

PROGRAM

AMERICAN RESPONSES TO THE HOLOCAUST: TRANSATLANTIC PERSPECTIVES June 15-17, 2011



CONFERENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
AND
BELGIAN LUXEMBOURG AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

in cooperation with the Institute of Jewish Studies, University of Antwerp

Roosevelt Study Center
Abdij 9
4331 BK Middelburg
The Netherlands

Institute of Jewish Studies
Antwerp University
Prinsstraat 13, L.400
Antwerp, Belgium

Roosevelt Study Center, Abdij 9, Middelburg

Wednesday June 15

- 12.30 Registration (*with coffee and tea*)
- 13.15 Welcome Presidents of the NASA and BLASA
- 13.20 Opening Ambassador Fay Hartog Levin, U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands
- 13.30 **Keynote 1** Chair: Derek Rubin
Hasia Diner (New York University, USA)
The Engagement of American Jews with Germany in the First Two Decades after World War II and Its Visible Impact on America's Cold War Culture and Politics
- 14.30 **Session 1** Chair: Dienne Hondius
1: German and American Responses to the Holocaust
 - Jacob S. Eder (University of Pennsylvania, USA), *West German Reactions to American Holocaust Memorial Culture*
 - Rachael McLennan (University of East Anglia, UK), *American and European Representations of Anne Frank*
- 15.30 Coffee & Tea Break
- 16.00 **Parallel Sessions 2**
2a: Religious Responses to the Holocaust:Chair: Hans Krabbendam
 - Victoria J. Barnett (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, USA), *Complicated Conversations: U.S. Interfaith and Ecumenical Leaders and Europe, 1933-1945*
 - Caitlin Carenen (Eastern Connecticut State University, USA), *Political and Theological Responses of American Protestants to the Holocaust*
2b: Aid Organizations and the Holocaust: Chair: Johannes Houwink ten Cate
 - Laura Hobson Faure (Sorbonne University, France), *Responding to the Shoah: American Jewish Organizations in Postwar France, 1944-1954*
 - Zohar Segev (University of Haifa, Israel), *National Identity, Cultural Revival, and National Struggle: American Jewry and the Challenge of Jewish Diaspora in the Shadow of the Holocaust*
- 17.00 Welcoming Reception Roosevelt Study Center
- 18.15 Excursion to the synagogue Middelburg, Heerenstraat 14

Thursday June 16

9.00

Keynote 2 Chair: TBA

David Cesarani (University of London, United Kingdom),
*After Eichmann: The Role of Jewish Presence in American and European
Collective Memory of the Holocaust, 1960-1990*

10.00

Parallel Sessions 3

3a: The Holocaust and the Politics of Memory: Chair: TBA

- Gulie Ne'eman Arad (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel), *Memory without Borders: The Holocaust & Identity Politics in Israel & America*
- Steven F. Sage (United States Holocaust Museum, USA), *Bulgaria, The US and the Holocaust 'Rescue' Mirage*

3b: Dramatic Presentations of the Holocaust: Chair: TBA

- Dana Rufo (Therapy and Theater Research Institute of Europe, Luxembourg), *Characters Who Condemn; Characters Who Redeem: A Comparison of American with Austrian Holocaust Dramas*
- Erika Hughes (Free University Berlin, Germany), *Generations and Generalizations: German and American Gang Violence in T-Money & Wolf*

11.00

Coffee & Tea Break

11.30

Parallel Sessions 4

4a: Intellectuals' Responses to the Holocaust: Chair: Chris Quispel

- Nadja Janssen (University of Sussex, United Kingdom), *"We Are Here to Stay ... This Is Home!" New York Jewish Intellectuals, Commentary Magazine and the Legacy of the Holocaust, 1945-1980*
- Steven Schouten (Scientific Council for Government Policy, Netherlands), *Jews, Academia, and American Foreign Policy after the Holocaust (1945 - ca.1975)*

4b: Warnings in the US and Europe: Chair: Johannes Houwink ten Cate

- Jan Láníček (University of Southampton, United Kingdom), *Knowing or Believing? Responses to the Nazi Extermination Campaign against the Jews in Britain and the United States in 1944*
- Jeffrey Demsky (San Bernardino Valley College, USA), *A Curiously Loud "Abandonment": Reconsidering American Discursive Opposition to Nazi Anti-Semitism*

12.30

Lunch

13.30

Parallel Sessions 5

5a: Government Responses to the Holocaust: Chair: Kees van Minnen

- Elizabeth Bryant (Florida State University, USA), *Roosevelt's Rabbi: The Impact of Stephen S Wise on Roosevelt's Policies during the Holocaust*
- David Woolner (Marist College, USA), *Heroes or Villains? FDR, Pope Pius XII and the Evolution of Public Thought in Response to the Holocaust*
- Bat-Ami Zucker (Bar-Ilan University, Israel), *Madam Secretary Frances Perkins: A Friend in Need*

5b: Representations of the Holocaust in the Mass Media: Chair: Raneiro Speelman

- Jonathan Gill (Manhattan School of Music, USA), *Realizing the Shoah: Jewish Authenticity, Authentic Judaism, and the American Reception of Holocaust*
- Malgorzata Pakier (Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Poland), *Genre Confronts Trauma: The Holocaust in an Early American TV-Show*
- Emiliano Perra (University of Bristol, UK), *Italian Debates on the "Americanization" of the Holocaust*

15.30 Departure to Antwerp By Bus (free of charge)

17.00 Arrival in Antwerp Check in Hotel Prinse, Keizerstraat 63

18.15 Speakers' Dinner (Kosher) Buffet

Klooster der Grauwe Zusters, Lange Sint-Annastraat 7, Antwerp

19.45 Opening Prof. dr. Vivian Liska, Director IJS

20.00 **Keynote Panel:** Chair: Vivian Liska
Contemporary Perspectives on the Holocaust:

- His Excellency Howard Gutman, U.S. Ambassador to Belgium, *Opening Talk*
- Dan Diner (University of Leipzig, Germany), *The Holocaust as Genocide: Transforming WWII in an Era of Globalization*
- Herman Van Goethem (Antwerp University, Belgium), *Commemorating the Holocaust in Belgium: A New Museum on Holocaust and Human Rights in Mechelen*

21.45 End of Panel

Friday June 17 – City Campus Antwerp, B-building, rooms B002 & B004 (Grote Kauwenberg 18)

9.00 **Keynote 3** Chair: Gert Buelens
 Deborah Dwork (Clark University, USA),
And Then? Survivors Postwar

10.00 **Session 6**
6: The Holocaust and Memorial Culture I: Chair: TBA

- Joost Krijnen (University of Groningen, Netherlands), *Does Memory Really Travel? Historical Consciousness and the Americanization of the Holocaust*
- Rob Kroes (Utrecht University, Netherlands), *The Holocaust Remembered: Atrocity Photographs as Nomadic Objects*

11.00 Coffee & Tea Break

11.30 **Session 7**
7: The Holocaust and the Politics of Compensation: Chair: Luc Herman

- Lisiunia Romanienko (University of Wroclaw, Poland), *Exile, Inequality, and the Commodification of Catastrophe*
- Christiane Grieb (University College London, United Kingdom), *American Responses to Forced Labor in the Holocaust*

12.30 Lunch

13.30 **Parallel Sessions 8**

8a: The Holocaust and Memorial Culture II: Chair: Bart Eeckhout

- Stef Craps (Ghent University, Belgium), *Holocaust Impiety in Michael Chabon's The Final Solution*
- Mercedes Peñalba (University of Salamanca, Spain), *Cynthia Ozick's Palimpsest Narratives*
- Marieke Bentein & Philippe Codde (Ghent University, Belgium), *Approaching the Holocaust from the Other Side: Bystanders and Perpetrators in Seiffert's The Dark Room and Littell's The Kindly Ones*

8b: The Holocaust and the Politics of Prevention: Chair: Ido de Haan

- Dirk Visser (University of Groningen, Netherlands), *'This Isn't World War Two: The Holocaust as Rhetorical Tool in American AIDS Discourse*
- Mispa Coertse (University of Johannesburg, South Africa), *Early Warning of Genocide: Engaging the Holocaust as a Comparative Study*
- David S. Frey (Military Academy Westpoint, USA), *The State Department's Treaty Violations Program and the Legacy of the Shoah in Hungary*

15.00 Coffee & Tea Break

15.30 **Session 9**

9: The Holocaust and Memorial Culture III: Chair: Geert Lernout

- Viktoria Sukovata (Kharkiv Karazin National University, Ukraine), *Holocaust Studies in the USA and the Soviet Countries: Comparative Analyses*
- Uta Larkey (Goucher College, USA), *Searching for the Roots our Parents Tried to Cut Off: Shared Memories in Holocaust Survivors' Families*
- Stephanie Rotem (Tel Aviv University, Israel), *Lessons of the Holocaust Taught in Museums*

17.00 **End of the Conference**

17.15 Walking Tour Jewish Neigborhood Antwerp

KEYNOTE 1

The Engagement of American Jews with Germany in the First Two Decades after World War II and Its Visible Impact on America's Cold War Culture and Politics

How did American Jews engage with Germany in the aftermath of the Holocaust? How did they, on the level of the press and their organizational infrastructure in the years from the end of the war into the early 1960s press a particular Jewish claim against Germany, in both a material and more importantly political context? Despite the pressures of the Cold War and America's embrace of the "new Germany," American Jews remained steadfast in their belief that Germany did not deserve to be considered either rehabilitated or a worthy member of the family of nations.

Hasia Diner is Paul S. and Sylvia Steinberg Professor of American Jewish History; and Director of the Goldstein-Goren Center for American Jewish History, New York University, USA.

Recent Publications: with Shira M Kohn and Rachel Kranson *A Jewish Feminine Mystique?: Jewish Women in Postwar America* (New Brunswick, NJ 2010); *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945-1962* (New York 2009); *The Jews of the United States, 1654 to 2000* (Berkeley 2006).

SESSION 1

West German Reactions to American Holocaust Memorial Culture

The late 1970s saw an unprecedented "boom" in American Holocaust memorial culture. Along with it came the construction of monuments and museums, the introduction of Holocaust courses in high schools as well as a number of movies and TV shows on the subject. My paper explores how the Federal Republic of Germany perceived and reacted to this development. From the West German perspective, a growing American interest in the Holocaust posed a serious threat to its reputation in the United States. West German officials feared that this development could significantly alter American attitudes towards the Federal Republic. Thus from the late 1970s onwards, West German politicians, diplomats, and academics engaged in a number of ways with American Holocaust memorial culture. Focusing on their reactions to the NBC-miniseries *Holocaust* (1978) and the construction of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) as case studies, I will analyze German perceptions and reactions in detail. My paper not only deals with American responses to the Holocaust, but also looks at how the Federal Republic of Germany reacted to such responses.

Jacob S. Eder is Member and Coordinator of the Research Project *Global Holocaust? Transatlantic Memories of the Destruction of European Jews in Global Context*, University of Augsburg and (P. Gassert) and Center for Holocaust Studies/University of Vermont (A. E. Steinweis). Furthermore, he is a Research Associate to the GHI, Washington, D.C., (10/15/2008 – present) His Ph.D. in Modern European History, University of Pennsylvania, is expected in 2012

American and European Representations of Anne Frank

Speaking very broadly, debates about the representation of Anne Frank centre upon whether Frank should only be evoked within the specific context of the Holocaust which claimed her life, and then, with scrupulous attention to historical facts of her existence. This paper will refer to American, British and Dutch young-adult fictions which reference Anne Frank in order to compare American and European representations of Frank, allowing examination of some of the controversies surrounding the 'universalization', 'Americanization' or 'appropriation' of Anne Frank, and the Holocaust.

Rachael McLennan got her PhD in English Literature, from the University of Glasgow and is associated with the University of East Anglia.

Recent publications: *Developing Figures: Adolescence, America and Postwar Fiction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009) "Enabling Fictions: Philip Roth's Prosthetic Anne Franks" *Comparative American Studies*, 2009. 'Chasing After the Wind': The Adolescent Aporias of Jeffrey Eugenides", pending in *Writing into the Twenty-First Century: Essays on the Contemporary American Novel*, Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010.

PARALLEL SESSION 2

SESSION 2a

Complicated Conversations: U. S. Interfaith and Ecumenical Leaders and Europe, 1933 – 1945

This paper will trace the motivations and dynamics of the responses of U. S. church and interfaith leaders to events in Nazi Germany, particularly with regard to the persecution of Jews and the Holocaust as it unfolded. It will include an analysis of the communications between these U. S. leaders and their European counterparts. The thesis of this paper is that the responses of these religious leaders are best understood in terms of their self-understanding of their political role within U. S. democracy, not their theological backgrounds. Their statements and actions were influenced by internal debates about pacifism and Zionism, diplomatic concerns about maintaining relations with German churches, strong differences about how best to respond to the growing violence against Jews in Germany, and concerns about the rise in extremist groups in the United States. Particularly after the beginning of the war, these factors led to interpretations of the crisis that differed strongly from perceptions within Europe church circles. This research is based upon documents from the archives of the Federal Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, as well as the private correspondence of Leiper.

Victoria J. Barnett is Staff Director of the Committee on Church Relations with the U. S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and General Editor of the Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works English Edition

Recent publications : "Barmen, die Ökumenische Bewegung, und die Juden: die fehlende These", *Ökumenische Rundschau*, Januar 2009, Heft 1, 19-28. Also published in English in *The Ecumenical Review*. Furthermore "Christian and Jewish interfaith efforts during the Holocaust : the ecumenical context", in *American religious responses to Kristallnacht*. Maria Mazzenga, editor. New York:

Palgrave Macmillan, 2009; and as editor; *Theological Education Underground: 1937-1940*. Volume 15, Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works English Edition (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011).

“A Wholesome Feeling of Incompleteness:” Political and Theological Responses of American Protestants to the Holocaust

Between 1938 and 1945, as the Jews of Europe were systematically massacred by the Nazis and their collaborators, the effects of what would later be termed the Holocaust reverberated across the world. Since the massacre of Jews was taking place in Christian Europe, American Protestants in particular, reeled from the news. In a short time, many began to reevaluate their theological assumptions about Judaism and to advocate for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. My presentation will examine the transition in the United States among American Protestants from the dominant antisemitism of the 1930s to the growing support of Jews, Judaism, and Zionism. I will take an interdisciplinary approach—using both diplomatic history and religious studies—to show how American Protestants underwent major theological and political shifts in their attitudes and activism regarding Jews, Judaism, and Zionism. Despite significant initial hostility to Zionism within some American Protestant circles, by the end of the war, the activities of pro-Zionist Protestant organizations had successfully persuaded Congress and many of their fellow Protestants to support the establishment of Israel. Consideration of the Holocaust and a Jewish homeland catalyzed these changes.

Caitlin Carenen is Assistant Professor at the Department of History of Eastern Connecticut State University

Recent publications: The article, “The American Christian Palestine Committee, the Holocaust, and Mainstream Protestant Zionism,” in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 24 (Fall 2010): 273-296. A Chapter, “Patriotism, national identity, and foreign policy: the US—Israeli alliance in the twenty-first century,” in Kenneth Christie (ed.) *United States Foreign Policy and National Identity in the Twenty-First Century*, Routledge Studies in US Foreign Policy, (London: Routledge, 2008): 50-66. Furthermore a manuscript is forthcoming in the Fall of 2011: *The Fervent Embrace: American Protestants, the Holocaust, and U.S.-Israeli Foreign Policy, 1933-2000*, New York University Press

SESSION 2b

Responding to the Shoah: American Jewish organizations in Postwar France, 1944-1954

My presentation explores the mobilization of American Jewish organizations in post-World War II France, and in particular, will focus on the role of the American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) with the objective of analyzing, in the form of a case study, one example of how American Jews responded to the Shoah. I will argue that while Jewish solidarity formed the impetus for this mobilization, it was actually characterized by a strong desire to disseminate American concepts and practices in the field of social welfare. Thus, like their fellow countrymen, American Jews participated in their own “Marshall Plan,” within the Jewish diaspora. After the liberation of France, the JDC became one

of the major actors of French Jewish reconstruction, providing 26.9 million dollars to French Jewish associations from 1944-1954. The JDC's role in France was both political and welfare-oriented: it attempted to influence French immigration policy, and also imported welfare practices and structures from the United States. The JDC thus facilitated the merging of several major welfare institutions and the establishment of a central fundraising body, modeled after the American United Jewish Appeal. It also set up an "American" social work school in Versailles, which functioned from 1949-1953. The current structure of French Jewish life still bears the mark of this Franco-American encounter. More importantly for a discussion among scholars of the United States, the case of the JDC provides a concrete example of an American response to the Shoah that can be compared with those of other American Jewish organizations, at home and abroad.

Laura Hobson Faure is Lecturer in American Studies at the Sorbonne University, France, and a part-time English teacher at the Department of Languages, Cultures and Communications of Ecole Polytechnique, in Paris.

Recent publications: « Un « Plan Marshall juif » : La présence juive américaine en France après la Shoah, 1944-1954 », PH.D in Modern History, EHESS, 2009. And together with Nancy L. Green et al.; Colonies d'ailleurs et Colonies d'ici », *Hommes et Migrations*, n.1276, novembre-décembre 2008, p.134-145. « Introduction, Le judaïsme libéral en France 1907-2007 », *Archives Juives, Revue d'histoire des Juifs de France*, n.40/2, octobre 2007, p. 4-8.

National Identity, Cultural Revival, and National Struggle: American Jewry and the Challenge of Jewish Diaspora in the Shadow of the Holocaust

The dramatic triangle formed by the Holocaust, its survivors, and the state of Israel, formed a framework not only for the processes of establishing the state. It was also the arena in which the strengthening of Diaspora Jews' ethnic identity took place as they integrated into the world as it changed after the Second World War. They worked with intense determination to rehabilitate the Jewish Diaspora and to help survivors interested in so doing to reintegrate into Europe.

Special attention should be given to the role of the World Jewish Congress after the Holocaust. Though defined as an international body it was in fact an American Jewish organization.

Congress leaders were not fazed by the plight of the survivors and the terrible destruction of European Jewish communities. Quite the opposite—they saw it as proof positive of the need for an international Jewish organization with two objectives. The first was to preserve the rights of world Jewry, representing them in the new post-war international organizations. The second was to foster an ethnic identity with national characteristics.

Zohar Segev is Senior Lecturer at the Department of Jewish History of the University of Haifa, Israel and chair of the Department of Multidisciplinary Studies

Recent Publications: The books, "Israel in Diaspora Jewish Identity", Edited by Danny Ben Moshe and Zohar Segev Published by Sussex Academic Press. (2007) and "From Ethnic Politicians to National Leaders, American Zionist Leadership, the Holocaust and the Establishment of Israel" published by Ben Gurion University press.(2007). His latest book "Zionist Leaders and American

Politicians: American Zionist Leadership in the Fortieth and Fiftieth", will also be Published by Ben Gurion University Press.

KEYNOTE 2

David Cesarani is Professor of History, Royal Holloway College, University of London, UK.

Recent Publications: *Major Farran's Hat: The Untold Story of the Struggle to Establish the Jewish State* (London 2010) and *Becoming Eichmann: Rethinking the Life, Crimes, and Trial of a "Desk Murderer"* (Cambridge, MA 2006) with Suzanne Bardgett, eds., *Belsen 1945: New Historical Perspectives* (Edgware 2006).

PARALLEL SESSIONS 3

SESSION 3b

Memory without Borders: The Holocaust & Identity Politics in Israel & America

Even in the optimistic postwar macho age, which offered no space for remembering 'non-heroic' deaths, the "six million Jews" were put to use as a political trope of Zionism in Israel and of liberalism in America. In recent decades, when "identity politics" and the "culture of victimization" appeared to encourage identities that are grounded in a particular history of oppression, the Holocaust became a master key for gaining as well as withholding recognition.

The ways nations and groups remember and forget is a mirror reflection of their culture and interests. If in Israel, the Shoah is invoked to turn Israelis into more zealous Zionists, in the United States it is utilized to advance liberal ideas. Although there are obvious differences between these two societies, I would wish to argue that in both Israel and the United States the Holocaust's widespread presence in the consciousness, imagination and political discourse has little to do with history and much more with transmitting and solidifying their respective political ideologies.

My presentation will focus on why and how in Israel and the United States, the initially disremembered Shoah – the extermination of six million Jews – came to be embraced as Holocaust – a political-cultural trope, and how more recently diverse groups' agendas, injustices and social pathologies of very different historical experiences have transformed the Holocaust into a major player in the "politics of recognition" and an icon of the culture of victimhood.

Gulie Neéman Arad is Senior Lecturer of the Department of Jewish History at the Ben Gurion University, Beer Sheva, Israel.

Recent publications: *America, Its Jews, and the Rise of Nazism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. "The Protean Place of the Shoah in Israeli Society," in Johannes-Dieter Steinert & Inge Weber-Newth, eds. *Beyond Camps and Forced Labour: Current International Research on Survivors of Nazi Persecution* (Secolo Verlag, 2005) and "The Shoah as Israel's Political Trope," in

Deborah Dash Moore and Ilan Troen, editors. *Divergent Jewish Cultures: America and Israel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) 192-216.

Bulgaria, the U.S., and the Holocaust “Rescue” Mirage

Most of the documentary material at my disposal has never been used by any other historians. It includes the files of the Bulgarian Commissariat of Jewish Affairs (1942-1944) and the transcript of a court trial at Sofia in March 1945, wherein Commissariat officials and others were prosecuted for crimes against the Jews. This proceeding was the first anywhere to exhaustively examine the implementation of the Nazi Final Solution at a national level. But the trial record was subsequently suppressed, and its memory consigned to oblivion.

Supplanting the events and the trial in public memory was the narrative of a national “rescue” of Bulgarian Jewry, fashioned on the Danish model insofar as certain facts could be stretched and other inconvenient facts omitted. At Middelburg I will demonstrate how subsidized cinema, exhibitions, and commemorative events with religious trappings served to construct the image of Bulgaria as a rescuer nation with reference to the country’s experiences in the Holocaust. Thus positioned in post-memory, Bulgaria was commended by a U.S. Congressional resolution in March 2003.

Steven F. Sage is a Research Historian at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. He held a Fellowship at the USHMM Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies during 2005, at which he further investigated and catalogued the primary sources on wartime Bulgaria. He has presented papers on Bulgaria at a conference in Sarajevo (October 2006) on the Holocaust in Southeast Europe sponsored by the Goethe Institute, and at a Woodrow Wilson Center conference in Washington DC (June 2008; co-sponsored by the Finnish Embassy).

Recent publications: “*Ibsen and Hitler*”, published in NYC by Carroll & Graf, 2006 and he is currently working on a new book, *The Holocaust in Bulgaria*.

SESSION 3b

Characters Who Condemn; Characters Who Redeem: A Comparison of American with Austrian Holocaust Dramas

The following is a proposal to compare and contrast American with Austrian Holocaust dramas, in particular to compare Arthur Miller’s “*Incident at Vichy*” with Peter Turrini (and Silke Hassler’s) *Jedem das Seine* and to compare Tony Kushner’s “*A Bright Room Called Day*” with Thomas Bernhard’s “*Heldenplatz*”.

The analysis of similarities and important differences between the American and the Austrian treatment of the Holocaust will focus on the presence and absence of characters with exceptional personalities in these dramas. In these plays, there are characters who either stand out and attempt to change destiny, or who conversely bow to their fate with sluggish indifference. It will be argued that these characters are the playwrights’ decoys. These characters retain a masterful degree of realism, so that audiences can easily identify with their attributes of personality. They are meant to be the characters with whom contemporary audience members are expected to compare themselves.

Dana Rufolo is Founder and director of: TRIE Art Therapy and Theater Research Institute of Europe

Recent publications: In 2010 “Psychodrama Strategies that Protect Tennessee Williams’ Late-play Characters from a Violent World” in Essays On Violence in American Drama, McLean Publishers, eds. Alfonso Muñoz, Ramón Romero, Bernardo Martinez “Correspondence between the inner and outer voice by means of intercepting objects in Arthur Miller’s Death of a Salesman and Sam Shepard’s Fool for Love, appearing in Journal de la littérature générale et comparée, Luxembourg and “Collective Playwriting in the Language Classroom” in Imagination, New Jersey City University, ed. Clyde Coreil

Generations and Generalizations: German and American Gang Violence in *T-Money & Wolf*

In the award-winning 1992 play *T-Money & Wolf*, authors Kevin Willmott and Ric Averill try to place modern African-American gang violence parallel to anti-Semitic violence committed by Hitler Youth in the Third Reich. The two protagonists, for whom the play is named, meet in a contemporary prison cell. Wolf, an elderly former Hitler Youth, and T-Money, an American drug dealer, share the stories of the murders that they did not want to commit but were too weak not to. In one stylized scene of violence, Young Wolf and T-Money commit their first murders onstage together, suggesting a false parallel between the competing ideologies of Nazism and the inner city. In using the present to talk about the past, the play is less about the Holocaust and more about generalized, universal evil. *T-Money & Wolf* plays with time, moving in a non-linear fashion in an attempt to connect the past and the present. My reading of *T-Money & Wolf* illustrates that this play is an excellent example of how American representations turn the Holocaust into a universal story of warning from which audiences should learn to be kinder to their fellow man, grasping at lessons from the pointless deaths of millions.

Erika Hughes is Co-Founder and Editor of the H-Theatre, and Teaching Assistant, at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the Department of Theatre and Drama. Recent publications: “*Ab heute heißt du Sara: German and Israeli identity construction onstage and in the public sphere.*” *Forschungsberichte aus dem Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam*, 3/2007. 109-115. “Understanding *Einverständnis*: Ideology in Brecht’s *Der Jasager* and *Der Neinsager*.” *Youth Theatre Journal* 24: 124-139, 2010. And the forthcoming article “Heard, Not Seen: “Daniel’s Story” at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.” *On Not Looking* edited by Frances Guerin.

PARALLEL SESSIONS 4

SESSION 4a

We are here to stay ... *this is home!*” New York Jewish Intellectuals, Commentary Magazine and the Legacy of the Holocaust, 1945 – 1980

My paper investigates the impact of the Holocaust on the self-perception of a group of Jewish literary critics and political writers who belonged to the leftist group of so-called the New York intellectuals – some of whom would over time become known as neoconservatives. By scrutinising their intellectual journey, I

focus primarily on the complex ways in which the Holocaust, and the Second World War more generally, came to shape their cultural criticism, their political outlook, as well as their understanding of themselves as American Jews – which became crucially informed not by “the challenge presented by freedom and assimilation”, a central trope of Jewish life after 1945, but rather by “the historic Jewish concern with safety and vulnerability”.¹ Looking at how the Holocaust was discussed by these intellectuals demonstrates that American Jews were far from silent about the Holocaust immediately after the war – as often claimed. Also, considering their debates of the lessons of the Holocaust for contemporary American Jewish life shows how they developed a rhetorical repertoire, which foreshadowed a discourse that has become known as the ‘Americanisation of the Holocaust’.

Nadja Janssen is Teacher of German as a Foreign Language Cactus Languages Ltd., Brighton, UK and has taught courses in American history at the University of Sussex. Recent Publications: *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History*, “We Must Begin to Build for Permanence”:

New York Jewish Intellectuals, *Commentary Magazine* and the Legacy of the Second World War, 1945-1959’, Issue 13, Summer/Autumn 2010. and is currently working on an article entitled “‘The Tribe of the Wicked Son’: The Neoconservative Critique of Jewish Radicalism, 1945-1971’.

SESSION 4b

Knowing or believing? American and British Responses to the Nazi extermination campaign against the Jews in 1944

The Allies’ wartime responses to the Holocaust of the Jews were first of all dependent on their knowledge about the German murderous policy in Europe. However, also an analysis of how the Allies treated the incoming information about the extermination of the Jews is crucial for the understanding of their responses to the genocide. This presentation hence offers divergent perspectives on the ways in which the Allies responded to the so-called ‘Auschwitz Protocols’, a comprehensive description of all aspects of life and death in the Auschwitz camp complex that was received in the west in June 1944. In spite of its urgency, this detailed report did not trigger any decisive reaction of the Allied statesmen.

My presentation will comparatively evaluate the responses of the Allies to the Protocols. The main focus centres on the American administration and also the ways in which the American press and population treated the information. Five factors that shaped the responses of the Allies to these reports will be evaluated: 1) Lack of imagination; 2) Anti-Semitism in western societies; 3) American and British Influences on the minor Allies; 4) Shared notion that military equipment should not be used for humanitarian purposes; 5) Universalization of the suffering in Europe.

Jan Lánišek is in the last year of his PhD studies at the Parkes Institute for the Study of Jewish/non-Jewish Relations, University of Southampton. His thesis entitled ‘The Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile and the Jews during the Second

¹ Seth Forman, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind: A Crisis of Liberalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 199.

World War (1938- 1948)' has been submitted and was defended in December 2010. Furthermore, he initiated and organized an academic conference on 'Governments-in-Exile and the Jews during World War Two' that took place in Southampton in March 2010. His most recent academic publication, "'To get a refusal would result in an unfortunate loss of prestige:' The Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile and the Holocaust,' was published in the Winter 2009/10 issue of Holocaust Studies while 'The Czechoslovak Section of the BBC and the Jews during the Second World War' has been accepted for publication in Yad Vashem Studies, 38:2, 2010.

“A Curiously Loud ‘Abandonment’: Reconsidering American Discursive Opposition to Nazi Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust”

The assertion that the US government could have, and should have, taken a more forceful stand against the Nazis' persecution of European Jewry has become an inherited part of the country's collective memory. Institutions of remembrance from Washington D.C. to California teach students that while the Nazis and their collaborators bear guilt for having implemented a racially-motivated program of murder, Americans also share responsibility for having been so-called bystanders to the genocide. This claim significantly influences the manner in which researchers form their questions. Academics have demonstrated a clear reticence to the introduction of fresh theories, methods, and data. Absent such innovations, however, the debate remains conspicuously stagnant. For many of the field's leading authorities, the question of American governmental responses to Nazi anti-Semitism and the Holocaust appears settled.

This paper, however, outlines a history that does not begin with the premise that Americans abandoned the Jews of Europe. Instead, I argue that some citizens saw in the reports of Nazi anti-Semitism an opportunity to initiate a public discourse that explained how the fascist vision for humankind was abhorrent. Not all Americans living during the 1930s held, or tolerated, bigoted views. Politicians spoke out repeatedly; so, too, did prominent social commentators. As members of the Christian majority learned more about Hitler's wide-ranging intolerance, some concluded that tolerating similar prejudices was harmful to society. Although negative sentiments toward ethnic, racial, and religious minorities undoubtedly persisted, there is a larger and less well-known story involving the ways both Jewish and Christians Americans used the issue of combating Nazi intolerance to promote a more pluralist worldview.

Jeffrey Demsky is a professor of history at San Bernardino Valley College in the United States. He completed his Master's Degree under the direction of Richard Breitman at American University in Washington D.C. His doctorate is from the University of Florida. Professor Demsky has presented his work at conferences in France as well as in the United Kingdom. He has several publications about the American response to the Holocaust forthcoming and is currently working on a study of Congressman Sol Bloom.

PARALLEL SESSIONS 5

SESSION 5a

Roosevelt's Rabbi: The Impact of Stephen S. Wise on Roosevelt's Policies during the Holocaust

Rabbi Stephen Wise, one of the most influential Rabbis in American life during the early twentieth century and a leader of both the American Jewish Congress and World Jewish Congress, was often referred to as "Roosevelt's Rabbi" because of the close relationship he had with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. While much focus has been placed on the actions and inactions of Roosevelt in helping European Jews during World War II, little attention is paid in the current historiography to Roosevelt's relationship with Wise and how their friendship impacted Roosevelt's, and indeed the United States', response to the Holocaust.

Utilizing the Papers of Stephen S. Wise, the Papers of the American Jewish Congress, and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Papers, this presentation will explore how much of an impact Wise had on Roosevelt and whether he was able to concretely change U.S. policies during an era in which anti-Semitism plagued the American government. It will also explore whether Wise's role in the current historiography is warranted, for often he is criticized for conflicts with other Jewish leaders, relegated to a footnote, or most commonly, is not mentioned at all, and better situate the impact he made in shaping the American response to the Holocaust.

Elizabeth Bryant has been an instructor of American History at the North Florida Community College and at Florida State University. Recent publications: Encyclopaedia Articles "Eleanor Roosevelt" and "Girl Scouts of America" in *Encyclopedia of Women and American Popular Culture*. Edited by Gina Misiroglu. New York: Facts on File, 2011. and "Eleanor Roosevelt," "Executive Order 9981." "Mary McLeod Bethune," and "Rosie the Riveter" in *Encyclopedia of Women in American Military History*. Edited by Lisa Tendrich Frank. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2011. Forthcoming is the Book Review "Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship in the Era of *Plessy v. Ferguson*." *The Southern Historian*. Forthcoming.

Heroes or Villains? FDR, Pope Pius XII and the Evolution of Public Thought in Response to the Holocaust.

This paper involves a comparative analysis of the public perceptions of two of the most important public figures associated with the history of the Holocaust: US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII. Widely regarded during the 1930s and 40s and 50s, as the two world leaders perhaps most sympathetic to the plight of the Jews during these terrible years, the current public perception of both men is today quite different. Indeed, for a large section of the population FDR and Pius XII are now seen as at best indifferent to the plight of the Jews during the years of Nazi persecution, while their harshest critics have even gone so far as to accuse them of being complicit in the Holocaust. The question I wish to explore is why?

This work is based on both a review of the historiography of FDR and Pius XII in the Holocaust, and on primary source research carried out at the FDR Presidential Library, as well as some research I undertook a number of years ago

on the papers of Father Graham (the primary editor of the Vatican History of the Holocaust) in preparation for the book I co-edited entitled *FDR, the Vatican, and the Roman Catholic Church in America, 1933-1945* (Palgrave MacMillan 2003).

David Woolner is Associate Professor of History and Political Science at Marist College and Senior Vice President of The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. Recent publications: *Cordell Hull, Anthony Eden and the Search for Anglo-American Cooperation, 1933-1938*, published as part of the series: 'Praeger Studies in Diplomatic and Strategic Thought,' forthcoming in Praeger Press, Hartford Connecticut. Editor, *FDR's World: War Peace and Legacies*, with Warren Kimball and David Reynolds, Palgrave Macmillan, November 2008. Editor, *FDR and the Environment*, with Henry Henderson, published as part of the Palgrave/Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Series, *The World of the Roosevelts*, General Editors: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Douglas Brinkley, Palgrave, New York, December 2004.

Madam Secretary Frances Perkins – A Friend in Need

The purpose of this paper is to analyze one factor in the relationship of the Roosevelt administration to the Holocaust by examining the Labor and State Departments attitude to the issue of letting German-Jewish refugees enter into the United States.

The complexities of the present topic can be illustrated by widely divergent views held by these departments and their affect on the fate of thousands of German-Jewish refugees preceding and during WWII.

Historical examination supports the conclusion that from the outset both departments were competing for control on immigration issues. Whereas Secretary of State Hull was prominent in the cabinet, Perkins had a long standing special relationship with the president. When it came to the question of Jewish refugees both department heated up their long-standing competition to control immigration.

There were however a few cases when the persistent Perkins succeeded to bypass the State Department. She achieved a binding opinion by the Attorney General in December 1934 to permit a bond in advance of the immigrants' arrival in the US as a guarantee that the potential immigrant would not become a public charge. She also approved a plan to bring into the US unaccompanied children less than 16 year of age, and in November 1938, again defying the furious opposition of the State Department, she persuaded the President to announce the prolongation of the stay of German Jews who were already in the US on visitors' visas.

There is no evidence that Germany was aware of the tension between the two departments. Yet there is enough evidence that it knew about US reluctance to open the doors for Jewish refugees and used it to advance its anti-Jewish policy.

Bat-Ami Zucker is professor of American History at Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel.

Recent publications: *In Search of Refuge: Jews and US Consuls in Nazi Germany, 1933-1941* .London & Portland Or., Vallentine Mitchell Publishers, 2001. 229 pp. *Cecilia Razovsky and the American-Jewish Women's Operations in the Second World War* London & Portland Or., Vallentine Mitchell Publishers, 2008

"American Refugee Policy in the 1930s", in *Refugees from Nazi Germany*, ed. By Frank Caestecker & Bob Moore, New York * Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010.

SESSION 5b

Realizing the Shoah: Jewish Authenticity, Authentic Judaism, and the American Reception of *Holocaust*

Holocaust (1977) was less a turning point in the public discourse about the destruction of European Jewry than a work that recycled century-old attitudes about realism and the film medium and their relation to the representation of the Jew. The television miniseries inspired self-congratulation on the part of the filmmakers and the audiences because of the supposed bravery required to confront such a difficult topic. At the time, Holocaust denial was seeking to become a legitimate international intellectual enterprise, and Israel's reputation was at a low ebb--shortly after the airing of *Holocaust*, Israel unsuccessfully beseeched President Carter to back out of an arms sale to Saudi Arabia. But the self-congratulation masked a failure to stake out new terms to deal with events that were unique in human history. Many viewers decried *Holocaust* for blithely mingling actual footage from the war with re-enactments, even as it trafficked in demeaning stereotypes--the victim, the denier, the terrorist--that suggested how resistant the figure of the Jew, and the Nazi, for that matter, was to the imperatives of realism.

Jonathan Gill holds positions at the Humanities Faculty of the Manhattan School of Music, New York and as Adjunct Faculty (English), Hogeschool Windesheim, Almere, and Adjunct Faculty, International School of Amsterdam,. Recent publications: "Who Calls Dat Livin': Filming the Gershwins," in *Soundtrack Available: Essays on Film and Popular Music*. Duke University Press, 2003. "It Is Necessarily So: The Yiddish Blackface of Porgy and Bess," in *American Modernism Across the Arts*. Peter Lang, 2003. *Harlem: The Four Hundred Year History From Dutch Village to Capital of Black America* (forthcoming from Grove/Atlantic Press), 2011.

"Genre confronts trauma. The Holocaust in an early American TV-show"

In the prevalent view, popularization of the Holocaust by mass media goes back only as far as the 1970s, when the TV series *Holocaust* by Marvin J. Chomsky was aired. That American production globalised memory of the events, while at the same time arousing strong criticism toward the use of popular media in general to represent trauma. But, as early as 27 May 1953, a Holocaust survivor's story had already been used in an NBC TV show, *This is Your Life!*.

This episode is probably the first postwar instance where the Holocaust was discussed in the context of popular entertainment TV genre. As such, it marks a historical moment: the outset of the particular relation between mass media, the Holocaust and memory. The episode with the survivor Hanna Bloch Kohner as a star shows that immediately after the war the individual historical experience had already become entangled in the processes of mass cultural production. The two, the biography and the media, have been to a significant extent mutually dependent, while any simple assessment would not do justice to their complex

relationship. Feeding on the premises of voyeuristic-sensational mass entertainment on the one hand, the talk show also stimulated a work of memory.

Malgorzata Pakier is Assistant Professor at the Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities in the Department of Sociology.

Recent Publications: With Bo Stråth, eds, *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Memory*, Berghahn Books: Oxford-New York, 2010; "Agnieszka Holland's "Europa, Europa" as a critical voice in the Polish debate on World War II" in *Collective Traumas. Memories of War and Conflict in 20th Century Europe*, eds. Conny Mithander, John Sundholm, and Maria Holmgren Troy. Peter Lang 2007; "Postmemory jako figura refleksyjna w popularnym dyskursie o Zagładzie" (The idea of „post-memory” in the popcultural discourse on the Holocaust) in *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* No. 02/2005.

Email

Italian debates on the “Americanization of the Holocaust”

The Americanization of the Holocaust has been a major subject of debate in the field of Holocaust Studies for many years, being often used as shorthand for crass and vulgar trivializations of the event. Although the debate on the Americanization of the Holocaust originated in the US, it has also reverberated in Europe, often producing significant – and country-specific – themes independent from American discussions.

The paper explores discussion of the Americanization of the Holocaust in Italy by analyzing public debates generated by successful popular works such as *Holocaust*, *Schindler’s List*, *Life Is Beautiful* and the miniseries *Perlasca: An Italian Hero*. Even though the latter two are not American products, they certainly fit into the category of “Americanized” representations of the Holocaust (and at least in the case of *Life Is Beautiful* they were debated as such in Italy). These four cases show the politicized and selective use of the Americanization of the Holocaust category in the Italian context, and offer an interesting example of the interplay between Holocaust discourse in the US and in Europe.

Emiliano Perra is Visiting Fellow in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Bristol. His research interests are in the area of Holocaust memory and representation, with a primary focus on Italy and on visual culture. He is author of *Conflicts of Memory: The Reception of Holocaust Films and Television Programmes in Italy: 1945 to the Present* (Peter Lang, 2010), as well as articles on *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (2008), *Memory Studies* (2010), and on the *Storia della Shoah in Italia* (UTET, 2010). He is currently working on two articles: one on twenty-first century Holocaust television in Italy, France and Britain, and the other on Holocaust television in Italy in the 1960s.

KEYNOTE PANEL

Howard Gutman was nominated by President Barack Obama to be U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium and was confirmed by the U.S. Senate on July 24, 2009. He was sworn in on August 14, 2009. Before being named Ambassador, Mr. Gutman was a partner with the Washington D.C. law firm of Williams & Connolly LLP. In his over twenty-six years with the firm, Mr. Gutman

has been identified as one of "Washington's Top Lawyers" by Washingtonian magazine (December 2004, December 2007) and selected to numerous "Superlawyers" and similar attorney award lists. Earlier in his career, Mr. Gutman served as a Special Assistant to F.B.I Director William H. Webster, focusing on counter-terrorism and counter-intelligence; as a law clerk to Justice Potter Stewart (ret'd.) on the United States Supreme Court; and as a law clerk to Judge Irving L. Goldberg on the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. He is a 1980 graduate of Harvard Law School and a 1977 graduate of Columbia University.

Dan Diner is Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture, University of Leipzig and Department of History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Recent Publications: *Zeitenschwelle. Gegenwartsfragen an die Geschichte* (München 2010), *Lost in the Sacred. Why the Muslim World Stood Still* (Princeton 2009) *Beyond the Conceivable. Studies on Germany, Nazism and the Holocaust* (Berkeley 2000).

Herman Van Goethem is Professor of History at Antwerp University and Director of the Museum on Holocaust and Human Rights in Mechelen, Belgium. Recent Publications: *Belgium and the Monarchy: From National Independence to National Disintegration* (Brussels forthcoming) and edited, *Local Government in Occupied Europe (1939-1945)* (Ghent 2006) and *Oorlogsdagboeken 1940-1942* (Tielt, Belgium 1998).

KEYNOTE 3

And Then? Survivors Postwar

The end of the war and the collapse of the Third Reich raised a question for all European Jews who had survived the Holocaust: where now? Where and to whom did they belong? War's end found few – whether emerging from hiding, returning from the east, or in host countries – prepared to repatriate to their country of origin. For them, there was little to which to return.

Highlighting the role of ideology and the pull of family ties, this talk explores what survivors chose to do and why. And it scrutinizes the process of survivors' adjustment and adaptation in a number of different countries. Drawing upon official documents in public archives as well as personal letters held in private collections and oral histories, *And Then? Survivors Postwar* intertwines the public and private realms, integrating the history of events with the history of people.

Debórah Dwork is Rose Professor of Holocaust History and Director of the Strassler Family Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies in the Department of History, Clark University, Rochester, MA, USA.

Recent Publications: with R.J. van Pelt *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933-1946* (New York 2009); and *Auschwitz* (New York 2008), with Marianne Zadikow May, *The Terezín album of Mariánka Zadikow* (Chicago 2008).

SESSION 6

Does Memory Really Travel?

Historical Consciousness and the Americanization of the Holocaust

Within the closely related fields of Holocaust studies and memory scholarship, the so-called “Americanization of the Holocaust” is a well-established subfield of inquiry. Still, it is hard to discern whether the debate on this topic has ever advanced much beyond the old opposition between purists who decry Americanization and those who consider it as the only and inevitable way for America to come to terms with the Holocaust at all. Problematically, most participants in this debate have tended to take the memory of the Holocaust as the single point of departure, along with assumptions about memory’s universality, or, its ability to “travel.” However, from an American studies perspective, I suggest that this emphasis on memory’s universality neglects its local *particularity*, or, memory’s *inability* to travel. By invoking the concept of historical consciousness, I want to argue that America remembers the Holocaust in ways that are fundamentally different from, for example, those in Europe. The causes for these differences should not only be sought in the fact that America brings different, spatio-temporally defined concerns to the memory of the Holocaust, but, on a more fundamental level, in basic and incommensurable differences in viewing and appreciating history and historicity.

Joost Krijnen is a Ph.D. candidate at the American Studies Department of the University of Groningen, The Netherlands. His dissertation is about the Jewish American experience and the Holocaust in recent Jewish American literature. He studied at the University of Groningen and has a BA in English and an MA in Literary and Cultural Studies.

"The Holocaust Remembered: Atrocity Photographs as Nomadic Objects"

The uses made of atrocity photographs have been an object of study for many years. Students of photography, such as Marianne Hirsch and Barbie Zelizer, have researched the role that photographic documents have played in constructing the memory of the holocaust. The historic afterlife of these photographs is one of suppression and forced oblivion followed by rediscovery and recirculation of the images. One graphic example is the use made of some images from the Jürgen Stroop archive of the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto in the story told by the traveling exhibition *The Family of Man*. Part of this history is a story of the splintering and fragmenting of these photographs, causing separate fragments to lead an afterlife of their own, while being recontextualized and resemanticized. Studies like Frédéric Rousseau's *L'enfant juif de Varsovie* follow the afterlife of such fragments. For the Netherlands a similar iconic image of a young girl glimpsed between the sliding doors of a box car used for transporting Jews to concentration camps has upon closer study been revealed to represent not a Jewish, but a gypsie girl.

This instability in the reading of photographs over time raises issues regarding photography's uses for the construction of historical memory, issues which this paper intends to address.

Rob Kroes is Professor of American Studies at the University of Amsterdam and Utrecht.

Recent Publications: Imaginary Americas in Europe's Public Space. In W. Raussert & R. Isensee (Eds.), *Transcultural Visions of Identities in Images and Texts: Transatlantic American Studies* (pp. 69-95). (2009) Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. Indecent Exposure: Picturing the Horror of 9/11. In D. Rubin & J. Verheul (Eds.), *American Multiculturalism after 9/11* (pp. 67-81). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press..(2006) Americanization and Anti-Americanism. *American quarterly*, 58(2), .(2009) 503-517.

SESSION 7

Exile, Inequality, and the Commodification of Catastrophe

In examining recent failed human rights abuse restitution claims at the EU court of Human Rights filed by representatives of German refugees against the Republic of Poland for the events of World War II, the paper argues that exile recognition claims and related remuneration are not typically instigated or enjoyed by displaced survivors themselves, but rather are a concerted effort by opportunistic civil society, legal, and political elites exploiting the legacy of geopolitical dislocation. Marxian commodity fetishism, Weberian ethnic cleansing, Hegelian optimization of human potential, institutional legitimation, media circulation, resettlement potential, compensation program data, and the simultaneous neglect of authentic coerced exile in Africa are some of the factors discussed providing evidence for an emerging culture of catastrophe commodification.

Lisiunia Romanienko has been adjunct instructor at several institutions including the University of Economics Management, Wrocław, Poland, the Southern University Sociology, New Orleans [Historically Black College University] and Louisiana State University, Sociology / Management, Baton Rouge, Louisiana Recent publications: "Criminalizing Dakar: Off Road Motorcycling as the New Normative Instrument of Hegemonic Empire" *International Journal of Motorcycle Studies* [revise and resubmit] "Genuine Bodies, Disengenuous Times: Body Piercing and the Struggle for Global Authenticity" *Palgrave Press* [book forthcoming 2010] and "Civil Society Economics" in *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society* [in press 2009]

American Responses to Forced Labour in the Holocaust

This paper addresses the responses of the American military government of occupation in post-war Germany to the war crime of slave labour. A foundation to compensate victims was only established in 2000 by the German government. During the liberation of hundreds of Nazi concentration camps, allied forces discovered places and victims of the war crime of forced labour. Although, many of the most famous and most incriminating pictures were taken by Army Signal Corps during liberation of such former slave labour camps and presented at the Nuremberg Trials, the history of their prosecution remains largely an obscure and a seldom inquired issue. My research aims to examine how allied occupation laws corresponded with expectations voiced by the international community in response to the evidence presented at Nuremberg. The legal means available to the American war crimes trial program emerged at the trajectories of allied responsibility for the people, places and living conditions they just had liberated, and the new international constellations of the early Cold War under which such trial policies were to be implemented in occupied Germany. I examine the nature

of the legal means to prosecute forced labour crimes and its effects on the future compensation policies in post-war Germany.

Christiane Grieb is a PhD student at University College London with the topic; Case Study of post-war experience of Nazi war crimes trials and collective memory during early Cold War

Recent publications: Book Review for *Past Imperfect Journal*, Vol. 16 (2010), pp. 179ff. "Mittelbau-Dora: Forced Labour, Concentration Camp History and Nazi-Verlagerungswahn in the Heart of the German Society," Review of Jens-Christian Wagner's "Produktion des Todes" (Wallstein Verlag, 2001) and a Book Review for *H-German*, planned for September 2010: *Stasiobjekt "Mauer": Menschen im Konflikt zwischen Mauer und Souveränität*, Rezension von Martin Schaad's "Dann geh doch rüber..." (Chr. Links Verlag, 2009).

PARALLEL SESSIONS 8

SESSION 8a

Holocaust Impiety in Michael Chabon's *The Final Solution*

Michael Chabon's novella *The Final Solution* (2004) lends itself to being interpreted as an allegory of man's futile quest for understanding of the Holocaust. In this reading, the detective story which the novella recounts against the background of the Nazi extermination of the Jews illustrates the inaccessibility of the unspeakable horror of the Holocaust to rational inquiry. *The Final Solution* can thus be seen to abide by the demands of what Gillian Rose has called "Holocaust piety," that is, devotion to the idea that the Nazi genocide is a radically unique event outside of human history, ineffable, beyond comprehension, and impervious to analysis. My reading of *The Final Solution*, however, supplements and complicates the standard interpretation of the novella as an exercise in Holocaust piety by focusing on an "impious" subtext that appears to contradict some of the text's more overt assumptions. I argue that the novella challenges the dominant conception of the Holocaust as an incomprehensible, ineffable, sacred event by putting the Nazi genocide back into the realm of history, more specifically, the history of a colonizing Western modernity. *The Final Solution* breaks with Holocaust piety, I contend, through the proliferation of mirroring effects that suggest continuities and parallels between the Third Reich and the European colonial empires and between the plights of their respective victims.

Stef Craps is a lecturer (BOF-ZAP research professor) in the English Department at Ghent University, where he directs the Centre for Literature and Trauma. He is the author of *Trauma and Ethics in the Novels of Graham Swift: No Short-Cuts to Salvation* (Sussex Academic Press, 2005) and has served as guest editor for a special double issue of *Studies in the Novel* devoted to postcolonial trauma novels (2008; with Gert Buelens). He has contributed to journals such as *Callaloo*, *Canadian Review of American Studies*, *Contemporary Literature*, *Critique*, *English Studies*, *European Journal of English Studies*, *Neophilologus*, *Textual Practice*, and *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*. At present he is working on a monograph entitled *Postcolonial Witnessing: The Trauma of Empire, the Empire of Trauma*, which is under contract with Palgrave Macmillan, and co-editing a

special issue of *Criticism* on the topic of transcultural negotiations of Holocaust memory (with Michael Rothberg).

Cynthia Ozick's Palimpsest Narratives

This paper discusses the palimpsestic quality of Cynthia Ozick's two-part fictional narrative about the Holocaust, of texts feeding off and breeding with one another, of meanings merged and entangled together: literature in the second degree. In the 1989 printing of *The Shawl*, Ozick frames her two stories, published separately in the *New Yorker* in 1980 ("The Shawl") and in 1983 ("Rosa"), with the final two lines of Celan's renowned poem "Todesfuge," and relies on the work of a first-generation author like Celan to mark her writing's distance from survivor testimony and first-hand fictional accounts of traumatic events in Europe and to incorporate a reflection on how to write about the Holocaust, a reflection on representation itself, through a complex intertextual structure. As a second-generation witness to the Holocaust, Ozick's *The Shawl* also marks a shift away from victimization and sentimentality of earlier accounts in the progression of the protagonist's independence from traumatic memory (she rejects the label of 'survivor' and 'refugee' in favour of 'human being', although the specificity of trauma scars the two narratives) and through her foregrounding of intertextuality.

My analysis assumes that Ozick's *The Shawl* reveals a more complex literary aesthetic in American Holocaust literature: it serves as a prime example of how intertextuality shapes the interpolation of stories of first-generation survivors of the Holocaust, the historical backdrop of her narrative (evinced in her choice of Celan's epigraph), and competing narrative frames (letters, lullabies, biblical allusions, etc.) that reinscribe the palimpsests of Jewish tradition through strategies of self-conscious narrative construction (midrash). By relying on traces of other texts in reshaping Holocaust canonical tropes, Ozick tackles the challenge of representing the Holocaust figuratively while never forgetting her fiction's capacity to transmit history.

Merche Peñalba Garcia is Associate Professor in the English Department at the University of Salamanca, Spain. She has published articles on American realism and short story theory. She is the author of *Sinclair Lewis: la ironía como conciencia crítica* and the editor of *The Art of Concision: Towards a Poetics of Short Fiction* and *Critical Approaches to Short Fiction*. Her current research project concerns Cynthia Ozick's work.

Approaching the Holocaust from the Other Side: Bystanders and Perpetrators in Rachel Seiffert's *The Dark Room* and Jonathan Littell's *The Kindly Ones*.

This paper will focus on the two novels: Rachel Seiffert's *The Dark Room* (2001), and Jonathan Littell's *Les Bienvieillantes* (2006; *The Kindly Ones*, 2009) – one written by a British-German author, the other by a Jewish-American novelist – to explore the dramatic shift in perspective that characterizes some of the more exciting contemporary Holocaust novels, and to explore some of the pertinent differences between the authors' American and European backgrounds.

Marieke Bentein is a MA student at Ghent University who is currently writing her MA thesis on perpetrator perspectives in European and American Holocaust novels.

Philippe Codde is Guest Professor of English and American literature at Ghent University. He is the author of *The Jewish American Novel* (Purdue UP, 2007), a comparative analysis of the Jewish American novel in the context of the Holocaust, radical theology, and French literary and philosophical existentialism. His articles have appeared in journals and volumes such as *Modern Fiction Studies*, *Studies in American Fiction*, *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas*, *Yiddish (Modern Jewish Studies)*, *Poetics Today*, *European Judaism*, *English Language Notes*, *Saul Bellow Journal*; and *The Holocaust, Art, and Taboo: Transatlantic Exchanges on the Ethics and Aesthetics of Representation* (Ed. Sophia Komor en Susanne Rohr).

SESSION 8b

“This Isn’t World War Two:” The Holocaust as Rhetorical Tool in American AIDS Discourse.

When the AIDS epidemic emerged in the early 1980s, it sent a shockwave through America’s gay community. After a decade which had seen an increasing tolerance of homosexuality, America’s gays now faced not only a rapidly increasing death toll, but also a negative turn in public discourse concerning homosexuality. From the outset of the crisis, it was clear that AIDS was a disease that was framed in moral rather than medical terms. Links between homosexuality and disease, which had been severed in the early 1970s, were re-established, and conservatives were quick to depict AIDS as the wages of sin.

There were various ways in which American AIDS activists attempted to counter this negative rhetoric, one of which was the invocation of the Holocaust. Especially playwright Larry Kramer, the most vociferous of AIDS activists, employed the Holocaust metaphor more than once, both in his AIDS-plays—of which *The Normal Heart* (1985) and *The Destiny of Me* (1993) are the best known—and his non-fiction work.

Building on the work by philosopher Martha Nussbaum, whose combined interest in the fields of ethics, aesthetics and (sexual) politics makes it a particularly suitable tool for the analysis of the rhetoric of AIDS, this paper explores the nature of the medical and media discourse on AIDS, and analyzes the ways in which American AIDS activists, particularly Larry Kramer, invoked the Holocaust as a means to awaken the gay community to the seriousness of the AIDS crisis.

Dirk Visser obtained his MA in English language and literature at the University of Groningen. His MA dissertation discussed communication in the plays of Harold Pinter, focusing particularly on the link between Pinter’s early, “absurd” plays, and his political drama of the early 1990s.

After his graduation he taught at various institutions of secondary and higher education. In a move to rekindle his interest in contemporary drama, he embarked on a PhD thesis, in which he analyzes American and British AIDS drama. Using Martha Nussbaum’s theory on ethics and literature as a framework, this thesis discusses the ways in which various dramatic genres engage with AIDS as a moral issue.

Dirk currently teaches courses in rhetoric & composition, and in modern American literature at the American Studies department at the University of Groningen. He published "Plagued for Their Offence: AIDS and Theatrical Representation" *Interfaces: Image Text Language*, no. 26 (2006): 175-191.

American and Allied Responses to Early Warning of the Holocaust – An International Law Perspective.

The purpose of the paper is mainly to explore the three early warning stages of the Holocaust, namely the politically unstable phase, the ideological phase and the operational phase, as well as the response by the United States and other Allied nations thereto from a legal perspective. It appears that these early warning stages show striking similarities to genocides committed subsequent to 1945, indicating a type of pattern of characteristics of the imminence of mass atrocity. In the paper the Genocide Convention's duty to prevent will be analysed and given content with reference to case law that has come out of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda as well as the International Court of Justice in recent times. Following on this the paper will also comment on Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2000) which allows the African Union to intervene in a member state in respect of grave circumstances such as war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. In conclusion, the early warning stages identified to have occurred during the Holocaust are therefore relevant to prompt states in the international community to take preventative action in terms of international law as soon as early warning signals start appearing in order to avoid the recurrence of the commission of genocide.

Mispa Coertse is Lecturer at the University of Johannesburg in the Law department. She presented on several occasions on "*Early Warning of Gross Human Rights Violations – an International Law Perspective*" and "*The Implementation of International Human Rights by the United Nations: Charter-Based Mechanisms*".

"The State Department's Treaty Violations Program and the Legacy of the Shoah in Hungary."

As Hungary's Rákosi regime carried out massive expropriations and deportations of Budapest's middle and upper classes in 1951, the US State Department ramped up a top secret effort to collect thousands of legal affidavits attesting to such repressive activities. This idealistic project, known as the Treaty Violations Program, or by its acronym TREVI, originated in 1948 as an effort to keep track of, and publicly protest, violations of the human rights stipulations of the peace treaties agreed to by the Allied and Powers and the former Axis satellites. My paper analyzes recently declassified materials gathered through the TREVI program. I consider how and speculate as to why groups and individuals mobilized Shoah and genocide -related rhetoric in response to the terror, deportations, and property expropriations carried out in Budapest in the spring and summer of 1951. Legal accusations and testimony from hundreds of Hungarians, rhetorical fusillades from Western diplomats and journalist, as well as rejoinders offered by Hungary's Stalinist government, speak to a many-layered discursive resonance of wartime memory of the "Jewish Question." I conclude

that this resonance needs to be more fully developed and better incorporated into the narratives of the early Cold War and the legacy of the Shoah.

David Frey is an Associate Professor of History and the Director of the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the United States Military Academy at West Point. As Director of the new Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Dr. Frey has spearheaded an effort to increase Academy and US Army awareness and understanding of the phenomenon of genocide, its history, and means of prevention. With the support of Fulbright-Hays, DAAD, Mellon Foundation, Harriman Foundation, and ACLS fellowships, he earned his Ph.D. in Central European History at Columbia University in 2003. He also taught at Columbia as a Lecturer from 2003-2004. He is presently revising his manuscript, *Jews, Nazis, and the Cinema of Hungary: The Tragedy of Success, 1929-44*, which I.B. Tauris will publish in 2011. He recently began work on a new project involving espionage, deportations, law, show trials and the rhetoric of the Holocaust using recently declassified records of the State Department's post-World War Two Treaty Violations [TREVI] Program, a previously classified spy ring known as "the Pond", and Hungarian National and State Security Archives.

SESSION 9

Holocaust studies in the USA and the Soviet countries: comparative analyses

The research and teaching of the Holocaust as an independent academic discipline emerged in West-European and North American universities after the World War II as an interdisciplinary field of research, which had both the practical and theoretical significance. The situation in the countries of the former Soviet Union was completely different. In the Soviet period the Holocaust issue was not studied at schools and universities. The textbooks during the Soviet time informed that 11 millions of Soviet citizens were killed "in Hitler camps of death", but they did not specify that 6 million of them there were Jews.

Only after the 1990s and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the wide Soviet audience received more information about the Holocaust and its directions of studies in The USA and Western Europe. The post-Soviet scholars ground the principles of the Holocaust issue teaching partially on American academic experience, partially on Soviet traditions of the Second World war studies, and partially on the post-Soviet re-thinking of the Holocaust and American Critic studies (the representatives of this direction are T. Cole, J. Roth, others). The commercialization and politicalization of the Holocaust tragedy and "forgetting" of the genocide against other racial and national groups are the main points which are criticized by East-European scholars. One more point of American public memory about Holocaust which is criticized in the post-Soviet debates, is a stress on the suffering of the Holocaust victims instead of to accent the heroism of the anti-Nazi resistance, liberators, and the victims at the ghettos and the concentration camps. Specially, in my presentation I would like to stress the differences in the representations of the Holocaust in the public memory and popular of the USA and the post-Soviet countries.

Viktoriya Sukovata is Ph. D. and Doctor of Habilitation in Philosophical Anthropology and Gender Studies, Associate professor of Theory of Culture and

Philosophy of Science Department, Kharkiv Karazin National University and at Kharkiv National University she teaches Theory of Culture, Ukrainian Culture, Gender Theory, Ethics, and Aesthetics at the Philosophical Faculty. She has published more than 100 articles in the area of Gender and theories and Visual Arts, Genocide and the World war II.

Searching for the Roots our Parents Tried to Cut Off: Shared Memories in Holocaust Survivors' Families

From the second-generation perspective the post-Holocaust family narratives often developed slowly and reluctantly, with the help of photos, mementos and stories of grandparents they never knew. Many children of Holocaust survivors grew up in social settings where their parents' basic sense of self had been bifurcated by the war and Holocaust. Although they often found their pre-war memories too painful to relate to their children when they grew up, some parents did embark on the "trip to Europe" with their adult children, e.g. in the documentary "So Many Miracles" by Saul Rubinek. Most survivor parents, however, could not bring themselves to re-visit the actual sites of their pre-war memories. In some instances the adult children of the survivors embark on the "trip to Europe" with their own children, e.g. in the documentaries "Past Forward" by Ornit Barkai and "Hiding and Seeking" by Menachem Daum. By now the grandchildren of Holocaust survivors have begun to reflect on their family history and discovered their potential to act as "memory facilitators" for the survivors' generation. The "trips to Europe" have often become watershed events in survivor families. This paper, drawing on films, writings and interviews, analyzes the impact of these travels on the family dynamics in multi-generational Holocaust survivor families.

Uta Larkey is Associate Professor of German, Goucher College, Baltimore.

Recent publications: *Life and Loss in the Shadow of the Holocaust: A Jewish Family's Untold Story*, co-authored with Rebecca Boehling, Cambridge University Press. *Shared Memories in Holocaust Survivor Families* (2011) (forthcoming). *New Places, New Identities: The (Ever)Changing Concept of 'Heimat,'* German Politics and Society, Volume 26 Number 2, summer 2008.(2008) and "Bridging the Silence: Jewish and non-Jewish Voices of Remembrance -- Sibylle Tiedemann's documentary film 'Kinderland ist abgebrannt (1997),' " *Glossen* 17(2003). www.dickinson.edu/glossen.

"Lessons of the Holocaust" Taught in Museums

The many Holocaust museums that were erected across the US have become the most popular form of Holocaust commemoration and education. They represent two objectives: commemorating the Holocaust's victims and "teaching its lessons". We encounter two models of museums: a National model that writes an American narrative of the Holocaust and teaches lessons of American Democracy, and an American-Jewish model that shares similar ideology, but also teaches Jewish values related to social activism. Although American Holocaust museums vary in the messages they deliver, they share similar values that suggest democracy, equality and social involvement as the means to avoid a second Holocaust. In comparison, European museums reflect their diverse cultures and histories. While American Holocaust museums are used to teach lessons for the future, European Holocaust

museums are embedded in the past and serve as political arenas that present apologetic narratives of the historic events.

The majority of Holocaust Museums are characterized by unique, innovative architecture. In this talk, I will discuss and compare the architecture of American versus European Holocaust museums to reveal the different attitudes and beliefs of their founders towards the Holocaust – and the way they are used as national and international platforms for political, social and cultural debate.

Stephanie Rotem has been Coordinator of the Research Committee and research assistant at Tel-Aviv University.

Recent publications: "Holocaust Museums in the United States: A New Museum Prototype", [Hebrew], *Massuah Yearbook*, 35, 2008, 151-184 and "Michael Gross" [Hebrew], *30 Outdoor Sculptures in Tel Aviv University Campus*, The Genia Shreiber University Art Gallery, 2005.

Conference Organization:

Gert Buelens (Ghent University)
Hans Krabbendam (Roosevelt Study Center)
Vivian Liska (Antwerp University)
Derek Rubin (Utrecht University)

Conference addresses:

Roosevelt Study Center
Abdij 9
4331 BK Middelburg
The Netherlands

Institute of Jewish Studies
Antwerp University
Lange Sint-Annastraat 7 (16/6)
Grote kauwenberg 18 / B002 & B004 (17/6)
Antwerp, Belgium

Contact:

Roosevelt Study Center
Postbox 6001
4330 LA Middelburg
The Netherlands
31-118-631590
rsc@zeeland.nl
www.roosevelt.nl

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