Lessons and Legacies XI. Expanding Perspectives on the Holocaust in a Changing World

Veranstalter: The Holocaust Educational Foundation; Florida Atlantic University
Datum, Ort: 04.11.2010-07.11.2010, Boca Raton (FL)
Bericht von: Paul Moore / Christopher Dillon / Julia Hörath / Kim Wünschmann, Birkbeck College, University of London

Since 1989 the Holocaust Educational Foundation, in partnership with host universities, has sponsored the biennial Lessons and Legacies conferences on the Holocaust. These interdisciplinary academic gatherings are the largest and most important global forum on the Holocaust. Organisers Francis R. Nicosia (University of Vermont) and Susannah Heschel (Dartmouth College), together with the influential figure of Theodore Zev Weiss (Holocaust Educational Foundation), the driving force behind the conference series, assembled a diverse and comprehensive conference programme for the Eleventh Biennial Lessons and Legacies Conference. The following report summarises a selection of the conference proceedings.

TIMOTHY SNYDER (New Haven) gave the paper of the opening plenary session on the theme „Holocaust History: An Agenda for Renewal". Building on his recent work on the killing fields in Eastern and Central Europe, where the murderous 'utopian' population programs of the Nazi and Soviet regimes were enacted, Snyder emphasized that the role of geography and space in the 'Final Solution' remained poorly understood by historians. Scholars also needed to reconceptualise the reciprocity of the Soviet and Nazi regimes, freed from the blanket charge of 'relativism'. In his keynote address, OMER BARTOV (Providence) spoke on „Genocide and the Holocaust: Arguments over History and Politics". While broadly welcoming Snyder's call for a contextual 'renewal' of Holocaust research, Bartov expressed concern about the influential 'colonial' strand in genocide studies led by Donald Bloxham and Dirk Moses. The Holocaust, he argued, was too complex a phenomenon to fit meaningfully into the rubric of colonialism, which obscured its national context as a Jewish and German experience.

The contributors to the panel „Words of Their Own: Diary Writing During the Holocaust" explored the challenges of working with diaries as a source. AMY SIMON (Bloomington) focused on the depiction of perpetrators in ghetto diaries, seldom named by the authors due to the danger of discovery. When present, they were depicted in animalistic imagery which inverted Nazi propaganda and served to emphasize the humanity of the ghetto inhabitants. Simon concluded by noting the function of diary writing as a means of identity construction and assertion of subjectivity. DOMINIQUE SCHRÖDER (Bielefeld) also concentrated on the act of diary writing as a performance of identity. She stressed the analytical potential for historians in looking at the linguistic strategy of diarists as well as the information they convey: language and context, she concluded, were deeply reciprocal. RACHEL F. BRENNER (Madison) considered the question of what Polish (Christian) diarists saw when they encountered the ghettos. Diarists' silence could be as eloquent as their comments: Maria Dabrowska's massive diary of the German occupation, for example, devoted just five lines of text to the Warsaw Ghetto when it was razed in 1943.

A panel of four papers entitled „Persecution, Survival and Memory: Jews in Hitler's Germany" began with MICHAEL J. GEHERAN (Worcester, MA) presenting his research into German-Jewish First World War veterans' experiences under the Nazi regime, with a particular focus upon their self-perceptions and coping/survival strategies in the Third Reich. Geheran explicated the often complex and contradictory reactions of veterans to the regime, and vice versa. RICHARD N. LUTJENS, Jr. (Evanston) discussed his work on German Jews in hiding in Berlin. He highlighted their day-to-day experiences, illuminating their specific survival mechanisms, and discussed the complex relationship between their lives and the everyday life of non-Jews in Berlin at the same time. LAURIE MARHOEFER (Syracuse, NY) examined the denunciations of Ilse Sonja Totzke of Würzburg by her neighbours on account of her 'asociality', her sexuality, and her philosemi-

© H-Net, Clio-online, and the author, all rights reserved.

tism. Despite this, Totzke was not imprisoned until several years after she had been brought to the attention of the authorities. Totzke's case thus represents an example of popular participation in the regime's repression, but also of the limits and contradictions inherent to that repression. PATRICIA KOLLANDER (Boca Raton) discussed the experiences of the thirty thousand German national U.S. Army soldiers who fought against Nazi Germany during World War II, having emigrated to the United States in response to Hitler's coming to power. Confrontation with Nazi genocide had diverse effects on these soldiers' perceptions of their own life stories and identities.

The panel „Instruments of the *Volksgemeinschaft*: New Research on the Pre-War Nazi Concentration Camps" presented research from the Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded project on the concentration camps between 1933 and 1939. PAUL MOORE (London) considered German popular attitudes towards the prewar camps. After a discussion of print propaganda on the camps and its reception, he examined ordinary Germans' attitudes towards the institutions, concluding that the very failure of the Nazi regime to realise its aim of a unified 'Volksgemeinschaft', free of the old societal divisions of the Weimar Republic, in fact aided acquiescence, even approval, of the camps. KIM WÜNSCHMANN (London) stressed the centrality of the concentration camp system in the pre-war persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany. She argued that every category of detention was used by German authorities to criminalise and exclude the Jewish minority, so helping to shape the „ultimate enemy category" of the Jew in the public consciousness as the axiomatic foe of the German *Volksgemeinschaft*. CHRISTOPHER DILLON (London) focused on the *Volksgemeinschaft* as a rhetorical device in pathologizing Dachau concentration camp inmates. The projection of innate negative qualities onto the inmates, Dillon argued, also worked to bolster the demonstrably fragile collective self-esteem of the camp's SS perpetrators. JULIA HÖRATH (London) explored the underresearched function of the pre-war concentration camps as a means of persecuting socially deviant and purportedly 'criminal' behaviour. The camps became a tool of social engineering almost from the outset of the Third Reich, as local agencies seized upon the camps as an opportunity to pursue pre-existing and longstanding aims of social discipline and crime prevention. In common with her fellow panellists, Hörath stressed that while the largely unopposed piecemeal incarceration of different groups in no way led teleologically to the Holocaust, historical understanding of the horrors of the 'Final Solution' is inadequate without its contextual origins in pre-war National Socialist persecution, at its sharpest and most lethal in the concentration camps.

GEOFFREY HARTMAN (New Haven) was honoured for his contribution to Holocaust Studies, and spoke on the usefulness of video testimonies as scholarly resources. In her keynote address, SHULAMIT VOLKOV (Tel Aviv) presented a wide-ranging overview of her career-spanning research into issues of German-Jewish identity in modern history. She made particular reference to controversial and defining figures such as Walter Rathenau, for whom the questions and contradictions of this dual identity were played out in public, as well as private, life.

In the panel „Sexual Violence during World War II and the Holocaust and its Representation", JESSICA ANDERSON HUGHES (New Brunswick) considered forced prostitution in concentration camp brothels as an „act of resistance". The brothels could serve as a space for the assertion and performance of subjectivity, and intimate personal relationships could develop which, however asymmetrical, historians cannot subsume under the prevalent trope of „rape". REGINA MÜHLHAUSER (Hamburg) explored sexual violence perpetrated by Wehrmacht soldiers during the „war of annihilation" against the Soviet Union. She emphasised that propaganda notions of „Untermenschen" were often acted out through sexual domination and violence. PASCALE BOS (Austin) focused on memories of wartime sexual violence with particular reference to Jewish women. ELISSA MAILÄNDER KOSLOV (Paris) addressed the „aestheticization and sexualization" of National Socialist violence in American and Italian atrocity movies, for example „The Night Porter", a popular 1974 Italian film by Liliana Cavani, con-

© H-Net, Clio-online, and the author, all rights reserved.

troversial for its depiction of a sadomasochistic relationship between a female prisoner and a camp guard.

The panel „Space, Place and the Holocaust" presented research undertaken on a project sponsored by the National Science Foundation into geography, spatiality and the Holocaust. WAITMAN BEORN (Chapel Hill) focused on the role of physical landscape in the *Einsatzgruppen* killings in Belarus. Geography, Beorn showed, was a fundamental red situational influence, particularly in the *Wehrmacht's* involvement. Project director ALBERTO GIORDANO (San Marcos) presented a highly detailed analysis of the wartime deportation of Italian Jews. He showed that Geographic Information Science technologies allowed Holocaust scholars to achieve an unprecedented degree of empirical detail. TIM COLE (Bristol) explored the potential utility of spatial analysis to access the experiences of ghettoization in Budapest. PAUL B. JASKOT (Chicago) set out the importance of space and 'positionality' to SS perpetrators at Auschwitz. The SS concentration camp topography reminds historians of the multifaceted relationships between architecture, war and genocide.

During the final session, a panel on „The Struggle of Nazis and Jews to Shape German Law before and after the Holocaust", focused on the judicial context of racial persecution. ROBERT D. RACHLIN (South Royalton, VT) asked what was held by Nazi legal theorists to be 'Jewish' about extant German Law. Foremost among these were 'individualism', legalism (regarded by theorists like Carl Schmitt as hair-splitting), positivism and the principle of the rehabilitation of criminals. At numerous conferences these educated experts debated the way to make German Law, too, *judenfrei*. DOUGLAS G. MORRIS (New York) focused on Ernst Fraenkel and the dilemma of resistance. The point of illegal work, Fraenkel wrote, lay in a visibility which would of necessity attract violence by the regime. Only by open resistance and preparedness to risk one's life in the face of 'white terror' could one achieve the moral legitimacy to participate in a post National Socialist state. JOSEPH W. BENDERSKY (Richmond, VA) considered the contribution of Carl Schmitt's theories to the Nuremberg Laws. Recent analyses of Schmitt's private papers show him to have been a genuine and non-opportunistic antisemite well before 1933, notwithstanding many professional relations with Jews. BENJAMIN CARTER HETT (New York) considered the post-war role of Jewish émigré lawyers and ex-Gestapo officers in interpretations of the Reichstag Fire. Contesting the truism in Anglo-American historiography that the fire had been the work of a lone anarchist, Hett argued that Hans Mommsen's definitive interpretation had drawn unduly on the self-serving accounts of former Gestapo personnel.

The panel on „Rethinking Consensuality and Coercion: Instrumental Sex and Sexual Violence in the Holocaust" shared a unifying concern with a desire to move beyond established victim narratives. Acknowledging the advances made by recent gendered approaches to the history of the Holocaust, these papers contested the assumed division, present in much of the existing literature, between coerced and consensual sexual relationships. ROBERT SOMMER (Berlin) focused on the Pipel, young prisoners pushed into sexual relationships with prisoner functionaries. These relationships, long taboo, were frequently violent yet also held out the possibility of survival for the young prisoners. Sommer asserted that these sexual relationships represented the most prevalent form of sexual violence in the concentration camps. In her analysis of the Theresienstadt ghetto, ANNA HÁJKOVÁ (Toronto) examined sexual barter, outlining the markedly sexualized community of the inmates, and the stratification within it. She discussed the effects of the emergent forms of sexual barter on gender hierarchy, and the logic of the prisoner community as to what behaviour was deemed permissible and what was not. Hájková demonstrated how the survivors negotiated „normalcy" and the postwar canonical narrative of Theresienstadt. MONIKA FLASCHKA (Kent, OH) presented the hitherto neglected phenomenon of the rape of Jewish Holocaust survivors by Russian soldiers in the final phases and immediate aftermath of the Second World War, thus far overshadowed by the more widely known rapes of German civilian women. Challenging the no-

© H-Net, Clio-online, and the author, all rights reserved.

tion of liberation as a release from persecution and violence, Flaschka drew upon oral testimonies from Holocaust survivors who had witnessed sexual violence or experienced it themselves.

Taken as a whole, this eleventh conference in the series reasserted the pre-eminent place of Lessons and Legacies as a forum for cutting-edge scholarly research into Holocaust Studies, and demonstrated the continuing vibrancy and diversity of historical investigation into the Nazi genocide. Its many papers demonstrated the utility and insightfulness of interdisciplinary approaches, combining as they did gender studies, literary criticism, film studies, law, and history, and pointed the way towards further research.

Conference overview:

Earl Abramson (Holocaust Educational Foundation) and Alan Berger (Florida Atlantic University): Welcome Reception

Opening plenary session

Timothy Snyder (New Haven): Holocaust History: An Agenda For Renewal
Response: Wendy Lower (Munich)

Keynote address

Omer Bartov (Providence): Genocide and the Holocaust: Arguments over History and Politics

Panel 1: Responses to the Holocaust in the Middle East

Götz Nordbruch (Odense): Nazism and the Arab World: The Ambivalence of a Relationship, Past and Present

Esther Webman (Tel Aviv): Mixed and Confused – Egyptian Initial Responses to the Holocaust

Gilbert Achcar (London): An Assessment of Holocaust Denial in the Arab World since the 1980s

Orly R. Rahimiyan (Beersheba): The Reflection of the Holocaust in the Eyes of the Iranian in the Latter Part of the 20th Century

Panel 2: Antisemitism in Europe during the Nazi Years

Christina von Braun (Berlin): „Blutschande": From Incest Taboo to the Nuremberg Racial Laws

James Bernauer (Boston): Hitler's Antisemitic Hate: A Political-Religious Hypothesis

Jacques Kornberg (Toronto): Pope Pius XII and Antisemitism

Natalia Aleksiun (New York): Segregating Beyond Death: Anti-Semitism, Corpses and the Training of Medical Doctors in Poland of the 1930s

Panel 3: Words of their Own: Diary Writing During the Holocaust

Amy Simon (Bloomington): Victim Perspectives of Perpetrators: Jewish Wartime Rperesentations of their „Lords and Masters"

Dominique Schröder (Bielefeld): Writing the Indescribable – Diary Writing in Concentration Camps, 1933-1945

Rachel F. Brenner (Madison): Warsaw Polish Writers-Diarists Encountering the Holocaust: The Cases of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Maria Dąbrowska

Panel 4: The Myth of Silence: Backdating Holocaust Awareness to the Immediate Postwar Period

David Cesarani (London): The Myth of Silence: Postwar Dissemination of Information about the Persecution and Mass Murder of European Jewry

Hasia Diner (New York): Telling the World: Post-War American Jews and the Narrative of the Holocaust

Rebecca Margolis (Ottawa): The Canadian Mainstream Media Responds to the Holocaust, 1945-1965

Lawrence Baron (San Diego): Trial by Audience: Bringing Nazi War Criminals to Justice in Hollywood Films, 1944-1959

Panel 5: The Dynamics of Jewish Slave Labor Under National Socialism

Steven F. Sage (Independent Scholar): Jewish Life and Death in the Organisation Todt

Idit Gill (Ra'anana): Social Characteristics and Work Conditions of Jewish Slaved Laborers in 'Organisation Todt' Camps in the Reich, 1944-

© H-Net, Clio-online, and the author, all rights reserved.

1945

Therkel Strade (Odense): Jewish Slave Labor in the German Armaments Industry in World War II: Gender, Age and Survival

Panel 6: Persecution, Survival and Memory: Jews in Hitler's Germany

Michael J. Geheran (Worcester, MA): Betrayed Comradeship: German-Jewish WWI Veterans under Hitler

Richard N. Lutjens, Jr. (Evanston): Reevaluating the the Role of Hiding during the Holocaust: The Case of Berlin

Laurie Marhoefer (Syracuse): Gestapo Denouncers, Suspicion, and Sexuality: A Case Study in Würzburg

Patricia Kollander (Boca Raton): German Emigres Confront the Holocaust

Panel 7: Instruments of the Volksgemeinschaft: New Research on the Pre-War Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933-1939

Paul Moore (London): German Public Opinion and the Early Nazi Concentration Camps 1933-39

Kim Wünschmann (London): Before the Holocaust: Jewish Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933-1939

Christopher R. Dillon (London): The Dachau SS 1933-1939: From Bavarian Civil Warriors to Soldiers of the Reich

Julia Hörath (London): The Nazi Concentration Camps as a Means of Persecuting Socially Deviant and Criminal Behaviour, 1933-1939

*Panel 8: Raising the „Walking Dead": Studies on the Meaning of the Muselmann for Holocaust Historiography and Representation_*

Lorelee Kippen (Edmonton): Bearing Witness to the Female Muselmänner in Treblinka, Birkenau and Auschwitz

Timothy E. Pytell (San Bernardino): The 'Muzelman', Shame and Visions of Survival: Reflections on the Life and Work of Tadeusz Borowski

Lissa Skitolsky (Selinsgrove, PA): The Making of the Muselmann: Genocide as the Production of Unlivable Life

Panel 9: Film and Memory in Postwar Europe

Simone Gigliotti (Wellington): „Most Pitiful and yet Most Precious": Children of War in Seeds of Destiny

Tomasz Łysak (Warsaw): Sources of Realism in Andrzej Wajda's 'Holocaust' Films

Catherine Portuges (Boston, MA): Out of the Shadows: Cinematic Memory of the Holocaust in Post-Communist Hungary

Simon P. Sibelman (Richmond, VA): Holocaust Surrealism, or Chelm in Hell: A Critical Appraisal of 'Train de Vie'

Panel 10: The Holocaust in the Soviet Union

Jeffrey Koerber (Worcester, MA): Brilliant Disguise: Jews Posing as Belorussians during the Holocaust

Sergey A. Kizima (Minsk): Everyday Approaches to the Persecution of Jews on the Territory of Generalbezirk Weissruthenien

Robert Bernheim (Augusta): Portraits from a Conjoined War: The „Holocaust by Bullets", the German 100th Light Infantry Division, and the Jews of Zinkov, July 1941

Keynote Address

Shulamit Volkov (Tel Aviv): German Jews and the Temptation of Racism

Panel 11: Sexual Violence During WWII and the Holocaust and its Representation

Jessica Anderson Hughes (New Brunswick): Forced Prostitution: Sexual Labor and Resistance in the Concentration Camp Brothels

Regina Mühlhäuser (Hamburg): Questioning Normalities: Narratives on Sexual Violence perpetrated by German Soldiers during the War of Annihilation in the Soviet Union 1941-1945

Pascale Bos (Austin): Memories of a Gendered Violation: Wartime Sexual Violence and the Question of Jewish Women

Elissa Mailänder Koslov (Paris): The Aestheticization and Sexualization of Nazi Violence in US and Italian Camp Atrocity Movies (1969-1979)

© H-Net, Clio-online, and the author, all rights reserved.

Panel 12: Crossings: Art and Literature of the Holocaust

Pnina Rosenberg (Haifa): Mickey Mouse in the French Internment Camp of Gurs: Humor, Irony and Criticism in Holocaust Art

Margaret Sönser Breen (Storrs, CT): Living in Translation: Affirmation of Humanity in Levi, Delbo, and Foer

Frederick S. Roden (Storrs, CT): The Holocaust, Mischlingkeit, and the Literature of Mixed Identity

Carol Salus (Kent, OH): The Politics of Identity: Anselm Kiefer's Paintings as Personal Voyage

Panel 13: German Prostestants and the Jews

Hans-Joachim Dahms (Vienna): Racial Statistics and the German Protestant Church

Robert P. Ericksen (Tacoma): Cioma Schönhaus and the Kaufmann Circle: Forged ID and the Confessing Church

James E. McNutt (Crestview Hills, KY): The Bitter Legacy and Unlearned Lesson of Adolf Schlatter

Manfred Gailus (Berlin): Karl Barth, Elisabeth Schmitz, and her Denkschrift against the Persecution of Jews

Panel 14: The Armenian Genocide Reframed: New Currents in Archival Research

Ugur Umit Ungor (Dublin): Orphans, Converts, Prostitutes, Bandits: The Aftermath of the Armenian Genocide

Matthias Bjørnlund (Copenhagen): Scandinavia and the Armenian Genocide: Eyewitnesses, Interpretations, Aftermath

Bedross Der Matossian (Cambridge, MA): The Armenian Genocide and the Archives of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem

Wolf Gruner (Los Angeles): What did Jews and Germans in the Third Reich know about the Armenian Genocide?

Panel 15: The Churches Confront Nazism and the Holocaust

Kevin P. Spicer (Easton, MA): Myths and Realities of Clergy Intercession for Jews under National Socialism

Lauren N. Faulkner (Notre Dame): Crusading Against „Judeo-Bolshevism": Catholic Seminarians and Vernichtungskrieg, 1939-1945

Jonathan Huener (Burlington, VT): On the Nazi Occupation of Poland, the Polish Catholic Hierarchy, and the Vatican

Panel 16: Making Use of Survivor Testimonies: Complementary and Contesting Perspectives

Mark Roseman (Bloomington): „Der Dank des Vaterlandes": Memories and Chronicles of German Jewry in the 1930s

Jürgen Matthäus (Washington, DC): Towards a „Thick Description" of Survivor Testimony

Henry Greenspan (Ann Arbor): Testimony as a Verb

Roundtables:

Roundtable 1: „Mir zaynen doh!" New Research on the Surviving Remnant after the Holocaust
Discussants: Avinoam J. Patt (West Hartford), Atina Grossmann (New York), Laura J. Hilton (New Concord), Laura Jockusch (Beersheba), Margarete Myers Feinstein (Los Angeles)

Roundtable 2: Beyond History: Challenges and Opportunities of Interdisciplinary Work in Representations of the Holocaust
Discussants: Sandra Alfers (Bellingham, WA), Jeffry M. Diefendorf (Durham, NH), Lisa Nicoletti (Shreveport, LA), Amy Wlodarski (Carlisle, PA)

Roundtable 3: Survivors Speak: Examining the Past, Facing the Future
Discussants: Anna Ornstein (Cambridge, MA), Robert Waisman (Vancouver), Harry Penn (Cambridge, MA)

Panel 17: Regional Particularities: The Holocaust in Estonia, Croatia, and Hungary

Anton Weiss-Wendt (Oslo): Murder Without Hatred: Explaining Estonian Collaboration in the Holocaust

Christopher P. Davey (Kingston): The Croatian „Holocaust" and the Weapon of Forced Conversions: A Failed Genocide

© H-Net, Clio-online, and the author, all rights reserved.

Raz Segal (Worcester, MA): Reevaluating the Hungarian Holocaust: The Destruction of Subcarpathian Rus' Jewry as a Case Study

Paul A. Levine (Uppsala): Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest: Myth, History and Holocaust

Panel 18: The Italian Case

Michele Sarfatti (Milan): Fascist Anti-Semitic Legislation in Comparative Perspective

Guri Swartz (Pisa): Razza e Civiltà and the Cultural Dynamics of Italy after 1938

Annalisa Capristo (Rome): Rethinking Fascist Anti-Semitism – A Historiographical Overview

Ilaria Pavan (Pisa): The Economic Persecution of Italian Jews – Fascism and its Aftermath

Panel 19: Space, Place and the Holocaust

Waitman Beorn (Chapel Hill): Walking in the Footsteps of the Vanished: Using Physical Landscapes to Better Understand Wehrmacht Participation in Einsatzgruppen Killings in Belarus

Alberto Giordano (San Marcos): A Spatial Analysis of the Holocaust in Italy: National and International Dimensions

Tim Cole (Bristol): Experiencing Ghetto Landscapes: Mapping Victims' Experiences of Ghettoization in Budapest, 1944

Paul B. Jaskot (Chicago): Understanding the Spaces Inbetween: The Invisible Spaces of SS Personnel as „Bystanders" at Auschwitz

Panel 20: Cross-Cultural Politics and Aesthetic Controversies of Holocaust Films

Brad Prager (Columbia, MO): Hard Currency: Re-Presenting the Holocaust in Stefan Ruzowitzky's Film „The Counterfeiters"

Alexis Pogorelskin (Duluth): Controversy in Holocaust Cinema: The Case of „The Mortal Storm"

Toni-Lynn Frederick (Reading): Problems of Representation: Strategies of Re-enactment in Claude Lanzmann's „Shoah"

Phyllis Lassner (Evanston): Popular Holocaust Film: Everyone's Holocaust

Panel 21: The Struggle of Nazis and Jews to Shape German Law Before and After the Holocaust

Robert D. Rachlin (South Royalton, VT): What Was Jewish about the „Jewish Influence" on German Law as Viewed By Nazi Legal Theorists?

Douglas G. Morris (New York): The Ernst Fraenkel Dilemma: Nazism, Jewish Lawyers and the Option of Resistance

Joseph W. Bendersky (Richmond, VA): The „Constitution of Freedom": Carl Schmitt and the Nuremberg Laws

Benjamin Carter Hett (New York): „Initiative from Secret Go-Between": Jewish Émigré Lawyers, Gestapo Officers, and the Controversy over the Reichstag Fire in the 1950s and 1960s

Panel 22: Holocaust Memory in Place and Time

Eric Langenbacher (Washington, DC): Is the German Past Mastered? Holocaust Memory in Germany Twenty Years after Unification

Joanna Michlic (Waltham): Memory of the Holocaust and National Identities in Post-Communist Europe

Shirli Gilbert (Southampton): Holocaust Memory in Apartheid South Africa

Elke Heckner (Berkeley): The Future of Holocaust Memory? Human Rights Discourse on Genocide

Panel 23: Rethinking Consensuality and Coercion: Instrumental Sex and Sexual Violence in the Holocaust

Robert Sommer (Berlin): Pipel: Homosexual Exploitation of Young Men and Women in Nazi Concentration Camps

Anna Hájková (Toronto): Rational Relationships and Instrumental Sex in Theresienstadt, 1941-1945

Monika J. Flaschka (Kent, OH): „And this was our liberation": Rape of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, the Re-evaluation of Liberation, and the Social Meaning of Rape

Tagungsbericht *Lessons and Legacies XI. Expanding Perspectives on the Holocaust in a Changing World*. 04.11.2010-07.11.2010, Boca Raton (FL),

© H-Net, Clio-online, and the author, all rights reserved.

in: H-Soz-u-Kult 26.04.2011.

© H-Net, Clio-online, and the author, all rights reserved.