scheitern' - *Der Spiegel* - Panorama." *Der Spiegel*. *Der Spiegel*, March 30, 2020. https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/coronavirus-wie-menschen-ohne-krankenversicherung-nun-medizinische-hilfe-bekommen-a-a8a28e-fe-8e61-4cdd-9a4c-7a8ef9ebe8ba.

[3] Hans-Georg Betz, *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 176.

[4] "Economists Are Rethinking the Numbers on Inequality." *The Economist*. The Economist Newspaper, November 28, 2019. https://www.economist.com/briefing/2019/11/28/economists-are-rethinking-the-numbers-on-inequality.

[5] "Germany's Far Right: Strong in the East, Weak in the West." *The Economist*, The Economist Newspaper, 18 July 2019, www.economist.com/europe/2019/07/18/germanys-far-right-strong-in-the-east-weak-in-the-west.

Holocaust Studies Courses Offered at UVM • 2019-2020

Fall 2019

HST 139 - Modern Germany, Schrafstetter
REL 180 – Moral & Religious Perspectives on the Holocaust, Sugarman
HST 191 - World War II, Buchanan
HST 227 - Seminar in Modern Europe: Nazism and Fascism, Steinweis

Spring 2019

HST 190- The Holocaust, Steinweis

Fall 2020

WLIT 017 – Representing the Holocaust, Greer
HST 119 - Modern Jewish History, Steinweis
REL 180 – Moral & Religious Perspectives on the Holocaust, Sugarman
ITAL 195 – The Holocaust in Italian Literature and Film, Antonello Borra
HST 227 - Seminar in Modern Europe: Nazism and Fascism, Steinweis

January 27, 2020 was the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. As a service to our readers, we are reprinting the following article from Smithsonian Magazine *featuring the research of UVM Professor Jonathan Huener.*

What Happened After the Liberation of Auschwitz

Of the few who survived the Nazi camp complex, a handful returned to ensure the site couldn't be swept away into historical memory

By Erin Blakemore
Smithsonianmag.com • January 27, 2020

Photo: Bundesarchiv

It was January 1945, and fires burned at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Not at the crematoria where, at the height of the Nazi concentration and extermination camp's operations, an average of 6,000 Jews were gassed and cremated each day—those had been blown up at the command of SS officers preparing the camps' evacuation. This time, the Nazis had set ablaze their prisoners' looted possessions. The fires raged for days.

Once, the sprawling 40-camp complex now known as Auschwitz was characterized by grim record-keeping and brutal order. With chilling efficiency, the architects of the Holocaust orchestrated processes of deportation, detention, experimentation, enslavement and murder. Between 1940 and 1945, approximately 1.1 million Jews, Poles, Roma people, Soviet POWs and others were killed at the Auschwitz camps. Now, as Soviet troops marched westward through occupied Poland, the SS sought to dismantle their killing machine.

The Red Army's arrival meant liberation, the camps' end. But what came after the murders finally stopped?

***

In the final days of the camp, the commanding SS officers "evacuated" 56,000 prisoners, most of them Jews. Leaving Auschwitz, however, did not mean the end of their ordeal. Instead, the SS ordered their charges into columns and marched them into the miserable winter. At first, the prisoners went on foot, monitored by officers who shot those who fell behind or tried to stay behind. Malnourished and inadequately clothed, the marchers were subject to random massacre. Eventually, they were shipped back toward Germany in open train cars. Up to 15,000 of the former camp inhabitants died on the death march.

"[The Nazis] wanted to continue to use those tens of thousands of prisoners for forced labor," says Steven Luckert, senior program curator at the Levine Family Institute for Holocaust Education at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and former chief curator of the museum's permanent collection. "Those prisoners got dispersed over all of the remaining camps."

Back at Auschwitz, where by some estimates 9,000 prisoners remained, only a few SS guards maintained their watch. Most of the prisoners were too sick to move. "There was no food, no water, no medical care," says Luckert. "The staff had all gone. [The prisoners] were just left behind to die."

Among the last acts of the SS were to set fire to huge piles of camp documents, a last-ditch effort to hide the evidence. "They understood the enormity of the crimes they committed," Luckert says.

***

A surreal quiet fell on Auschwitz in late January, a period filled with confusion and suffering. Then, Soviet scouts stumbled into Auschwitz-Birkenau. The liberators had not intended to go toward the camp; though Soviet premier Joseph Stalin had heard about its existence in intelligence communications and conversations with other Allied leaders, Red Army commanders had no idea it existed. "It had no military or economic value from a military viewpoint," retired Soviet general Vasily Petrenko, who in 1945 was a colonel who helped liberate the camp, told the AP years later.

The Soviets had liberated Majdanek, a Nazi concentration and extermination camp, in July 1944. There, they found a working camp that had been only partially destroyed during its hasty evacuation. It was the first Allied concentration camp liberation, and in the months to follow, the Allies would encounter many more camps as they squeezed the German army from the West and the East.

As Soviet scouts, then troops, arrived at the Auschwitz complex, bewildered prisoners greeted them with tears and embraces. Anna Polshchikova, a Russian prisoner, later recalled the gruff confusion of the first soldiers. "'And what are you doing here?' they inquired in an unfriendly manner. We were baffled and did not know what to say. We looked wretched and pathetic, so they relented and asked again, in a kinder tone. 'And what is over there?' they said, pointing northwards. 'Also a concentration camp.' 'And beyond that?' 'Also a camp.' 'And beyond the camp?' 'Over there in, the forest, are the crematoria, and beyond the crematoria, we don't know.'"

The first Soviet troops to arrive moved on toward other targets, but the Red Army soon took over the camps, establishing field hospitals on site. Polish Red Cross workers—volunteer doctors, nurses and paramedics who just months earlier had participated in the Warsaw Uprising—assisted in the recovery too. "The situation was desperate," recalled Józef Bellert, the physician who organized the group. "We could barely administer the most urgent medical aid."

As they got to work, they saw body parts strewn around ad hoc cremation

continued on Page 6

After the Liberation of Auschwitz, *continued from Page 5*

pits used after the SS demolished Auschwitz-Birkenau's crematoria; human excrement and ashes were everywhere. Survivors suffered from malnutrition, bedsores, frostbite, gangrene, typhus, tuberculosis and other ailments. And though the SS had attempted to destroy all evidence of mass murder, they had left massive storerooms filled with shoes, dishes, suitcases, and human hair. "It was chaos," says Jonathan Huener, a Holocaust historian at the University of Vermont.

Photo: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum

Once established, the Red Cross staff and local volunteers responded as best they could to the survivors' needs, navigating a cacophony of different languages. They diagnosed patients, gave them identification documents and clothing, and sent over 7,000 letters to help the patients locate family and friends around the world. "Some of the sick did not realize that they were now free people," recalled Tadeusz Kusiński, a Red Cross orderly. At least 500 of the 4,500 patients died, many from refeeding syndrome or a lack of sanitary facilities.

Those who could leave trickled out on their own or in small groups. "There were fears that the Germans would return, which for us would only mean death," said Otto Klein, a Jewish adolescent who had survived medical experiments by infamous Nazi doctor Joseph Mengele along with his twin brother, Ferenc. Together with a group of 36 people, most of them twins, the Kleins headed toward Kraków, and eventually out of Poland, on foot. Not everyone chose to go: Others stayed in the camp to help former prisoners, including about 90 former prisoners who gave vital assistance to the Soviet and Red Cross hospitals.

***

Auschwitz had been liberated, but the war still plodded on, shaping the massive camp complex. The camp was still a prison, this time for thousands of German POWs the Soviets forced to do labor that echoed that of the original Auschwitz prisoners. Along with some Polish people imprisoned for declaring ethnic German status during the war, the German POWs maintained the site, tore apart barracks and dismantled the nearby IG Farben synthetic rubber plant where tens of thousands of prisoners had been forced to work as slave laborers.

"Some of the barracks were simply dismantled by members of the local population who needed wood," Huener says. Though the historian in him laments the deconstruction of so much of the camp, he says it was also "understandable in a period of tremendous deprivation and need."

Over the months that followed the camps' liberation, many former prisoners returned seeking family members and friends. And a small group of survivors came back to stay.

"The earliest stewards of the site were former prisoners," explains Huener. In his book *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945-1979,* Huener tells the story of how the site went from operational death camp to memorial. Most of the cadre of men were Polish political prisoners, and none of them had experience with museums or historic preservation. But even during their imprisonments, they had decided Auschwitz should be preserved.

"We did not know if we would survive, but one did speak of a memorial site," wrote Kazimierz Smoleń, an Auschwitz survivor who later became the memorial site's director. "One just did not know what form it would take."

Smoleń returned to Auschwitz after the war, drawn back to the camp by his desire to tell the world about the horrors committed there. He later described his return—and his 35-year tenure as the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum's director—as "some type of sacrifice; an obligation for having survived."

For Smolén and others determined to preserve Auschwitz, the site was both a massive graveyard and essential evidence of Nazi war crimes. But for others, it was a place to continue the plunder. Despite a protective guard, which included former prisoners, looters stole artifacts and searched through ash pits for gold tooth fillings and other valuables. "Gleaners, or as they were called at the time, 'diggers,' searched through the ashes of all the Nazi extermination camps in Poland [...] for many years after the war, looking for pieces of jewelry and dental gold overlooked by the Nazis," write historians Jan Tomasz Gross and Irena Grudzinska Gross.

Huener says that there is no comprehensive answer to the question of how many of those early museum workers were Jews, or why they came back to Auschwitz. "Poland was inhospitable to Jews after the war, yet there were tens of thousands who did return to Poland, and tens of thousands who remained." They did so despite a resurgence of anti-Semitism and violent incidents like the Kielce pogrom, in which 42 Jews were massacred by townspeople who blamed Jews for a local kidnapping. Other Jews who survived Auschwitz fled Poland after being liberated, living in displaced persons camps, scattering into a worldwide diaspora, or emigrating to British Palestine.

The museum staff lived in former SS offices and did everything from groundskeeping to rudimentary preservation work to exhibit design. They staved off looters, acted as impromptu tour guides to the hundreds of thousands of visitors who streamed toward the camp, and tried their best to preserve everything that remained of the camp.

Despite the lack of modern preservation technology and questions about how best to present evidence of years of mass murder, the former prisoners who fought to preserve Auschwitz succeeded. The most notorious of the over 40,000 sites of systematic Nazi atrocities would be passed on to future generations. Other sites would fare differently, depending on the extent of their destruction by the Nazis and the deterioration of time.

When visitors in the 1940s and '50s walked beneath Auschwitz I's iconic "Arbeit Macht Frei" sign and into the camp, they were faced with buildings that looked much as they did during the Holocaust. The museum's directive was to offer historical proof of the Germans' crime—a mostly silent endeavor that left visitors in tears or simply speechless.

The exhibitions have changed over the years, but Auschwitz still inspires speechlessness. Last year, 2.3 million people visited the memorial, where 340 guides offer tours in 20 different languages. Now, Auschwitz has a state-of-the-art preservation laboratory, an extensive archive, and conducts education and outreach around the world. The end of Auschwitz was the beginning of a monumental task of preservation and commemoration that continues to this day.

But for Luckert, it's important not to let the end overshadow the beginning. "Sometimes instead of focusing on the end, we need to look at how it got there," he says. "What was it that led Nazi Germany to create such a symbol of inhumanity, a place of infamy? In a matter of a few short years, it transformed a sleepy Silesian town into the greatest site of mass killing the world has ever known."

Seventy-five years after the Holocaust, he fears, it would be all too easy to get on the road to Auschwitz again.

***

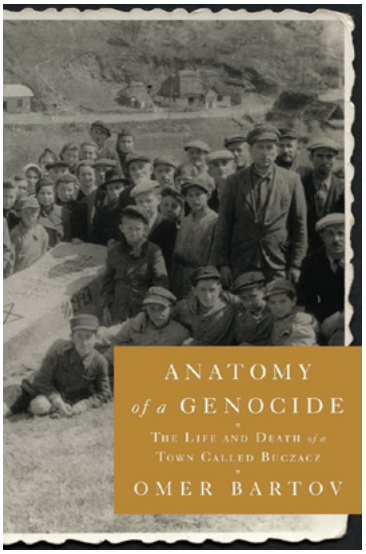
Erin Blakemore is a Boulder, Colorado-based journalist. Her work has appeared in publications like *The Washington Post, TIME,* mental_floss, *Popular Science* and JSTOR Daily. Learn more at erinblakemore.com.

Book Review

Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz*

417 pp. Simon & Schuster, 2018

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



The Holocaust was a historical tragedy so vast and multidimensional in its scope that scholars have often grappled with the difficulty of drilling down to convey its impact on everyday individuals and locales not widely remembered by history. Indeed, much of the trajectory of the Holocaust was predicated on the course of the Second World War, as well as what—and when—areas happened to be under German occupation or influence. Yet on a deeper level, each town or region's geographical location, demographics, and history did much to inform the way in which the Holocaust transpired in that particular place. Despite the volume of scholarship already available on the Holocaust, there is certainly plenty of room for deeper examinations into the vagaries of what occurred in different regions across the European continent during the first half of the 1940s.

Omer Bartov's 2018 monograph, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz*, stands as an exhaustive and towering achievement in this realm. Bartov, author of numerous works on the Holocaust and the Wehrmacht, as well as the sitting John P. Birkelund Distinguished Professor of European History and Professor of History and Professor of German Studies at Brown University, actually has a personal connection to Buczacz. His late mother was born in Buczacz, a Galician town then in eastern Poland that now rests in Western Ukraine, and lived there until she and her family immigrated to Palestine in 1935. Understandably, this connective thread was the initial impetus for Bartov to explore the fate of Buczacz during the Holocaust. In many ways, such familial attachment is perhaps appropriate given the content of *Anatomy of a Genocide*. This is not a book that discusses the Holocaust, the war, or Nazi policy from a macroscopic level; Adolf Hitler is barely even referenced. Rather, *Anatomy of a Genocide* is a thorough study of a middling town in Galicia and the manifestation of its complex history and ethnography through myriad individual stories of vengeance and heroism, opportunism and betrayal, and survival and death against the backdrop of a fatally fluid and charged geopolitical landscape.

Though the book flows chronologically, it is unique in that only half the pages are spent covering the actual German occupation. Readers may initially find this surprising, but the first half of the book provides the context necessary to fully appreciate the intricate ethnic dynamics in Buczacz during the Second World War. Buczacz endured Ottoman invasions in the 1600s and was eventually absorbed into the multinational Habsburg Empire in the late eighteenth century. Emancipation for Jews in 1867 indirectly set the

Omer Bartov

predicate for the dynamics of the ethnic hostility that would occur in future decades.

The late nineteenth century witnessed a rise in nationalism, and Buczacz was located at a geographic crossroads. Both Poles and Ukrainians increasingly clung to a national identity, and Jews were often perceived as outsiders by each group. Bartov is quick to point out that Jews in Buczacz were hardly a self-contained, exclusively Yiddish-speaking shtetl community. In fact, disproportionately high Jewish representation in commerce, and their subsequent juxtaposition as the intermediaries between more rural peasant populations and commercial hubs of activity, frequently made Jews the object of contempt and resentment—a familiar dynamic for those familiar with antisemitism across much of prewar Europe. According to Bartov, "On the eve of World War I Jews owned over 10 percent of the estates, constituted 20 percent of the landowners, and made up more than 50 percent of the property leaseholders in Galicia." Yet most Jews in Galicia, which accounted for the majority of the Jewish population in Austria-Hungary, were impoverished. Socioeconomic circumstances justifiably inclined many Jews in Buczacz toward socialism or Zionism, which only reinforced Polish and Ukrainian skepticism about Jewish loyalty. Generally, there existed a tenuous and superficial coexistence amongst all three groups prior to 1914. Ukrainian and Polish nationalists had their own share of tension, yet the one element they agreed upon was their distaste for the Jewish presence in Buczacz. Ominously, Bartov asserts that "The Jews served as a perfect foil against which one could easily identify oneself," and this would evince itself more clearly in the chaotic crucible of the First World War.

Bartov devotes an entire chapter to the story of Buczacz during World War I and its immediate aftermath, isolating it as a turning point that unleashed long simmering ethnic hostilities, with particularly dire implications for Jews. Between 1914 and 1918, Buczacz changed hands between Austria-Hungary and Russia four times. The ultimate dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires left a power vacuum that both Polish and Ukrainian nationalists were eager to exploit in the pursuit of elusive statehood. Spurious tales of Jewish

continued on Page 8

***Book Review**, continued from Page 7*

profiteering, another recurring antisemitic accusation throughout Europe, seriously damaged the perception of the Jewish population amongst Poles. Many Polish nationalists suspected a Jewish preference for Habsburg rule over the prospect of an independent Polish state. The end of the war in 1918 brought no respite. Painstakingly, Bartov details the subsuming of Buczacz into the ephemeral West Ukrainian National Republic, its subsequent inclusion into the newly reformed Polish state, a brief period of Bolshevik occupation during the Polish-Soviet war in 1920, and the eventual reestablishment of Polish rule in 1920. One of the significant upshots of this chaotic tug-of-war between Ukrainian and Polish nationalistic dreams during the postwar interregnum was the crystallization of the belief among Ukrainians and Poles respectively that Jews were subversively aligned with other nationality. The resentment that would grow out of this misapprehension would manifest itself more clearly in the coming decades.

During the twenty years of Polish statehood between the world wars, the Jews of Buczacz continued to endure hardship. Eastern Galicia provided few socioeconomic opportunities, and creeping state-sponsored Polish anti-Jewish policies, along with more informal Ukrainian antisemitism, including economic boycotts, only exacerbated this condition. Increasingly, many Jews in Buczacz flirted with Zionism and seriously considered emigration from Poland to Palestine or the United States, just as both prospective destinations began restricting immigration. The latter part of the 1930s witnessed the final erosion of democracy in Poland, and Galician Jews became increasingly vulnerable, caught between a Polish state that viewed them an undesirable burden and a nascent Ukrainian nationalist movement that increasingly saw the Third Reich as a potential facilitator of their independence.

Bartov focuses on the German-Soviet partition of Poland as a period when hostility between the nationalities in Buczacz reached a fever pitch—one that continues until this day. Poles waxed nostalgic about a mythic period of interethnic harmony during the interwar period, belying the actual experiences of both Jews and Ukrainians. So when the Red Army occupied Eastern Galicia, Bartov is clear that some Jews, particularly those who were economically vulnerable or already sympathetic to communism, were initially and misguidedly sanguine about the opportunity for a shift in power dynamics and aligned themselves with the incoming Soviets. Considering the fraught circumstances of prewar Poland and the alternative of Nazi occupation, Jews were not exactly left with much in the way of desirable options. Yet many Poles felt betrayed by this. Bartov provides several accounts from interviews of surviving Poles who, well into the early twenty-first century, still resented what they saw as Jewish collaboration with the Bolsheviks at their expense. Bartov helpfully injects some clarifying context into these remembrances by illustrating that, on the whole, Jews received Soviet rule with mixed emotions and, as an identity, Jews were hardly immune from Bolshevik terror. Indeed, despite making up ten percent of the population of Soviet-occupied Poland, Jews accounted for almost a quarter of all deportations to the interior of the USSR between 1939 and 1941. But perception was reality for many Poles and Ukrainians: the erroneous, anecdotal understanding that Jews were particularly ascendant during the Soviet occupation took on a life of its own, creating what Bartov calls a "competition for victimhood" that still colors Polish and Ukrainian memory of the Holocaust to this day. It would also make Jews even more susceptible to violence and death once the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was broken in early summer 1941.

The Wehrmacht rolled into Buczacz during the first week of July, barely a fortnight after the invasion of the Soviet Union. Though Einsatzgruppen did follow in the wake of the Wehrmacht, they did not do the majority of the killing in Buczacz, and were far to the east before a clear policy of murdering all Jews in Soviet territory regardless of gender or age had truly crystallized. Buczacz fell under the jurisdiction of a Gestapo office based in Tarnopol and, later, Czortków. Though the Gestapo ultimately had more than their share of blood on their hands, mass murder in Buczacz was far from a strictly German operation. Here, the context provided by Bartov in preceding chapters is crucial to properly understand the dynamics involved in the destruction of the Jewish population in Buczacz. Regardless of its dubious veracity, the widely held sentiment among the local population that the Jews of Buczacz were ideologically aligned with the retreating Soviets dovetailed seamlessly with the conspiratorial Nazi trope of Judeo-Bolshevism. And German efforts to nurture dreams of statehood amongst the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia, though entirely hollow, only served to further intensify Ukrainian malevolence toward Jews. Thus, as they did elsewhere across Eastern Europe, the Germans leaned heavily on antisemitic cohorts of the local population to assist with murdering of Jews. In Buczacz, the Gestapo had little difficulty in recruiting Ukrainian policeman and gendarmes to assist with everything from logistics, like rounding up and escorting Jews to execution sites, to mass murder itself. The majority of Jews killed in Buczacz, well over 10,000 in total, were murdered between the middle of 1942 and the middle of 1943. Generally, they were either shot in major actions, more than a thousand at a time, in a part of Buczacz known as Fedor Hill; many others were deported to certain death at Bełżec or killed in smaller, more arbitrary acts of violence in Buczacz's open ghetto. It is important to add that none of these occurrences escaped the awareness of the non-Jewish population of Buczacz.

Yet Bartov does not just provide a top-down perspective of the Holocaust in Buczacz. Perhaps what makes this work of scholarship so rich is it level of research into first-hand accounts from all of the key stakeholders in Buczacz during the German occupation. What gives this approach particular power is that these remembrances are not simply synthesized or amalgamated into one broader narrative, but rather provided in the form of quoted, individual reminiscences. Readers will find dozens and dozens of recollections from Jews, Poles, Ukrainians, and Germans from the period of Nazi occupation.

Bartov does not shy away from using some of these accounts to shed light on the controversial and contentious nature of the Judenrat and *Ordnungsdienst* (Jewish police, OD). In Buczacz, as in other places in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe, Jews grappled with the role played by these entities that acted as intermediaries between the Germans and the Jews. Some Jews in Buczacz believed that the Judenrat and Ordnungsdienst helped to somewhat ameliorate the Jewish experience, since the alternative was the excessive and unmitigated brutality of the Gestapo and their Ukrainian acolytes. Others Jews felt that doing the bidding of the Germans was plainly and simply collaboration—unforgivable under any circumstance—and believed that the Jewish Council and OD provided succor only to those who served their interest, with partiality often aligning with socioeconomic status.

Perhaps the most emotionally raw aspect of the book are the countless stories of individuals caught up as victims or perpetrators in the genocidal maelstrom. There are postwar testimonials from trials in Germany, where former members of the Gestapo and their wives try to minimize their role in the genocide, saying they only facilitated the murder of Jews, never pulling the trigger. Bartov includes vividly brutal and gory eyewitness accounts from Poles and Ukrainians who observed the wanton murder of Jews in the streets or their recurring forced marches to Fedor Hill to be shot into a pit. Of particular interest are the many Jewish attempts to remain in hiding. Through a string of individual recollections, Bartov demonstrates the wildly inconsistent and unpredictable fortunes of Jews trying to evade detection from the Gestapo or Ukrainian police. Some Jews sought protection from friends they believed they could trust, only to be stripped of all their valuables and turned over to the Germans. Other times, Jews would find that the least welcoming local individuals imaginable would ultimately risk their own lives to ensure their protection. On the whole, Jews seemed to find that Poles were more likely to be helpful than Ukrainians, though a significant number of Poles also felt that Jewish suffering during the German occupation was comeuppance for being in cahoots with the Soviets between autumn 1939 and

continued on Page 9

***Book Review**, continued from Page 8*

summer 1941. Fascinatingly, Bartov even details a few more arbitrary incidences of mercy from Germans than from Ukrainians. Those who have studied the Holocaust know that analyzing the rationale behind the behavior of perpetrators, victims, and bystanders can be a perilous pursuit, and Bartov's intrepid and meticulous research only serves to reinforce the need to maintain a nuanced perspective amidst broader sociological conclusions.

In March 1944, The Red Army liberated Buczacz, only to be temporarily driven back by the Wehrmacht. But the crushing Soviet offensive of summer 1944 drove the Germans out of Buczacz for good. In 1939, Buczacz had a population of 150,000. By late 1944, fewer than 90,000 remained, and almost a third of those lost were Jews—most of the entire prewar population. In an effort to circumvent prewar ethnic conflicts and violence that continued after 1944, the Soviets worked to homogenize the population in Eastern Galicia. Poland's boundaries were moved to the west after 1945, and the Soviets deported thousands of Poles westward and brought thousands of Ukrainians into Eastern Galicia. By the end of the decade, Buczacz and its environs were almost exclusively Ukrainian, barely a remnant of the ethnically heterogeneous town it had been less than a decade earlier. Ukrainian nationalists, chastened by the extinguished prospects of independence, continued to harass the Soviets for years after the end of the Second World War. Bartov concludes by painting a picture of contemporary Buczacz as a depressed backwater, never having recovered from a twentieth century filled with seemingly endless convulsions of occupation, terror, and authoritarian rule. Though Bartov acknowledges that neither Poles nor Ukrainians were immune from violence and death during the German occupation, the reverberations of the ethnic conflicts from earlier in the century, as well as the vestiges of the Soviet effort to subsume the singular nature of Jewish suffering during the Second World War into the broader Soviet tragedy, continue to complicate and obfuscate the memory of the Holocaust in Buczacz.

Anatomy of a Genocide is a monumental work of original research and scholarship that still possesses a gripping, human sensibility. Though it is a book that would be best appreciated in the hands of a reader with prior knowledge about the Holocaust in the Second World War, the scholarly merits of *Anatomy of a Genocide* should not be conflated with a sense that it is in any way an inaccessible or anodyne work. Rather, Bartov proves that accessibility and academic originality are not mutually exclusive. Between Bartov's intimate ancestral connection to Buczacz and the limitless accounts from everyday people found within *Anatomy of a Genocide*, one cannot help but feel that Bartov has succeeded in capturing the unfathomable terror endured by the everyday victims of the Holocaust—the victims that are often difficult to isolate in a subject this vast and complex. By deliberately guiding the reader through the history of a regular town, Bartov conveys the ease with which identity-based conflict, particular amidst a dangerously fluid geopolitical backdrop, can engulf ordinary individuals in any community, eviscerating the boundaries of conventionally acceptable human behavior and leading to catastrophically murderous consequences. And even in the wake of such a cataclysm, Bartov demonstrates the disconcerting truth that there is not necessarily a cinematic, redemptive epiphany amongst perpetrators and bystanders in the wake of genocide. Instead, historically ingrained personal and tribal enmities often persist, muddying the collective memory of what happened and why.

UVM Welcomes Post-Doctoral Fellow

Catherine Greer

Catherine Greer, who received her PhD in German Studies from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 2020, has been appointed to a one-year post-doctoral fellowship that has been set up jointly by the Miller Center and the UVM Department of German and Russian. Greer's doctoral dissertation explores musical works composed and performed in the concentration camp Theresienstadt and the ways they are re-inscribed in redemptive narratives today. By looking to the afterlives of these works, her research addresses issues of Holocaust memory, representation, and pedagogy as they relate to postwar understandings of Theresienstadt's musical life and cultural production during the Holocaust more broadly. She was the 2017-2018 Margit Meissner Fellow at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and has received additional grants and fellowships from the Posen Foundation, American Academy for Jewish Research, Center for Jewish History, DAAD, and the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure. Also an avid musician, Greer holds undergraduate and graduate degrees in Voice and Opera and continues to perform in concerts and recitals. She currently serves as assistant editor of the *Journal of Jewish Identities* and is past editor in chief of *Vernacular: New Connections in Language, Literature, and Culture.* In the Fall 2020 semester she will teach the course "Representing the Holocaust."

Update on the *Ordinary Soldiers* Project

By 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 together 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?

Senior Army R.O.T.C. Cadets, Norwich University

This year, the lesson plan was taught again at the Defense Institute for International Legal Studies to two dozen international officers and civilian legal advisors in the Law of Armed Conflict and Human Rights course, and to four classes of seniors in the Army R.O.T.C. program at Norwich University. A video explaining the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan can be found on the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's website, www.ushmm.org/military/case-studies.

At the request of the Virginia Continuing Legal Education organization (VA CLE), which conducts continuing legal education sessions for Virginia Bar members on different topics, the lesson plan was modified to become part of the annual Military Law symposium the organization hosts, held in May 2019 at the Marine Corps University campus at Quantico. Because the symposium was going to be videotaped for use with other legal audiences, the typical version of the lesson plan that emphasizes small group work and discussion would not have been practicable. Instead, the lecture portion of the lesson plan was expanded to cover a review of international law, war crimes, and obedience to orders.

The audience of about 60 attorneys was very engaged, asking many questions. In November, 2019, VA CLE used the videotape of the presentation as part of its annual international continuing legal education program in Vienna for about 100 attendees, and it was very well received according to the program organizers.

As reported in the Spring 2018 bulletin, the 16th Special Troops Battalion (16th STB), an active duty U.S. Army unit headquartered in Baumholder, Germany, used the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan as part of its leadership development program for battalion officers and senior sergeants. The leadership development program concluded with a "staff ride," or field visit, of the unit's leaders to Auschwitz and to the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg, where the trials of the major Nazi war criminals was held. An anonymous survey of the training audience afterwards showed that the program had registered very positively, and that it had made a significant difference for these leaders in understanding the scope of the Holocaust and how they could apply lessons from it in their own work as leaders.

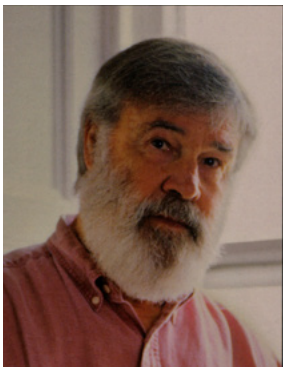
Jody M. Prescott lecturing at Quantico

In October, 2019, the *Journal of Military Learning*, a U.S. Army educational journal, published an article by the training officer who had organized the unit's leadership development program, CPT Evan Kowalski. Entitled, "Hybrid Conflict and Effective Leadership Training," the article highlighted the challenges to ethical decision-making highlighted by hybrid warfare. It then explained how the 16th STB used its leadership development program grounded in the Holocaust as a way to force leaders at the small unit level examine the moral, ethical, professional, and legal values they brought to their decision-making in complex operational environments, and proposed it as a model for this sort of high-level training in the field.

The Vermont Connection

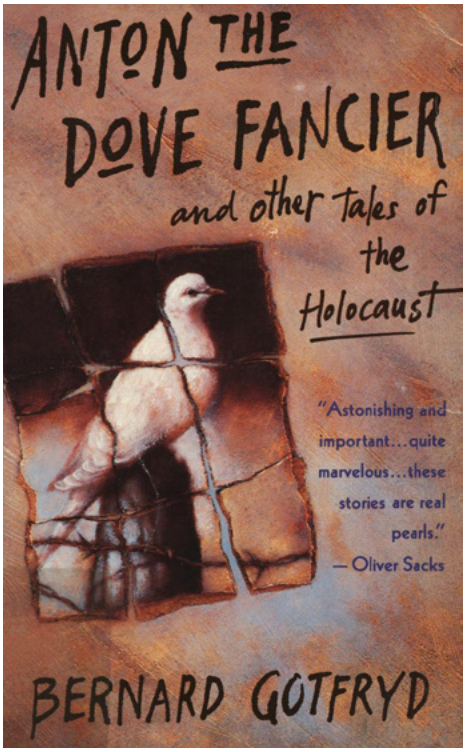
By David Scrase

Professor Emeritus of German and Former Director of the Miller Center



David Scrase

When I was teaching my "Literature of the Holocaust" class in the 1990s, I came across the book *Anton the Dove Fancier and Other Tales of the Holocaust* and was so impressed that I included it as required reading. Since the Center had a policy of inviting Holocaust survivors to campus, I invited Bernard Gotfryd, the author and a Polish survivor of the ghetto and several camps, to come and speak to my class. It was a successful visit and he soon returned for a second visit and then further regular visits with his wife Gina, who, as a thirteen-year-old, survived six months in Auschwitz. When we brought out *The Holocaust. Personal Accounts* in 2001, it included Gina's accounts of her own harrowing childhood in German-occupied Poland.



Not long after, I was contacted by the grandson of the German poet Wilhelm Lehmann, who wanted to translate my biography of the poet into German. We began to work together, subsequently met and soon became friends. When he learned of my interest in the Holocaust, I gave him a copy of *Personal Accounts* and a spare copy of *Anton the Dove Fancier.* He then contacted Bernard Gotfryd, telling him that he had already translated some of *Anton*. Meanwhile, Michael Lehmann had also translated *Personal Accounts* and, moreover, found a publisher for his translation. A sentence from Gina Gotfryd's chapter "Nothing could be worse than Auschwitz" was chosen as its title.

In the fall of 2019, Michael Lehmann contacted me and told me that he had been involved in the planning for a commemorative event to be held on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz on January 27, 1945. The "LitQ" in Bremen, a literary club, wanted to mark the liberation in some significant way. He had suggested the life stories of the survivors Bernard and Gina Gotfryd, and he was asked to plan a full evening event. As he did so, he would occasionally ask for my help. Apparently, he said, the Gotfryds had somehow met and become friends with a German tourist, did I know his name? I did not, but contacted their son Howard Gotfryd, who did. Lehmann somehow located this person, Dominik Schuster, who agreed to attend the event and offer his remembrances. The commemoration took place. There were readings from Gina's account and chapters from *Anton the Dove Fancier*, and the evening ended with a lively remembrance of the friendship that developed between the Polish-Jewish survivors, the Gotfryds and Schuster, a German born well after the Shoah.

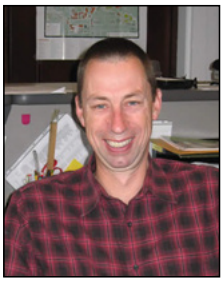
It is gratifying to think that none of this would have happened without the work of the Center, and Michael Lehmann assures me that this was clear to everyone in the audience on that Sunday evening at the end of January 2020.

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.

News from the Faculty

Adriana Borra (German and Russian; Romance Languages) participated as a translator of new entries and consultant for the Italian-German section of the Luisa Giacoma and Susanne Kolb *Italian/German - German /Italian dictionary: Il nuovo dizionario di tedesco / PONS Großwörterbuch Italienisch*, by now the fourth edition of this flagship dictionary (Zanichelli Editore, Bologna and Klett Verlag, Stuttgart 2019), which includes 2,592 pages, over 386,000 entries and meanings along with over 700 false friends. She also organized the bilingual book launch of Johannes Hösle's *Album aus Dietenbronn*, translated into Italian by Antonello Borra, at the Deutsch-Italienische Dante Alighieri Gesellschaft/ the German-Italian Dante Alighieri Society in the Weinschenkvilla, in Regensburg, Germany, July 19, 2019. Finally she published an article on teaching Italian outside of Italy: "Sconfinamenti dell'italiano – riflessioni di un'insegnante italotedesca negli Stati Uniti," in *ESP (Éducation et sociétés plurilingues)*, Aosta and Paris, December 2019, vol. 47, 51-62.

Antonello Borra (Romance Languages) is scheduled to teach a class entitled The Holocaust in Italian Literature and Film (ITAL 195) in the Fall 2020 semester.



Andrew Buchanan (History) published the essay "American Policy Towards Italy during its Decade of War" in the collection, A Fascist Decade of War: 1935-1945 in International Perspective, edited by Marco Maria Aterrano and Karine Varley and just published by Routledge. He also completed a couple of book chapters and an article that has been accepted for publication in Diplomatic History, "Domesticating Hegemony: Creating a Globalist Public, 1941-1943," which looks at how the work of Henry Luce, Henry Wallace, Wendell Willkie and others created domestic support for America's coming global predominance.

Meaghan Emery (Romance Languages) recently published *The Algerian War Retold: Of Camus's Revolt and Postwar Reconciliation* (Routledge, 2019), which focuses on the legacy of Albert Camus and the philosophical paradigms of resistance and revolution used by contemporary authors and filmmakers when speaking about the still controversial and hitherto state-censored events of the Algerian War. She completed two articles, including "What does *Charlie Hebdo* have to do with US campuses?" (*Athenaeum Review*), and "Justice for the 'False Brother': Albert Camus, Post-War Justice, and the Case of the Harkis" (forthcoming in the *Journal of the Albert Camus Society*). She is currently working on a new monograph, which focuses on female subjects in colonial and postcolonial France.

Robert Gordon saw the successful publication of his 600 page book, *The Enigma of Max Gluckman: The Ethnographic Life of a 'Luckyman' in Africa*, which was honored by *Choice* as an outstanding academic title for 2019. He spent the first six months of 2019 as a Fellow at the

Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study, where apart from enjoying superb conviviality and wine, he managed to finish a book-length manuscript *South Africa's Dream of Empire: Ethnologists and the Shaping of Apartheid in Namibia*, which will hopefully be published at the end of this year. In the latter half of the year, he did research in the Namibian Kalahari Desert on the Bushmen. The lasting impression he has is how the Herero, victims of the first 20th Century genocide, were victimizing the Bushmen. Fortunately, there were some lighter moments (see photo). Other recent publications of relevance include "'Little Kings': Citizens' 'Erasive' Practices in German South West Africa" in *Civilian-driven Violence and the Genocide of Indigenous Peoples in Settler Societies*. M. Adhikari, ed. (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2019): 218-240; "'Bloody Geneva': Questioning Expertise in Geneva" in *Experts et expertises dans les mandats de la Société des Nations*. Philippe Bourmand, Norig Neveu & Chantal Verdeil eds. (Paris: Presses de l'INALCO, 2020); "Moritz Julius Bonn und die koloniale Bürokratie. Ein Schlüssel zu seinem Liberalismus?' in *Liberales Denken in der Krise der Weltkriegsepoche: Moritz Julius Bonn*, Ewald Grothe & Jens Hacke eds. (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2018): 149-170; and "How Good People Become Ridiculous: J.P.van S Bruwer, the Making of Namibian Grand Apartheid and the Decline of Völkerkunde," *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2018) 44(1).

After serving as the Miller Center's director for the 2018-2019 academic year, **Jonathan Huener** (History) spent much of the 2019 summer in Germany and Poland, where he participated in the June symposium "Recovering Forgotten History—The Image of East-Central Europe in English-Language Academic Book and Textbooks" in Warsaw and Poznań. The symposium devoted an entire session to vetting the manuscript of his book *The Polish Catholic Church under German Occupation: The Reichsgau Wartheland, 1939-1945,* which is currently in production with Indiana University Press. Huener also presented the paper "*Kirchenpolitik, Volkstumspolitik,* and the Catholic Church in German-Occupied Poland" at the Holocaust Educational Foundation's conference "The Holocaust in Europe: Research Trends, Pedagogical Approaches, and Political Challenges," held in November 2019 in Munich, Germany. He continues his editorial work on the volume emerging from the most recent Miller Symposium "Poland under German Occupation," and is beginning research on his next book project, a history of the Reichsgau Wartheland.

Lutz Kaelber (Sociology) presented three papers in 2019: "Disability in Nazi Germany in the Context of 'Euthanasia' Crimes" at the conference Dis/ability in German Culture in Cincinnati; "'Jewish Mixed-Raced Minors' at the Hadamar 'Educational Facility' and Their Jewish Parents: Discrimination and Persecution" at the 29th International Summer Academy of the Institute for the Jewish History of Austria in Vienna; and "'Jewish Mixed-Raced Minors' at the Hadamar 'Educational Facility' and Their Jewish Parents: New Research Findings" at the spring conference of the Working Group for Research on NS-'Euthanasia' and Compulsory Sterilization at the Hadamar memorial. Two of these papers have been accepted for inclusion in conference volumes. His chapter "'Wards for the Expert Care of Children' in National Socialist Germany as Facilities in Which Minors Were Murdered: Recent Research and Forms of Commemoration" will be published in *The Pediatric Hospital "Sonnenschein" in Bethel During National Socialism*, edited by Claus Melter, in the summer of 2020. His panel proposal, "From Segregation to Murder to Memory: The Fate of the Disabled in Twentieth-Century Germany," has been accepted for the Lessons and Legacies conference to be held in Ottawa in 2021.

continued on Page 13

News From the Faculty, *continued from Page 12*

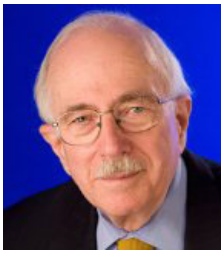
Dennis Mahoney (German and Russian) is coming to the end of his eight years as president of the International Novalis Society (since 2012), but will continue to serve as co-editor of *Blütenstaub: Jahrbuch für Frühromantik*. Its most recent issue 5 (2019) contains the proceedings of the 2017 conference on Novalis and Medicine in the context of the natural sciences and philosophy around 1800, including his own article on the topic "Reizmedizinische Poetik: 'Construction der transscendentalen Gesundheit' im Gespräch zwischen Sylvester und Heinrich in Novalis´ Heinrich von Ofterdingen." He also has published a contribution to the bilingual volume *Die Würde des Minerals/ La dignité du mineral*, eds. Marc Cluet, Anne Feler, and Gerhard Heide (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2019) entitled "'Nimm dieses zu meinem Angedenken': Lithophilie und -phobie in Tiecks Der Runenberg."

Wolfgang Mieder (German and Russian) published four books: *"Right Makes Might": Proverbs and the American Worldview* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2019), *Der Froschkönig. Das Märchen in Literatur, Medien und Karikaturen* (Wien: Praesens, 2019), *Marriage Seen through Proverbs and Anti-Proverbs* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publications, 2019; with Anna Litovkina), and *"Mit den Wölfen heulen". Sprichwörtliche Zoologie in der Modern Lyrik* (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2019). He also edited *Essays on German Literature and the Holocaust. Festschrift for David A. Scrase in Celebration of His Eightieth Birthday* (New York: Peter Lang, 2019). It will be remembered that Prof. David Scrase is the founder of our UVM Center for Holocaust Studies. Mieder also edited Joseph Eiselein's *Die Sprichwörter und Sinnreden des deutschen Volkes in alter und neuer Zeit* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2019), *Contexts of Folklore. Festschrift for Dan Ben-Amos on His Eighty-Fifth Birthday* (New York: Peter Lang, 2019; with Simon Bronner), and the thirty-sixth volume of *Proverbium. Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2019). Among his articles are "American Proverbs and Related Sayings," *American Folklore and Folklife Studies*, ed. Simon Bronner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 146-168; "'In proverbiis non semper veritas'. Reflections on the Reprint of an Anti-Semtic Proverb Collection," *Proceedings of the Twelfth Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs at Tavira, Portugal*, eds. Rui Soares and Outi Lauhakangas (Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2019), 15-38; "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. Robert C. Evans (Ispwich, Massachusetts: Salem Press, 2019), 116-148; and "'Age Is Just a Number'. American Proverbial Wisdom about Age and Aging," *Emotsional'aia sfera cheloveka v iazyke i kommunikatsii: Sinkhroniia i diakhroniia*, ed. M.L. Kovshova (Moskva: Instiutut Iazykoznaniia RAN, 2019), 7-23. He also presented lectures in Poland, Portugal, and Russia, at folklore conferences in Maryland and Utah, and at various places in Vermont.

Francis Nicosia (History) published the chapter "'Palästina- Austausch': Jewish Emigration from Europe to Palestine during the Final Solution" in *Beyond "Ordinary Men." Christopher R. Browning and Holocaust Historiography*, which appeared in the Fall of 2019 in honor of Browning's 75th birthday. Frank also participated on a panel at the 43rd annual meeting of the German Studies Association in Portland OR. This panel discussed Browning's many significant contributions to Holocaust scholarship over the past 40 years. Finally, as part of a book project, Frank continued the task of editing some of the private papers of a prominent German Jewish leader in Berlin during the 1930s.

Nicole Phelps (History) was a UVM Humanities Center fellow in 2019-2020. Drawing on her on-going research on the US Consular Service, she published "One Service, Three Systems, Many Empires: The US Consular Service and the Growth of US Global Power, 1789-1924," in the volume *Crossing Empires: Taking U.S. History into Transimperial Terrain*, edited by Kristin Hoganson and Jay Sexton (Duke, 2020). She spoke to community audiences in Burlington about the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and about the history of US immigration policy. In Fall 2019, she led a seminar for veterans on the US Civil War, continuing efforts originated by the UVM Classics Department. She also designed and delivered a number of teaching workshops as part of her role as a faculty associate of UVM's Center for Teaching and Learning and concluded six years of service as chair of the College of Arts & Sciences Curriculum Committee. Her textbook on *Americans and International Affairs to 1921* will be in press with Cognella soon.

Jody Prescott (Environmental Studies) has continued to present the *Ordinary Soldiers* lesson plan to different military and civilian audiences over the last year, and his next Holocaust-related project will be working on a similar lesson plan on gender and genocide. He taught environmental law, energy law & climate change, and cybersecurity law & policy again. For the most part, though, his outside work was related to presenting on his book *Armed Conflict, Women and Climate Change*, at different conferences at the University of Massachusetts, NATO Headquarters in Brussels, and the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations in Sweden.



Robert D. Rachlin (German and Russian; Classics) has been asked to teach a course on the ancient Israelites at UVM in AY 2020-2021. He taught a similar course in the Spring of 2018 as an adjunct member of the Classics Department. He has been taking courses in Greek for these last two academic years and expects to continue studies in Greek or Latin in the fall. Last fall, Rachlin, a pianist, played his annual concert with renowned violinist Kevin Lawrence at St. Paul's Cathedral in Burlington. The program comprised works by Beethoven, Arthur Foote, Eugène Ysaÿe, and Dvořák. He and Lawrence plan a concert October 15, 2020, Covid-19 permitting. While the program has not been established yet, it is noteworthy that this year is the 250th anniversary of the birth of Beethoven. Rachlin says that Beethoven is most likely to figure on that program. He is retired from active practice at the law firm of Downs Rachlin Martin PLLC in Burlington but remains a director of the firm, which maintains five offices in Vermont and New Hampshire.

Susanna Schrafstetter (History) has been working on an anthology titled *After Nazism: Relaunching Careers in Germany and Austria*, coedited with Thomas Schlemmer and Jürgen Zarusky. This publication is volume 5 of the *German Yearbook for Contemporary History,*

continued on Page 14

News From the Faculty, *continued from Page 13*

a series edited by the Leibniz-Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, Germany. It is the first volume in this series that will be published with Nebraska University Press in 2020/21. Susanna has also been busy preparing an article titled "Stranded in Northern Africa: The Failed Aliyah Bet of the 'Benghazi Group' (1939/40)" for submission to *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. 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 Gigliotti.

Helga Schreckenberger (German and Russian) published the article "Von Schneewittchen zu Baba Yaga: Identitätsverhandlungen in Julya Rabinowichs Roman *Spaltkopf*" in *Living by the Golden Rule: A Festschrift for Wolfgang Mieder's 75th Birthday*, edited by Andreas Nolte and Dennis F. Mahoney, showing how the narrator of Rabinowich's autobiographically-inflected novel processes both her experiences as a young migrant and her acculturation in the Viennese host-culture through Russian and European fairytales. She presented the papers "A Safe Place to Stay for a While – Jewish Refugees in Bolivia" at the international conference In Global Transit: Forced Migration of Jews and Other Refugees (1940s-1960s) at the University of Berkeley; "Permanent Exile or New Home? Austrian Exiles in New York" at the conference Remembering Ernst Toller (1893-1939): Exiles and Refugees between Europe and the US, at Hunter College, NY; and "Promoting Austria Loyalists and Prospective Citizens of the US: The Political Exile Network Austrian Action" at the Annual Meeting of the German Studies Association, Portland, Oregon.

Alan E. Steinweis (History) served as interim director of the Miller Center over the past year. His courses included the History of the Holocaust, with 40 students, and a seminar on Nazism and Fascism, with 20 students. He published "The Perpetrators of the November 1938 Pogrom through German-Jewish Eyes," in *Beyond "Ordinary Men": Christopher R. Browning and Holocaust Historiography*, edited by Thomas Pegelow, Mark Hornburg, and Jürgen Matthäus, Brill, 2019. In November 2019 he delivered two presentations at the Special Lessons and Legacies Conference in Munich, Germany: "Georg Elser's Attempted Assassination of Hitler in the Context of the November Pogrom,", November 2019 (a keynote lecture to an audience of 750 people), and "The Role of Archival Sources in Historical and Commemorative Discourse: The English Language Edition of the Primary Source Collection *The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933-1945*." He continues work on a general history of Nazi Germany, and devotes time to his responsibilities as a member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich-Berlin, the International Advisory Board for the document publication project *The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany* (a 16-volume German-Israeli project), and the Editorial Board of *European Holocaust Studies.* In May 2020 he was interviewed by Southwest German Radio (SWR) about the contributions of Raul Hilberg to the field of Holocaust Studies. The Holocaust Education Foundation of Northwestern University awarded Steinweis its Distinguished Achievement Award, which will be presented at the biennial conference of the organization at the University of Ottawa in November 2021 (postponed from November 2020).

Richard Sugarman (Religion) will be teaching two courses bearing on the Holocaust. These include Moral and Religious Perspectives on the Holocaust (HS 180), and a course on the religious philosophy on Emmanuel Levinas (PHIL 295/REL 195). Emmanuel Levinas is widely agreed to be the most important and influential post-Holocaust Jewish philosopher. Professor Sugarman has a paperback edition of his book, *Levinas and the Torah: A Phenomenological Approach*, SUNY Press, which is scheduled to be published in July of 2020. Sugarman served on the original committee to establish Holocaust Studies at UVM and has continued to teach and publish on the subject since that time.

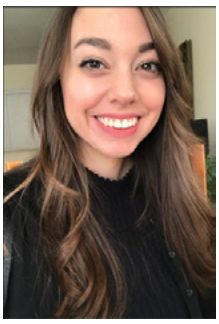
G. Scott Waterman (Psychiatry) remains engaged in a variety of activities related to the philosophy of psychiatry. He continues to serve on the Executive Council of the Association for the Advancement of Philosophy and Psychiatry (AAPP) and to chair the Karl Jaspers Award Committee, which annually selects the best paper by a student or trainee on a topic within that subdiscipline. He reviews manuscripts for *Philosophy, Psychiatry, & Psychology*, among other journals. At the most recent annual meeting of the AAPP, he delivered a presentation titled, "Institutional Corruption and Medical/Psychiatric Ethics: A Case Study and Implications for Reform." His publications over the past year include the essay, "Why I Am Not a Psychiatrist" in *The Bulletin of the Association for the Advancement of Philosophy and Psychiatry*, and the commentary (co-authored with Awais Aftab of Case Western Reserve University), "Conceptual Competence in Psychiatry: Recommendations for Education and Training" in *Academic Psychiatry*. During the fall semester of the past academic year he taught a section of the first-year Honors College seminar, "The Pursuit of Knowledge," followed by a spring semester Honors College seminar titled "Ways of Understanding Mental Illness." In addition, he and Sin yee Chan of the Philosophy Department formulated and taught a new course in that department, titled "Philosophy of Psychiatry," during the spring semester – the second half of which was, of course, conducted remotely in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Lastly (albeit not in importance!), he serves on the Advisory Board of the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies and places enormous value on maintaining the stimulating and fulfilling relationships he established with many of its faculty members during his time (M.A., 2015) as a student in the Graduate Program of the History Department.

Steve Zdatny (History) spent a productive year moving forward on a number of fronts. The special issue of *French Historical Studies* he co-edited on the history of French fashion appeared in March. He spent last summer in departmental archives in Nantes, Paris, Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines and Draguignan, doing research for his ongoing project on the history of hygiene in Modern France. He served on the fellowships committee for the National Endowment for the Humanities and on the organizing committee for the annual conference of the Association pour l'histoire du management et des organisations (scheduled for March in Lyon, France, but done in by the coronavirus), gave a talk on "Class, Markets, and Moral Economy in *Petite Entreprise*" in Paris in September at the Congrès International d'Histoire des Entreprises en France, and wrote book reviews for the *American Historical Review* and *French Politics, Culture, and Society*.

Student and Alumni News

Current Students

Theo Cutler (class of 2021) came to UVM from Newtown, Pennsylvania, and is majoring in History with a European concentration. For his senior honors thesis, he will be exploring the critical reception of Carl Schmitt's political theory in the decades following World War Two, as well as the application of Schmitt's political thought in the governments of modern-day China and America. Schmitt's work has influenced intellectuals across the political spectrum, but his antisemitism, admitted support for authoritarianism, and cooperation with the Nazi regime pose serious challenges for scholars who seek to engage with his thought or consider it outside of its original historical context. Cutler's thesis, supervised by Professor Alan Steinweis, will consider the influence of Nazism and antisemitism on Schmitt's body of work and how intellectuals on both the left and the right have dealt with these factors.



Kiara Day has come to the end of her six years at UVM (B.A. 2018, MA 2020) during which she studied History (Modern Europe and United States) with a focus on Holocaust Studies. She served as the Graduate Assistant for the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies and the Raul Hilberg Library for 2019-2020 and held a Teaching Assistantship under Susanna Schrafstetter. As part of her work for the Center, Kiara had the pleasure to read, edit, and proofread Jonathan Huener's forthcoming book *The Polish Catholic Church under German Occupation: The Reichsgau Wartheland, 1939-1945*. As someone who wants to integrate women's stories more fully into standard Holocaust narratives, Kiara has an ongoing research interest in Jewish women couriers as part of the resistance in occupied Poland. Last summer, Kiara had the chance to explore many of the physical spaces that these women traversed. As a 2019 Auschwitz Jewish Center Fellow she studied in Poland with nine other graduate students in the field of Holocaust Studies. The fellowship offered an in-depth exploration of topics such as pre-war Jewish life, Polish-Jewish relations, collective memory, and commemoration. In fall 2019 Kiara worked on an independent study about Jewish flight and evasion during the Holocaust with Susanna Schrafstetter. From this, she stumbled upon a new project about the post-war demise or continuation of relationships forged between Jews in hiding and their helpers that she hopes to develop into a journal article. As an advisee of Alan Steinweis, she is about to finish her thesis on the American journalist and activist Dorothy Thompson, the first reporter to be ousted from Nazi Germany in 1934 due to her persistent condemnation of Jewish persecution. The thesis examines Thompson's wide network and her many efforts to activate action to combat Nazism, antisemitism, and the Holocaust upon her return to the United States. Earlier this spring, to complete her thesis, Kiara was honored to receive research funding from the Miller Center to visit archives at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. In June 2020 Kiara is thrilled to be sharing her thesis research as the (virtual) speaker for the First Annual Sidney Gravitz Holocaust Memorial Lecture at Shir Shalom of Woodstock, Vermont.

Hailing from a shtetl in Western Massachusetts, **Sandor Farkas** graduated Dartmouth College in 2017 with a major in history, a minor in Jewish studies, and a commission in the Army National Guard. While at Dartmouth, he served as Editor-in-Chief of *The Dartmouth Review*, won the 2016 Robert McKennan Prize for the best thesis in anthropology, and won the 2017 Gary H. Plotnik Memorial Prize for best paper in Jewish studies. After serving as a medical platoon leader and battalion medical officer in the Virginia National Guard's 116TH Infantry Brigade Combat Team "The Stonewall Brigade" and an Intercollegiate Studies Association journalism fellow, Farkas spent a semester studying at Yeshivat Darche Noam in Jerusalem. Upon moving to Burlington and beginning his Master's studies at The University of Vermont, Farkas transferred to his new post as headquarters platoon leader of C Company (MED), 186TH Brigade Support Battalion, 86TH Infantry Brigade Combat Team (Mountain). His research in fall 2019 focused on personal narratives of radical Revisionist Zionists and their connections to fascism. In Spring 2020, he is learning about the United States and the Holocaust, including US pre-war knowledge and understanding of Jewish persecution, US liberation of concentration camps, and the Holocaust in American memory. The focus of his research with Professor Alan Steinweis is currently American conservative understanding of the Holocaust. Farkas is also studying Jewish back-to-the-land movements with Professor Dona Brown and Jewish involvement in slave holding with Professor Amani Whitfield. He plans to write his Master's thesis under the direction of Steinweis with a focus on how the experiences of the Congressional delegation that toured liberated atrocity sites affected the personal and political lives of its members.

Megan Gamiz is a graduate student in the Master of Arts in History program. Her research at UVM has analyzed everything from the historiography of the French Wars of Religion and the legacy of Claude Lanzmann's 1985 film *Shoah* to German scientific and intellectual innovations on display at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and the impact of Filip Müller's memoir on surviving Auschwitz. The areas of history in which Megan is most passionate are modern French history and the Holocaust. She plans to devote the remainder of her time at UVM to examining French involvement in the deportations of its Jews and, especially, the memory of the Holocaust in France. This past year Megan worked as a Graduate Teaching Assistant for professors Melanie Gustafson and Steve Zdatny. She worked also as an editor for this year's *History Review*. After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in History from Christopher Newport University, Megan is delighted to be back in the classroom and working with the faculty here at UVM.

continued on Page 16

Student and Alumni News, *continued from Page 15*

Julia Kitonis (class of 2021) is a rising senior majoring in Theatre and minoring in Holocaust Studies. Over the summer, she will begin pre-production work as assistant dramaturg and interactive exhibition curator for a stage adaptation of the Austrian novella *Walking* by Thomas Bernhardt, set to open at the Royall Tyler Theater in October. Kitonis' thesis has recently been approved by the College of Arts and Sciences, and she will begin work on it at the start of the fall semester. Her thesis focuses on intersections in queer and Jewish identity in the twentieth century as examined through the lens of seminal plays *God of Vengeance* by Sholem Asch and *Indecent* by Paula Vogel. She looks forward to bringing her different academic interests together in her final year of undergraduate studies.

Caroline Serling (class of 2021) hails from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and is majoring in History and minoring in Public Communications. As a member of the Honors College, she is pursuing her undergraduate thesis, under the supervision of Professor Susanna Schrafstetter, on the restitution of Nazi looted art through American intervention. Caroline is interested in exploring how the United States government, specifically the judicial system, attempted to return looted Holocaust-Era assets, particularly art, after World War II. Her research will highlight the benefits of the internet on restitution and how it aided the movement after the 1990s. This subject is of particular interest to Caroline because it is still relevant today, as cases of looted art in museums and private collections continually arise.

Timber Wright (class of 2020) has a major in History and a minor in Anthropology. In the summer of 2019 Timber received the CAS internship with the Fleming Museum to work in the collections and education departments, conducting research for future exhibits, condition reporting of incoming and currently housed artifacts, and putting together lesson plans to teach students of all ages the history of the Abenaki and Wabanaki, Native American tribes who are indigenous to Vermont and the Burlington area. During school breaks she spends her time volunteering at the Fairbanks Museum, in Saint Johnsbury, working in their collections department and most recently helping with the remodeling of the museum. During the 2019-20 academic year, she worked as the staff assistant at the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies and its Raul Hilberg Library. While working at MCHS she created an archival code to head an indexing project of the storage room holding the center's collection of documents, books, artworks, and educational materials. Additionally, she has been working with Professor Huener and Professor Schrafstetter designing historical maps to be used in their upcoming publications. Excited for the future, Timber is now looking at graduate programs in Museum Science/Studies with the ultimate goal of becoming a curator of collections

Alumni

After defending his dissertation at the George Washington University in 2019, **Mark Alexander,** MA 2015**,** accepted a staff position at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. He is working within the Levine Institute for Holocaust Education as a content creator for the Museum Experience and Digital Media division, where he conducts archival research and develops new materials for the museum's online educational resources. Alexander is currently writing new articles for the museum's online *Holocaust Encyclopedia* and developing new primary source collections on medical science and public health in the Third Reich for the *Experiencing History: Holocaust Sources in Context* website. Making use of his current research, he also recently co-hosted a museum webinar on disease and contagion in Nazi Germany.

Since graduating with a MA in History from the University of Vermont in 2018, **Lauren Fedewa** has completed a U.S. Student Fulbright Research Grant in Germany and started a PhD at the University of Toronto. She is currently a first-year student in the History Department and the Anne Tanenbaum Center for Jewish Studies, where her research focuses on pregnancy and childbirth among Polish and Soviet female forced laborers in Germany during WWII, as well as Jewish women who 'passed' as Polish forced laborers as a survival strategy during the Holocaust. Over the past year Lauren has presented her research on the post-war remembrance and memorialization of "foreign child-care facilities" at the DAAD Doctoral Conference in Haifa and Jerusalem, Israel and the International Conference Studying Public History in Wrocław, Poland.

Jordanna Gessler, UVM Class of 2011**,** is the Vice President of Education and Exhibits at the Los Angeles Museum of the Holocaust and serves as co-chair of the 3G@LAMOTH Executive Board, a group of grandchildren of Holocaust survivors passionate about stewarding legacy and engaging the future. Jordanna started at the Museum in 2014 as an education coordinator, and in her current vice president role she provides strategic leadership and oversees all on and off-site education programs, leads the curation of exhibition space, supervises all archival and education staff, facilitates partnerships, lectures internationally, directs docent training, and designs custom education programs for exhibits. As an advocate for animal rights, gender equality, and civil rights, she is part of the prestigious Rautenberg New Leaders Project 2020 where she works with elected, civic, and community leaders to address critical challenges facing civic engagement and social change.

Jordanna graduated with a BA from the University of Vermont in 2011 with a focus on International Relations and Holocaust history and then obtained an MA with honors in Holocaust Studies at

continued on Page 17

Student and Alumni News, *continued from Page 16*

the University of Haifa. She completed a yearlong internship at Yad Vashem in the Righteous Among the Nations Department and received the 2014 Yad Vashem Award for Research for MA and PhD students. While living in Israel, she nurtured her passion for giving back and building inter-generational bridges by volunteering at Amcha where she spent time visiting and reading to blind Holocaust survivors as well as hosting and facilitating get togethers for survivors during Jewish holidays.

Recently at her role at the LA Museum of the Holocaust, Jordanna has curated traveling museum exhibitions, developed several core education programs, and presented at conferences including the California Association of Museums, Council of American Jewish Museums, Jewish American and Holocaust Literature and the Museum Educators of Southern California on topics including contemporary antisemitism, fiction and the Holocaust, Holocaust art and resistance, and teaching empathy at museums. Her articles on the Holocaust and social responsibility have been published in the *Times of Israel*, and quoted in the *LA Times,* and she has been featured as a historian on local news as well as NBC's *A New Lead* and PBS's *We'll Meet Again* hosted by Ann Curry.

Jordanna is currently designing poignant and meaningful education curricula and lesson plans that can be presented in a digital learning framework during the pandemic-related stay-at-home policies. She is dedicated to the importance of preserving the stories, history, and experiences of her family, other survivors, and the community and educating the next generation of students on history, humanity, and social justice.

Nate Gondelman is a UVM alumnus (BA History, 2009; MA History, 2016). As a student, Nate's primary focus was the relationship between German military fortunes and the trajectory of the Holocaust. Currently, Nate is the Services Manager at UVM's Student Accessibility Services Office, where he helps oversee the implementation of accommodations for students with disabilities. He has previously written articles for the Center for Holocaust Studies Bulletin and served as an editor and writer for the *UVM History Review*.

Dženeta Karabegović (UVM '08) is currently working on her Habilitation in the Division of Political Science and Sociology at the University of Salzburg while teaching courses on diaspora, social movements, academic writing, and research methods. She has recently been awarded a grant from the Spencer Foundation for a new project focused on normative contestation in educational systems. She will be taking a comparative look at migrant education in Balkan route countries in Europe over the next two years. Last year, she published a co-edited volume on Bosnia and Herzegovina's foreign policy since independence (https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-030-05654-4) and had book promotions in over half a dozen countries, including at Columbia University's Harriman Institute and one hosted in Sarajevo by H.E Matthew Field, the British Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Outside of academia, she has been involved in several remembrance initiatives related to the Srebrenica Genocide. As this year marks 25 years since the Srebrenica Genocide, she will work with another UVM alumnus, Aida Šehović, on the 15th iteration of the Što Te Nema public nomadic monument (https://www.aidasehovic.com/stotenema) to pay tribute to victims and honor survivors.

In 2019 **Kassandra LaPrade Seuthe**, MA in History 2016, accepted a position as Acquisition Curator at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Alongside colleagues in the Museum's Curatorial Acquisitions and Reference Branch, Kassandra works to identify, research, and acquire the object and document record of the Holocaust so it may be preserved and made accessible to all patrons of the Museum's permanent collection. Over the last year, Kassandra has acquired a range of primary source material, from last letters written in Rivesaltes to loved ones in the United States prior to deportation, to personal snapshots and recollections of a PK radioman encountering ghetto life in eastern Poland. She is presently engaged in a focused collecting effort to document the experiences of those who survived the Holocaust as refugees in the USSR. In January, Kassandra presented newly acquired collections pertaining to the experiences of Red Army combatants at the 2020 USHMM Hess Faculty Seminar. Included in this presentation was material from *Propagandaamt Lettland*, alleged to document Soviet atrocity, which circulated both on the home front and in German-occupied eastern territories. She has also presented collections to Association of Holocaust Organizations colleagues, and Museum constituents, during recent events held at USHMM's David and Fela Shapell Family Collections, Conservation, and Research Center in Bowie, Maryland.

Dana Smith, MA in History 2011, received her doctorate from Queen Mary College, University of London. She is currently an Assistant Professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Keene State College in Keene, New Hampshire. This academic year, she taught the introductory courses on the Holocaust, a course on Women and the Holocaust, and an introductory Jewish history course, as well as an upper-level course on Nazi Germany and a new course on Art and the Holocaust. Next semester, she is introducing a new capstone seminar on Antisemitism. She is also involved in two ongoing projects – a centennial history of the American Academy for Jewish Research, and, additionally, turning her UVM MA and doctoral research on the Jewish Cultural League in Bavaria into a book. In the meantime, her article on the female musicians of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was included in *Dreams of Germany: Musical Imaginaries from the Concert Hall to the Dance Floor* (Berghahn Books), which is out in hardback and will soon be available in paperback. Coronavirus restrictions permitting, she is also beginning to research her next project, *The Führer and the Bard: Shakespeare in Nazi Germany*.

MILLER CENTER EVENTS

September 25, 2019

" 'The Idea of Eliminating the Leadership Would Not Let Me Rest': Georg Elser's Attempted Assassination of Adolf Hitler in November 1939 and Its Aftermath"

Lecture by Alan E. Steinweis, University of Vermont

Georg Elser, 1903-1945

This lecture addressed the attempted assassination of Adolf Hitler by German cabinetmaker Georg Elser in 1939, focusing on several aspects of the story: the background and motivation of the would-be assassin; the question of whether objections to the persecution of Jews played a role; the Nazi regime's responses to the assassination attempt; the debate in postwar Germany over the propriety of tyrannicide; and the relatively late emergence of a commemorative culture around Elser and his act.

The lecture was delivered in observance of the upcoming 80th anniversary of Elser's deed.

Alan E. Steinweis is Professor of History and the Raul Hilberg Distinguished Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont.

October 23, 2019

Making Women Work: Privilege and Powerlessness in Nazi Germany

Lecture by Elizabeth Harvey, University of Nottingham

This lecture examined women's work in the Nazi economy as a contested source of privilege and a site of exploitation and oppression, asking which categories of women were 'made to work' and where, and what degree of agency they had, if any. If in 1933 the regime regarded German married women's employment outside the home as a problem, by the later years of the Second World War it was now their non-employment outside the home that the labor administration regarded as a challenge. By that stage foreign women had become increasingly drawn on by the labor administration and employers for work in Germany and in the occupied territories but subjected to very unequal degrees of coercion and exploitation depending on their nationality and "race."

Women sewing Nazi flags

Elizabeth Harvey is Professor of History at the University of Nottingham. She is the author of *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization* (2003) and has co-edited *Hitler: New Research* (2018) and *Private Life and Privacy in Nazi Germany* (2019). She is a member of the Independent Historians' Commission on the History of the Reich Labor Ministry under National Socialism appointed by the German Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and a member of the international advisory board for the document edition *The Persecution and Murder of the European Jews by Nazi Germany, 1933-1945*. She is currently researching aspects of gender and forced labour in wartime Europe with the support of a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship.

Sponsored by the Kinsler Endowment for Holocaust Studies at UVM

continued on Page 19

Miller Center Events, *continued from Page 18*

November 18, 2019

Annual Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture

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

Jürgen Matthäus, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Alfred Rosenberg in German-occupied Paris in November 1941. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Robert Kempner

If the name Alfred Rosenberg evokes any association at all, it is usually one dominated by his role as chief ideologue of Nazism. This perception, undisputed during the Nazi era and disturbingly visible on ultra-right websites to this day, of a tireless, unrepentant propagandist of Nazi ideology tends to underrate Rosenberg's political influence on the shaping of the "final solution of the Jewish question." As this lecture will demonstrate, based on newly contextualized sources, at no time during the Third Reich was Rosenberg's political influence more crucial than in the fateful transition period from persecution to genocide. From the spring of 1941 until early 1942, Rosenberg played a lead role among Hitler's lieutenants in devising ways to implement their vision of a Europe "free of Jews." In his capacity as "Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories," Rosenberg oversaw a massive radicalization of the regime's anti-Jewish policies as the mass murder of Jewish men, women, and children became standard practice in the German-occupied Soviet Union. Building on Raul Hilberg's insight into the complex nexus of perpetration, the lecture will critically reflect on the interactions among key agents at a critical juncture in Holocaust history.

Jürgen Matthäus received his Ph.D. in history in 1992 from the Ruhr-Universität in Bochum, Germany. Since 2005 he has been serving as Director for Applied Research at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. Recent book publications include: (ed. with Th. Pegelow Kaplan and Mark Hornburg) *Beyond "Ordinary Men": Christopher Browning and Holocaust Historiography* (2019); *Predicting the Holocaust: Jewish Organizations Report from Geneva on the Emergence of the "Final Solution," 1939-1942* (2018); (edited with E. Kerenji) *Jewish Responses to Persecution, 1933-1946* (2017), and (edited with Frank Bajohr) The Political Diary of Alfred Rosenberg and the Onset of the Holocaust (2015).

The Annual Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture is supported by Jerold D. Jacobson, Esquire, of New York City, UVM Class of 1962, and his wife Gertraude Holle-Suppa.

February 20, 2020

The "Benghazi Group" of European Jewish Refugees during the Holocaust

UVM College of Arts and Sciences Full Professor Lecture

Susanna Schrafstetter, University of Vermont

This lecture focused on the journey of over 300 Jews who attempted to reach Palestine from Italy in 1940, and who came to be known collectively as the "Benghazi Group." The group – most of them refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria – never made it to Palestine, and were temporarily stranded in Benghazi, then part of the Italian colonial empire.

Following the Italian expulsion order covering foreign Jews in 1938, large numbers of Jews who had previously fled to Italy from Germany, Austria, and Poland now desperately attempted to leave Italy. In May 1940, over 300 Jews sailed from Sicily to Benghazi, where a chartered vessel was supposed to pick them up and take them to Palestine. Waiting for the ship – which never materialized - the travelers were welcomed by the local Jewish community of Benghazi. North Africa became a temporary sanctuary for the European Jewish refugees. After several months, the group was forcibly sent back to Italy, and interned in the camp of Ferramonti, in the south of Italy. The study of the Benghazi group provides insight into unusual escape routes of European Jews, Jewish refugee life in Italy before and during internment, the possibilities and limitations for self-help and agency among Jewish refugees, and the role of North African Jews in providing aid. Focusing on the perspective of the refugees, the lecture also examined how the members of the Benghazi group struggled for survival in Ferramonti and elsewhere in Italy. Some of them experienced liberation in southern Italy in the fall of 1943, while others found themselves trapped under German occupation.

Susanna Schrafstetter is Professor of History at the University of Vermont. She is the author of three books, most recently *Flucht und Versteck*, a study of fugitive Jews in wartime Bavaria, which will soon appear in English translation with Indiana University Press.

continued on Page 20

Miller Center Events, *continued from Page 19*

The following events scheduled for April 2020 had to be cancelled on account of the pandemic. We will explore possibilities for re-scheduling these speakers in the future.

April 1, 2020

"Why? Explaining the Holocaust,"
Holocaust Remembrance Lecture by Peter Hayes, Northwestern University

April 13, 2020

"Enemy of the People: The Munich Post *and the Journalists Who Opposed Hitler,"*
lecture by Terrence Petty, Retired Associated Press Journalist and UVM Alumnus

April 20, 2020

"Nazi Eugenics in History and Memory"

A panel discussion about Nazi eugenics featuring Prof. Lutz Kaelber of the UVM Department of Sociology and Prof. Annette Eberle of the Catholic University of Applied Sciences, Munich-Benediktbeuern, Germany.

Fall 2020 Schedule So Far

October 22, 2020

Annual Hilberg Memorial Lecture
Speaker: Nikolaus Wachsmann, Birkbeck College, University of London
Topic TBD

Report from the JFR Summer Seminar for Teachers

by Nikki Berry
Social Studies Teacher at Lyndon Institute, Lyndon Center, VT

In June 2019, I had the pleasure of attending the Jewish Foundation for the Righteous' five-day Summer Seminar for Teachers held at Columbia University in New York City and becoming an Alfred Lerner Fellow. I am incredibly thankful to have been nominated by the UVM Miller Center for Holocaust Studies and look forward to bridging a connection between the UVM Miller Center and my school, Lyndon Institute.

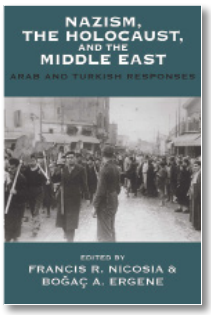
Each day of the seminar, we attended sessions with noted Holocaust scholars including Doris Bergen, Volker Berghahn, Alexandra Zapruder, Lawrence Douglas, Steven Field, Daniel Greene, Robert Jan van Pelt, Edward Westermann, Jeffrey Burds, Paul Salmons, Michael Marrus, and our host herself, Stanlee Stahl. We also had the pleasure of hearing from Roman Kent, a Holocaust survivor, who is featured in one of the JFR's fantastic collection of video resources. During the lecture portion of our seminars, we discussed topics ranging from medicine during the Third Reich to challenges Jews faced as they attempted to emigrate to the role of collaborators in the Holocaust. The pedagogical component was addressed through breakout groups where we worked with colleagues to translate our new learning into lessons that could be utilized in our respective classrooms. This was a great opportunity to share resources and books that we currently use as well as develop new lesson plans for the future.

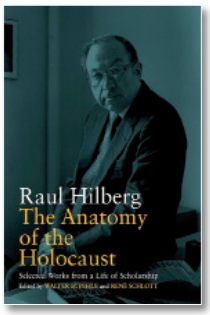
Participants in the seminar ranged from middle and high school classroom teachers from around the country and Europe to Holocaust Center staff and school administrators. I especially appreciated making connections with people from the various Holocaust centers and discovering the online resources their centers have available for teachers and students. I recently participated in an online webinar hosted by the Illnois Holocaust Museum and was excited to see Wendy Singer, its Director of Education and a fellow 2019 Alfred Lerner Fellow, introducing the speaker. Our host, Stanlee Stahl, could not have been more gracious. She was welcoming, engaging, and actively sought our feedback throughout the Seminar, as she is always looking for ways to improve the experience for future Alfred Lerner Fellows. At the time of the seminar, I was thirty-five weeks pregnant and can personally attest to the fact that Stanlee always made sure I was well cared for.

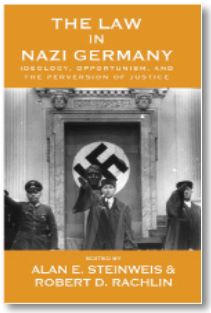
One of the highlights of the seminar was the trip we made on our final day to the Museum of Jewish Heritage, where we took a private guided tour of the exhibit, "Auschwitz: Not Long Ago, Not Far Away." We were led by Paul Salmons and Dr. Robert Jan Van Pelt, two of the curators of the exhibit. The power of the exhibit lies in the 700 original objects and 400 photographs from over 20 institutions and museums around the world that are on display. The physical objects being showcased were often combined with photographs of the items *en masse* to paint a picture of both the singular item and the group that it was a part of. This exhibit is a great alternative for those who cannot or do not plan to make the trip to Poland, as it features many of the items, shoes for example, that you can see in the museum at Auschwitz- Birkenau.

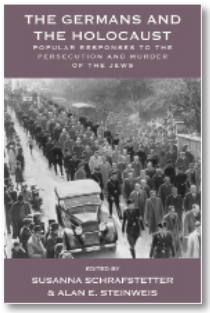
I am grateful for my experience at the Jewish Foundation for the Righteous' Summer Seminar for Teachers. This was an incredible learning opportunity for me as an educator and I know that it will have a significant positive impact on my current and future students' learning as well.

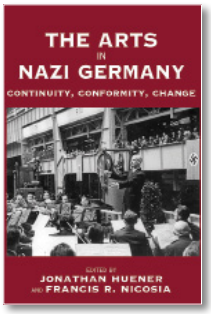
Vermont Studies on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust Series

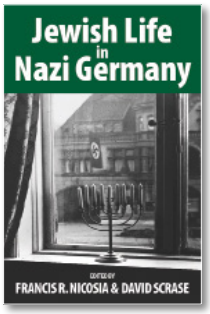












NEW! Volume 8
THE ANATOMY OF THE HOLOCAUST
Selected Works from a Life of Scholarship
Raul Hilberg†
Edited by Walter H. Pehle and René Schlott

"With this compilation of essays and recollections, we […] once again come to know Hilberg as an immensely productive, curious and innovative historian." • **Süddeutsche Zeitung**

Historian Raul Hilberg produced a variety of archival research, personal essays, and other works over a career that spanned half a century. *The Anatomy of the Holocaust* collects some of Hilberg's most essential and groundbreaking writings—many of them published in obscure journals or otherwise inaccessible to nonspecialists—in a single volume.

Volume 7
NAZISM, THE HOLOCAUST, AND THE MIDDLE EAST
Arab and Turkish Responses
Francis R. Nicosia and Boğaç A. Ergene [Eds.]

"Rich in detail, each chapter provides a snapshot of the political situation and intellectual debates in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Turkey, and Morocco." • **Holocaust and Genocide Studies**

Volume 6
THE GERMANS AND THE HOLOCAUST
Popular Responses to the Persecution and Murder of the Jews
Susanna Schrafstetter and Alan E. Steinweis [Eds.]

"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. "
• **Geoffrey J. Giles**, *University of Florida*

Volume 5
THE LAW IN NAZI GERMANY
Ideology, Opportunism, and the Perversion of Justice
Alan E. Steinweis and Robert D. Rachlin [Eds.]

"The essays in The Law in Nazi Germany *provide a thorough understanding of the threats that come along with reinterpreting laws to take account of a society's changed principles. This should be emphasized not only in German legal education, but in every law school, everywhere."* · **The Federal Lawyer**

Volume 4
JEWISH LIFE IN NAZI GERMANY
Dilemmas and Responses
Francis R. Nicosia and David Scrase [Eds.]

"This collection brings together the work of excellent scholars and can be used in the classroom to teach not only the interesting content but also its fine historiography." • **H-Net Review**

Volume 3
THE ARTS IN NAZI GERMANY
Continuity, Conformity, Change
Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia [Eds.]

Volume 2
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY IN NAZI GERMANY
Francis R. Nicosia and Jonathan Huener [Eds.]

Volume 1
MEDICINE AND MEDICAL ETHICS IN NAZI GERMANY
Origins, Practices, Legacies
Francis R. Nicosia and Jonathan Huener [Eds.]

Order online and recieve 50% discount on *Vermont Studies on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust* volumes (use **code VSNG**) or take advantage of 30% site-wide **code UVM** on all Berghahn paperbacks

about the series

Editorial Committee:
Jonathan D. Huener, *University of Vermont*
Francis R. Nicosia, *University of Vermont*
Susanna Schrafstetter, *University of Vermont*
Alan E. Steinweis, *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.

berghahn
NEW YORK · OXFORD

Follow us on Twitter: @BerghahnHistory
www.berghahnbooks.com

The University of Vermont
CAROLYN & LEONARD MILLER
CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES
Wheeler House 201
133 South Prospect Street
Burlington, VT 05405

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

Mailing Address:
Carolyn & Leonard Miller
Center for Holocaust Studies
Wheeler House 201
133 South Prospect Street
Burlington, Vermont
05405-0114

Website:
www.uvm.edu/cas/holocauststudies

Telephone:
802-656-3180

Email:
Holocaust.Studies@uvm.edu

Interim Director:
Alan Steinweis

Staff Assistant:
Ande Tagliamonte

Graduate Student Assistant:
Kiara Day

Student Assistant:
Timber Wright