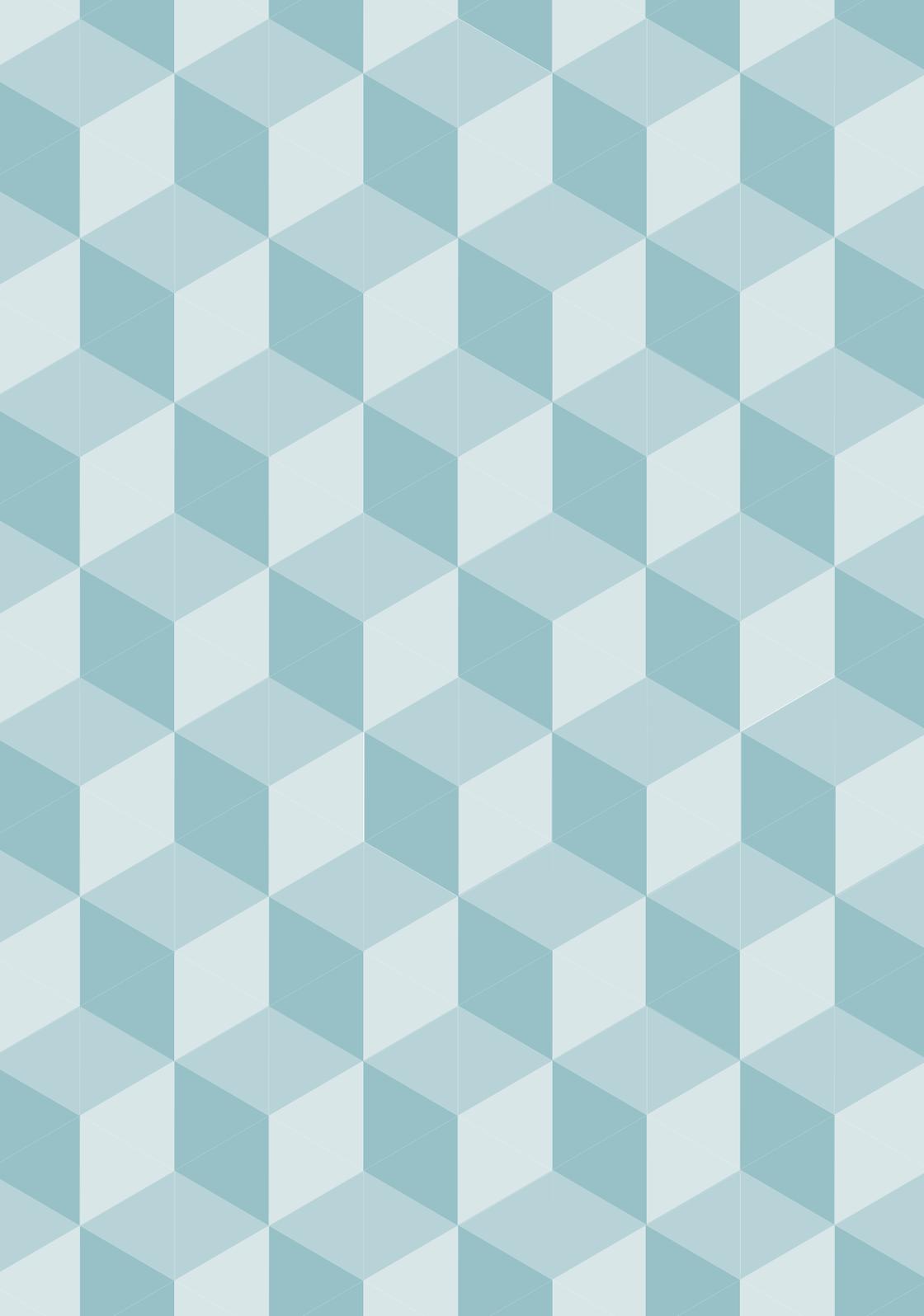




**BAHS Conference 2016:
The Presence of the Holocaust
in society, politics and culture,
c.1970 to 2015**

Abstract Book

UCL Institute of Education,
19th – 21st July 2016



The UCL Centre for Holocaust Education
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Dr Arthur Chapman

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BAHS Conference 2016, University College London -
Tuesday 19th to Thursday 21st July 2016

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Holocaust education and remembrance on the socio-cultural and political space of Ghana: An enduring example and a test case for other countries

Dr. Samuel Adu-Gyamfi, Mr. Philip Nana Amponsah and Mr. Stephen Hicks Acheampong; Head of Programs, Research and Educational Facilitator, Cooperation Facilitator and Country Lead Respectively – Association of Global Citizens-Ghana

Paper presentation

The Holocaust represents the destruction of human lives, indignity and shame. The semblances of Holocaust persist across the continents of the world and Africa in particular. In Africa, it is represented by the “comodification” of the human being as epitomized in the Trans Atlantic slave trade whose vestiges across the continents, Africa and Ghana in particular, did not serve any useful purpose to deter people like the then Hitler and his present co-host to say never-again. Holocausts also exist in the form of coups and counter coups as well as military dictatorship which cannot be decoupled from the history of the African continent and Ghana in particular. It also exists in the form of violence against women and children as well as apparent disregard for the rights of the woman in the name of culture. This is found in the Trokosi system in Ghana, female circumcision or genital mutilation, child labour among others. Essentially, there is a gap between the ideational knowledge concerning indignities and the parallels drawn from the global stage.

Although there is an attestation that Holocaust education, remembrance (memory) and research has grown exponentially permeating Europe and the globe, the case of Africa and Ghana in particular has not been fully studied. The educational and research gap has the tendency or the proclivity of denying Ghanaian citizens in particular from making great gains from the memory and lessons of Holocaust and those customs, practices and archaic vestiges of indignity that should cause humanity to steer the right cause. Based on the knowledge of what education of the citizenry is, especially glimpses from Nyarere as well as Adu-Gyamfi and Yartey (2015); this paper investigates and tells the story of how a group of young academics, social entrepreneurs, civil society players and civil actors among others have discussed and educated/informed Ghanaians; young and old about Holocaust education (memory), semblances in the Ghanaian customs, socio-cultural and political landscape and its ramifications for the African continent and the globe.

Teaching through the lens of documents from the International Tracing Service Digital Archive: A workshop on primary source supplements for use in Holocaust Studies

Dr Elizabeth Anthony, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, United States of America and Dr Christine Schmidt, The Wiener Library, United Kingdom

Workshop presentation

The International Tracing Service archive, one of the largest collections of Holocaust-era documentation, was opened for research only in 2007. The collection was established in the aftermath of World War II, as tens of thousands tried to pick up the fragments of their lives and attempted to reunite with family with the help of the ITS and its predecessor institutions. With material on the fate of 17 million people, the archive contains some 30 million documents on persecution, incarceration, forced labour, liberation, post-war migration and Allied assistance. Although digital copies have been placed in a handful of repositories around the world, and recent historiography has seen an upswing in studies based on material derived from the ITS collection, there is still considerable work to be done with regard to integrating the collection into historical consciousness and education about the Holocaust and World War II more generally.

Efforts led by copy-holding institutions seek to redress this imbalance and to increase access to this notoriously complex and vast digital collection. To that end, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, The Wiener Library, and the International Tracing Service are

creating eight university-level educational supplements based on primary sources uniquely found in the ITS archive. These sources are designed to support instructors offering undergraduate courses in Holocaust studies in the US and UK and aim to offer students an opportunity to examine primary sources for study and scholarly work. Supplement themes, selected after analysis of existing course offerings in the UK and US, include four with foci on specific victim groups – Jews, women, Roma and Sinti and foreign forced laborers – as well as four others on the experiences of DPs in the postwar period, rescue and resistance, the roles of perpetrators, and the concentration camp network.

This workshop, will provide a brief overview of the history of the ITS and its significance as a digital resource for research and education, and will focus primarily on an interactive presentation of two supplements in the series: one on women's experiences under Nazi persecution and the other, the concentration camp system. The session will close with a discussion of the transnational impact of the opening of the ITS on research, education and commemoration.

Talking Officially: The impact of social, cultural and political forces upon genocide testimony

Dr. Linda Asquith, Leeds Beckett University, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

“I started talking, well I started talking as soon as I was free, in France. And then I found that people didn’t want to know, and didn’t believe me anyway. Then I stopped talking...I suppose I never really stopped talking, but I stopped talking officially.”

(Tabitha, Holocaust survivor from Hungary)

In saying this, Tabitha shines a light on how talking about violence is not as simple as it sounds, with societal, familial and political pressures all affecting who speaks, what is spoken and how it is heard. Drawing on published testimonies and interview data, this paper explores the nature of talking about the Holocaust, and the reasons why and when people begin to talk and how that talk is received by the wider society. It does this through utilising Pierre Bourdieu’s ideas about language and power, giving prominence to where dominant agents have silenced the survivor’s narrative and how some Holocaust narratives have become the dominant narrative.

Whilst predominantly focusing on Holocaust survivors this research does take a comparative approach in considering the construction of dominant narratives and the impact of the Holocaust as an archetypal genocide upon later genocide survivors’ talk.

The first section of this paper covers how talk is received by the wider society and draws on the differences between the survivors of the Holocaust and survivors from Bosnia and Rwanda. The paper then moves on to consider what barriers there are to talking about genocide and what facilitates talk about genocide. Finally this paper examines why certain narratives of genocide become dominant and how narratives can change from being unheard to being the authoritative voice in recollections of genocidal violence.

Keynote lecture: Historicizing Holocaust Memory

Professor Aleida Assmann, Universität Konstanz, Germany

Keynote lecture



When the status of Holocaust memory was first discussed in Germany in an academic controversy in the 1980s, it

was agreed that this event differed from other historical events in that it must not be historicized. 30 years later we have to accept that even though the event must not be historicized, its memory has a life in time and history.

The lecture will discuss changing frames of transmission and in doing so address some of the challenges that Holocaust memory is facing today: generational changes, media changes, cultural changes and political changes.

Beyond Good and Evil: A Lacanian Analysis of Austrian Holocaust Discourses

Dr Gerhard Baumgartner, Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance, Austria

Paper presentation

The paper will try to map the attitudes of Austrians who grew up after 1945, concerning World War II, the Holocaust and the – real or imagined - involvement of their family members in these events.

Faced with a wall of silence when it comes to the direct involvement of family members, most young Austrians growing up in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s had to make sense of completely contradictory information about the period under National Socialism.

By applying a basically Lacanian model of rationalisation, the paper will argue, that the mainstream discourse about World War II and the Holocaust in Austrian society exhibited a neurotic communicative structure, based on a de-realisation of facts, i.e. that the Holocaust had been perpetrated by some monsters in far away places and had nothing to do with Austrians and their personal family history.

This majority discourse was flanked by two marginal discourses, which both exhibited a hysterical structure –

in the Lacanian sense of the word - i.e. that they were staged for an imagined observer. On the one hand, this resulted in a right wing discourse, put forward by Holocaust deniers, trying to exculpate their fathers and grandfathers whom they felt looking across their shoulders. On the other side of the political spectrum this produced a philo-semitic discourse, the representatives of which were simply replacing the imagined observer looking over their shoulder, i.e. the position of the imagined observer – which in the right wing discourse was occupied by family members - was in the philo-semitic context given to the Jews, since they constituted the main group of Holocaust victims.

Since the Waldheim affair of the 1980s these discourses have become increasingly untenable. The paper will on the one hand try to present some of the warped identity constructions of the 1970s and 1980s which resulted from this constellation, and on the other hand illustrate how these processes became instrumentalised in the course of current immigration politics.

Displaced Memory: The Screened Past of *Fugitive Pieces*

Gerd Bayer, University of Erlangen, Germany

Paper presentation

This presentation discusses Anne Michaels's *Fugitive Pieces* (1996) and its cinematic adaptation (2007), arguing that both fiction and film speak to recent changes in how Holocaust memories are being represented. By dealing extensively with questions of mediation, the two texts engage in a dialogue with the past that actively reflects on both the possibility and the need to remember what exists as a distant and screened memory.

The essay thus links questions of Holocaust representations to larger developments in postmodern media forms, contributing to the debate that sees a direct link between postmodern aesthetic strategies and the traumatic historical events of the twentieth-century's horrific wars and genocidal atrocities.

Cultural Memory of the Holocaust on the Small Screen. Apologia and Redemption in German Contemporary Film

Volker Benkert, Arizona State University, United States of America

Paper presentation

The 2013 German mini-series “Generation War” describes the sufferings of the war generation with empathy without casting doubt on their complicity in war and genocide. Such a narrative overcomes the divide between the public discourse on coming to terms with the past since the late 60ies and the traditional self-perception of Germans as victims. While this speaks to the explosion of contemporary cultural memories that accept the complicity of ordinary Germans, this is where the film reaches its narrative limits. Ultimately, it offers an apologetic redemption narrative that explains complicity only with reference to the seductive power of the regime and the brutality of war. The movie thus cites orders or military necessity, the horrors of war, naiveté or personal ambition as reasons for its heroes’ actions. If apologetic themes dominate the portrayal of the protagonists, stereotypical SS villains serve as negative foils to showcase the heroes’ humanity even in the face of atrocity. Yet, the series also acquits its protagonists from sexual and autotelic violence, which would

render them unacceptable to today’s viewers. Furthermore, it also shows that they redeem themselves through their suffering, their belated self-liberation from the regime and their repentance, thus mirroring contemporary Germany’s efforts to work through the past. As such the film seeks to fulfil, not go against the expectations of contemporary audiences willing to accept the participation, though not the agency of ordinary Germans in Nazi crimes. Yet, ordinary Germans of the war generation clearly made few attempts to liberate themselves from the regime and failed to offer meaningful ways to confront the past before the late 60ies. The movie thus epitomizes the current state of coming to terms with the past in Germany, which despite its great strides to create public awareness and acceptance of German guilt has moved little beyond apologia and redemption.

Changing presence of the Holocaust under different regimes and periods in Latvia

Dr Didzis Bērziņš, University of Latvia, Latvia

Paper presentation

The paper explains the shaping / creation processes of social memory in Latvia after the collapse of the Soviet regime. The comparison between two regimes' implemented memory politics is analysed in detail. Consequently, an in-depth understanding on social memory of the Holocaust in Latvia is established and the main social, political and historical factors are revealed.

The social memory of the Holocaust in the Latvian SSR was a result of an interaction between official and unofficial discourses that had lasted for years. The official attitude towards the Jewish tragedy in the Second World War during the almost half-century long existence of the Latvian SSR varied – starting from a clear prohibition period until an era of vast communication in different cultural media. As a result three periods can be identified during which the Holocaust became a significant part of public communication and was represented in the historical literature, press and popular culture products – a period at the end of the Second World War and after the end (1945-1948), period from the end of the 1950s until the Six-Day War of Israel (1958-1967) and

the period from the end of 1970s until the fall of the USSR, which includes also the Awakening processes (1977-1991).

Processes of social memory of the Holocaust after restoration of independence of Latvia can be divided in three periods: 1) formal condemnation of the Holocaust on the state level that is overshadowed by the memory that policy developers' emphasis put on the soviet crimes and the anti-Semitic statements in discussions about perpetuation and promotion of the Holocaust memory; 2) institutionalisation of the Holocaust that was performed through Latvia undertaking to comply with the requirements to enter the EU and NATO, which was implemented as inclusion of the Holocaust in school programs, organisation of educational seminars and establishment of research infrastructure; 3) social and political implementation of the Holocaust memory, discussions about the necessity to be aware and understand the tragedy, which mainly took place among intellectuals.

The Holocaust and the 'Information War': Holocaust Impiety in the Work of Throbbing Gristle

Benjamin Bland, Royal Holloway, University of London, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

With Boswell (2012) having elucidated the concept of Holocaust impiety, there is increased room for scholars to explore challenging and controversial representations of the Holocaust in post-war popular culture. British industrial music group Throbbing Gristle (active from 1975 to 1981) receive only brief mention in Boswell's text, but provide the focus of this paper. Although best known for their music, Throbbing Gristle's output also included a wide array of textual and visual material. Largely because of this – especially their self-confessed focus on producing “propaganda” – the group often operated more like a political cult than a band. Reed (2013: 75) describes them as utilising a “heartstopping pseudo-fascist visual vocabulary”. Heavily influenced by American postmodernist author William S. Burroughs, and his concept of the ‘information war’, Throbbing Gristle aimed to disrupt what they perceived as the control and corruption of information through its dissemination and presentation by governmental and media institutions. In pursuit of this goal they developed their most commonly used tactic: the re-appropriation and de-contextualisation of imagery.

This approach is perhaps best demonstrated by the logo for Throbbing Gristle's own independent label, Industrial Records. What journalists and fans initially assumed to be a picture of a factory somewhere in London was actually a grainy black and white photograph of one of the cremation ovens at Auschwitz. Using this and other examples from Throbbing Gristle's career, this paper will explore the idea of Holocaust representations that deliberately obscure and/or re-interpret Holocaust imagery. Interacting with long-term historiographical debates on cultural depictions of the Holocaust and of the Holocaust and postmodernism, it will interrogate the legitimacy and question the success of these tactics as a viable form of politically conscious artistic practice. Finally, in its conclusions, it will offer some reflections on the wider implications of such tactics for Holocaust representation.

The absence of Holocaust aftermath education in the Netherlands between 1970 and 2015: causes and consequences

Angela Boone, EHRI Fellow 2016, Netherlands

Paper presentation

Why is education regarding the Holocaust aftermath still absent in for example primary and secondary schools and at the national Holocaust memorial sites in the Netherlands? What impact has this lack of information/knowledge had on the present commemoration of the Holocaust?

Absence of Holocaust aftermath education during many decades (in books, schools and at memorial sites) has resulted in ignorance among a wide audience up to now. Scholars are for example unfamiliar with the fact that expropriation and persecution of Jews (by the Dutch government) continued for many years after the liberation. This lack of information has hindered thorough scientific research concerning the Holocaust aftermath in the Netherlands as well for decades. 'The small Shoah' after the liberation was ignored by many scientists. Because the dark page of the Holocaust aftermath is incompatible with the image of the Netherlands as an open and tolerant society, the Holocaust aftermath is still a taboo topic in Holocaust education.

This presentation will draw upon archival research (for example media archive), literature review (including teaching materials) and analysis of information provided by for example Holocaust memorial sites.

Teaching Holocaust Memory through a Rejected Testimony in Israel, 1985-2015

Lilach Naishtat Bornstein, Kibbutzin College of education and MOFET institution, Israel

Workshop presentation

After WWII, Karla Frenkel left Germany and immigrated to Israel. For 40 years she kept silent about her Holocaust memories, not even sharing her story with her own children. Until she received a letter from Lemgo, her hometown, asking her to bear witness. The publication of her memoirs in the German language in 1986 opened a new chapter in her life and in her relations with the Lemgo community. Karla's childhood home was bought by the local municipality and converted into a unique combination of dwelling and museum, known as Frenkel-Haus. For the past 30 years Karla has split her life between Israel and Germany, spending several months each summer at Frenkel-Haus and bearing testimony to dozens of groups. In 1997, a local high school was named after her, probably the only one named after a living Holocaust survivor. Meanwhile, in Israel, she keeps her silence and anonymity, hiding her activity in Germany from her neighbors and family.

In a five-year ethnographic study, Israeli literary scholar Lilach Naishtat-Bornstein explores the different ways in which Karla's testimony is interpreted in Germany and in Israel.

The workshop will present the ethnographic study along with the teaching model that was developed around it at the Kibbutzim College of Education in 2014-2015. In a one-year course, dance students investigated the contemporary memory of the Holocaust in Israel, both personal and collective, through the collection and analysis of survivor testimonies. Through their analysis, the students identified the hidden assumptions and multiple perspectives reflected in them, including personal, cultural, and national perspectives on the figures of witness and listener. Segments from a documentary made by the author (*Zwischen Heimat und zuhause*, 2012) will be screened as part of the presentation.

“The invasion has begun!” Re-Reading the Anne Frank Diary to Foster Reflective Historical Reasoning

**Professor Nicola Brauch, Historical Institute,
Ruhr-University of Bochum, Germany**

Paper presentation

The Anne Frank Diary (1942-1944) is one of the most popular documents of the worldwide culture of Holocaust remembrance. Taking this into account, Anne Frank's diary seems to represent ideally the intersection between the worlds of culture and science and their different epistemologies.

This paper presents results of a didactical analysis of the Anne Frank diary to foster historical learning processes in lower secondary history education (Brauch, 2016). The theory follows Peter Seixas and Tom Morton's theory concerning historical thinking concepts (2013).

Twelve passages with relationship to the War, and the murder of the Jews have been identified. They represent perceptions based on daily observations influencing Anne Frank's narrative of the hope (not only) she set on Allied interventions to survive Nazi persecution. To contextualise this narrative didactically, additional primary sources concerning other contemporaries' perspectives after the

occupation (Happe 2015) are suggested as well as historiographical material dealing with crucial macro-contexts (Peter Longerich, Mark Mazower).

Ideally, students can learn about historical significance by evaluating the diverse invasions that took place between 1942 and 1944. They can investigate the difference between critical and popular text editions and the usage of scientific historical research (concept of evidence). By taking Anne Frank's perspective, the concepts of continuity and change, empathy and historical perspectives can be fostered. Student's active historical reasoning can be initiated by prompting them to reason about causes and consequences. Learning about the “moral grey” by knowing details about actors' thinking and behaviour could lead learners to a more complex reasoning in questions of ethical dimensions. Results of a preliminary outreach lab study can give first insights into students learning with the material (Mierwald & Brauch 2015).

Modern day evil and its representations in pop culture: The Star Wars franchise as guide to the evolution of evil

**Mallory Bubar, The Pennsylvania State University,
United States of America**

Paper presentation

Beginning with Hannah Arendt's controversial work, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, in 1963 and her usage of the term banality of evil, the concept of evil and what it means to "be evil" began to shift and has continued to shift and evolve since this point. Pop culture, and in particular the Star Wars franchise, has taken up the concept of evil, and as time progresses, so does its presentation of good vs. evil, with the majority stemming from the topic of World War II and the Holocaust. World War II brought with it death, destruction and a new level of evil that until that point was considered unimaginable. In the decades since the Holocaust, we as a society have learned that good vs. evil is not a black and white concept, regardless of which end of the spectrum society has placed a person on. Since the Star Wars franchise is released as trilogies with decades between groupings, I will show in this paper how the concept of evil has evolved in mainstream thought since the 1970s.

In the earliest installments (1977, 1980, 1983), there is a distinct delineation between good and evil, whereas in the latest installment (2015) we see characters deemed as evil struggle with their ideals and decisions. The audience witnesses the inner struggle of a character considered to be a "dark side" soldier before making his final transition to full evil after murdering his own father. Using Arendt's concept of evil as an initial shift in perspective and further literature on the Holocaust, such as Didi-Huberman's "Images in spite of all" (2008), I will answer not only how society's idea of evil has changed since the Holocaust, but additionally with the aid of the Star Wars films, how the concepts, albeit belatedly, permeate into pop culture productions.

Activism, impact, and changing narratives in the Channel Island of Guernsey

Dr Gilly Carr, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

The second largest of the Channel Islands, Guernsey has had particular problems in coming to terms with its Holocaust legacy. Still a very sensitive legacy of the German occupation and identifiable as 'taboo heritage' (Carr and Sturdy Colls forthcoming), the problem resides in two 'blocking agents'. The first of these lies in the respect accorded to the position of Bailiff (Chief Justice and head of the legislature) of the island, a respect extended to those who have previously held that office. The second lies in the Channel Islands Occupation Society (CIOS), the self-appointed 'guardians of memory' of the occupation. As long as former Bailiff, Sir de Vic Carey (grandson of the wartime Bailiff on whose watch Jews were deported), is alive, Guernsey will never address its wartime shortcomings. And as long as the CIOS is allowed to dictate the terms of - and dominate - occupation-era heritage, the focus will never be on victims of Nazism. Instead, the restoration of German bunkers will always be the preferred medium of mediating the past.

This paper examines the intended 'pathways to impact' of new activism in the island in the fields of heritage, education, public engagement and policy. Given the blocking agents standing in the way of Holocaust activism, a deliberate strategy is being implemented which attempts to influence wartime narratives through a focus on Nazi persecution of other groups; this has yielded mixed results. While many of these endeavors are still in their infancy, this paper presents early reactions to attempts at impact.

‘It happened, therefore it can happen again... and it can happen everywhere’: particularity and universality in Primo Levi’s thinking about the Holocaust’s ‘lessons’

**Dr Arthur Chapman, Senior Lecturer in History Education,
UCL Institute of Education, University College London**

Paper presentation

The notion that there are ‘lessons to be learned’ from the Holocaust a familiar trope within contemporary Holocaust education but also a controversial proposition. What exactly does it mean to ‘learn from’ the Holocaust and can these lessons straightforwardly be ‘learned’? How can we learn from the Holocaust without reducing minatory complexity to pedagogic banality and without evacuating the specificity and narrative complexity of the events that the Holocaust names?

Primo Levi devoted much of his life as a writer to reflecting on and communicating his experiences in Auschwitz and was driven, from his earliest to his final work, by the conviction that the events he had personally experienced must be more widely confronted and understood: as Levi put it, ‘it happened, therefore it can happen again: this is the core of what we have to say’ (Levi, 1988: 165-70). He called upon his readers to ‘meditate that this came about’ and ‘carve’ the words in their ‘hearts’ (Levi, 1987: 17).

The Holocaust presented a universal threat: its potential arising from universal aspects of the human mind and from a logic that could always lead ‘at the end of the chain’ to ‘the Lager’ (Levi, 1987: 15). On the other hand, Levi was always extremely scrupulous in his attention to detail and particularity and impatient with ‘rhetoric’ and with decontextualized stereotypical thinking when explaining the Holocaust and when judging the roles of individual actors within it, particularly in his exploration of the ‘Grey Zone’ in *The Drowned and The Saved*.

This paper will juxtapose Levi’s thinking and contemporary English debates on ‘lessons’ and argue both that contemporary anxieties about ‘lessons’ are justified but also that they are, in part, a legacy of a positivistic refusal of ethical in historical ‘knowing’. My contention will be that Levi has a great deal to teach Holocaust educators about how we can think in universal terms about ‘lessons’ without neglecting the particular realities of the Holocaust.

Between 9 November and 9 May: The changing tone of Holocaust commemoration in Germany's Jewish communities

**Joseph Cronin, Leo Baeck Institute, Queen Mary,
University of London, United Kingdom**

Paper presentation

Between 1990 and 2005, over 200,000 Jews emigrated from the countries of the former Soviet Union to Germany after being granted the right to live there. This has fundamentally changed the size and composition of Germany's previously small Jewish communities. But the communities have also changed in a qualitative sense. One of the most important ways has been in terms of their commemoration of the Holocaust. While the Holocaust, and the commemoration of it, was of central importance to the Jews who already lived in Germany before 1990 (the so-called 'Alteingesessenen'), the new Russian-speaking arrivals in the communities tended to have a less developed understanding of the Holocaust, often subsuming it into an all-encompassing commemoration of the Great Patriotic War. This was due to their different experience of the Holocaust as well as to the official memory culture propagated by the Soviet government.

My paper will explore the different, often conflicting, understandings of the Holocaust held by these two groups of Jews, who suddenly found themselves having to co-exist within Jewish communities and who had to find a new *modus operandi* through which to commemorate a differently experienced, but nonetheless shared, tragedy. I will assess whether, over the course of the migration, their two different understandings of the Holocaust were reconciled. Finally, I will look at the new forms of Holocaust commemoration that began to appear in Jewish communities from the mid-2000s, and how these represented significant changes in German-Jewish attitudes towards the Holocaust, and the role of Jews in it.

Should We ‘Try and Look’? The Use of Graphic Photographs in Holocaust Education

Imogen Dalziel, Royal Holloway, University of London

Paper presentation

In her memoir *Auschwitz and After*, Holocaust survivor Charlotte Delbo presents the reader with a description of a decomposing corpse and urges them to ‘try and look. Just try and see.’ Those who did not live through the Holocaust will never fully comprehend the origins and reasoning behind the mass murder of Europe’s Jews, but historical photographs – taken by perpetrators, victims and liberators – provide clear evidence of its operation and aftermath. One need only search the word ‘Holocaust’ in an Internet search engine to find hundreds of black-and-white photographs of piles of dead bodies, emaciated liberated prisoners and innocent civilians about to be shot by the Einsatzgruppen killing squads. Dependent upon who took the photographs, they were originally created for different purposes. For the perpetrators, they were trophies from successful operations; to survivors and the outside world, they expressed a warning about the depths to which mankind can sink. Since the Allied liberation of the camps, many of these photographs have been used to educate the public about the horrors of the Nazi regime.

These photographs, however, do raise ethical issues. Is it right for us to continuously gaze upon these images, so that those shown in them are condemned to forever be another victim, or another corpse? Do such images serve to educate people about the Holocaust, particularly their use in the classroom, or does overexposure gradually desensitise the viewer until they eventually distance themselves from what they are seeing? This presentation will consider these questions and posit the need for at least some graphic photography to be used in Holocaust education, so that the reality of the Holocaust is not minimised or forgotten.

The Holocaust and the Genocide Spectrum: An Intellectual History of an Academic Debate and its Implications

**Professor Sarah K Danielsson, City University of New York -
Queensborough, United States of America**

Paper presentation

The first History of Genocide course at the City University of New York (and one of the very first courses in the world) took place in the spring of 1975, and immediately ran afoul of those who believed it a threat to the status of Holocaust research and courses. In the following two decades, a fierce battle over the so-called Holocaust uniqueness argument and the merits and demerits of genocide comparison raged in British and American Academia. This paper discusses this intellectual history, as well as the toll this debate took on Holocaust research and comparative genocide.

The paper looks among other things on the uneasy relationship between scholarship and Holocaust Center's that emerged as a result of this debate, as well as the new emergence of genocide studies as a catch-all for studies of mass violence. A rarely discussed element to this debate, that this paper will highlight, is the insertion of "ethnic" scholarship that greatly colored the discussion and created new minefields for scholars.

An enquiry into the subjective reflections of sixth formers on the Holocaust education they have received and what impact, if any, Holocaust education has had on them.

Rebecca Davidge, Waseley Hills High School, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

I have taught aspects of Holocaust education for the whole of my career (20 years) and am increasingly interested in the impact, if any, of the Holocaust education students receive in Year 9. Additionally, in the light of the recent world events, I am interested in whether students can make links between their learning about the Holocaust and issues surrounding the refugee crisis. Through questionnaires and interviews I have asked sixth form students to share their subjective perspectives on the Holocaust education which they had received in Year 9.

Aims:

- To infer what students understand by the term 'Holocaust'.
- To ask students to recall how they felt when they were learning about the Holocaust.
- To understand the impact learning about the Holocaust has had on the students' worldview.

I chose to use questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, even though they present challenges and are potentially complex, as they would allow me to

interpret participants' responses and understanding. Furthermore, I collected both qualitative and quantitative data by using these methods. I recognised the limitations of questionnaires so I also conducted semi-structured interviews. I chose this method because it allowed me to ask a series of pre-planned questions, but also ask further questions in response to the participants' notable replies.

My findings suggest that sixth formers have made a significant emotional and moral response to the events of the Holocaust. They have expressed their subjective and reflective responses with clarity and insight. The evidence suggests the impact on students' personal experience is significant but the impact on their world view is not so easily qualified. Participants are emphatic that they would stand up for people being persecuted and would be sympathetic to groups being discriminated, but it is inconclusive whether this is down to the Holocaust education they received. Many said this knowledge contributed to their world view but that they were moral people anyway, regardless of the Holocaust education they had received.

Distortion of collective memories of the Holocaust in the Balkans, 1970 - 2015

Jelena Došlov, Gimnazija Banjaluka, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Paper presentation

In this abstract I would like to address the problem of abuse of collective memories of the Holocaust on the Balkans from 1970s until 2015, in particular. The Holocaust justification, promotion, and deflection, which led to its de-judaization in this region of the world was examined from an interdisciplinary research position. While presenting in the main thesis of the paper that social, political and cultural memories of the Holocaust in the Balkans had been used purposely for promotion and further intensifying of the different Balkans nationalist ideologies, which culminated in the genocidal and other war criminal offenses in the 1991 – 1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is stated also that impact of the collective memories of the Holocaust in this part of Europe led to creation of new, distorted memories and national identities of the second and third generation of the Balkans' World War II survivors. Nationalist structural forces in the region used collective memories of the Holocaust strongly in 1990s in order to strengthen their far right ideas. The consequence of this, among others, caused implementation of acts of war aggression,

occupation, ethnic cleansing and differentiation of people, based on ethnic division and socio-Darwinist conception.

The above mentioned war events disentangled layers of the Holocaust instrumentalisation. But the end of the war established new conditions for further reinterpretation of the Holocaust memories in the Balkans. Even after 2015 this question was left unresolved in the work of historians and other thinkers from this region.

However, unsolved history curricula and revival of the victimization myth raises the question: to what extent is it possible to claim that there was an insufficient understanding of the essence of the Holocaust in the Balkans when far right politics and populist groups in the region have become stronger than ever in the last 45 years?

This paper emphasizes the use of discourse analysis. The author of the paper will focus also on work of the different significant Holocaust memory thinkers.

Memories of Dora

Françoise Dupré, Birmingham School of Art, BCU, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

Françoise Dupré proposes to explore the social, political and cultural memories of Mittelbau-Dora Concentration camp in the context of the historicising and displaying of the V2 rocket, the first ballistic missile. The paper is an outcome of Dupré's research undertaken in the context of her London practice-led research project DORA PROJECT (2015-16)

DORA PROJECT brought together two WW2 sites connected by the V2: London, a main V2 target and Mittelbau-Dora Nazi concentration camp in Germany where V2s were assembled by slave labour. These sites were linked by terror, aimed at Londoners, and integral to the research, development and manufacturing of the weapon itself.

For over thirty years, following its liberation on 11 April 1945, Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp remained practically unknown. Today, the thorny issue around the V2's direct link to post-war American, Russian and European space and military programmes remains perhaps as great as it was in 1975, when Dora's French survivor Jean Michel first published his powerful memoir Dora.

Examining current museum displays of V2s, reveals a contrasting picture across London, Science Museum and Imperial War Museum; Washington, National Air and Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution; Wizernes, La Coupole, Centre d'Histoire et de Mémoire du Nord-Pas-de-Calais.

Dupré proposes to examine and compare these displays focusing on the siting of their V2s and their scientific and historical contextualisation, including visual representations of Dora's prisoners and V2 German engineers and project managers.

These museums contribute to our knowledge and understanding of historical, and scientific events, and the Holocaust. The aim of the paper is to interrogate the interpretation of the complex and multi-stranded history of the V2 and its victims. The displays reveal that the irrefutable link – between the Concentrationary Universe and the technology that took humanity into space – continues to be a challenging connection to publicly unpack.

HMDT E-Teach: A new interactive, multimedia resource to support educators in teaching effectively about the Holocaust and subsequent genocides

Andy Fearn, Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, United Kingdom

Workshop presentation

The Holocaust Memorial Day Trust (HMDT) is developing an interactive, multimedia resource designed to support educators in teaching effectively about the Holocaust as well as about subsequent genocides. This resource is aimed at key stages 3 and 4 and will be made available to all teachers in the UK from this autumn. Developed using a modern e-learning platform, it utilises video testimony, photos, narration and classroom activities and allows educators to tailor lessons for different ages, abilities or interests.

Our decision to develop this resource was made in response to an identified need. The UCL Centre for Holocaust Education's recent report 'What do students know and understand about the Holocaust' showed that in many instances teachers are not equipped with the knowledge or understanding necessary to teach this complex subject. The findings of the report suggest that this has resulted in a lack of core knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust amongst a majority of students.

This new resource has been developed to help improve this situation. While we recognise that better teacher training and professional development will be key to solving the problem in the long run, we believe our resource will help ensure that students are offered a good basic level of substantive knowledge and conceptual understanding of the Holocaust and of genocide more widely. The lessons have been designed specifically so that they can be used by an educator with limited understanding or knowledge themselves, ensuring that their students receive an accurate and engaging education on this important subject.

Missing Persons and Malleable Spaces on the Commemorative Landscape of Paris

**Annette Finley-Croswhite, Old Dominion University,
United States of America**

Paper presentation

Paris includes many dark tourism sites tied to the Shoah. In 2005 the city opened a Holocaust museum, the Mémorial de la Shoah, and then added a Drancy extension in 2012 to commemorate the notorious deportation camp on the outskirts of Paris. One could never call these popular sites of tourism, however. Even so, in the last five years, France has done a great deal to make its Holocaust past more visible. The Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation that always appeared to be hidden under ground just behind Notre Dame cathedral recently received a facelift complete with a new bronze entrance that makes clear what it is. Plans are also underway to turn the former site of the Vel d'Hiv roundup into a park commemorating what happened there in 1942 with an opening planned for 16 July 2016. Recently a museum opened in Orléans honoring the children of the Vel'd'Hiv. This new interest in

Holocaust commemoration, however, is occurring during a time when many Jews are leaving France. In this case one must question the multidirectional conflict between a more open commemorative landscape of the Shoah and a France where Jews feel increasingly unsafe. Theoretically this paper draws from Michael Rothberg's concept of "multidirectional memory," emphasizing the "ongoing negotiation, cross-reference, and borrowing," that forces us to consider the multiple uses of memory.

The Holocaust in English history textbooks: 1991-2016

**Professor Stuart Foster & Dr Eleni Karayianni,
UCL Centre for Holocaust Education, United Kingdom**

Paper presentation

The Holocaust has been part of England's National Curriculum for history since its inception in 1991 and it has arguably gained prominence throughout its five consecutive revisions during the past 25 years. Notwithstanding, the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education's 2009 national study of teachers' practices revealed that many teachers found the Holocaust a very complex and challenging subject to teach. Furthermore, 82.5% of teachers surveyed declared that they had received no formal professional development in teaching the Holocaust and were primarily "self-taught". Given the challenges of teaching this difficult and emotive subject, teachers commonly revealed that they used textbooks to support learning. It is thus of crucial importance to investigate how textbooks have represented the Holocaust during this period.

This paper reports on the findings of a study which examined portrayals of the Holocaust in a sample of 21 secondary school history textbooks published in England between 1991 and 2016. Evaluated against internationally recognised criteria and guidelines, the analysis found recurring problems and shortcomings in these textbooks. The paper discusses some of the most important problems in the portrayal of the Holocaust and provides useful illustrations. Based on these critical findings, the paper concludes by offering initial recommendations for textbook improvement.

Lessons from the Holocaust for Medicine today

**Dr. Esteban González-López, Prof. Rosa Ríos-Cortes,
School of Medicine. Autonoma University of Madrid, Spain**

Paper presentation

During Nazism, doctors played a significant role as the executors of the State Racial policy. They participated in the forced sterilisation and extermination of disabled patients and conducted all kinds of medical experiments in concentration camps.

The “Doctor’s Case”, one of the Nuremberg Trials, led to the creation of the bioethical regulation of Human Research.

Analysing the actions carried out by Nazi doctors could be a valuable tool to reflect on the ethical dilemmas which doctors will encounter in their daily practice such as research limitations, beginning or end of life decisions or the influence of economical and political issues.

In 2011, the University Autonoma of Madrid, Spain, announced a call for the design of new subjects related to Human Rights and the fight against Discrimination. We applied with the project, The Holocaust: A Reflection from Medicine. It was approved and since 2012 we have been engaged in teaching this topic.

There are 7 modules in the course:

- Historical Introduction.
- Nazi doctors in Eugenics and Euthanasia.
- Jewish medicine in ghettos.
- Nazi doctors in camps.
- Medical experiments.
- Traces of Nazi medicine.
- What can we learn from the Holocaust for Medicine today?

Each module includes lectures and audiovisual content as well as daily debate. Every week the students must write a personal assignment to be evaluated. In the last module, they must collect recent pieces of news about unethical actions carried out by doctors today. We have also organised study trips to Auschwitz and Krakow with our students.

In the yearly student satisfaction survey conducted by the University, our course achieved a rating of 4.64 out of 5. The students reported that our class gave them a more humane perspective of Medicine. They recognised the importance of learning from History and how it is related to current events.

Personal Affects: Objects as witnesses to the Holocaust

**Dr Tiara Good, The Pennsylvania State University,
United States of America**

Paper presentation

Using both trauma and post-human (or object oriented ontology) theories, I explore the ways in which objects are used in Alain Resnais (1955) *Night and Fog* and in the Jewish Museum in Berlin to humanize and empathetically unsettle viewers and visitors. I analyze the literal space, an abstract and untangled Star of David, of the museum as an object in itself as well. I assert that objects serve as vestibules of transference of memory experiences from the past to present as well as rhetorical witnesses to the past.

Objects possess a unique capacity to be both time capsules and timeless. This paradoxical status enhances the experiential qualities of the Holocaust for viewers and visitors. It compels moral judgment and ruptures stable senses of space and time, and produces a rupture that induces emotional contact with the past. With the decimation of the body itself in the horrific treatment of Jews and other groups by the Nazis, I argue objects that were touched by those who did not survive and dwelled in the spaces where the trauma occurred are necessary to rehumanize and make more comprehensible the traumatic events of the past.

Brett Kaplan argues that memory and history are laden with the Nazi genocide and are often picked up aesthetically. Aesthetic productions can be useful for inducing an understanding of the injustices of the Holocaust. Furthermore, understanding how objects are rhetorically marshaled in aesthetic production for these emotional effects is pertinent to the genre of Holocaust studies. Objects hold an ontological stake in the production of remembrance as well as evidentiary importance to ensure ethical stands are taken—such as ensuring the Holocaust is viewed as a productive lesson from the past and looked to for understanding the hate that we currently see perpetrated under the label of “terrorism” today.

Keywords: synaesthesia, collective memory, Holocaust representation, object testimony

What does a Muslim teacher's memory of yellow police vans in apartheid South Africa have to do with Holocaust memory?

Brenda Gouws, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Paper presentation

This paper unravels the story of a South African Muslim history educator teaching the Holocaust. Post 1994 a new history curriculum was designed to reflect the human rights component of the Constitution. In support, the Holocaust was included for all Grade 9 history learners. Rashid, a history teacher, was therefore required to teach it. However, he found teaching the Holocaust problematic for, in addition to his identity as a history teacher, Rashid was also a committed Muslim and a product of apartheid South Africa. Largely sheltered as a child from the apartheid system, his memories were nevertheless peppered with visions of yellow police vans and family stories of disruptive riots. Using narrative methodology, this paper explores how Rashid juggled his understanding of apartheid, professionalism, and the thorny intrusion of his religious, familial and social experiences to teach this complex topic to his predominantly Zulu-speaking learners. Armed with the curriculum, a textbook, and his own research he filled conceptual gaps by drawing on his personal story and his experiences of growing up in post-apartheid South Africa.

For Rashid the purpose of teaching the Holocaust had little to do with European or Jewish memory; it was just another topic in the curriculum. Yet there was the uncomfortable awareness of the war raging in Gaza.

This paper discusses how Rashid struggled with questions that constantly baffled him, such as "Why the Jews?" and pondered the reason for the inclusion of the Holocaust in the history curriculum, all the while compartmentalising his personal views. The way in which he dealt with issues of religion and sensationalism, but also encouraged his learners to become better people provides insight into how Holocaust memory is being disseminated in post-apartheid South Africa by people for whom Jews and the European context of the Holocaust and World War II is a world away from their personal life experiences.

Dutch Holocaust education and selective memory

**Joandi Hartendorp, The University of Humanistic Studies,
The Netherlands**

Paper presentation

The Netherlands have not reached a Holocaust memory phase where the part of the Dutch is officially and explicitly recognised. The Dutch Holocaust narrative, despite an international memory boom, the pluralist multicultural nature of Dutch society and recurring demands for an official apology, continues to be predominantly unaltered in its externalisation. As prominent Dutch historian de Haan said: 'The Holocaust is not part of Dutch identity; it is actually a denial of it. The Holocaust has only been a part of the debate surrounding national identity as a dark stain on the Dutch nation, where tolerance and respect for minorities has always been a highly held virtue' (1997,230).'

To what extent has this changed? Some historians claim that the late nineties was a period in which a new type of Holocaust history was allowed to develop, which included Dutch perpetrator or collaborationist history (Hondius, 2010). The effect of this development remains to be seen. I argue that to this day, the Netherlands perpetuates a selective memory when it comes to the memory of negative pasts. Dutch Holocaust memory is a prominent symptom of this amnesia.

Through teaching history, individual members of a collective are converted into a community with a common knowledge about the past. Hence, I analysed Holocaust education material and interviewed teachers to elucidate the prevalent Holocaust narratives and to see to what extent pupils are educated about the multiple parts the Dutch have played during the Holocaust.

The aim of this paper is to expose the selective nature of Holocaust memory in the Netherlands. Holocaust education should be aimed at creating comprehensive understanding and sustaining realistic memory of the Holocaust. Leaving parts of the story out creates a slippery slope towards the Holocaust losing its historical value in Dutch society.

Britain and the Holocaust

**Tom Haward, UCL Centre for Holocaust Education,
University College London, United Kingdom**

Workshop presentation

This workshop is designed to explore issues around the relationship between Britain and the Holocaust as it developed in the context of the Second World War, and current conceptions that students in English Secondary Schools have of this relationship. Britain and the Holocaust is a new teaching session developed by the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education for students in Secondary Schools which is designed to explore, and start to account for, the knowledge and understanding young people have of Britain's role in the Holocaust. It also considers how using a range of archival sources from different perspectives may shape and challenge conceptions and misconceptions that may be held. The workshop uses evidence from the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education's 2015 Student Survey as a starting point to establish what students are currently saying about Britain's role, as well as encouraging students to reflect on where their knowledge originates from; in a broader sense, how they come to know what they claim to know. The workshop will then allow participants to explore archives from a variety of centres in England; the National Archives, the Weiner Library, the Churchill Archive,

Mass Observation, the Imperial War Museum and the Ben Uri Gallery. At this point, a representative from the National Archives will also be on hand to explain their role in this project and how their archives have been used to contribute to this session.

Each of these six different archives offers a different perspective on Britain's role during the Second World War; from the Jewish immigrant community to the Foreign Office, and from the viewpoint of ordinary citizens to that of Churchill himself. Groups will then be encouraged to share information gathered from each of these archives to help establish an evidence-based picture to start to answer questions around who knew what about the Holocaust, when, what options were available, and what action taken. This picture will also be considered in light of a current political context which promotes the notion of teaching "British values" in schools, and how notions of individual and collective responsibilities today relate to the narrative that emerges from the evidence about Britain's role in World War Two.

Helping or Hindering? The Holocaust as a Trope in Contemporary British Culture

Isabelle Hesse, University of Sydney, Australia

Paper presentation

The Holocaust increasingly functions as a global trope to illustrate other types of discrimination and displacement in the contemporary period. However, as Andreas Huyssen has cautioned in relation to the Holocaust as a trope: 'one must always ask whether and how the trope enhances or hinders local memory practices and struggles, or whether and how it may help and hinder at the same time' (2003: 18). In this paper, I consider how the memory of the Holocaust is used to create a framework for understanding the establishment of Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and to what extent Holocaust memory can be seen as helping and/or hindering in this case. Offering close readings of the narrative strategies used to represent the Holocaust in relation to Israel and Palestine in Marina Lewycka's novel "We are all made of glue" (2009) and Peter Kosminsky's mini-series "The Promise" (2011), I argue that Israel/Palestine can be seen as a litmus case to question the usefulness of the Holocaust as a universal trope, since it inevitably creates a hierarchy of suffering and competition between different memories.

In this way, my paper critically engages with recent developments in memory studies – such as Michael Rothberg's concept of multidirectional memory (2009) and Max Silverman's idea of palimpsestic memory (2013) – which propose a concept of memory that creates a comparative, but non-competitive, framework for understanding different types of memory and suffering. I suggest that even though in theory Rothberg and Silverman's concepts of memory are able to be non-competitive, in practice the memory of the Holocaust often constitutes a hindrance, rather than a help, when examining the conflict in Israel/Palestine.

Drancy: Architecture, Appropriation and Memory

**Stephanie Hesz-Wood, Royal Holloway,
University of London, United Kingdom**

Paper presentation

Drancy's name is now synonymous with the internment and deportation of Jews in France. The U-shaped concrete complex in which so many thousands were imprisoned after the summer of 1941 was, paradoxically, conceived as a model city, named the Cité de la Muette. A celebrated design in the 1930s promoting a utopian vision for self-contained, integrated community living—the work of French architects Marcel Lods and Eugène Beaudouin—the mass housing building development in Drancy was never completed as expected, and never occupied as intended.

This paper begins by examining the time before the Holocaust, when this targeted area on the periphery of Paris strived to be a place of hope, modernity and progress. The discussion will then explore the period following the intervention of war and trauma of deportations, where the Cité de la Muette emerges as a complex site of memory and reflection.

From the first permanent memorial placed in the 1970s, through to the discovery of the Drancy 'graffiti' in the 1990s (hundreds of examples of messages by those interned scratched into the surface of the plaster walls), to the more recently opened purpose built Drancy Memorial Museum (a permanent facility facing the original site completed in 2012), this paper will examine the social, cultural and political implications of this conflicted, multi-dimensional site. In contemplating the Cité de la Muette's history before and after the Holocaust, a complex, oscillating narrative emerges, stimulating larger philosophical and cultural questions. Beginning with the historical foundations of Drancy, this paper demonstrates how the temporary interruption and corruption of a site has the capacity to permanently transform our perception of it, and re-claim and re-place our interest in it.

Always Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Denial in Far Right Memory

Dr Mark Hobbs, University of East Anglia, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

Memory and forgetting are the preoccupation of memory studies and history. The role Holocaust denial plays in far right movements has not been examined in enough detail within the context of memory studies. Holocaust denial not only responds to changes in public memory and public understanding of the Holocaust, it also creates a 'false memory' which provides a basis on which far right thought and ideology draws legitimacy for its radical, antisemitic and prejudiced beliefs. This paper explores how British and European Holocaust deniers have responded to the different contexts in which the Holocaust has been understood. Looking briefly at earliest forms of denial in the Second World War to present day denial, the paper will assess how, and if it is valuable, to think of Holocaust denial in the context of pre and post-cold war 'memory wars'.

Holocaust denial has been at the core of far right ideologies both during and after the Second World War. The argument of deniers has remained the same: the Holocaust did not happen, yet the presentation to its readers is often subject to change in understandings of the Holocaust and its place within national collective memories. This paper will explore how denial changed in the mid to late 1970s and how increasing memorialisation of the Holocaust in society has led to new forms of attack on the testimony of survivors and the memory of the dead. The paper will conclude by discussing what form denial takes today and how its role in far right public discourse may have become lessened as a result of expanding Holocaust memory.

What about them? The Holocaust from a teenage view: analyzing young people's modes of thinking from the classroom to the museum

Stanislas Hommet (Presenting author), Pr Denis Peschanski and Salma Mesnoudi, University of Caen, France

Workshop presentation

Our aim was to enhance students' historical thinking in outside-of-school experiences. Two main questions were addressed:

- Is it possible to take a closer look at adolescents' modes of historical thinking and filter what they learn in school and in other settings about the Holocaust?
- What part of knowledge does not concern teaching about the Holocaust?

This workshop aims at presenting the preliminary findings of an exploratory deliberative research study. The purpose is to understand perceptions, receptions, feelings, attitudes, and motivations. The relation between a visitor and a museum is complex one. According to Piaget, assimilation and accommodation are two complementary processes which have to be taken into account whether we consider the artifact or the individual.

Focus groups and eye-tracking devices are both used to identify and question the mechanisms of reception. We will use examples of the eye-trackers and focus group to let the participants discovering an innovative method.

The results of our study indicate that:

- A communicative memory prevails among high school students more than a collective memory does (J. Ansmann, 2008).
- Emotional representations of the past are very important for the construction of a historical consciousness but it seems that they do not come to be formed at school (Létourneau, 2014; Wineburg, 2001; Seixas, 2004), except when survivors are invited to school.
- Historical consciousness and theories learnt in class (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2008) influence the interpretation of the past. There is no direct connection between past and present as the past is seen as a selective reconstruction. Moreover, the school approach to the past is in many respects questioned within the family environment, which represents a community of memory having a different interpretative framework. The classroom can be identified as a distinct group. This temporary community of memory (Harald Welzer, 2013) has its own specific features.

The Heidegger case: mythologizing, denial and unconcealing

**Darius A Jackson, UCL Centre for Holocaust Education,
University College London, United Kingdom**

Paper presentation

After the defeat of the Nazis in 1945 a narrative developed about the famous philosopher Martyn Heidegger's relationship and involvement with the Nazi party. His time as National Socialist Rector of the University of Freiburg and as a party member was portrayed as a mix of youthful indiscretion and political naivety combined with an attempt to defend the autonomy of the university. With him eventually becoming a philosophical resister, spied upon and distrusted by the state, this was the accepted account present in many works on Heidegger from the 1970s.

Since then this account has come under attack from two angles; from writers determined to reinterpret Heidegger's behaviour in the light of new evidence (Farias 1988, Faye 2009, Trawny 2016) and from the publication of more of his works, lectures and notes. This has culminated in the publication of Heidegger's Black Notebooks last year in German and this year in English.

This paper considers how two recently published works, the seminar notes from his 1933-4 course "On the essence and concepts of Nature History and State" (2015) and his Black Notebooks (2016), help us to understand Heidegger's personal Nazism and the nature of his antisemitism. It will argue that it is no longer possible to ignore these elements in his thought and this approach helps us to understand his occasional remarks about the Holocaust in his 1949 Bremen lectures.

No Adequate Response, No Grief, No Compassion, No Vengeance that is Sufficient': Philip Roth's Science Fictions and the Holocaust

**Noah Simon Jampol, The Catholic University of America,
United States of America**

Paper presentation

There has been a change in the manner in which the Holocaust is explored within Jewish American fiction of the 20th century. In exploring Holocaust history and Holocaust memory, some writers transitioned from relying on realistic modes of representation to increasingly experimental inquiries into the events of the Holocaust – a movement coinciding with new critical perspectives on the definitional and generic prescriptions and limitations of both history and memory (Langer, Schwartz).

Critics working within science fiction (sf) have examined the ethical underpinnings of the genre's construction and indicated potential reasons for the proliferation of sf in the twentieth century vis-à-vis trauma theory and the particular historical and technological climate of the era (LeGuin). In three major works written since 1975, celebrated Jewish American novelist Philip Roth increasingly turns to science fiction tropes and constructions in an effort to examine Holocaust history and memory – particularly, the force of the Holocaust and its impact on Jewish populations born and raised in the United States.

As Roth's American-born (and self-styled) protagonists more directly confront the existential destruction of 20th century Jewishness, the author increasingly orients his text around classic genre tropes to explore the breakdown of representational modalities and material cause in the wake of the Holocaust. In doing so, Roth's work in *The Ghost Writer* (1979), *Operation Shylock* (1993) and alternate-history text, *The Plot Against America* (2004) extends the capacity of hybrid literary forms to respond to and represent the Holocaust. Science fiction's inherent cognitive estrangement gives writers a new capability to grapple with the fundamental paradox of representing an event that is recalcitrant to representation due to its magnitude, scale and brutality. This capability is particularly useful for Jewish American writers who did not directly experience or witness the Holocaust, yet increasingly feel a shared or secondary trauma with those who were there.

Challenging the Narrative: Concentration Camp Art and the Artists' Experience

**Sarah Jewett, M.A., Independent Scholar and Artist,
United States of America**

Paper presentation

While the historical study of concentration camp art (works made by prisoners legally or illegally in the camps) really begins to emerge in the 1970s, the topic still struggles with incorporation into the mainstream concentration camp narrative. Almost thirty years ago, Sybil Milton observed that intentional ignorance of the subject was likely due to a fear that any attention brought to it would “somehow mitigate the horror and atrocity of what had occurred,” echoes of which still exert force in the contemporary study and representation of the Holocaust. Unfortunately, this exclusion does a disservice in providing a thorough and comprehensive victim experience, as concentration camp art was a huge aspect of camp life for many prisoners and often key to their survival. The marginalization of art supports a potentially misleading picture of how concentration camps functioned as a whole and can be partially attributed to stereotyping of art and artists as frivolous, therefore inconvenient in projecting an image of suffering and depravity.

Coming from a historiographical approach, I address problems that stem from excluding the larger context in which concentration camp art and art-making existed, the perception of art relics as a lesser or unreliable form of historical document and testimony, and moral and ethical issues regarding ownership of artworks after the end of the Holocaust, specifically with survivor and artist Dinah Babbitt. The topic is important yet underutilized, in part because the fields of art history and Holocaust studies have been reluctant to embrace it as belonging fully to one or the other, not unlike early Holocaust studies. However, this limbo runs the risk of relegating the art as novelty or worse, a commodity that is relevant only when needing to choose a profound image for the cover of an upcoming publication.

Hidden in Plain View: Remembering and Forgetting the Holocaust on West German Television

Professor Wulf Kansteiner, Binghamton University, USA

Keynote lecture



West German Holocaust memory of the 1980s and 1990s might very well be the most self-reflexive and self-

critical collective memory of genocide we know. But German Holocaust memory is a complex and ambivalent discourse which combines seemingly unflinching acknowledgments of historical responsibility with a great deal of imaginative and self-serving interpretations of history. That is particularly noticeable in television which has been the primary platform of collective memory in Germany for many decades and which has also proven adept at averting its gaze from the key moral challenges of the Nazi past for instance by turning perpetrators into bystanders and bystanders into victims.

There are only a handful of (West) German public TV programs that focus squarely on the perpetrators and bystanders of the Final Solution and most of the programs fail to develop narrative and aesthetic strategies that render said perpetrators and bystanders clearly visible to the audience as distinct historical-political challenges.

Before the invention of the Holocaust paradigm, the perpetrators and bystanders disappear in a fog of tact, disinformation, and helplessness; with the development of the Holocaust frame they recede behind the figure of the survivor; and after the height of self-reflexive Holocaust memory they vanish in the moral maelstrom of Knopp TV.

The Map of (Un)Consciousness - memory of the Jewish community in Biłgoraj

**Magdalena Kawa, Dr, The State School of Higher Education
in Chełm, Poland**

Paper presentation

In my presentation I will attempt to analyse the degree to which a city where, prior to the war, the Jews constituted a considerable part of the community, remembers its former citizens. I would like to show how my project sought the answer to the question: 'How are Jews of Biłgoraj remembered?' My work focused on reporting how this memory functions in the literature (local historical sources) and in the consciousness of people born after the war but interested in the local history. I also interviewed the inhabitants of pre-war Biłgoraj whose friends were members of the Jewish community.

I asked students whose secondary school is located in the place of a former Jewish graveyard about the memory of Jews and their historical awareness. Those activities allowed me to draw up the map of (un)consciousness of Biłgoraj Jewish community. My presentation will try to show how to retrieve that memory, and the collected data will provide an excellent educational basis.

“The Wicker Man” (1973): Film Reflecting the Holocaust

Caroline Kaye, Manchester University, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

What counts as Holocaust fiction? It can be argued that the influence of the Holocaust has permeated Western culture to such an extent that it reveals itself in works of art and culture that do not make any claim to represent it.

The 1973 British film *The Wicker Man* can be viewed as one such work. In the film there are no commonly understood Holocaust motifs, it is not set in Nazi Germany, nor are there any death camps. And yet, through various modes of analysis, it is possible to discern certain elements within and ‘without’ the film as a reflection of the event we call the Holocaust.

The film’s main protagonist endures a process of mob-conspiracy, miss-direction, disempowerment and murder. The film’s infamous image of a burning colossus carries oblique Holocaust associations. But it is the creation of a reconstituted paganism set against the Judeo-Christian tradition that has particularly uncanny resonances with Nazi Germany.

My paper examines both the film and the responses to it from enthusiasts and academics over forty years. I argue that the creation of meaning depends largely on how the film is contextualised. Commonly situated as a product of the Long Sixties, my positioning of the film as a post WWII phenomenon reveals a major shift of perspective with significant consequences. The most disturbing aspect of my analysis concerns the depiction of murder becoming associated with ‘progressive’ thought. Returning viewers are subsequently faced with a moral quandary: with whom and what does one choose to identify? What are one’s values and concerns for the Other?

The impact of the Holocaust can be detected in places that the discipline of history cannot venture. Arguably, poststructuralist approaches may reveal the Holocaust to be the omnipresent backdrop to much in modern Western culture.

Nonformal Holocaust Education: Understanding the Role of Community Organizations in Canadian Holocaust Education (1976-2016)

Sarah Jane Kerr-Lapsley, McGill University, Canada

Paper presentation

Since the development of the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre/Le Centre commémoratif de l'Holocauste à Montréal in 1976, Holocaust education resources and professional development for teachers across Canada have come almost exclusively from nonformal education initiatives – primarily community organizations and museums. This paper explores the development of these initiatives and their work, focusing on 1) the formal-nonformal pedagogical collaboration between these organizations and classroom teachers that is the foundation of Holocaust education in Canada, 2) the experiential authority of Holocaust survivor-educators, and 3) the ways in which nonformal Holocaust education in Canada can and cannot currently be considered a community of practice, and the work now being done to strengthen its community of practice.

This is the first comprehensive research on Canadian Holocaust education, and the first to identify and explore the fundamental role of nonformal education initiatives. It is a mixed-methods study that combines a comprehensive quantitative/qualitative questionnaire with interviews to explore the history, scope, and pedagogical approaches of each organization. It lays the foundation for a future research project, beginning in September 2016, on the use of nonformal Holocaust education resources by Canadian social studies and history teachers in the public school system, whose curriculum differs in each Canadian province. Both projects will be instrumental in helping Canadian teachers find and use Holocaust education resources in their classrooms, as well as helping broaden educators' and communities' understanding of Canadian Holocaust education, both within Canada and internationally.

The collective memory of the Holocaust and Israel's attitude towards war trauma, 1973 - 2015

**Irit Keynan, Head, Institute for Civic Responsibility at MLA,
College for Academic Studies, Or Yehuda, Israel**

Paper presentation

The Yom-Kippur (1973) war is perceived by Jewish-Israelis as a collective trauma, which strengthened their sense of being doomed to forever live under existential threats, as part of the Jewish fate. This war however also created the first cracks in Israeli society's denial of personal War Trauma as a legitimate outcome of war.

A decade after the Eichmann trial, which – for the first time – lifted the collective veil and uncovered the personal suffering of Holocaust Survivors; this war confronted the personal narrative of ordinary combat soldiers with the collective narratives and myths. The realization of the unpreparedness of the political and military leadership for the war set the public's attentiveness not only to the “big” story of the collective, but also to the suffering of the ordinary soldiers, whose courage saved the country. The war and its aftermath marked the beginning of a struggle between individualization processes versus the national ethos of the collective.

Eventually, although the two narratives live parallelly, the one of constant collective threat took over, leading to social acceptance of sacrificing young lives for the nation's preservation. Accordingly, although war trauma has been accepted as a medically proven syndrome, it is still partially denied: regarded as inferior to physical wounds, with mentally injured soldiers often accused of faking/exaggerating symptoms, which every combatant “should be able to bear”.

This paper draws a link between an early choice of the collective over the personal lessons of the Holocaust and the social prioritizing of perceived collective needs over the personal suffering when dealing with war trauma. It shows how the formation of the Holocaust memory in Israel as a constant warning of threats to the collective, while neglecting humanistic and personal messages, overshadows the personal price of war and leads to denying war trauma as a legitimate injury.

A Unique Method of Holocaust Education: Peer Guide Trainings at the Anne Frank – A History for Today Exhibition.

Borbala Klacsmann, University of Szeged, Hungary and Yad Vashem Archives, Israel and Ildiko Laszak, Yad Vashem Archives, Israel

Workshop presentation

This workshop will address a unique methodology, based on peer guiding, developed for the travelling exhibition entitled Anne Frank – A History for Today that displays the life of Anne Frank in its historical context. At every venue volunteering students are trained to become peer guides. The presenters have been working as trainers for eight years. During this time they developed an interdisciplinary educational material which focuses on the historical background of the topic, the psychology of stereotyping, discrimination, Jewish culture, human rights, multiculturalism, Holocaust memorialisation, etc.

The workshop aims at introducing an innovative teaching method and facilitating a fruitful discourse on good practices, experiences and questions that may arise. Participants will have the opportunity to gain insight in the methodology of the peer guide training through an interactive session and we will present the learning outcomes.

During the training students are actively involved in the learning process, thus they easily interiorise the most important facts and they also learn to engage critically in various topics. We will present quantitative data on the effectiveness of the training based on questionnaires filled in by peer guides since 2012.

In the closing discussion we raise the question whether these activities can make students sensitive to current discriminations, especially considering the current refugee crisis. In what effect does this kind of learning experience help students transfer their sympathy to other groups? How does learning about the Holocaust through the life of its most famous victims shape the collective memory of today's youth? How did Anne's story become universal? What difficulties do we face when we want to teach the unparalleled aspects of the Holocaust as well?

Creating “Alternative” memories; changes in Holocaust commemoration in Israel

Dr Rebecca Kook, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

Paper presentation

The opening of Holocaust Memorial Day in Israel is marked by an official state ceremony. The ceremony has a set, unchanging structure, including the lighting of six torches by Holocaust survivors symbolizing the six million Jews who perished in the Holocaust. Infused with a strong military presence, the ceremony expresses the official ideological narrative of “from catastrophe to redemption” making a direct link between the extermination of the Jewish people in Europe, and their rebirth in Israel.

Since the mid-1990s, self-proclaimed “alternative”, non-state forms of holocaust-commemoration began to appear on the “memory-scape” of Israeli society. Central to these are different kinds of commemorative ceremonies that take place on the eve of Holocaust Memorial Day, and hence compete with the official ceremony. While they differ from each other in the type of “alternative” they propose, they do share certain fundamental aspects: where the official ceremony is rigidly structured, they are loosely put together and unscripted;

where the official ceremony is infused with a strong military and religious component, they are usually secular and lacking any military symbolism; and most importantly, while the official ceremony promotes a singular national narrative, all forms of “alternative” ceremonies invite their participants to openly engage with a diversity of possible narratives. Focusing on two such alternative ceremonies, the purpose of this paper is to examine this change in the commemoration of the Holocaust, in the context of Israel’s shifting national identity.

Music in German Holocaust cinema: politics and soundtracks in East, West and reunified Germany

Matt Lawson, Edge Hill University, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

Film studies, musicology and Holocaust Studies are three well-studied disciplines in academia. A combination of any two of these disciplines may be found with relative ease; 'film music', 'Holocaust film' or 'music of the Holocaust' are well-developed fields of academic study.

However, there is very little existing academic insight into 'Holocaust film music'. Using existing scholarly work on Holocaust representation in film and film music theory as a foundation, this paper will compare films from East, West and reunified Germany as a means of independently critiquing films from differing political backgrounds, while simultaneously analysing their musical scores, and how their compositional style and function related to the political situations in the respective countries. The applicability of existing film and music theory to films of an ethically sensitive nature will be challenged, and the possibility or potential for the introduction of a bespoke film music theory for Holocaust films will be discussed.

The three films to be examined are Jakob der Lügner (East Germany), Hitler, ein Film aus Deutschland (West Germany), and Der Letzte Zug (reunified Germany). Each of the three examples engage with the Holocaust, either implicitly or explicitly, and have academically intriguing scores reflecting Cold War and modern day politics respectively.

Considerations taken into account include the political, social, temporal and moral circumstances surrounding each film and its composer. A wide and varying spectrum of the use of music in film is examined, including diegetic orchestral music, diegetic radio music, traditional 'classical Hollywood' underscoring and also the use of silence or lack of music.

The paper derives from my recently submitted doctoral thesis on film music function in East, West and reunified German cinema, and will simultaneously lay the foundations for further research into ethically sensitive films and their music.

Lachrymose Histories, Family Ghosts or Lives Lived?: Integrating the Jewish/non-Jewish experience across Time into Holocaust 'Tourism': A Salonika Case Study

Mark Levene, University of Southampton, United Kingdom

Workshop presentation

Photographs from a single place over time inevitably offer different stories: a rabbi in traditional 'Oriental' garb reciting prayers in an extensive cemetery; two solemn, suited younger men sitting on a pile of rubble clutching pieces of gravestone; a more contemporary picture of a rather 'naïf' memorial with no evidence in sight of either human beings or cemetery. What we chose to focus on and the way we interpret any set of pictures is by definition subjective. But having acknowledged the obvious the educational role of the Holocaust studies tour guide can take many directions; conjuring up nostalgia for a lost world; reinforcing particular forms of memory (or identity) politics and/or 'lessons from history'; or developing a bigger picture of multifaceted complexity like the diverse and plural ethnoscape of Salonika itself.

Beginning at what was the Jewish cemetery may have no overwhelming significance over other starting points but it is as good a place as any to work sideways from a fatal yet paradoxically ephemeral Sephardi encounter with its German nemesis to a whole series of religious, social, cultural and political relationships with other peoples of Salonika and its region. This contribution poses how these might offer grounds for further exploring the possibilities for past, present and future co-existence between peoples as well as the pitfalls of nationalism.

A Divided and Incomplete Past? Remembrance and Commemoration of the Cap Arcona tragedy since 1945

Daniel Long, Nottingham Trent University, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

On the afternoon of 3 May, 1945, the Cap Arcona was laden with other 5,000 KZ inmates from Neuengamme concentration camp. Around 3pm the ship was attacked by RAF Typhoons from Second Tactical Air Force. This attack left 5,000 inmates and numerous crew and SS personnel struggling for survival in the icy Baltic waters. Having recently commemorated seventy years since the disaster on 3 May 1945 it is important to look back and understand how over the course of the last seventy years, remembrance and commemoration has been constructed and developed throughout several generations. This paper will begin by arguing that as a result of competing political powers during the Cold War, memorialisation of the Cap Arcona tragedy became highly politicized and largely mis-represented the memory of those who perished. This will explore the growing political divide and its effects on the creation of different types of commemorative structures.

This will then examine more closely the impact of a growing political divide on the appearance of each memorial. The paper will then explore “life after” the Cold War, when as many historians suggest, Germany began to come to terms with her past. It will provide an analysis of the growth and depth of commemoration and draw parallels between the periods 1945-1989 and 1990 to the present day. This paper will attempt to conclude by setting the Cap Arcona tragedy into the wider spectrum of German Holocaust memory and the problems it faces today.

Dr Ernst Bornstein's *The Long Night*: The Survivor who Fought To Remember'

Dr Noemie Lopian and Alain Bornstein

Workshop presentation

Dr Ernst Israel Bornstein was born in Zawiercie, a city in the Silesian province of southern Poland, the eldest of four children. He was a survivor of seven concentration camps from 1940 to 1945 and his autobiographical account of what he endured, "Die Lange Nacht" (The Long Night), which was published in 1967, was one of the first survivors' accounts published after the War. After the war he studied both dentistry and medicine at Munich University and was founder and chair of the Association of ex-Concentration Camp Inmates in Munich until his death, aged 55, in 1978.

Dr Bornstein was motivated to write about his experiences because of the following:

- as a tribute to his parents and siblings who were gassed at Auschwitz
- to educate physicians about the "mentality of the Survivor- someone who leads a seemingly normal existence but "is dead on the inside"
- to fight against Holocaust denial; which he encountered when a young German patient was reluctant to believe her countrymen were capable of committing such atrocities and thought such details as allied propaganda.

The translation of "*The Long Night*" contains not only the translated version of Dr Bornstein's original book, but also translations of speeches and newspaper articles he wrote urging the Holocaust and its victims to be remembered. Two of his children, Noemie and Alain, will lead an interactive session on their father's post war life and his reasons for his determination (at a time when the Holocaust was not generally commemorated) to ensure the Holocaust and its victims are remembered and what their experiences have been as "Second Generation Survivors".

Presenters

Dr Noemie Lopian is a qualified G.P, she is fluent in German and French, married to Danny mother of four and grandmother of four. Noemie translated her father's Holocaust memoirs from German to English

Alain Bornstein is a solicitor. He is fluent in German and French and, together with his wife Judith, edited the English translation of *The Long Night*. Alain has three children.

Photographing Auschwitz for the Internet – Flickr as a Digital Gallery

Tomasz Łysak, University of Warsaw, Poland

Paper presentation

Until recently photographing of tourist sites was a private affair, with photographs disseminated among relatives and friends. The advent of social media broadened the range of potential audiences but Facebook and Instagram provide limited peer feedback to up-and-coming photographers or little possibility to truly showcase talent for advanced ones. Flickr is hailed as one of the pillars of the WEB 2.0 revolution, allowing its users to post visuals online and stimulating the growth of the community of photographers and photography enthusiasts.

With the number of images tagged 'Auschwitz' on Flickr in excess of 180,000, there is a need to filter the results. The website offers a number of filters such 'relevance', 'date uploaded', 'date taken', 'interesting', in addition to its own ingenious tools: a dominant color, b&w, patterns etc. Therefore, it differs from databases of historical photographs, in which keywords refer to the 'content' of the photograph and the circumstances of the photographing.

I aim to place these images in the context of wartime documentary photographs and postwar pictures of the former camp and to assess the impact of the manner of presentation. Firstly, with photographers roaming the site for the past 70 years it has been photographed from every angle and in all known photographic techniques. Are Flickr photographers aware of this tradition or does the spatial arrangement of the camp 'propose' some angles and perspectives? For example, low-angle shots of the tracks with the Birkenau gate in the background typically linked to Alain Resnais's *Night and Fog* (1955) can already be found in the liberation still photographs. Secondly, are Flickr photographs a vehicle for Holocaust commemoration or a springboard for self-promotion? How does the online community react to the images?

The presentation of memory in American Holocaust Literature

Isabel Marks, Rugby School, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

The verb 'to remember' in its various declensions appears one hundred and sixty-nine times in the Hebrew Bible and consequently 'memory' is one of the most prevalent themes in American Holocaust literature. This paper will focus on why the post-war reaction to the Holocaust in America was naturally different to European responses. American Jews were 'protected by accidents of geography' from the persecution of the Holocaust and many were assimilated into American society and had forgotten their Jewish roots by the 1930s and 1940s, but according to author Jonathan Safran Foer, what all American Jews 'do have in common is the knowledge that but for their parents' or (more often) grandparents' or great-grandparents' immigration, they would have shared the fate of European Jewry' and this is a strong motivation for American Jews to reclaim their Jewish heritage through the memories of Holocaust survivors. Herbert Maschamp has questioned how a 'catastrophe of such magnitude was taking place before the eyes of the civilised world' without more notice being taken and there is an implication of the underlying 'spectre of Anti-Semitism, which had haunted pre-war America' and contributed to this silence.

The historian Peter Novick describes the 1960s as 'years of transition' in American understanding of the Holocaust. The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s highlighted the political leverage of victimhood. Furthermore, the much publicised and televised trial of Adolf Eichmann in Israel in 1961-2 acted as a form of watershed for the American literary imagination to stimulate writing about the Holocaust. Amongst American Jews, remembering their relatives and fellow Jews memories of the Holocaust has helped to ensure that Hitler a "posthumous victory" by ensuring their heritage continues and the truth about the Holocaust is not forgotten by anyone, particularly Jews.

Post-memory is the memory of children of survivors, which Susan Rubin Suleiman refers to as the '1.5 generation.' As most Holocaust survivors were European and did not speak English as a first language; this essay is more concerned with the post-memory of the Holocaust through received survivor testimonies in the case of Art Spiegelman's 'Maus' (1989) and Jonathan Safran Foer's 'Everything is Illuminated' (2002); compared to the fictionalized accounts of Anne Michaels' 'Fugitive Pieces' (1996) and Cynthia Ozick's 'The Shawl' (1989).

A poem, a radio and a packet of flour: Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, United Kingdom

Olivia Marks-Woldman, Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

The paper assesses whether Holocaust Memorial Day has an impact on what people know, what people feel and what people do as a result of participating in HMD activities.

The study addressed the questions:

- a) What has happened to mark Holocaust Memorial Day?
- b) Who was involved in marking Holocaust Memorial Day?
- c) What do people say they know about the Holocaust and subsequent genocides?
- d) What do people feel? – whether or not HMD has altered people’s attitudes to the Holocaust and genocide.
- e) What do people do? – whether or not HMD has encouraged people to take action as a result of attending or organising an HMD event, eg speaking to family and friends about the Holocaust and subsequent genocides or taking part in further activities or learning.

The study was commissioned by the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust and conducted by Sheffield Hallam University.

It adopted a mixed methods approach, utilising qualitative and quantitative information. Evidence was gathered through participant and organiser surveys in several waves, and through participant interviews.

The study found that participants in the study continue to report changes in their knowledge, attitudes and actions up to a year after their participation in HMD and the majority of these attribute those changes to HMD. For example, 66% of respondents surveyed a year after HMD 2014 had encouraged young people to learn about the Holocaust and/or genocide in the period between HMD 2014 and HMD 2015.

- 70% of respondents reported that, following their participation in HMD, they were more aware of the causes and conditions that can lead to genocide.
- 66% of survey respondents reported that HMD was responsible for them feeling more sympathetic toward people from different backgrounds.
- 93% of survey respondents took some form of action as a result of attending an HMD event.

From the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust to the Present Day: the Holocaust in the international political arena and the development of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

Dr Kathrin Meyer, Executive Secretary, International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

Paper presentation

The development of the discourse surrounding the Holocaust in national and international politics is mirrored in the development of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA); from a temporary taskforce to the only intergovernmental organization dealing exclusively with Holocaust research, remembrance and education.

In landmark meetings held in Stockholm from 26-28 January 2000, then Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson gathered the representatives of 46 governments including 23 Heads of State or Prime Ministers and 14 Deputy Prime Ministers or Ministers. Such high-level, political representation at a Holocaust-related forum had never before been seen. The outcome of the Conference was the Stockholm Declaration, the mission statement of the IHRA and a symbol of the commitment of governments to cooperate internationally to commemorate, research and educate on the topic of the Shoah.

The IHRA is a unique organization which brings together political representatives and experts working on topics related

to the Holocaust to exchange best practices, implement recommendations and address current challenges in the field. The IHRA offers a fascinating case study for the development of Holocaust discourse in the international political arena over the last 18 years.

Drawing on documents from the original Stockholm Forum as well as internal documents not accessible to the public, this presentation will seek to trace the development of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance from its inception through to the present day. This study seeks to answer questions such as why an inter-governmental organization focusing solely on Holocaust-related issues is necessary and what the IHRA has concretely achieved in its 18 years' existence. The future of IHRA's role in shaping the landscape of Holocaust education, research and remembrance will also be examined in light of the increasingly politicized nature of the memory of the Holocaust as incidents of antisemitism and Holocaust denial continue to rise.

David Cesarani's *Final Solution*

**Professor Dan Michman (The International Institute for Historical Research),
Professor Tom Lawson (Northumbria University)
& Dr Lisa Pine (London South Bank University).**

Keynote Symposium



This roundtable presents a critical discussion of the late David Cesarani's last book about the Holocaust, *Final Solution* published in early 2016. The speakers have been asked in particular to consider in particular what new perspectives *Final Solution* offers as a way of both highlighting Cesarani's immense contribution to Holocaust Studies, and engaging with his arguments. Topics covered will include: the problem that Cesarani identifies around the gap between Holocaust history and the manner in which the events are remembered and memorialised;

his efforts to reassert the importance of the military context for the understanding of the development of Nazi anti-Jewish policy; his assertion of the haphazard development of Nazi Jewish policy; the way in which *Final Solution* does or does not analyse the interaction between Nazi antisemitic policy and practice and the Nazis' targeting of other victim groups; the way in which Cesarani contextualises the Holocaust within wider European as well as just German history; the way in which *Final Solution* considers the experience of the victims of Nazism and finally the way in which the book sets the Holocaust in a wider chronology. Finally speakers will consider where *Final Solution* fits into a wider historiographical context, not least in the context of a growing number of single volume histories of the Holocaust.

“Imagine This”: The Rise and Fall of the Holocaust Musical

Dr Samantha Mitschke, Independent scholar

Paper presentation

Theatre about the Holocaust has always given rise to debate, from the ethics of representation and the portrayal of different victim groups to notions of the “thrill of the real” (Anderson, 2007). The form in which Holocaust theatre has been presented to spectators has remained broadly similar since the premiere of “The Diary of Anne Frank” (1955), with the majority of plays performed as tragedy or drama; comparatively few have been comedies, and these again have provoked debate, such as Peter Barnes’ “Auschwitz” (1978). However, in 2008 a new theatrical event premiered in London. Set in the Warsaw Ghetto in 1942, Shuki Levy and David Goldsmith’s musical “Imagine This” was described as a “story of hope” with a “soaring and lyrical score”. The story follows a group of Jewish actors who stage plays to inspire hope in their community, until rumours of impending liquidation cause their play to merge with reality and the unfolding of a dramatic love story.

The production was meant to last for three months but closed after four weeks following negative critical reviews. But why were the critics so keen to condemn “Imagine This”? What, if anything, was wrong with the production? With the continued commercial popularity of musicals, could *Imagine This* have engaged new audiences with the Holocaust?

This paper begins with an overview and analysis of key scenes within the production, including video extracts from performances. It examines the evolution of the production from initial idea to final rehearsals, and considers the critical reviews – from assertions that it was “right to close” (The Guardian) to pleas of “spare me the schmaltz” (The Independent). It compares “*Imagine This*” with other Holocaust-related musicals, such as “*The Producers*” and “*Cabaret*”, and ultimately asks: can there ever be a place for a Holocaust musical?

Analysis of English History textbooks relating to the topic National Socialism and Holocaust in Key stage 3 and their development from the 1980s to today (1980-2013)

Philipp Mittnik, Teacher University of Vienna, Austria

Paper presentation

Diverse portrayals of the Genocide of the Jews, the representations of victims and perpetrators and the arrangement within selected Austrian, German and English History textbooks shall be presented in this talk. In England, the public interest in Holocaust Education has been raised particularly through TV series and movies. Various studies show that British people have a rather undifferentiated knowledge of the History of National Socialism (BBC, 2005), which can also be found in the narratives of the analysed English history textbooks (Short & Reed, 2004; Fox, 1989). The analysis of the depiction of victim groups in English textbooks shows a predominantly one-sided representation, focused mostly on Jewish victims. Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, victims of Euthanasia or Russian soldiers hardly ever found mentioning in history textbooks.

The analysis of the core issues further shows that neither topics like culture, everyday life or economy in the national socialist regime, nor contemporary far right-wing extremism are adequately dealt with in English textbooks. Chapters like the rise of Adolf Hitler, the resistance movement, the Holocaust and youth during the period of National Socialism dominate the textbook narrations.

Also the depiction of perpetrators is by no means satisfactory, since most sources illustrated lack reference to the fact that most accounts entirely rely on the perspective of perpetrators only. The analysis of the questions shows that the unreflecting re-production of knowledge and not the re-organisation of knowledge play the central role in the textbooks.

The High Road to Auschwitz: Civil Rights, the New Left, and the Repurposing of the Holocaust

**Eric Morgenson, University at Albany-State University of New York,
United States of America**

Paper presentation

This paper explores the shifting American Jewish memory of the Holocaust in relation to the civil rights movement. It argues that the distancing of Jewish organizations from the civil rights movement in the late 1960s was the beginning of a long-term trend that continued into the 1970s and early 80s. This required changing the narrative concerning the “lessons of the Holocaust” from ones that spoke to universal concerns regarding ethnic minorities and human rights to an emphasis on the specifically Jewish nature of the victims. In contrast to scholars who have argued that the Holocaust was not discussed widely in Jewish discourse prior to events like the Eichmann trial and the 1967 War, this work demonstrates that one can find references to the Holocaust extensively in debates concerning civil rights in material produced by organizations such as American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress in the 1950s and early 1960s.

These discussions, however, were not focused so much on Jewish victimhood, but were centered on the idea that Jews should support African American civil rights because the racialized nature of that oppression was very similar to that recently faced by Jews in Europe. Beginning in the early 1970s, however, American Jewish collective memory of the Holocaust became more centered on the specifically Jewish aspect of the tragedy. As the general American left fragmented into ethnic factionalism, and Jews became more assimilated into middle-class white society, American Jewish organizations began to perceive their former allies in the civil rights movement as a source of existential threats. Picking up on the ethnic identity zeitgeist, Jews began to reexamine the lessons of the Holocaust, ultimately refocusing their narrative from one of universal loss to one specifically focused on Jewish suffering.

Is the Pen Mightier Than the #Hashtag? Teaching Holocaust Literature to Millennials

**Mary-Catherine Mueller, The University of Texas at Dallas,
United States of America**

Paper presentation

Is the pen mightier than the #hashtag? In this paper, I address a pedagogical approach to teaching Holocaust Literature that includes inculcating social media platforms when teaching about the Holocaust. Using Twitter as a springboard for my discussion, I consider how writing a tweet (140 characters long) with the hashtag #Holocaust or #NeverAgain can, not only guide students to the latest tweet about the Holocaust, but also introduce them to the current, global conversation about the Holocaust that is occurring online. Similarly to how Holocaust literary genres reflect different narratives and perspectives, students can note how the rhetoric and connotation of a tweet differs based on a hashtag or keyword. I highlight how teaching the Holocaust, in tandem with noting its presence on various social media platforms, can serve as a catalyst for students to continue to learn about and participate in the conversation regarding that which happened in Europe from 1933-1945.

With their newfound knowledge about the Holocaust and crimes against humanity, and with their previously-held knowledge about social media networks joining together, the conversations and lessons about the Holocaust will extend beyond the walls of a classroom and into the global conversation occurring online with each book, post, or tweet.

I conclude by addressing the ethical implications facing both the professor and the student of Holocaust studies for, just as students become aware of the positive ways in which the Holocaust is being addressed globally online, students will also become aware of the challenges and negativity surrounding how Holocaust denial is still being voiced. In exploring this role of social media and Holocaust studies, I seek to identify how we, as educators, can teach a course about Holocaust literature that also highlights the concurrent conversations about the Holocaust occurring on social media. #Holocaust

'Holocaust by Bullets': What happened and how do we know?

A new resource for Key Stages 4 and 5 based on the work of Yahad-In Unum

**Emma O'Brien, UCL Centre for Holocaust Education and
Rachel Donnelly, Imperial War Museums**

Paper presentation

In this presentation we outline the development of a suite of three lessons for Key Stages 4 and 5, focused on the 'Holocaust by Bullets'. The work is the result of a collaborative project between Imperial War Museums, the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education and Yahad-In Unum.

Focusing on Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus and Poland, and using interviews with those who witnessed the events, artistic response, and photographs related to killing sites, the suite of lessons enables students to explore what we know about the Holocaust in the East and how we know what happened. We will apprise conference participants of the work undertaken in creating the resources and offer a brief overview of the three lessons and their accompanying teaching materials.

We situate our presentation within the context of recent research in England by the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education released in 2015 (publication date 2016) which revealed that only 24.3% of students surveyed recognised the significance of the Einsatzgruppen when at least 1.5 million, and some estimate as many as 2 million, Jews

as well as hundreds of thousands of Roma, Soviet officials and others were murdered in mass shootings.

Furthermore, the 2016 report indicated that 54.9% of students thought that mass murder took place in Germany and that knowledge of mass killing in Eastern Europe during the war was also 'very limited'. The report states 'the participation and acquiescence of millions in the enactment of continental genocide is now starkly clear. However, this knowledge does not appear to have entered the classroom in significant ways...[students] know little of the townsfolk in the Baltic States, Ukraine and elsewhere who participated in mass shootings of their neighbours'. Given these findings, we believe that there is a need for focused teaching on the 'Holocaust by Bullets' if the history of the Holocaust is to be understood in its complexity.

The “Eichmann Controversy” in Israel; Reading of Hannah Arendt’s “Eichmann in Jerusalem” through the lens of “The Origins of Totalitarianism”

Ayala Paz, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

Paper presentation

This paper is part of a larger critical discussion exploring cultural and discursive performances of the Holocaust memory in Israel. Hannah Arendt’s, “Eichmann in Jerusalem” (2000), created an enormous controversy in Israel that focused on both the book’s critical analyses concerning the national Holocaust memory formulated in Israel in its first two decades, as well as its controversial depiction of Eichmann’s personality, and the behavior of the Jewish Councils. This paper’s objective is to analyze the essence of the Israeli polemic and provide different reading of “Eichmann”, claiming that it is as an expression of Arendt’s perception of the political sphere and of the individual’s mental and moral activity within totalitarian regimes (Arendt 2010). I argue that as opposed to the pervasive Israeli understanding of “Eichmann”, as a book concerned solely with the modern Jewish experience, at its basis lies a broad theory which challenge the national Israeli memory of the Holocaust, relates its arguments to Arendt’s comprehensive analysis of the totalitarian phenomenon and thus strives to establish an alternative memory which emphasized the Holocaust universal lessons.

My main argument is that in “Eichmann” Arendt introduces a universal standard in order to examine Eichmann’s moral behavior as well as the behavior of the Jews during the Holocaust, which relates this behavior to the human helplessness facing totalitarianism. Accordingly, the book should neither be read as a challenge to Zionist policy nor as a condemnation of the Jews and in support Eichmann, but rather as additional proof for the destructive potential hidden in the totalitarian regime concerning the eradication of the individual’s ability to think, judge and act politically.

This paper helps in understanding Arendt’s theoretical contribution to the understanding of the meaning of evil in modern society and contributes towards an enriching of a new universal discourse about the Holocaust memory in Israel.

Remembering the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide in the Work of Edgar Hilsenrath

Dr Joanne Pettitt, University of Kent, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

In his extensive analysis on the relationship between the Holocaust and the postmodern, Robert Eaglestone affords the Holocaust a singular place in Western memory, attributing to it the onset of postmodern thought. Responding to Christopher Browning's comment that 'the Holocaust was a watershed in human history,' the author states that although this 'feels right' (1), such a conception is intricately tied to our own (Western) understandings of the world. Eaglestone's position alludes to the overarching sense that the Holocaust, whilst not definitively unique among other genocides, does occupy a predominant position in the Western cultural consciousness. Certainly, the Nazi genocide has come to represent the ultimate manifestation of human capacities for wrongdoing in Western culture; the plethora of films, books and games that exploit Nazi or Nazi symbolism as a metonym for culpability testifies to this fact.

On the other hand, the atrocities committed against the Armenians in Turkey provide a fruitful comparison

to the Holocaust when it comes to questions of memory politics because many governments have never formally recognised the genocide. The politics that inform and shape these varying responses to global atrocities will be interrogated as part of this paper.

The work of Edgar Hilsenrath will provide an interesting point of comparison. The author's irreverent novel *The Nazi and the Barber* (1971) caused significant controversy upon its publication and was not published in its original German until several years after its appearance in English. Hilsenrath's *The Story of the Last Thought* (1989), on the other hand, received substantial praise for its depiction of the Armenian genocide, eventually winning the Republic of Armenia Presidential Award. This paper considers the politics of memory that shape the work of Hilsenrath, and seeks to better understand the impact of these discourses on these two particular novels.

The Testimonies of Male Holocaust Survivors from Auschwitz

Dr Lisa Pine, Reader, London South Bank University, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

The lens of gender has been applied comparatively recently both to the Holocaust, in particular, and to genocide studies more widely. Research on gender and genocide has expanded considerably over recent years. Much of the writing on gender to date has been on women and their experiences. However, a discussion of male attributes in Holocaust victims and the behavioural norms expected of Holocaust victims as men is highly significant to our historical understanding of the Holocaust. This paper examines male experiences, as particular to their gender, rather than as 'universal' experiences, using the testimonies and narratives of male Holocaust survivors. It explores how the social construction of particular kinds of identities and behavioural expectations related to men during the extreme and extraordinary circumstances of the Holocaust, in particular at the dual-purpose labour and death camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

The terrible privations and circumstances of internment at Auschwitz included thirst and hunger, extremes of temperature, arduous physical labour, overcrowding, inadequate food and foul water, lengthy roll calls, exhaustion, illness, injury and the constant fear of 'selection' for the gas chambers. In terms of men's behaviour, gendered expectations were centred on strength and hardness, toughness and determination. Signs of weakness fell short of normative behaviour for men. Men did not wish to appear cowardly or weak.

This paper analyses how male survivors have portrayed the experiences and behaviour of men in their narratives. The paper explores how these narratives have contributed to our understanding of the Holocaust.

Communist/Post-Communist Official Remembrance of the Local Involvement in the Holocaust: a comparison between Poland and Romania

Dr Ion Popa, Freie Universität, Berlin, Germany

Paper presentation

Recent debates about the hardline attitude of the current Polish government against those who write about collaboration of Poles in the destruction of the Jewish community begs for similarities and differences with other countries in the region. While the closest similar example would be that of Viktor Orban's Hungary, for the sake of highlighting the differences, my paper will focus on a comparison with Romania. The debate about the local involvement in the Holocaust was very tense in Romania in the 1990s and it led to the creation, in 2003, in a context in which the country was making efforts to join NATO and the EU, of the Elie Wiesel Commission on the Holocaust in Romania. The Final Report of the Commission issued in 2004, officially accepted by the Romanian president and government, acknowledged the local involvement and the murderous policies of the Antonescu regime. While Romania acknowledged its local participation in the Holocaust, it came as a surprise to me that in 2016 Poland still struggles with this reality.

In what ways was the local involvement in the destruction of the Jewish community during the Holocaust similar and different in Romania and Poland? What is in fact the current government in Poland fighting against and are there any similarities to the pre-2004 debate in Romania? Could the case of Romania be a model for a Polish official remembrance of the Holocaust? Despite some positive steps forward, I will argue that the official narrative of Romanian involvement has not generated yet a better understanding of the participation of the lower echelons of the Romanian state in the Holocaust. Could this be because the communist ideology (shared by Poland and Romania), of entirely hiding local guilt, is still very much embedded in the local psyche?

Staging the Holocaust Archive? Artistic re-framings of Holocaust historical images in contemporary public spaces and their impact upon visitors

Dr Diana Popescu, Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

This paper will explore the function of the historical document in contemporary artistic contexts. In recent years, an eclectic group of Jewish and European artists including Ruth Beckermann (The Missing Image, 2015), Romuald Karmakar (The Himmler Project, 2000) Ram Katzir (Your Colouring Book, 1998) Gustav Metzger, (Historic Photographs, 1997) and Nir Hod (Mother, 2014) have questioned the 'untouchability' and authority of the historical document – in this case, of photographs and moving images produced by the Nazis – by editing, framing, distorting, hiding or revealing these images to audiences in rather unexpected ways. What do these visual manipulations inform about these artists' understandings and moral positioning vis-à-vis the historical document? How do contemporary audiences receive these works, and what experiences do they generate in the public spaces of display? These questions will be explored through a detailed analysis of these artists' specific strategies of appropriation of historical images.

In particular, I will focus on Beckermann's film installation 'The Missing Image' and on its impact upon contemporary visitors. On the site of Alfred Hrdlicka's 'Monument against War and Fascism', Beckermann installed a 5-second film footage depicting Austrian passers-by's reactions to Viennese Jews' public humiliation of being forced to wash the streets on their knees. The film is presented in slow motion, and as a loop lasting 11 seconds. Diane Taylor's theoretical understanding of the relation between archival materials and performances, and my own field work consisting of audience observation and surveys will be of use in this analysis of visitors' approaches to and understandings of these altered historical materials. I will further argue that, alongside curatorial trends in Holocaust memorial museums to stage the historical archive, Beckermann's work and the other discussed artworks point to the growing tensions arising between history and memory, namely between tendencies to archive history and expectations to perform history in the public space.

Visualization and Textuality of Holocaust Commemoration in Britain

Rosa Reicher, University of Heidelberg, Germany

Paper presentation

The paper is intended to examine the experiences, periphery, textuality and memories of the Holocaust in the cultural industries in Britain. The central interest is the (re)construction of a memory of the Holocaust through the drawing of boundaries defined in national, regional, social or cultural terms. The three main links that constitute the cultural industry chain are production, promotion and consumption. These links represent the culture triangle needed to energise an industry whose aesthetic nature and artistic values mirror the essence of human civilization. The act of commemorating; an observance or celebration designed to honour the memory of some person or event.

Cultural industries, sometimes also known as “creative industries” combine the creation, production and distribution of goods and services that are cultural in nature. In the context of Holocaust commemoration, the concept of cultural industries seems quite problematic.

The notion of cultural industries generally includes textual, music, television, film production and publishing, architecture, the visual and performing arts, as well as crafts and design. The expression of “Holocaust industries” establishes a connection between cultural industries and Holocaust commemoration.

“Textuality” in Holocaust commemoration implies that the discourse of Holocaust remembrance is encompassed within a multilayered, reflexive, reproductive “text”, rise following questions:

- What kind of theoretical and methodological frameworks for the history of the experiences and memories of Holocaust exist in Britain?
- To what extent and in what ways have ideas and theories of cultural industries and collective memories of Holocaust been transferred in visualization and textuality of Holocaust remembrance?

Making ‘memory makers’: interpolation and inducement in the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust’s training workshops

John Richardson, Loughborough University, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

Kansteiner (2002: 180) argues that processes of collective memorializing are informed by three “types of historical factors: the intellectual and cultural *traditions* that frame all our representations of the past, the *memory makers* who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the *memory consumers* who use, ignore or transform such artefacts according to their own interests”. However, Kansteiner’s argument pays little attention to either the dialectic relations that exist between ‘tradition’ and the making/consuming of collective memory, or the ways that individuals and groups can simultaneously act as both memory makers and memory consumers.

A primary objective of my research is to analyse the ways that memory makers are themselves made. The Holocaust Memorial Day Trust (HMDT) organises free workshops across the UK for people interested in organising an activity to mark Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD). These events are designed to help attendees to gain a better understanding of HMD and how to manage activities meaningful for their audiences.

This presentation examines the discourses of HMD and the ways that they variously interpellate, inspire and motivate those attending to host commemorative events.

The wider project from which this presentation is drawn triangulates data from three sites: ethnographic participant observation of three HMDT workshops, attended October-November 2015; interviews with participants and organisers of all these workshops; and an auto-ethnographic account of the way the workshops provoked me to organise my own HMD event. This presentation focuses on what I am calling ‘chains of interpellation’ – that is, the ways that HMD discourses interpellate people in order that they go on to interpellate others. This chain of interpellation extends the ‘norm circle’ of Holocaust Memorialisation, or the group of people committed to endorsing a specific norm.

Competing Memories in teaching and learning about the Holocaust in Catalonia

Marta Simó, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Paper presentation

Spain's role during World War II is a subject that continues to generate controversies. After Franco's death in 1975, Historical memory became a matter of political identity confronting political parties and their respective narrative constructions. Franco's regime has never been condemned for its responsibility in the deportation of Spanish Republicans to Nazi concentration camps. The same circumstance prevails regarding the role played by the regime and its collaboration with Nazi Germany and with the myth of helping Jewish refugees, Sephardic Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, the role of Spanish diplomats and the passage over the Pyrenees. All these continue to be a burning and controversial issue with implications for Teaching and learning about the Holocaust. Three years ago, in response to the factors mentioned above, a group of teachers, researchers and civil servants founded a working group to deal with teaching about exile, deportation and the Holocaust, under the umbrella of the Catalan educational department and the "Memorial Democratic."

Among other projects and materials, it was elaborated an eight-minute video with two true stories representing shared memories of the whole period of the Holocaust, from 1933 to 1945 in Europe, as well as the history of the Spanish Civil War, and subsequent exile and deportation of the Republicans. The main goal of the video was to have a tool to confront teachers with the connexion between, Spain, the Holocaust and Nazi Germany usually not known. For this purpose, we are carrying out interviews to teachers in different Secondary Schools and from different subjects to know the impact of the video in their interest to teaching the Holocaust. Results will be presented at the Conference together with the video.

Holocaust Education Impact Upon Federal Indian Law and Policy - USA

Meghan Starling, J.D., Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians, United States of America

Paper presentation

Holocaust education provides opportunities to learn the patterns of legalized discrimination, institutional prejudice, and the dangers of inaction. It is my contention that lessons from the Jewish Holocaust can be used to save American Indian Nations.

My paper will review the parallels between historic and on-going U.S. treatment of its Tribes and Tribal Peoples, and Nazi Germany's use of the law to commit acts of genocide against the Jewish Nation. It will examine how Holocaust Education can be used as a tool to empower modern-day victims of genocide.

Specifically, the United States government's failure to fully implement the Indian Child Welfare Act enabled the continued systematic removal of Indian children from their families and Tribal communities.

Such actions (or inactions) are considered by many to be acts of genocide. Utilizing this recognition, American Indians submitted a 2014 Shadow Report to the CERD, urging UN intervention. By reviewing subsequent federal Indian law and policy changes to the Indian Child Welfare Act, I will demonstrate how Holocaust Education continues to make a real difference in our world today.

The Contexts of Memory

Professor Dan Stone, Royal Holloway, University of London

Keynote lecture



Taking the metaphor, borrowed from economics, of “mercantilism”, this lecture demonstrates that Holocaust

memory is at risk from the new age of mercantilism – of zero-sum games – that are prepondering in the worlds of politics and scholarship alike. I show, in the context of Holocaust memory, how the theoretical hinterland of the protectionist position is muddled at best – because it is poor “economics” – and dangerous at worst – because it is the latest and most successful way in which the postwar far right has tried to manoeuvre itself back into the mainstream. The metaphor of mercantilism is not an exact one, for reasons I explain, but it does provide a telling parallel for assessing the dangers of thinking on the one hand about “memory wars” and the assumption that the memories of one event crowd out those of others; and on the other of thinking about how Holocaust memory works in an age of heightened Holocaust consciousness and Holocaust education and at the

same time the resurgence of the far right across Europe. We need, in other words, to think about the contexts of memory. What I will show here is that the memory of the Holocaust has been affected by different contexts, some internal to scholarship, others external. The former includes debates in memory studies and various “turns” in the humanities; the latter institutions such as archives and the media, and the broader political and cultural climate. The clash between the former, which is open, cosmopolitan and dialogical, and the latter, which is across Europe increasingly solipsistic, closed-minded and xenophobic presents a serious problem for scholars in the multi-disciplinary, international and collaborative field of Holocaust Studies. I will argue here against “mercantilist memory” at the same time as noting that scholarship cannot isolate itself from broader debates.

Preaching to the Gentiles: Developing Holocaust History and Education to China

Glenn Timmermans, University of Macau, Macau, China

Paper presentation

As someone who has been working in the field of Holocaust education in China since 2006, I have witnessed increasing awareness of the Holocaust, as well as its uses and abuses, with growing interest. Chinese interest is threefold: a determination to align its own suffering under Japanese occupation (1937-1945), especially the Nanjing Massacre, with Jewish suffering in Europe and to use this as a determiner of national memory, memorialisation, and in its troubled relations with Japan. There is real interest in Judaism in China and while reasons for this are often motivated by tendentious ideas of Jewish wealth and power, wanting to understand the causes of the Holocaust and Western anti-Semitism is a clear motivation for those enrolled in Jewish Studies courses at Chinese universities. At the same time, while the relationship between the Holocaust and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 cannot be discussed openly in the Chinese classroom or lecture hall, many scholars use the Holocaust to draw student attention to these and related issues.

In this presentation I will address these three strands - the Holocaust and Japanese war crimes in China; stereotypes of Jewish power and how they relate to the Holocaust in the Chinese popular imagination; the Holocaust as agency for addressing issues in human rights and genocide which might otherwise be controversial. I will show how in recent years the Chinese government has encouraged exhibitions about the Holocaust with clear intentions to draw parallels with Japanese occupation; how China increasingly projects the city of Shanghai as a place of Jewish refuge during the war, and how these aspects of “soft policy” can be/ are used both positively and negatively by the authorities, positively in creating a non-judgemental memorial culture but negatively in attitudes towards Japan and constructing a victim status for itself.

Holocaust Memory and ‘Civil Religion’

Dr David Tollerton, University of Exeter, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

In a seminal article published in 1967 the American sociologist Robert Bellah introduced and explored the notion of ‘civil religion’. The term’s meaning and usefulness has been contested over subsequent decades but it has continued to have traction in a range of contexts. This paper will examine some of the ways in which ideas of civil religion have been invoked by commentators on Holocaust memory since the 1970s. The suggestion that Holocaust memory feeds into American, Israeli, and European civil religions has been repeatedly articulated, though linked with varying levels of (dis)approval and distinct underlying dynamics. After offering this survey I will consider the relevance of civil religion ideas to contemporary Holocaust memorialisation in the UK.

Ultimately I will propose that the term’s use in Holocaust studies requires caution, but that it can nonetheless open up valuable discussions about the interfaces between public memorialisation, perceptions of sacredness, and national self-understandings.

How National is the Holocaust? University Rotterdam

Marc van Berkel, University Rotterdam, The Netherlands

Paper presentation

In this paper I will address questions with regard to appropriation of the Holocaust, by comparing Holocaust representations in Dutch and German history textbooks between 1970-2010, as well as by comparing the 'national embedding' of the Holocaust in postwar collective memories. A comparison between the ways both countries have dealt with the Holocaust offers interesting insights into the ways post-conflict societies in general deal with their war history. This paper therefore aims at analyzing and describing this development by investigating continuities and discontinuities in the representation of the Holocaust in German and Dutch textbooks. A comparative approach in this context is interesting because it can offer information about the extent in which a national historical contexts influences the content of the textbooks. The comparison of the history textbooks in these two countries deliberately involves a 'perpetrator country' and an occupied country. In this context, it is important to know how these nations have portrayed WWII and the Holocaust. Longitudinal and comparative history textbook studies are hardly available. A systematic, comparative and in depth study of the development of dominant perspectives of

the Holocaust in history textbooks does not yet exist. There are no comparative studies on Holocaust representations in German and Dutch history textbooks.

One cannot keep the past at a distance when referring to Auschwitz. Teachers are sometimes confronted with conflictive approaches when educating about the Holocaust. They have to balance between the affective and the cognitive: students can develop feelings as compassion and anger, yet at the same time they have to be taught factual 'truths' about the Holocaust. In this sense, students have to acquire a framework for understanding the Holocaust by using historical tools. The underlying theoretical problem here is that of historical distancing: should (and can) historians (and history teachers) represent the past 'objectively', by safeguarding a distance between the present and the past?

It is my intention to provide insight into the contents and didactical representations of the topic in history textbooks in both countries. The outcome might support educational institutions through the development of standards for history textbooks.

Screen Memories of the Holocaust in Contemporary British and Irish Fiction

Sue Vice, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

In this paper, I will explore some examples of contemporary British and Irish fiction about the war, in which the locations and circumstances usually associated with the Nazis' 'racial' victims are instead experienced by non-Jewish individuals. Thus these novels place their fictional characters in the camps of Nazi-occupied Europe: either as British prisoners of war, as happens to the central characters in Mary Chamberlain's *The Dressmaker of Dachau* (2015) and Sebastian Faulks's *Auschwitz-set A Possible Life* (2012), or they are those dangerously drawn to totalitarian ideology, as is the case with Pierrot in John Boyne's *The Boy at the Top of the Mountain* (2015), the protagonist's brother Anton in Holly Müller's *My Own Dear Brother* (2016) and Krysta's father in Eliza Granville's *Gretel and the Dark* (2014).

These texts embody the specifically British incompatible memories of the Second World War, by means of which genocide cannot easily be reconciled with perceptions of Britain's military and moral victory. In terms of literary history, the novels also respond to the fictive efforts made by Jonathan Littell's *The Kindly Ones* of 2006, and Martin Amis's *The Zone of Interest* of 2014, to represent the interiority of the perpetrators of genocide. I will conclude by asking whether these contemporary novels are revelatory of British attitudes to the war and the fate of the Jews, in placing non-Jews in those places where racialized mass-murder took place, and if the suffering of their protagonists and characters functions as a screen memory for the real victims of Nazi persecution.

Between Presence and Absence: Digital Encounters with the Holocaust in Memorial Museum Spaces

Victoria Grace Walden, Queen Mary, University of London, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

Perhaps more than any other format, the digital draws attention to the virtuality of the image, as Laura U. Marks and Gilles Deleuze argue, represented images can only show a particular and narrow interpretation of the past. As such, they act like memories – neither tangibly present, nor offering a complete, embodied return to the past. Digital screens and environments are becoming a more common feature of the contemporary Holocaust memorial museum space, yet little research has focused on their significance, beyond individual case studies. How does the digital frame visitors' relationships with the past? What type of museum 'object' are these digital things? What implications does the digital present for the future of Holocaust memory?

This paper suggests a taxonomy of digital screens and environments in Holocaust memorial museum spaces, surveying a range of international examples. It identifies the digital as 1) historical copy, 2) memory experience, 3) interaction, 4) historicisation, 5) historical simulation and 6) gateway. Exploring these types, I examine the ethics of each and how their differing ontological and phenomenological statuses shapes particular relationships with the past and memory of it. I claim that certain digital encounters draw attention to distinctions between past and present, while others encourage visitors to reflect upon their agency and ethical responsibility regarding remembering this tragic, violent and complex history. I particularly consider how the virtual image is playful with notions of absence and presence, visualising the past in the now, yet drawing attention to its physical absence simultaneously.

Should we remember Irena Sendler as a hero?

Laura Walton, Stratton Upper School, United Kingdom

Workshop presentation

The workshop showcases a lesson aimed at Year 9 RE students as an introduction to the Righteous Among the Nations. It explores the life of Irena Sendler during the Holocaust and her role as a child rescuer in the Warsaw ghetto. This is done through a card sort that assumes students know nothing about Irena Sendler and very little about ghettos. After gaining an understanding of her life the lesson moves on to consider whether Irena Sendler was a hero. Students use their own understanding of what a hero is and they are asked to reflect on quotes from Irena Sendler, including; *“In conclusion let me stress most emphatically that we who were rescuing children are not some kind of heroes. Indeed, that term irritates me greatly. The opposite is true – I continue to have qualms of conscience that I did so little.”* Irena Sendler. The question is then posed to the students ‘Is it right to call Irena Sendler a hero?’. After initial reflections from the students the idea of legacy and the control of a legacy is considered.

Pedagogically the question of how we remember and what we remember about real people is important. Does it matter if we ignore the pre and post war life of a person? Why is it important to look at individuals in the first case? Do we risk creating a legend of mythology around an individual when we do this? Does that matter? Would the answers be different if we were in a History lesson rather than RE? Or if we were looking at a survivor, victim, perpetrator or bystander?

Pogrom: November 1938 – Commemorating the Holocaust in a Digital Age

Dr Barbara Warnock and Jessica Green, The Wiener Library, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

In 2015, The Wiener Library completed a project to translate and publish a collection of over 350 eyewitness accounts in English for the first time. The accounts, previously published in the original German, were gathered in the weeks and months following the November Pogrom in 1938, often referred to as 'Kristallnacht' or 'Night of Broken Glass'. The purpose of this project was to remove the language barrier and enable historians, researchers, students, teachers and other members of the public to understand more about this crucial milestone on the road to the Holocaust.

In this workshop, Wiener Library education and digital staff will discuss the historical and educational value of these materials, and demonstrate ways in which the sources could be used with undergraduate students. This will include suggestions as to how the materials could be deployed in lectures, to initiate discussion, or as a topic for a seminar or project. This presentation will show how the sources can be accessed online, and consider creative digital pedagogical uses of them.

As a digital resource of translated accounts, students can study the original November Pogrom testimonies alongside their translations, and read pop-up definitions of historical terms in the context of the original sources. This workshop will suggest educational uses of this material in the process of translation, and consider the challenges faced in using the sensitive historical documentation common within the field of Holocaust Studies.

The workshop will also explore the ways in which the November Pogrom has been remembered and commemorated by recent generations, and how materials like the eyewitness accounts can deepen understanding of the events. Finally, it will examine significant research questions that are raised by the November Pogroms materials, and how these sources could be deployed to look at a variety of topics about the genesis and development of the Holocaust, and the nature and operation of the Nazi state and Nazi racial policies.

Tendentious Texts: Holocaust Perpetrators and Resisters in East German, West German and Italian Schoolbooks, 1960-1975

Daniela Weiner, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, United States of America

Paper presentation

History textbooks tend to be highly controversial, because many believe that the way people think about the past affects their actions in the future. While there have been a few considerations of how the Holocaust is represented in German history textbooks, the Italian case has been less studied. Most comparative textbook analyses involve German, American, British, and Israeli textbooks, but ignore the Italian case.

My paper compares how World War II and the Holocaust were portrayed in East German, West German, and Italian middle and high school history textbooks. Challenging the assumption that Italy was a bystander nation, this paper considers it alongside East and West Germany to determine how the home-grown fascist past was represented in a post-fascist school. While the East-West German comparison allows us to evaluate the role that governmental ideology played in Holocaust education, the German-Italian comparison allows us to determine if the level of racial antisemitism present in a wartime society influenced postwar educational policies.

The paper explores the period of 1960-1975, a time period marked by increased acknowledgement of responsibility, by examining the evolution of an exculpatory trope present in all three school literatures—the heroic resistance.

I argue that textbooks were important components of a nation-building process. Forced to deal with a perpetrator past, all three countries employed a redemptive resistance narrative in schoolbooks that displaced responsibility and rehabilitated institutions that were important for the foundation of these new successor states. East German communists promoted their anti-Nazi activities to legitimize autocratic rule, while West Germany emphasized military and clerical resistance to bolster its young democracy. Italy focused on partisan struggles against German occupation to present itself as a victim of Nazi aggression. Yet, while the narrative was common to all three countries, its evolution differed due to varying national ideologies and political needs.

Collage/Testimony: Splicing the Scrolls of Auschwitz into Literature and History

Dr Dominic Williams, University of Leeds, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

Discovered mostly in the twenty-year period after World War II, but only really accessible since the 1970s, the manuscripts written by the Auschwitz Sonderkommando have not lent themselves to being readily incorporated into literary and historical representations of the Holocaust. Aside from their authors' troubling status, these 'scrolls of Auschwitz' are themselves difficult to categorise: both factual records of events to which few others were able to testify and highly rhetorical, and often literary, pieces of writing. This paper will argue that collage, an artistic and literary technique which maintains the documentary status of its source texts, has featured in many important attempts to resolve this tension. I examine the place of the Scrolls in literary and historical works from two decades: from the 1980s, Dorote Lebovici's radio play *Traganje po pepelu* (1985) (broadcast by BBC Radio 4 as *Searching the Ashes*, 1986) and Martin Gilbert's *The Holocaust* (1986); from the 2000s, Dieter Schlesak's 'documentary novel', *Capesius, der Auschwitzapotheker* (2006) (translated as *The Druggist of Auschwitz*, 2012), and Saul Friedländer's *The Years of Extermination* (2007).

In each of these works, much of the text is made up by juxtaposing different voices; in all of them significant sections are given over to direct quotation from the 'Scrolls'. While acknowledging the very different values given to collage in historiography (a near-literal example of the 'scissors-and-paste' history derided by R. G. Collingwood) and the arts (often proclaimed as the great artistic discovery of the twentieth century), I suggest that it is a technique at work in all of these literary and historical texts. As well as shaping the Sonderkommando's words and juxtaposing them with other testimony, collage enables their writings to stand in their own right. It therefore necessarily incorporates the difficult questions they pose about the nature and limits of testimony.

Memory and the 1964 Anglo-German compensation agreement

Lauren Willmott, The National Archives, United Kingdom

Paper presentation

In 1964 the West German government paid Britain £1 million to compensate a predicted 2000 British victims of Nazi persecution. Until recently, however, records relating to the individual claims made by these victims were not available to the public. In March 2016, The National Archives released the first tranche of 900 files of some 4000 applications received by the Foreign Office-as the latest documentary evidence to shed light on post-war memory of Nazi persecution in 1960s Britain. They offer an insight into the Foreign Office's attempt to identify Jewish victims of concentration camps – as the epitome of the worst of Nazi persecution. This is arguably the first government attempt to incorporate the Holocaust into memory of the Second World War, which is traditionally associated with a much later date.

Whilst ultimately unsuccessful in incorporating the Holocaust within public memory, an analysis of the distribution of funds and victim responses towards the scheme indicates that the Anglo-German compensation agreement of 1964 bought two competing British memories – the Holocaust and the more traditional narrative reserved for war heroes - into sharp relief for the first time. It was thus a turning point that allowed for longer-term developments from the 1970s onwards.

Motherhood as Resistance? Representations of Mothers in the Holocaust during the 50's in Israeli's Newspapers

Liraz Yaffe, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

Paper presentation

The purpose of my paper is to examine the issue of heroism in the Holocaust from a gender theory perspective, and to lay bare the ways in which heroism was defined in the national collective memory of the state of Israel during the 1950s. The two main terms I focus on are resistance and motherhood. Recent studies assert that during the period in question, the ghetto armed rebellion and the Jewish partisan militia, were the only "Holocaust heroes" taken under consideration. By contrast, I suggest that actions taken by mothers during the Holocaust were also conceived as heroic acts. I propose that there is a clear connection between the way women, and mothers in particular, were generally seen in Israel during that time and heroism.

Through a close textual analysis of Israeli newspapers, I argue that despite the fact that the collective memory of heroism in the Holocaust in Israel in the 1950s was perceived as consisting mostly of armed resistance, it also included unarmed actions, like motherhood.

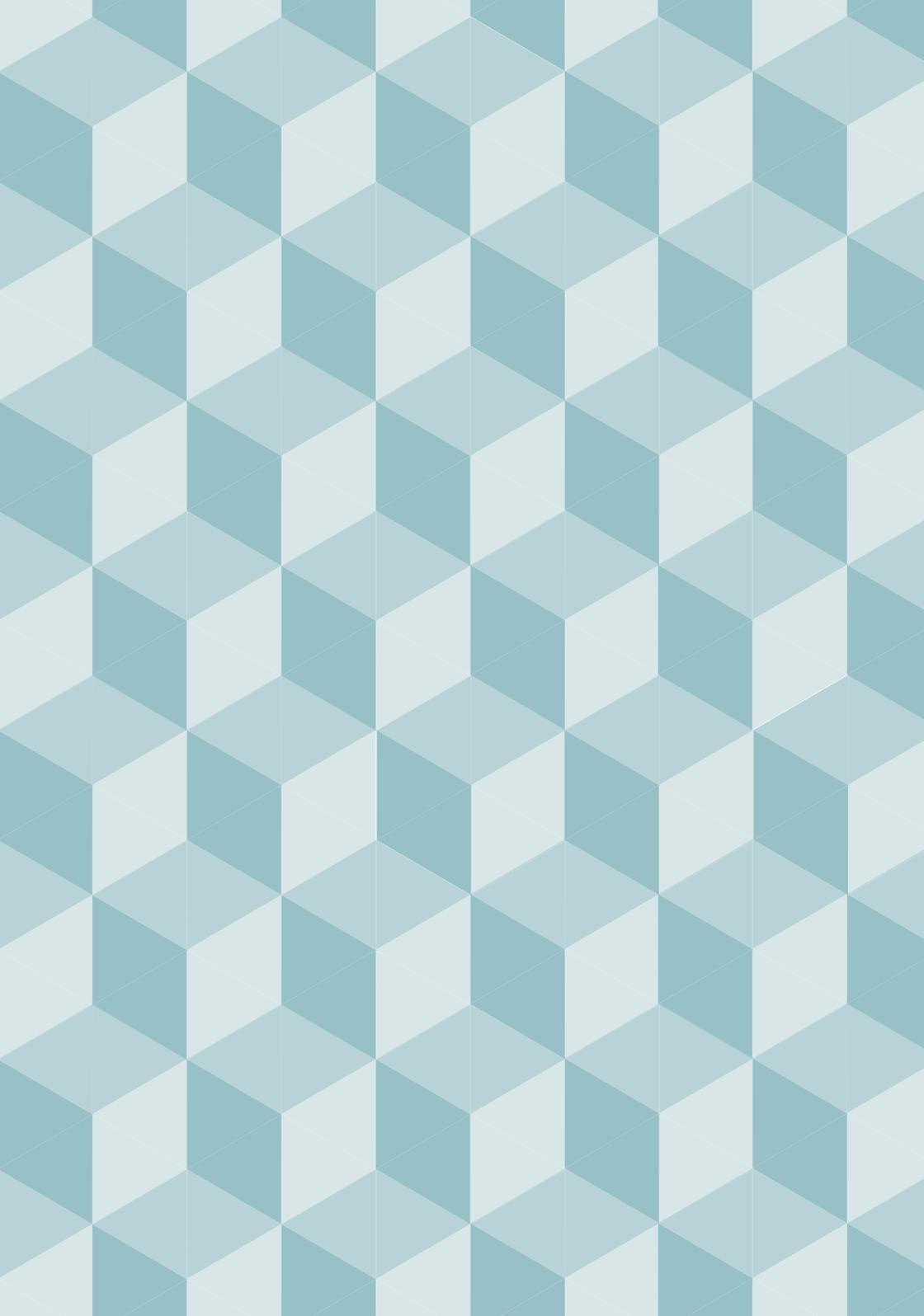
I also argue, that despite the fact that the motherhood was part of the heroic memory of the Holocaust, it did not significantly challenge the traditional perception of gender roles in early Israeli society. In fact, the Holocaust collective memory that included women as heroes was used by the Israeli leadership as one of the state's discipline mechanism to maintain and preserve these gendered roles.

One of the most interesting questions that this research deals with is why does the recent Holocaust Heroism studies excluded mothers from the Collective Memory Discourse, and how the developments of the Gender studies during the last decades affects the collective memory of the Holocaust in Israel, and creates a new discourse concerning mothers in the Holocaust.

Centre for
Holocaust Education



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