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In Memory of Leonard Miller, UVM Class of 1951

by David Scrase

Emeritus Professor of German

Founding Director of the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont

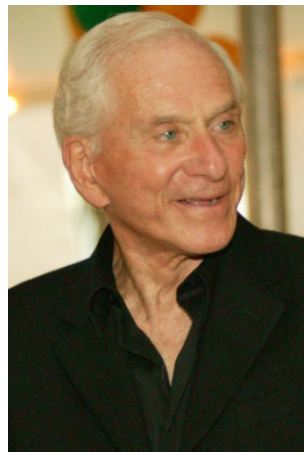
I first met Lenny Miller in the early days of what was then known simply as the *Center for Holocaust Studies* at the University of Vermont. Through the UVM Development Office, which was always of great help in seeking support for Holocaust Studies, I knew that Lenny Miller was a Burlingtonian and a donor prospect, and I was invited to lunch at Engelsby House by President Judith Ramaley in order to tell him about the Center and its plans for the future. Initially, Lenny was a little ill at ease in the academic environment and I steered the conversation to his childhood and student years in Burlington. He relaxed, especially when I told him I lived in the Old North End, which was where he grew up. He knew that I was in the German Department and asked me about my former colleague and Professor of German and Hebrew, Harry Kahn. Soon we were exchanging Harry Kahn stories—Harry was a real character, whom I had come to know well over the years. Very soon Lenny expressed a willingness to help the Center, and a period of generous support and interest began.

Following this auspicious encounter, the Center decided to go ahead with an ambitious symposium on the medical profession in Nazi Germany. Lenny attended the Board meeting at which this project was discussed, and I seem to remember asking him whether we might count on his support. “You might,” he said, somewhat teasingly, and the Miller Symposium was born. Lenny’s interest was deep and sincere, and he attended almost all of the symposia, even suggesting the topic for the very successful fourth symposium, *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* in 2006. His rationale was that we should break out of our series that was concentrated primarily on the perpetrators and deal with the victims. He was always delighted to be able to present as gifts to his friends the conference book that Berghahn Books published following each symposium.

The center soon became an established and vital part of the university and the town, and Lenny continued to follow our progress and support our efforts. Then came the exciting news that the old Billings Library, which had been transformed into the campus student center shortly after Lenny graduated, was to be refurbished and provide a home for Special Collections, the Center for Vermont Studies, and the Center for Holocaust Studies. Lenny was to step forth again with a major gift to make this possible.

He came up from Florida to look more closely at the site and to see where the newly named Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies would be situated. The architect said that Special Collections would be taking up most of the space but that the Center for Holocaust Studies and the Center for Research on Vermont would be on either side of the North Lounge. With characteristic vision and resolve, Lenny made it a clear condition that Holocaust Studies should overlook the lake. Moreover, he went on, the Vermont Studies group should not feel short-changed because they would have a view of the mountains.

This one visit to Billings revealed, to me at least, the essence of Lenny Miller: he was deeply committed to the city and state where he grew up. He loved the university (he was the first in his family to go to college) that provided the foundation to a very successful career and life. He was extraordinarily generous, and he made firm decisions in a timely and resolute manner. We owe him so much. We will miss him sorely.



(Leonard Miller, 1930-2014)

Leonard Miller passed away on February 21, 2014. All of us at the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont share with his family and friends a sense of profound loss. Lenny was a kind and very generous supporter of our work here at the University of Vermont. He was deeply committed to continuing the university's scholarly and pedagogical work in the study of the Holocaust, begun here at UVM by Professor Raul Hilberg more than a half-century ago. Students and faculty at the University of Vermont, along with people throughout Vermont and the region, will continue to benefit from Lenny Miller's dedication and commitment to furthering the study of the Holocaust.

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Toward a Biography of Raul Hilberg

by Dr.phil., René Schlott

Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam



Considering Raul Hilberg's ongoing importance and influence in Holocaust scholarship, it is astonishing that there is no biography to date of this pioneer of Holocaust historiography. After watching via the internet a recording of one of Hilberg's last speeches in Berlin in December of 2006,¹ I was impressed by his rhetoric, and an important question came to my mind: Is there a biography of this pathfinder of Holocaust research? Alan

Steinweis told me that there was no monograph about the life and legacy of Raul Hilberg, and that no scholar was working on such a volume. I therefore decided to undertake this challenge as my "Habilitation" project, although a lot of colleagues advised against such a challenge. Since the spring of 2012, I have been working on this research project that should result in my second book. The project idea emerged from my former employment at the Center for Media and Interactivity at the University Giessen, where I studied the transatlantic history of the memory of the Shoah in film and television.

The paperback German translation of Hilberg's "Destruction of the European Jews" ("Schwarze Reihe") was part of my book collection since the early nineties when I watched "Schindlers List." But I have to admit that the three volumes stayed unread until last year, when I received a postdoctoral-scholarship from the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. This support from the Institute enabled me to stay in the US from September to November 2013, not only to read all of Raul Hilberg's monographs, but to explore the personal papers of Raul Hilberg in the Special Collections at the UVM Library that were previously used only by a few historians for detailed studies, but had never been explored in total. The "Raul Hilberg Papers," a collection of correspondence, manuscripts and documents, consists of 17 archival units. Each unit varies in volume but can contain thousands of pages.

With the indispensable support of the library staff, I was able to sort through all the boxes and folders of this collection and to collect almost 10,000 photographed pages of letters, drafts, and documents, etc. At the same time the library's Media Services provided me with all of its records of Hilberg interviews, speeches and documentaries. Furthermore, I met in Burlington, VT for interviews with Gwendolyn Hilberg and with dozens of former university colleagues and members of the faculty who gave me an insight into Raul Hilberg's personality and a lot of other details about his life. Thanks to all these encounters, my stay in the autumn of 2013 in Burlington was fruitful, and was a big step forward for the biography project.

During my scholarship, I also worked at the USHMM Archives in Washington D.C. and in different archives in New York City. Among these was the Columbia University Archive. In NYC, I was able to meet with David Hilberg and Eric Marder, Hilberg's life-long best friend. I also visited Chapel Hill and Princeton, where I interviewed Christopher Browning, Gerhard Weinberg, and Arno Mayer.

When I was back in Europe I traveled to Paris with a postdoctoral scholarship from the German Historical Institute in Paris. Hilberg visited the French capital many times, and he came through Paris when he fled with his parents from Nazi-occupied Austria in the spring of 1939. In Paris I met with his French editor and saw the Gallimard Archives. There I explored the edition and translation history of "The Destruction of the European Jews" after Lanzmann's film "Shoah" in 1985.

In the coming months, I will have some more encounters with former colleagues, including Götz Aly and Walter Pehle, scheduled in Germany. All in all, the collection of material is finished and the next step will be the examination of all the sources and the writing process.

In the biography I would like to put the spotlight on the different perspectives of the personality of Raul Hilberg. These personality traits can be summarized roughly with the following keywords: Holocaust Scholar, European, German Native Speaker, Survivor, Soldier, Political Scientist, Teacher, Actor, Husband and Father, Zionist, Republican, Atheist, and Lover of classical Music and Art. At the same time, I will consider conditions and preconditions of his work and its interaction with political and societal developments. My project is not only aimed at tracing the life of an extraordinary academic in detail, but also follows the early history of the reception of his *magnum opus*, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961). I will analyze the arguments about this monograph in historical discourse and debate, and contrast them with Hilberg's memories.

The global influence of the U.S. TV series "Holocaust" at the end of the 1970s generated public interest in the subject of the Holocaust, so that Raul Hilberg became a prominent figure. He was often a commentator on the Holocaust in the media. As an expert, he was often called in the lawsuits in the U.S. and Canada against perpetrators and Holocaust deniers. Hilberg's influence was apparent not only through his standard-setting masterpiece, but also through his longtime involvement in various committees of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, which he helped to develop.

This biography will therefore concentrate on his life, but at the same time shed light on structures and processes. The study of Raul Hilberg's life is not intended to be a conventional biography of a 'great man.' Using established biographical narrative methods, it aims to pay tribute to a critical person who established with his doctoral thesis a new field of research. Thus, this project will be an important contribution to the history of Holocaust research.

If anyone would like to contribute information or material to this biography, please contact Dr. Schlott at Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam, Dr. phil. René Schlott, Am Neuen Markt 1, 14467 Potsdam, schlott@zzf-pdm.de. Any information is welcome because every single detail could be important – as one of the small puzzle pieces of the larger portrait of Raul Hilberg, his life and legacy.

¹ <http://www.bpb.de/geschichte/nationalsozialismus/dossier-nationalsozialismus/39629/video-interview-raul-hilberg> (04/10/2014).

Community Outreach: The Lost Shul Mural Project

by Aaron Goldberg and Jeffrey Potash



Aaron Goldberg

In 2012, in what is now known as Burlington's "Old North End," the Lost Shul Mural was revealed behind the walls of an apartment building on Hyde Street that had once been the Orthodox Chai Adam Synagogue (1889-1939). Like an episode of Ancient Mysteries, removal of a wall opened a portal into a multifaceted past. In addition to informing the largely forgotten story of Burlington's late 19th and early 20th century immigrant

Jewish community, the Lost Shul Mural serves as the world's most complete example of a Jewish art tradition common in Eastern Europe prior to the Holocaust, the wooden, painted synagogues.

It is the latter that has activated the Miller Center's interest in joining in the efforts to preserve, restore, and relocate this mural to a public space in Burlington. During the Holocaust few of these murals survived destruction by the Nazis, and fewer still were maintained by the decimated Jewish communities remaining after the war or by new owners who occupied former Jewish buildings. Almost all have been lost to history. Described by Dr. Samuel D. Gruber, the world's leading expert on Eastern European art and monuments, Burlington's Lost Shul Mural serves as "a survivor," a surrogate for a world of Jewish art that was destroyed in the Holocaust. It is "a gift from the past that adds color, vitality, and the immediacy of piety to, what we are usually forced to recall only through occasional black and white and often blurry photographs..."

The mural was painted in 1910, twenty-five years after a small group of Lithuanian refugees from the Kovno area found their way to Burlington to plant their Jewish community, a conscious and purposeful recreation of a small Eastern European shtetl (this story has been told in Vermont Public Television's film, "Little Jerusalem"). They hired a young Lithuanian-Jewish artist, Ben Zion Black, newly arrived from Kovno, who spent six months painting for which he was paid \$200. Black was engaged by the Chai Adam Synagogue congregation to create an ambitious decorative program of mural painting throughout the entire synagogue. Black's three-

panel mural, painted in the apse space directly above the Holy Ark, highlighted traditional Jewish imagery, including the Ten Commandments guarded by the Lions of Judah, sanctified by the crown of Torah. In addition, Black painted the ceiling of the synagogue, including the area over the women's section, to look like a beautiful blue sky with clouds, birds, cherubs, and musical instruments. The later images constituted unpopular imagery for the traditional congregation, for which Black received considerable criticism.

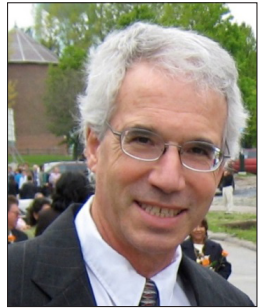
In 1986, when the wood-frame building was turned into an apartment house, Ohavi Zedek Synagogue Archivist Aaron Goldberg and fellow congregant George Solomon persuaded the new owner not to destroy the mural, but to place a false wall in front of it instead. At the time, it was not known if the mural would ever be seen again.

When the building changed ownership in 2012, Goldberg and others saw an opportunity to "rediscover" and preserve the mural. Conservation efforts have already stabilized the paint and, through initial cleaning, exposed a set of vibrant and wondrous colors that appear to have been dulled through a combination of coal dust, smoke, and other pollutants.

With technical guidance from one of Vermont's leading architects, Marcel Beaudin, plans have been made to carefully extract the mural by carefully removing the exterior of the building (including roof slate), exposing and then strengthening the back of the mural before attaching a reinforced steel frame and cutting the mural out from the building. When relocated and installed in the public lobby of Ohavi Zedek Synagogue, where it will be incorporated into a larger educational exhibit, this priceless piece will serve to remind, inspire, and educate viewers of all ages from around the world.

Looking at the Chai Adam Synagogue mural we can get a glimpse of what once was. The mural is a survivor; a reminder of all that was destroyed in the Holocaust, people, places, culture

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Jeffrey Potash



Before Restoration



During Restoration

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and art. For this reason, the Lost Shul Mural Project has been supported by the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont. In the words of Frank Nicosia, Raul Hilberg Distinguished Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Vermont, "While the Holocaust intended to erase all memory of the vibrancy of Eastern European Jewish life and culture, the 'Lost Shul Mural' reminds us that it did not succeed." The mural reveals the lost historical legacy of symbolic artistic imagery in Jewish folklore and tradition. The Center for Holocaust Studies supports the preservation of the mural as an authentic remnant which must be preserved to promote scholarship and public awareness of issues concerning the vitality of Jewish traditions before the Holocaust.

Additional funds must be raised by June 30, 2014 in order to move the mural to its new location this summer. Information on this process can be found on-line, together with additional information on the mural, at www.lostshulmural.org.]

Aaron Goldberg is a Burlington lawyer concentrating in estate planning and elder law, the Archivist of Ohavi Zedek Synagogue, and historian of the Burlington Jewish community. He helped save the mural in 1986, and has been engaged in the project since its beginning as the Project Director. Jeff Potash, Ph.D, is a historian of American religion and co-author of Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont (2004). He is co-archivist of Ohavi Zedek Synagogue. Potash and Goldberg have collaborated on numerous projects and exhibits, including the recent "Little Jerusalem" documentary, produced by Vermont Public Television, for which they were contributing archivists and historians.



News from the Faculty



Andrew Buchanan (History) saw the publication of his book *American Grand Strategy in the Mediterranean during World War II* by Cambridge University Press in early 2014. In March, he presented conference and seminar papers on his work in Oxford, and at King's College, London. There is more information on Prof. Buchanan's book at his CUP blog: <http://www.cambridgeblog.org/2014/03/world-war-ii-and-grand-strategy/>



Meaghan Emery (Romance Languages and Linguistics) continued work on her manuscript, "The Poetics of Exclusion," which deals with breaking silence on the part of African immigrants in France. Coming out of this work will be two articles with the titles "One and Different: Bringing Our Ethnic Minorities to the Center," and "Controversial Claims on French History: Rachid Bouchareb's Indigènes and Hors-la-loi." Meaghan will also participate in the conference *Silence After Violence* (May 23-24, 2014) at the

University of Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa. The title of her paper talk is: "Having the last word: Marc Ferro and the historical record of Philippe Pétain."



Rob Gordon (Anthropology) was in the second year of his leave from UVM, teaching at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa. He finished the chapter "Vogelfrei and Besitzlos, with no Concept of Property: Divergent Settler Responses to Bushmen and Damaras in German Southwest Africa," which will appear in Mohamed Adhikari (ed), *Genocide on Colonial Frontiers: When Hunter-Gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers Clash* (Cape Town: University of

Cape Town Press and New York: Berghahn Books), 108-134. He also published the articles "Moritz Bonn, Southern Africa and the Critique of Colonialism," *African Historical Review*, 45-2 (2013); and "Germany's Genocide of the Herero," *African Historical Review*, 45-1 (2013).



Jonathan Huener (History) has authored an article entitled "Nazi Kirchenpolitik and Polish Catholicism in the Reichsgau Wartheland, 1939-1941," which is appearing in the forthcoming issue of *Central European History*. In the summer of 2013 Huener was recipient of a research fellowship at the German Historical Institute, Warsaw, where he continued his research on the Polish Catholic Church under German occupation in state and church archives

in Warsaw, Włocławek, and Łódź. While in Warsaw, he also delivered a lecture at the German Historical Institute entitled "Kirchenkampf als Volkstumskampf: Nationalsozialistische Kirchenpolitik und die polnische katholische Kirche im Reichsgau Wartheland." In November 2013 Huener also participated in the annual meeting of the Association of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian studies, presenting a paper entitled "Polish Catholic Responses to Nazi Occupation: the Case of the 'Reichsgau Wartheland.'" He will return to Warsaw in the summer of 2014, again as a fellow of the German Historical Institute.

Lutz Kaelber (Sociology) contributed entries on eugenics to the Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Health, Illness, Behavior and Society and on collective memory to the Encyclopedia of Philosophy and the Social Sciences. He continues his research on child victims of Nazi medical crimes.



Dennis Mahoney (German and Russian) was a contributor and co-editor for the catalogue *Über die Natur des Lichts – Die Farbe Blau in der Romantik* (Wiederstedt: Forschungsstätte für Frühromantik und Novalis Museum Schloss Oberwiederstedt, 2013) that accompanied the exhibit and international conference of the same name co-sponsored by the International Novalis Society, of which he is the president. On July 10, 2013, he gave a guest lecture for the University of Augsburg on *Ahnung und Gegenwart*, the novel by

the German Romantic writer Joseph von Eichendorff that he is currently translating into English; this talk was taped by the Bayrischer Rundfunk and shown on Bavarian television on December of 2013. More recently, he has been named the first holder of the Wolfgang and Barbara Mieder "Green and Gold" Professorship in German and also has been awarded the 2014 Robert V. Daniels Award by the University of Vermont Global and Regional Studies Program for outstanding contributions to International Education. In the fall of 2013, he and Tom Simone (English) co-taught a course on "Wagner at 200: Achievement & Influence"; with the cooperation of the Center for Holocaust Studies, Professor Pamela Potter (University of Wisconsin, Madison) gave a public lecture on Richard Wagner and the Third Reich and also visited the class, including a discussion of Wagner's anti-Semitic writings when assessing their impact on/significance for the musical dramas themselves.



Wolfgang Mieder (German and Russian) was named University Distinguished Professor of German and Folklore at the University of Vermont, and he also received an honorary doctorate degree from the University of Athens in Greece. For his seventieth birthday he was presented with a massive "Festschrift" edited by Christian Grandl and Kevin J. McKenna with the title "Bis dat, qui cito dat". *Gegengabe in Paremiology, Folklore, Language, and Literature. Honoring Wolfgang Mieder on His Seventieth Birthday* (Frankfurt am

Main: Peter Lang, 2014) that includes about seventy articles by scholars from various parts of the world. He himself published the book "Neues von Sisyphus". *Sprichwörtliche Mythen der Antike in moderner Literatur, Medien und Karikaturen* (Wien: Praesens, 2013), and he edited *Russkie Poslovitsy. Russian Proverbs in Literature, Politics, and Pedagogy. Festschrift for Kevin J. McKenna in Celebration of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), Wilhelm Wille's *Die Sittenlehre, in Denksprüchen der Deutschen* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2013), and volume 30 of *Proverbium. Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2013). Among his new articles are "My Tongue – Is of the People': The Proverbial Language of Friedrich Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*", "Viele Wege führen zur Globalisierung. Zur Übersetzung und Verbreitung angloamerikanischer Sprichwörter in Europa", "Idleness Is the Beginning of All Philosophy': Friedrich Nietzsche's Aphoristic Anti-Proverbs", "What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce of the Gander'. The Proverbial Fight for Women's Rights by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony", and "Think Outside the Box': Origin, Nature, and Meaning of Modern Anglo-American Proverbs." He also presented lectures at the University of Georgia, Pennsylvania State University, University of California at San Diego, University of Leipzig (Germany), Institute of the German Language (Mannheim, Germany), the University of Vermont and at various locations throughout the state of Vermont.



Francis Nicosia (History) finished the final revisions and editing process for his new book, *Nazi Germany and the Arab World*. The book will be published by Cambridge University Press in the fall of 2014. The Holocaust Educational Foundation informed Frank that he will receive the "Distinguished Achievement Award in Holocaust Studies" at the biennial Lessons & Legacies con-

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ference in Florida in late October of this year. He has also been working on an edited volume of more than 200 annotated documents that will be published under the title *Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Zionismus 1933-1941*. It will be published in the Leo Baeck Institute's series "Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts" by Mohr/Siebeck Verlag in Tübingen, Germany, in 2016. He also signed a contract with Berghahn Books for the publication in 2015 of a paperback edition of his co-edited volume (with Lawrence Stokes) *Germans against Nazism: Non-conformity, Opposition and Resistance in the Third Reich*, Essays in Honour of Peter Hoffmann. This volume was originally published in 1990 by Berg Publishers in London. Frank served as commentator on the panel "Antisemitism and Its Limits in Interwar Germany" at the annual German Studies Association conference in Denver in October 2013. He was invited by Hamburg's Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden to serve as an editor of its Online-Quellenedition: "Schlüsseldokumente zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte von der frühen Neuzeit bis in die Gegenwart." Finally, Frank served as Interim Director of the Carolyn and Leonard Center for Holocaust Studies at UVM for the 2013-2014 academic year.



Nicole Phelps (History) was promoted to Associate Professor. Her first book, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815 to the Paris Peace Conference: Sovereignty Transformed*, was published by Cambridge University Press and was the subject of a roundtable in *Passport*, the review of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. She served as a commentator for a panel on the economics of Hungarian migration to and from the United States at the Association for Slavic, Eastern

European, and Eurasian Studies annual conference, and presented a paper based on her new research project on the US Consular Service at the annual conference of the Organization of American Historians.



Susanna Schrafstetter (History) was on sabbatical for the 2013-2014 academic year. She has completed a book manuscript, provisionally titled *Jews in Hiding: Rescue, Betrayal and Resurfacing in Munich, 1938-1956*. The book will appear initially in German, with an English edition to follow. In February 2014 she delivered a lecture on hidden Jews at the University of Erfurt, Germany. She wrote a chapter for the anthology *The German People and the Persecution of the Jews*, which she is co-editing

with Alan Steinweis. The chapter deals with a spectrum of reactions among Germans to attempts by German Jews to escape deportation. She also co-authored the Introduction to the volume, which grows out of the 2012 Miller Symposium. Currently she is writing an article on Jewish youth cliques in wartime Munich. As part of her work on postwar relief and restitution for Holocaust survivors, a book chapter is going to appear shortly: "Von der Soforthilfe zur Wiedergutmachung: die Umsetzung der Zonal Policy Instruction No. 20 in der britischen Besatzungszone," in Christiane Fritsche, Johannes Paulmann (eds.), *"Arisierung" und Wiedergutmachung in deutschen Städten ("Aryanization" and Restitution in German Cities)*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2014.



Helga Schreckenberger (German and Russian) published the article "They Say Hollywood is a Paradise! Salka Viertel's Perseverance During Hollywood's 'Inquisition'" in the volume *Feuchtwanger and Remigration*, ed. by Ian Wallace. She presented three papers at international conferences: "The Return of the Uncanny: Trauma and Memory in Jurek Becker's *Bronstein's Children* (1986)" at *Trauma and Memory: The Holocaust in Contemporary Culture* at the University of Portsmouth, UK; "Berliner Spuren in Billy Wilder's Film *Hold Back the Dawn* (1941)," at the 6th Bi-Annual Meeting of the Internationale Feuchtwanger Gesellschaft, at the Jewish Museum in Berlin, and "Man muß starke Nerven haben, um Metro auszuhalten.' Die Arbeitsbedingungen exilierter Drehbuchautorinnen in Hollywood am Beispiel von Salka Viertel," at *Kometen des Geldes*.

Ökonomie und Exil. Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Exilforschung, Österreichischen Exilbibliothek im Literaturhaus, Vienna. In addition, she participated in the Annual Conference of the Austrian Studies Association with the presentation "Von Juden, Zuhältern und Prostituierten: Der Erste Weltkrieg in Abraham Mosche Fuchs' *Unter der Brücke*." At the University of Vermont, she organized the international conference on Exile studies *Networks of Exile* where she presented "Salka Viertel's Transnational Hollywood Network."



Alan E. Steinweis (History) has been on leave from UVM while he holds the chair for Jewish History and Culture at the University of Munich, where he will remain through December 2014. He published "Antisemitismus und NS-Kulturpolitik bis 1938," in 1938: *Kunst, Künstler, Politik*, edited by Eva Atlan, Raphael Gross, and Julia Voss (Wallstein-Verlag, 2013), and made progress on three edited volumes: *The German People and the Holocaust*, co-edited with UVM's Susanna

B. Schrafstetter, which is based on the 2012 Miller Symposium; *Ethnic Minorities and Holocaust Memory: A Global Perspective*, co-edited with Jacob Eder, Norbert Frei, and Philipp Gassert, which is based on the conference of the same title co-sponsored by the Miller Center at the University of Jena in 2013; and a special issue of *Münchener Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur* devoted to the Holocaust in and around Munich. He served on the faculty of the doctoral workshop of the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure in Munich and Paris. He delivered the following papers and comments: Comment on a panel about Western Europe at the conference on "Ethnic Minorities and Holocaust Memory: A Global Perspective," University of Jena, July 2013; "Rassismus als soziales Paradigma," presentation at the conference "Die deutsche Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus. Forschungspositionen und -perspektiven," Zentrum für zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam, September 2013; "Der Novemberpogrom 1938 im transatlantischen Vergleich: Antijüdische Ausschreitungen in Deutschland und die Rassenunruhen in den USA während der 1920er und 1930er Jahre," University of Vienna, November 2013; "Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Münchner Katholizismus und Protestantismus im 20. Jahrhundert," lecture delivered under the auspices of the Catholic and Protestant chaplains of the Dachau concentration camp memorial site, Munich, November 2013; "Kristallnacht 1938: History and Memory," conference on "Kristallnacht: History, Memorialization, Lessons," Kaliningrad, Russia, November 14-17, 2013; "Der Novemberpogrom als zentrales Ereignis der Holocaust-Ära," Frankfurt Jewish Museum, December 2013; "Antisemitism and Nazi Cultural Policy," Neue Galerie, New York, March 2014; comment on Jürgen Matthäus' paper "Antisemitismus und Holocaust" at the inaugural workshop of the Center for Holocaust Studies of the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich, April 2014.



Richard Sugarman (Religion) is teaching Moral and Religious Perspectives on the Holocaust (REL/Holocaust Studies 180) in the fall 2014. He continues to research and write on the Philosophy of Emanuel Levinas, widely considered the most important post-Holocaust Jewish thinker. This past year he published several articles including a "Rationality of Transcendence: the Importance of the Philosophy of Emanuel Levinas to Contemporary Jewish Thought," "On Holiness" (*Levinas Studies*), and the "Notion of the Face in the Philosophy of Levinas," (*The Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception*).



Steve Zdatny (History) was named Executive Director of the Society for French Historical Studies. Steve also was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship for 2014-2015, and will be a visiting scholar at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, during the spring semester, 2015.

Graduate Student News



Mark Alexander served this academic year as the Miller Center's Graduate Assistant, and he is now beginning his research for his MA thesis. Mark was able to do some preliminary research when he traveled to Germany last summer to participate in a seminar on German archives. This summer he will spend time in Washington DC doing archival research at the National Archives and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The topic

of his research is the collaborationist puppet regime of Belarus created by the SS in the Second World War. Several of these men avoided prosecution for their collaboration with the Third Reich by exploiting the escalating paranoia of the Cold War and escaping to Western Europe, South America, and the United States, where they marketed themselves as anti-Communist Belarusian nationalists with potential fifth column resources behind the Iron Curtain.



Nathan Gondelman received his Bachelor's Degree from UVM in 2009, majoring in History and minoring in Economics. As a full-time staff member at UVM's ACCESS Office, Nate has continued to take seminars in History and Holocaust studies since his graduation, and became matriculated as a part-time History MA candidate in the fall of 2013. Since 2009, Nate has taken seminars on the Holocaust in Poland, American/Allied Grand Strategy in the

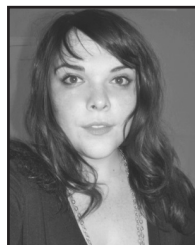
Second World War, Jewish Life in Nazi Germany, German Society and the Holocaust, and Nazi Germany. In the fall of 2014, Nate will be taking Professor Zdatny's seminar on German Occupied France. Past areas of focus and research have included the treatment of Jewish World War I veterans in Nazi Germany, German public opinion and the Holocaust, and Hitler's perception of the United States. Nate's specific areas of interest include complicity by the Wehrmacht and European civilians in the Holocaust, *Einsatzgruppen* activities in the Soviet Union during 1941-42, the role of the Nazi leadership in planning and executing the Final Solution, and the relationship between German military fortunes and the trajectory of the Holocaust.



Meagan Ingalls, an MA student in the Department of History, is currently writing her thesis "The Holocaust in Berezne, Rivnen'ska Oblast: A Case Study" under the direction of Jonathan Huener. This thesis presents a narrative account of the August 1942 massacre in Berezne where 3,680 Jews were shot in one day and buried in five mass graves, examining who the Jews of Berezne were, their experience under Nazi occupation, the motives for

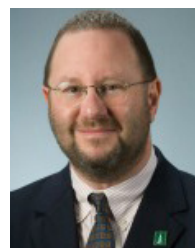
Jewish extermination during the "Second Sweep" and the trajectory of the annihilation program in Rivnen'ska Oblast. In addition, this work examines the perpetrators of the massacre, examining the composition and actions of Einsatzgruppe C and their Ukrainian collaborators. Finally, the thesis addresses the complicated issue of historical memory of the Holocaust in Ukraine. In the spring of 2013, Ingalls received a David Scrase Research Grant and a Thompson History Fellowship upon her acceptance into the international summer language program at Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, Ukraine. This past summer, she studied the Ukrainian language and culture for one month. At the program's end, Ingalls traveled east to Rivne,

Ukraine where she visited the Rivne State Archives. Along with faculty members from Rivne State Humanitarian University, she then traveled to several small towns in the Rivnens'ka region visiting sites of Jewish open-air massacres. During winter break, Ingalls traveled to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. to conduct additional research for her MA thesis. This research trip was funded by the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies. In the fall, she served on the Board of Editors for the *UVM History Review*. This spring, her paper "To be or not to be? Approaches to German-Jewish Suicides During the Third Reich" was selected for publication in the *UVM History Review*.



Kassandra LaPrade Seuthe will serve as a research assistant to Professor Francis Nicosia during the academic year 2014-2015 as he completes work on a volume of documents pertaining to the history of German Zionism for publication in Germany. In June and July, she plans to attend the Summer School of Polish and German offered by the Center for Interdisciplinary Polish Studies (ZIP) at Europa Universität Viadrina in Frankfurt an der Oder, Germany. Visits to regional archives

in Germany and Poland will provide access to critical source material as she works toward her Master's thesis under the direction of Professor Jonathan Huener. Her present research concerns the exploitation of Polish forced laborers in agricultural communities throughout the Greater Reich and addresses the complicity of rural Germans who benefited from the extortion and subjugation of Polish people as an increasingly marginalized "slave-class" of "racial" and social outsiders within Nazi Germany.



G. Scott Waterman is professor of psychiatry emeritus and a graduate student in history at UVM. He graduated from Harvard University in 1978 and the University of Michigan Medical School in 1982. Following post-graduate training in psychiatry, child psychiatry, and clinical research at Harvard Medical School and the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, he embarked on a career in academic medicine, first at the University of Pittsburgh and, over the past 20 years, at the UVM College of

Medicine. His teaching and scholarship have focused most recently on neuroscience education and on philosophical problems in psychiatric diagnosis and discourse. He served for eight years as associate dean for student affairs at the College of Medicine prior to his retirement in 2012 in order to pursue his lifelong interests in history, which include modern European and American extremist political ideologies and movements, the Holocaust, and the Cold War. He has participated in seminars on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust with Professors Steinweis, Nicosia, and Huener, and will be working with Professors Buchanan and Phelps on research for a thesis examining the responses of American Communists to European political developments in the years preceding the Second World War. His article, "Continuities and their complexities: German conquest and genocide in Southwest Africa and Eastern Europe" was published in last year's issue of *The UVM History Review*. His article titled "Isolationists in the 'Great Debate': The foundations of their movement and the failure of their cause" will appear in this year's issue.



A Ph.D Dissertation:

“The Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern: Art and Self-Representations of ‘Jewishness’ under National Socialism, 1934-1938”

by Dana Smith, UVM MA, 2011



I am currently writing my dissertation, “The Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern: Art and Self-Representations of ‘Jewishness’ under National Socialism, 1934-1938,” at Queen Mary College, University of London. My research uses the activity of the Bavarian Kulturbund to examine the role of art in negotiating interpretations of what it meant to be “Jewish” in pre-war 1930s Bavaria. These negotiations occurred on two levels: between the

“Germans” and the “Jews” and within the Jewish community itself. The former is largely focused on the formation and evolution of National Socialist anti-Jewish cultural policy and censorship enforcement (or lack thereof). The latter analyzes the internal debates within the Jewish community that influenced the shape of a local “Jewish” cultural program. I argue that these internal debates on “Jewish” art went beyond shaping a cultural program; the creation of a “Jewish” art within the Kulturbund structure also reflected the community’s general understandings of what it meant to be “Jewish” in pre-war National Socialist Bavaria.

National Socialist attacks on Jewish participation in “German” culture began with the passing of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Services (April 1933) and the creation of the Reich Chamber of Culture (September 1933). The first official Jewish response was the creation of the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden (Berlin) in the autumn of 1933 – an effort led Dr. Kurt Singer, a former neurologist, conductor and musicologist. Over the course of the next year and a half, Berlin’s Kulturbund Deutscher Juden expanded to include branches in 61 German cities.

However, a few Jewish cultural organizations remained outside of Berlin’s control during these early seasons. The largest of these was the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern (founded in February 1934). Bavaria’s Kulturbund included ten member cities: Munich, Nuremberg, Würzburg, Fürth, Augsburg, Bamberg, Aschaffenburg, Regensburg, Bad Kissingen and Memmingen. It was a popular endeavor. In 1937, when membership was at its lowest, 33% of Nuremberg’s Jewish community and 67% of Regensburg’s Jewish community still maintained Kulturbund membership (the national average hovered at approximately 10%). Kulturbund activity in Bavaria was divided into three departments: adult education, visual arts and music.

The Kulturbund in Bavaria maintained its regional autonomy from the Berlin-based Kulturbund until its third season. By the start of the 1935/1936 season it was required, under pressure from the SS and the Reich Ministry for Propaganda and Enlightenment, to join the Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland. Nazi control over Jewish cultural life became much

more restrictive in the aftermath of the Reichsverband. From September 1935 onward the Kulturbund was “encouraged” by Nazi officials to employ a decidedly “pro-emigration” program. On 31 December 1938 all Kulturbund branches outside of Berlin were “liquidated” upon the orders of Joseph Goebbels.

An overarching theme in my research is a comparison of the programs in Berlin and Bavaria. As a whole, the Jewish communities in the south of Germany were more traditional – a situation which certainly influenced the shape of a “Jewish” cultural program. Tensions also existed between Kulturbund leadership in Bavaria and leadership in Berlin. Munich’s leaders were particularly weary of “dictatorial decrees” emanating from the Berlin Kulturbund offices that would change the nature of the Kulturbund program in Bavaria after the creation of the Reichsverband in 1935.

Generally, the Bavarian Kulturbund was more oriented toward programming “Jewish” art at an earlier point than its counterpart in Berlin. In the musical department this meant music created by a composer of Jewish heritage, liturgical music or folk music. Performances of “Jewish” music outpaced music by “German” and foreign-born composers in every season of the Kulturbund in Bavaria’s existence. A similar definition of “Jewish” art was employed in the visual arts department. Munich’s Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists, the main component of the visual arts department and the lone serious Jewish marionette theatre in Nazi Germany, performed a self-defined “Jewish” repertoire that incorporated works written by authors of Jewish heritage and/or plots with biblical themes.

My research also looks at the influence of gender on the Kulturbund program. Unlike the situation in Berlin, where men far outnumbered women, there was an equal number of male and female artists in the Bavarian Kulturbund. Men outnumbered women in only one area of activity: the adult education department. There were 14 Bavarian men active in the educational department, as compared to zero women. Yet in all other departments there were more female artists than male. Additionally, the 1935/1936 season’s membership list from Würzburg suggests that women may have comprised the majority of Bavarian Kulturbund general membership as well. According to the Würzburg list – the only known surviving Kulturbund membership list – women accounted for 61% of the local membership. Given that women and men had different relationships to Judaism and experienced National Socialist persecution differently, it is likely that the prevalence of female members in the Bavarian Kulturbund influenced the ways “Jewish” art was presented in Bavaria.

Dana Smith received her MA in History at the University of Vermont in 2011, and is currently completing her Ph.D at Queen Mary College, the University of London.

The Hadamar “Mixed-Race Ward” (*Mischlingsabteilung*) in Nazi Germany: Persecution, Fate, and Memory of Jewish *Mischlinge* and Their Parents

by Professor Lutz Kaelber, UVM Department of Sociology

In pursuing research on Jewish children who had become victims of Nazi medical crimes in the so-called “ethanasia” program I came across the “Jewish mixed-race ward” (*Jüdische Mischlingsabteilung*) for minors at Hadamar. Having been a mental asylum since the early 1900s, Hadamar became one of the six “T4” gassing centers in 1941. The victims were mostly institutionalized German adults with mental illnesses. The killing of mentally ill, sick, and disabled patients, physically ill forced laborers, and concentration camp inmates continued there after the end of “T4” in August 1941. In 1943 the facility took on a new role by hosting minors considered half Jewish (Jewish *Mischlinge* of the first degree, i.e., with two Jewish grandparents) soon to be murdered. In principle, Nazi policy toward the offspring of couples of which one partner was Jewish was not without ambivalence, for the Nuremberg laws of 1935 did not address this issue directly and left different factions to discuss whether it might be possible that the “Aryan component” in such a child might enable it contribute positively to the “body of the people,” despite its Jewish “racial” component. By 1943, public policies toward *Mischlinge* had become much harsher and tilted toward murder. As part of the change in policy the Reich Ministry of the Interior set up a *Mischlingsabteilung* at Hadamar under the semantic disguise of “Erziehungsheim” (educational facility). The *Mischlingsabteilung* was to house Jewish minors of the first degree who were also wards of the state. Unlike the usual patients at Hadamar, they typically did not have a recognized disability or psychiatric illness prior to their admission. My research interest lies in the fate of the 47 admitted children (this number is reduced to 46 if one wishes to exclude from the victims a child who died in February 1943, likely before the ward had been established), and of their Jewish parents, and what commemoration of the victims, if any, has existed historically or exists now.

It was not difficult to identify the children through searches in existing public databases such as Yad Vashem’s Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names and the Memorial Book of the Federal Archives for the Victims of the Persecution of Jews in Germany (1933-1945), as well as in the Archive of Hadamar (which is a well-visited memorial today) and the Federal Archive at Berlin-Lichterfelde. Only five of the minors survived. Three of them were siblings whose other three siblings had already died at the Hadamar mixed-race ward, and whose uncle had instigated a legal review that, remarkably, resulted in the release of the siblings still alive. Their further history is not known to me at the present time. The other two children were deemed not to have been wards of the state prior to their admission, and released. One of them, Alfred Voelkel, was drafted into the German army toward the end of WWII and ended up moving to the United States, where after pursuing graduate studies he became a director of service institutions for the elderly and was a highly regarded member of his community in Cincinnati until his death in 2002. For almost all of the other children, of whom one held Belgian citizenship, there is no recognition of their life (and death) outside their entries in the databases. For nine of them “stumbling blocks” (*Stolpersteine*) exist, a now common form of commemoration of victims of Nazi crimes in many European countries in the form of a small cobble-stone shaped,

brass-covered cement block installed flush with the pavement at a victim’s last place of residence or other living arrangement. The inscription on the stumbling block reveals a victim’s date of birth and date and place of death, and that he or she was murdered, but little else. For the Hadamar *Mischlinge*, a group of stumbling blocks goes back to 2004, of which the rest were installed in 2012 or later, indicating how recent the phenomenon of publically recognizing this group of victims is. Often the placement of a stumbling block is accompanied by a short story about the victim in a local newspaper. The story typically makes its way onto the Internet, is preserved there (at least for a short while), and can be found rather easily from afar. I found newspaper reports and Internet pages about a few more of the victims, but almost three fourths of the total has remained unmentioned anywhere outside the above-mentioned databases. To date, not a single victim (or survivor) has an extensive commemorative account to his or her name.

Compared to the *Mischlinge*, the fate of their Jewish parents proved much harder to establish, and there were a few surprising findings. Among the 34 parents (some had multiple children perish at Hadamar), there were twelve for whom the children’s records did not reveal the identity of the parent, or whose fate could not be established in the databases accessible to me (either because no entry existed, or because their name was a common one or only partially identified). Twelve parents died during the Nazi period. Locations of their deaths include the expected, i.e., concentration/death camps or locations of deportation: Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Dachau, Majdanek, Mauthausen, and Raasiku (Estonia). Moreover, one of them was likely murdered in 1940 at Grafeneck, Hadamar’s predecessor as a “T4” facility, and two parents were murdered at Bernburg, another “T4” facility, in the so-called “14f13” action, in which sick or unable-to-work concentration camp prisoners were gassed there. One Jewish parent was murdered already in 1933. He was among 11 communists shot by members of the SS, a crime known as the “Rieseberg murders.” Two other parents died for unknown reasons in 1937 and 1940. Most of the rest of the Jewish parents survived, either while staying in Germany or occupied countries (France and the Netherlands), or by emigrating (to Palestine, the United States, the USSR, or Shanghai). After WWII quite a number of them stayed in or returned to Germany and appear to have resided there until their deaths. Among them was the former emigrant to Shanghai, who had returned to Germany in 1950.

With few exceptions, publically accessible information about the Jewish parents consists only of their names but does not pertain to their lives or existence. In one case, that of a former emigrant to the USSR (and from there to Great Britain and Canada) who had returned and made a political career for himself in East Germany, his biography in the *Handbook of German Communists* mentions neither that he was Jewish nor that his son was murdered at Hadamar’s “mixed-race ward.” Overall, there is little if any public recognition of the Jewish parents’ fate and their relation to their children murdered at Hadamar. Apart from a few cases, the finding of an absence of public memory also still applies to the murdered minors.

International Conference on Exile Studies: **“Networks of Exile”**

University of Vermont • September 26-29, 2013

by Professor Helga Schreckenberger, UVM Department of German and Russian



The experience of exile, whether voluntary or not, is often associated with rupture, isolation, and loneliness. There is no doubt that exile constituted a turning point in the professional and personal development of many who left their homelands. They were forced to leave behind social and professional support systems, often with no preparation for life in their new country. Moreover, they were frequently met with structures that seemed impenetrable and even hostile. Yet their ability to establish contacts and/or build collaborations with other exiles, or with artists and intellectuals in their host countries, often proved crucial for survival. We know about the importance of exile publications and organizations that not only provided paid positions for needy exiles, but also served as venues for artists to publish or present their work. In addition, we know of global communication networks that allowed exiles in Australia, Israel, and South America to be informed about events in Vienna or Los Angeles. However, since the destinations for exiles from Nazi Germany were global, it has been difficult to study or even capture the broad range of networks that were established in exile. The aim of this conference was to take stock of the many different, and in many cases previously unknown, networks among exiles; to examine their structures and functions, especially with regard to their significance for social integration; and to explore their impact on the artistic development and professional success of the exiles.

Twenty-one scholars from Germany, Austria, and the United States, among them three University of Vermont faculty members, participated in the conference. Their papers focused on the following questions: Which networks were in existence? How did they relate to each other? Did international and local networks link with each other? What was the relationship among exiles, and between exiles and citizens of their host countries? What were their strategies of networking? Did old networks survive in exile? How were conflicts from pre-exile times negotiated or resolved? How did these conflicts impact exile networks? The papers elicited spirited and thought-provoking discussions among the presenters and the audience.

The conference started with a film screening of *The Ritchie Boys*, a documentary about young German/Austrian Jewish exiles, who were drafted to support the Allied war effort against the Nazis. The film was introduced by Professor Guy Stern, who was himself one of the Ritchie Boys. On Friday, the participants of the conference were treated to a performance of the opera *Down in the Valley*, composed by exiled musician Kurt Weill. The opera was performed by the UVM Catamount Singers, and directed by Professor David Neiweem.

The conference was made possible in large part by a UVM Humanities Center Coor Award for Major Programming, and also thanks to the generous support of the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies, and the Department of German and Russian.

Holocaust Studies Courses Offered at UVM • 2013-2015

Fall Semester 2013

HST/HS-112: History of Zionism to 1948 (Nicosia)
HST/HS-115: History of Poland (Huener)
HST/HS-190: The Holocaust (Huener)
HST/HS-226: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany (Nicosia)

Spring Semester 2014

HST/HS-139: History of Modern Germany (Nicosia)
HST/HS-191: History of World War II (Buchanan)
HST/HS-227: The Holocaust in Poland (Huener)

Fall Semester 2014

HST/HS-190: The Holocaust (Nicosia)
REL/HS-180: Moral and Religious Perspectives
on the Holocaust (Sugarman)
HST/HS-226: France under German Occupation (Zdatny)

Spring Semester 2015

WLIT/HS-017: Holocaust Literature (Schreckenberger)
HST/HS-112: History of Zionism to 1948 (Nicosia)
HST/HS-115: History of Poland (Huener)
HST/HS-119: Modern Jewish History (Steinweis)
HST/HS-139: History of Modern Germany (Schrafstetter)
HST/HS-190: The Holocaust (Huener)
HST/HS-191: History of World War II (Buchanan)
HST/HS-227: Anti-Semitism in Europe From the Enlightenment
to the 'Final Solution' (Nicosia)



International Symposia in Germany and South Africa:

Co-sponsored by the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies

2013-2014

Ethnic Minorities and Holocaust Memory: A Global Perspective

Jena Center for 20th Century History, University of Jena, Germany
July 11-13, 2013

Program:

Opening Lecture

Jacob S. Eder (Friedrich Schiller University Jena):
“Ethnic Minorities and Holocaust Memory: Perspectives, Dimensions, Questions”

Panel 1: Germany and Austria

Chair: Kristina Meyer (Friedrich Schiller University Jena)

Angela Kühner (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main):
“Immigrants and Immigration in German Holocaust Educational Discourse”

Yasemin Yildiz (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign): “Turkish Germans and Holocaust”

Birgit Schwelling (University of Konstanz): “German ‘Kriegsheimkehrer’ and Holocaust Memory”

Oliver Rathkolb (University of Vienna): “Holocaust Perceptions of Young Immigrants in Austria”

Comment: Philipp Gassert (Augsburg University)

Panel 2: Western Europe

Chair: Annette Weinke (Friedrich Schiller University Jena)

Arnd Bauerkämper (Freie Universität Berlin): “Holocaust Memory and the Experiences of Migrants in Europe after 1945”

Annemarike Stremmelaar (NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam):
“Turkish-Dutch Memories of the Holocaust”

Tony Kushner (University of Southampton): “Situating Racism between the Post-Colonial and the Holocaust in Britain”

Comment: Alan E. Steinweis (University of Vermont, Burlington)

Panel 3: The Americas and South Africa

Chair: Susanna Schrafstetter (University of Vermont, Burlington)

Clarence Taylor (Baruch College, New York): “African American Memories of the Holocaust”

Donald Fixico (Arizona State University, Phoenix): “American Indians’ View the Jewish Holocaust”

Shirli Gilbert (University of Southampton): “Holocaust Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa”

Daniel Stahl (Friedrich Schiller University Jena): “Jewish Discourses about the Crimes of the Argentinian Junta”

Comment: Atina Grossmann (The Cooper Union, New York)

Final Comments and Conference Closure

Anke John (Friedrich Schiller University Jena)

Michael Rothberg (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

International Symposia in Germany and South Africa, cont.

German Society under National Socialism: Viewpoints and Perspectives

**Center for Research in Contemporary History (ZZF), Potsdam, Germany
September 30 – October 2, 2013**

Program:

Montag, 30.9.2013

Begrüßung**Panel 1 – Interpretationslinien**

Moderation: Geoffrey Giles (Gainesville)

Winfried Süß (ZZF): "Im Land des Behemoth – Kritische Theorie und Nationalsozialismus"

Patrick Bernhard (Dublin): "NS-Geschichte als europäische Verflechtungsgeschichte"

Kommentar: Sven Reichardt (Konstanz)

Dietmar Süß (Augsburg): "1933 und 1939 als Fluchtpunkte der Interpretation"

Jane Caplan (Oxford): "NS-Geschichte als Sozialgeschichte"

Kommentar: Ulrich Herbert (Freiburg)

Dienstag, 1.10.2013

Panel 2 – Soziale Ordnungen

Moderation: Martina Steber (München)

Alan Steinweis (Vermont): "Racism as a Social Paradigm in Nazi Germany"

Frank Bajohr (München): "Zustimmungsdiktatur"

Kommentar: Bernhard Gotto (München)

Malte Thießen (Oldenburg): "Kriegsgesellschaft"

Elizabeth Harvey (Nottingham): "Geschlechterordnung und ‚Volksgemeinschaft‘"

Kommentar: Richard Bessel (York)

Panel 3 – Verfolgung

Moderation: Andrea Löw (München)

Nicolaus Wachsmann (London): "Nazi History as a History of Terror"

Tatjana Tönsmeier (Essen/Wuppertal): "Die andere Seite. Eine Alltags- und Erfahrungsgeschichte der deutschen Besatzung"

Kommentar: Dieter Pohl (Klagenfurt)

Christiane Kuller (Erfurt): "Verfolgung als gesellschaftlicher Prozess"

Sybille Steinbacher (Wien): "Holocaustforschung und NS-Geschichte"

Kommentar: Wolf Gruner (Los Angeles)

Mittwoch, 2.10.2013

Panel 4 – Mobilisierung

Moderation: Susanna Schrafstetter (Vermont)

Thomas Schaarschmidt (ZZF): "Die mobilisierte Gesellschaft"

Rüdiger Hachtmann (ZZF): "Kriegsfordismus – das 'Dritte Reich' als Arbeitsgesellschaft"

Kommentar: Alfred Mierzejewski (Denton/TX)

Schlusskommentare

von Norbert Frei (Jena) und Geoffrey Giles (Gainesville)

Abschlussdiskussion

International Symposia in Germany and South Africa, cont.

Silence after Violence

University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

May 21-23, 2014

Program:

Silence, Discourse and the Everyday

Karie L. Morgan, (University of Johannesburg),

“German Blood and Light Skin: Everyday Remembering of Colonial Violence among Ovaherero in Namibia”

Rory Pilosof, (UFS), “Death, Denial and Dissidents: Examining white farmers’ discursive responses to mass violence in Zimbabwe, 1970-1980”

Silence and the Making of National Communities I

Meaghan Emery, (University of Vermont), “Having the last word: Marc Ferro and the historical record of Philippe Petain”

Reinhart Kössler, (Arnold Bergstraesser Institut, Freiburg), “Between Amnesia and Remembrance:

On dealing with dire pasts in post-colonial Namibia”

Silence and the Making of National Communities II

Laura De Becker, (University of the Witwatersrand), “Forgetting and remembering in post-genocide Rwanda”

Dorothea Schulz, (University of Cologne), “Deafening Silence: The Politics of Mourning and Remembrance in Uganda”

Between Silence and Telling: Apartheid’s Wars

Heike Becker, (University of the Western Cape), “Silence, victimhood, and (photo-) voice in Northern Namibia”

Gary Baines, (RU), “Trained for Violence and Sworn to Silence: SADF Veterans and the Aftermath of the ‘Apartheid Wars’”

Theresa Edelmann, (RU), “Understanding the Personal and Social Constructions of Silences in Narrating the Legacies of the Apartheid Wars”

Silence as a Strategy of Moving On

Aida Kanafani-Zahar, (Laboratoire d’anthropologie sociale CNRS - Collège de France),

“The question of silence and the different forms it takes, in the context of the memory of the

Lebanese war (1975-1990) among families of victims of massacres”

Max Bergholz, (Concordia University), “Silence in the Shadow of Intercommunal Killing: Northwest Bosnia After World War II”

Steve Akoth, Pamoja Trust, (University of the Western Cape),

“‘We have moved on’: Human Rights and countersubjectivity in Post 2007/8 Violence in Kenya”

Challenging the Victim / Perpetrator Dichotomy

Gertrude Kiberinka Fester, (SA), “Silences, Secrets and the Unsaid: A Question of Power”

Doga Ulas Erlap, (American University Washington), “Reconciliation without an Apology: the Case of Armenian Genocide”

Betrayal and Silence

Nicky Rousseau, (UWC), “Histories of Betrayal and the Limits of Reconciliation”

Dennis Klein, (Kean University), “Accounting for Testimony: Witnesses’ Counter-Narratives of Betrayal and Forgiveness”

Gender-based Violence and Silence

Elham Atacshi, (Georgetown University), “Gender and Silenced Narratives”

James Burnham Sedgwick, (Acadia University), “Crying Shame: War Crimes, Sexual Violence, and the Cost of Speaking Out”

Silence and the Critique of Transitional Justice

Monica Patterson, (Concordia University), “The Silence of Telling: The Emergence and Power of ‘Good Stories’ in and around the TRC”

Karine Vanthuyne, (University of Ottawa), “Listening to the unspeakable: The Legacy of Indian Residential Schools’ Silences for Research”

Silence and the Critique of “Trauma”

Friederike Mieth, (Philipps University Marburg), “What is the Use of talking? Reflections on Resilience in Postwar Societies, Sierra Leone”

John Ambrosio, (Ball State University), “Judges of Normality: The Obligation to Confess as a Technology of Power”

Jacqueline Ambrosio, “Problematizing the customary confessional mode, I ask: what is the role of silence, secrets and the unsaid in these processes of victims of starvation making meaning of what happened and creating a new future?”

Violence, Silence and the Visual Culture

Christian Gerlach, (University of Bern), “Silences and the tragic narrative in Soviet movies about World War II”

Ronen Steinberg, (Michigan State University), “Sound and Vision: Phantasmagoric Responses to the Reign of Terror”

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR 2013–2014**Tuesday, October 8, 2013****Lecture*****Zionist Responses to Nazism in the Jewish Community in Palestine*****Mark Gelber, Ben Gurion University, Beer Sheva, Israel**

This lecture analyzed the reactions to the rise of Nazism in Germany on the part of the Jewish-Zionist community living in Palestine. This community was comprised of politically and socially diverse factions, and by no means were the various responses uniform. The issue of possible discrepancies between the German Zionist organization and the Zionist leadership in Palestine was also raised in this context. By focusing on the issues of racialist theory and racism, *völkisch* ideology and community, and anti-Semitism, the lecture considered the complicated questions of “Zionist” compatibility and cooperation with Nazism, but also resistance to it, while demonstrating the range and diversity of Zionist attitudes overall in this context.

Monday, October 28, 2013**THE RAUL HILBERG MEMORIAL LECTURE*****Franklin D. Roosevelt and the First News of the Holocaust*****Richard Breitman, American University**

Why didn't Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a brilliant speaker, denounce the Holocaust when he first learned about it? This question implies a harsh answer—FDR didn't care, and some have claimed it was because he was an anti-Semite. Apart from its bias, the question is technically impossible to answer since one can never establish completely why someone didn't do something. But Professor Breitman addressed a more neutral formulation: how did FDR react to early news about what we call Holocaust, a term that was not in common use in his day. He put relevant events in chronological order in order to see things as FDR experienced them, giving a better sense of connections and interactions.

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

Friday, November 1, 2013**Lecture*****A Crime with No Name, an Apology with No Agency: Armenian Genocide as Reconstructed by Turkish Intellectuals*****Ayda Erbal, New York University**

Ayda Erbal teaches Middle Eastern Politics, and Democratic Theory, as adjunct professor of politics at New York University, Department of Politics. She works on democratic theory, the politics of “post-nationalist” historiographies in transitional settings, the political-economy of mass violence and state formation, and the politics of apology. An award winning filmmaker on the side, Erbal is in the process of writing her second narrative short-film “Meligone.” She is also a published short-story writer and one of the founding editors of Azad Alik a multilingual politics blog primarily dealing with minority issues in Turkey. She also occasionally contributes to newspapers and magazines in Turkey, France and the United States.

Sponsored by the Middle East Studies Program, with support from the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at UVM, and the Department of History

Tuesday, November 5, 2013**Lecture*****Richard Wagner in the Third Reich*****Pamela Potter, University of Wisconsin-Madison**

Looking first at Richard Wagner's own complex attitude toward Jews, Judaism, and race during his lifetime, this lecture examined how Wagner took on a largely symbolic meaning in Nazi Germany, even when performances of his works may have actually declined. It also demonstrated how various theories about Wagner's racism and antisemitism proliferated after World War II, theories that overstated the importance of his works in Hitler's Germany, and thus raised new ethical questions about their performance today.

Underwritten by the Kinsler Endowment for Holocaust Studies

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR 2013–2014**Monday, March 31, 2014****Lecture*****Recent Trends in Holocaust Research in Italy*****Franklin H. Adler, Macalester College**

What had happened to Italian Jews during the final phase of Fascism and during the German occupation of Northern Italy was not a subject faced by Italians once the Second World War ended. Jews were melded into a larger group of “victims of fascism,” as if they had been targeted for discrimination and persecution primarily because they were “anti-fascists” rather than “Jews.” So far as the Shoah was concerned, an auto-exculpatory myth of the “good Italian” was created, counter-posed to the pervasive image of the “bad German,” Italians, that is, who did whatever they could to protect and save their Jewish compatriots from roundups and deportation by the Germans to Auschwitz and other camps. The anti-Semitic policies of the Fascist regime, from 1938 to 1943, and later collaboration with the German occupying authorities, were rarely treated, even during the 1970s when a new, critical literature on Fascism emerged. It was only during the late 1980s, in the wake of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1938 racial laws, that a new wave of research began to focus seriously on the racial policy of the Fascist regime and on the active collaboration of Italians in the arrest of Jews, the appropriation of their property, and their deportation to death camps.

Underwritten by the Ader/Konigsberg Endowment for Holocaust Studies**Thursday, April 3, 2014****The 25th Annual Harry H. Kahn Lecture*****Two Vultures: Freud between ‘Jewish Science’ and Humanism*****Scott Spector, University of Michigan**

Scott Spector, Professor of German, History and Judaic Studies, focuses his research on the cultural history of modern Central Europe. His varied interests both in teaching and scholarship revolve around problems of the relations between ideology and culture, approached from an interdisciplinary perspective. In particular his interests have included: German-speaking Jewish writers and thinkers, sexuality and culture, nationalism, the politics of historiography, and the dialogue between film and historical representation. His two current book projects include a study of the creation of marginal figures (homosexuals, eroticized women, Jewish ritual murderers) in the scientific and sensational culture of fin-de-siècle Vienna and Berlin, and a collection of essays on German-Jewish subjectivity and its histories.

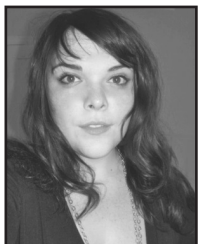
Sponsored by the Department of German and Russian**Monday, April 7, 2014****Lecture*****On the Peripheries of the Holocaust: Killings and Pillage of Jews by their Neighbors in Occupied Poland*****Jan T. Gross, Princeton University**

In this lecture, drawing upon research from his latest book, Professor Gross examined whether pillage, occasional murder, or denunciation of Jews hiding in the Polish countryside during the Holocaust were accepted social practices, or were acts carried out by criminal elements in the Polish population that met with social censure.

Underwritten by the Ader/Konigsberg Endowment for Holocaust Studies**Monday, April 28, 2014****Yom Ha'Shoah Lecture*****Religion, Race and Emotion: The Aryan Jesus in Nazi Germany*****Susannah Heschel, Dartmouth College**

For those Christians who embraced National Socialism, the figure of Jesus posed a particularly difficult problem: How could a Nazi worship a Jewish god? For some, the conflict led to a rejection of Christianity and a revival of medieval Teutonic myths and symbols. For others, the answer lay in a redefinition of Jesus as an Aryan whose goal was the destruction of Judaism. During the Third Reich, a group of German Protestant theologians, motivated by racism and tapping into traditional Christian anti-Semitism, redefined Jesus as an Aryan whose goal was the destruction of Judaism, and Nazism as fulfilling his mission. In 1939, these theologians established the “Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Religious Life,” financed by the Protestant church, that produced a deJudaized, nazified Christian Bible, hymnal, and theology.

Underwritten by the Henry and Lili Altschuler Endowment for Holocaust Studies

Report:**“On the Peripheries of the Holocaust: Killings and Pillage of Jews by their Neighbors in Occupied Poland”***Lecture by Jan T. Gross, Princeton University*by **Kassandra LaPrade Seuthe, UVM Graduate Student, Department of History**

On April 7, 2014, The University of Vermont's Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies welcomed Professor Jan Gross of Princeton University for presentation of his lecture "On the Peripheries of the Holocaust: Killings and Pillage of Jews by their Neighbors in Occupied Poland." The event was well attended, attracting interest from a broad audience of faculty, students, and community members. Drawing on two of his most recent books, *Golden Harvest* (2012) and *Neighbors* (2001), Gross's lecture presented a synthesis of these works and addressed the methodological approaches he employs in his scholarship. For audience members unfamiliar with Gross's work, the lecture provided insight into the choices of ordinary individuals—both in German-occupied Poland and throughout the European continent—who not only became complicit in Nazi crimes, but who also acted upon their own agency to victimize Jews in their communities, often for personal gain.

Following a brief introduction, Gross made a powerful case for the importance of survivor testimony and memoir as essential source material that allows historians to elaborate on existing or absent empirical documentary evidence. In establishing this foundation, Gross directed the audience's focus from sources that preference records generated by perpetrators, to those that employ the recollections of witnesses. Gross also addressed the "incredulity" and "skepticism" of those who previously dismissed Jewish eyewitness accounts, and argued strongly both for the legitimacy and for accuracy of Jewish sources. In Gross's scholarship, survivor testimony has been critical in illuminating the character of localized events along the "peripheries of the Holocaust."

Neighbors, in which Gross investigates the Jedwabne Massacre of July 1941, pairs post-war testimonies with archival and trial records to expose the character of crimes committed by Polish citizens against the local Jewish community. This significant book has advanced historiography of Jewish-Polish relations during the Holocaust, and has confronted dominant historical narratives that emphasized the shared suffering of Jews and Poles under harsh German occupation. Although the ensuing debate on Polish complicity continues, *Neighbors* remains the decisive challenge to what one historian has referred to as "the myth of Polish innocence."

In his lecture, Gross confirms that net of culpability, for the victimization of Polish Jews extends far beyond those "criminal elements" who have traditionally been identified as the collaborators with German authorities. Rather than deviant behaviors ascribed to a

marginal few, denunciation, plunder, and violence were engaged in by a broad spectrum of society. Among the active and passive participants Gross identified were many otherwise "normal" individuals who made discrete choices to become involved in Nazi crimes. While the passive majority was not directly engaged in the killing and plunder of Jews, through "silent permission," they sanctioned the actions of active perpetrators, and betrayed a moral responsibility to victims to whom they denied help, or from whom they sought to enrich themselves.

Frequently, as Gross demonstrated in his lecture, it is the pecuniary motives of agents that reveal how individuals assessed the value of Jewish life, particularly in terms of the potential for personal gain. The Nazi plunder of Jewish property during the Holocaust was an institutional process that was regularized in both occupied and allied territories. This process also implicated many ordinary citizens throughout Europe who became the beneficiaries of ill-gotten gains. Gross attributed the readiness of diverse populations to benefit from the dispossession of Jews as a "shift in shared norms" that encouraged the involvement of individuals who sought gain at the expense of Jewish neighbors. Bound to this opportunism were strains of traditional antisemitism and the shared belief that the fate of Jewish life and the fate of Jewish property were invariably linked.

Throughout the lecture, Gross's presentation built momentum toward revealing the harrowing photograph projected on both sides of Waterman Memorial Lounge. Although the image was ambiguous from afar, with Gross's context the scene depicted became clear. The photograph captures a posed group, armed with shovels and assembled behind a neat arrangement of human remains. The site is the former extermination camp Treblinka. This visual commemoration taken by those who worked the soil at mass graves to unearth and "harvest" objects of value in the post-war period, reveals that beneficiaries sought material gain from Jewish victims even after the Holocaust.

Many ordinary individuals implicated themselves in Nazi crimes through the persecution, dispossession, and killing of Jews across the European continent. While focus has frequently been directed to the prominent functionaries and perpetrators of the Nazi genocide of European Jewry, the opportunistic involvement of agents at the margins of the Holocaust has often been overlooked. Yet it is precisely at these peripheries where scholars such as Jan Gross have expanded our understanding of individual complicity in the Holocaust by exposing the choices of ordinary individuals who betrayed their moral responsibility to fellow human beings, often out of a desire for self-enrichment.



PREVIEW OF EVENTS FOR 2014–2015

September 15, 2014, 7:00 PM, Waterman Memorial Lounge (Room 338)



Lecture

The German Resistance to Hitler and the Persecution of the Jews

Peter Hoffmann, McGill University

October 27, 2014, 7:00 PM, Waterman Memorial Lounge (Room 338)



The Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture

The Nazis, their Wars, and the fate of the Jews, 1938-1945

David Cesarani, Royal Holloway College, University of London

November 3, 2014, 7:00 PM, Waterman Memorial Lounge (Room 338)



Lecture

Hitler's Furies: German Women in the Nazi Killing Fields

Wendy Lower, Claremont McKenna College

March 2015

Lecture

Jan Grabowski, University of Ottawa

Date, Time, Lecture Title, and Venue TBA

April 2015

Annual Yom Ha'Shoah

Lecture at UVM

**Date, Time, Speaker, Lecture Title,
and Venue TBA**

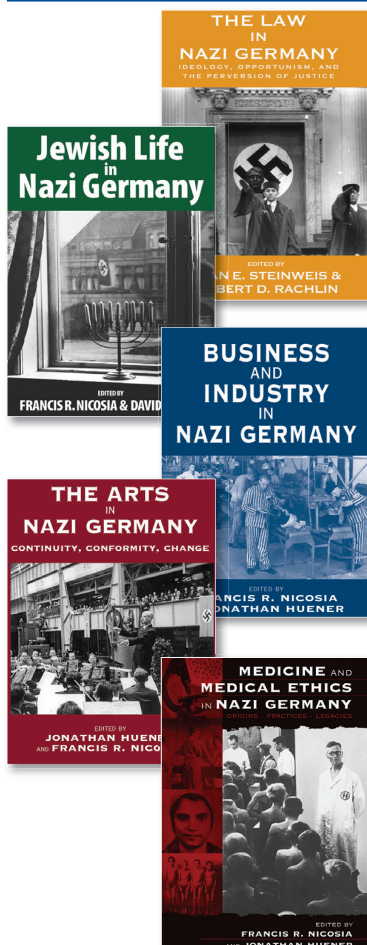
PREVIEW OF THE SEVENTH MILLER SYMPOSIUM

April 18-19, 2015, at UVM
Responses in the Middle East to
National Socialism and the Holocaust,
1933-1945

- Contemporary Reactions in the Middle East to Nazism and the Holocaust: Scholarship and the ‘War of Narratives’
Gilbert Achcar,
School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
- Get out of Mosul, Hajj Amin: Iraqi Elites, Iraqi Jews, and Nazism
Orit Bashkin
University of Chicago
- Demon and Heretic: Intellectual Representations of Hitler and Nazism in the Egyptian Public Sphere, 1938-1945
Israel Gershoni,
Tel Aviv University
- Rescue or Rejection: Facts and Myths about Turkey and the Holocaust
Corry Guttstadt,
Independent Scholar, Hamburg
- Defining the Nation and its Other: Discussing Nazi Ideology in Syria and Lebanon during the 1930s
Götz Nordbruch,
Georg Eckert Institut-Leibnitz Institut, Braunschweig
- The Persecution of the Jews in Germany and Europe in Egyptian and Palestinian Public Discourses: A Comparative Perspective
Esther Webman,
Tel Aviv University

For venues, times, and further details, please visit our website: <http://www.uvm.edu/~uvmchs/>

Volumes from the Miller Symposia



THE LAW IN NAZI GERMANY
Ideology, Opportunism, and the Perversion of Justice
Alan E. Steinweis and Robert D. Rachlin [Eds.]
288 pages • 978-1-85745-780-6 Hardback

"These essays offer a significant contribution to our understanding of the role of one of the most important professions in underpinning the National Socialist regime and enabling its leaders to proceed with its murderous agenda." **Geoffrey J. Giles**, University of Florida

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about the authors

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

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

sub chs Mary Smith

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

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

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