
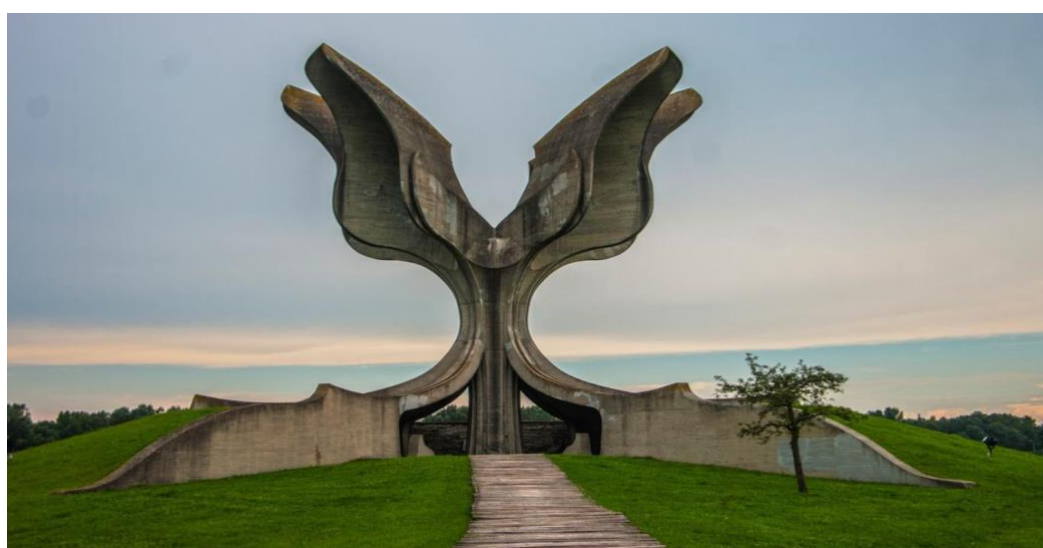


25th Workshop on the History and Memory of Nationalist Socialist Camps and Killing Sites

Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion

Zagreb, 9 – 15 May, 2022

In partnership with:  **DOCUMENTA**
CENTAR ZA SHOAH I NAJLEŠE PREGLEDIŠĆU



STANLEY BURTON CENTRE FOR HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE STUDIES



== STIFTUNG ==
ZEITLEHREN

The Round Table discussion is **exclusively** funded by:



Content

About the Workshop	3
Program	5
Short Biographical Notes	10
Abstracts	19
Information about Zagreb and Emergency contacts	31
Contact Information	34

About the Workshop

25th Workshop on the History and Memory of National Socialist Camps and Killing Sites

Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion

The Workshop on the History and Memory of the Nationalist Socialist Camps and Killing sites has been held since 1994. It is annually organized by and for young scholars. The idea is to create a non-hierarchical space where curators, PhD and MA students have the opportunity to present and discuss their projects. Additionally, it aims to create a supportive, interdisciplinary, and international forum to exchange ideas between researchers of different disciplines and backgrounds. Those interested can participate in the Workshop in three different ways: as speakers, as participants, and as members of the organizing team. The 25th Workshop will focus on the topic “Dynamics of inclusion and Exclusion” and will take place in Zagreb, Croatia, from May 9 to 15, 2022. The Workshop will facilitate debates revolving around the identities of perpetrators and victims, entangled history of fascism, ethnic cleansing, genocide, and the Holocaust.

Zagreb

During the Second World War, Croatia was a meeting point of three fascist movements: Croatian Ustasha, German Nazism, and Italian Fascism. The Independent State of Croatia was a laboratory of fascist experimentation, which culminated in mass violence and multiple, intertwined genocides against minorities such as Serbs, Jews, and Roma. Mass violence was perpetrated by diverse actors belonging to different ethnic, national, religious, political, and social groups. The Holocaust and genocide in Croatia were also significantly shaped by the particular spatial settings, from terror in the streets of various cities, “anti-partisan” actions in open spaces, victim’s villages which were turned into mass execution sites, or in more than thirty concentration camps. While most of the camps were operated by the Ustashes, some were administered by Italian Fascists and Ethnic Germans in Croatia. Elucidating the shifting constellations and dynamic interaction between various perpetrators is central to the Workshop.

The Holocaust in Croatia resulted in the destruction of approximately 75% of its pre-war Jewish population. Intellectual, economic, cultural, and urban contributions of over two centuries by Croatian Jewish communities were erased between 1941 and 1945. One of the cities where this was felt the strongest was the capital of Zagreb. Before the Second World War, Zagreb was home to approximately 11.000 Jews, further welcoming 3.000 Jewish refugees fleeing antisemitic persecution in German, Austrian, and Czech lands. At the end of 1945, barely 2.000 Zagreb Jews remained alive. Nonetheless,

even though often forgotten, the architectural, intellectual, and cultural contribution of the Zagreb Jewish community can still be seen today, testifying to the embeddedness and entanglement of the Jewish community in the history of Zagreb itself. In order to honor and learn about this heritage, a guided tour of Jewish history in Zagreb will be organized for the participants of the Workshop.

In addition to the activities in Zagreb, a day trip to the Jasenovac Memorial Site and Museum is central to the Workshop. Jasenovac was the largest and most virulent of the camps established by the Ustasas. They were the only actors in Eastern and Southeastern Europe that administrated death camps independently of the Nazi regime. The camp complex was established around 100 km southeast of Zagreb after the regime's first network of extermination camps at the Adriatic coastline was disbanded in August 1941. It quickly turned into the epicenter of destruction in the Independent State of Croatia and became the most radical manifestation of the regime's exclusionary policies. The majority of the Jews and Roma in Croatia and Bosnia were murdered in Jasenovac alongside thousands of Serbs. At the same time, one of the subcamps, Stara Gradiška, functioned both as an incarcerating site for political and female prisoners and as a transit camp for transports of forced laborers to Germany.

The history of Jasenovac is hotly contested to this day and remains a central reference point for conflicting and opposing interpretations of the crimes of the Ustasha regime. Although there is growing consensus among academics concerning the number of victims, inflated or minimized assessments of the death toll in Jasenovac continue to proliferate in the public sphere in Croatia and Serbia. To learn about intergroup differences in the commemoration and representation of the camp complex, we will visit the memorial area at Donja Gradina, where most of the victims in Jasenovac were murdered. Donja Gradina is located on the Bosnian side of the Sava river in the Republika Srpska. We envisage that a combined visit to the two memorial sites will bring insights into the contested nature of commemorative practices and memorial politics in the region.

Program

Monday, 9 May

16:00 Arrivals

17:30 Informal introduction of the participants

19:00 Dinner

Tuesday, 10 May

Workshop Introduction and Keynote Address

9:00 Registration

10:00 Keynote Address by Alexander Korb (University of Leicester) "The Independent State of Croatia in the Context of the Second World War and the Holocaust"

12:00 Lunch

1st Panel: Social Dynamics and Identity and the Holocaust

13:00-13:45 Maria Pantazi (Aristotle University, Thessaloniki) – "Survival and Social networks in Thessaloniki during Jewish deportations"

13:45 Break

14:00-14:45 Hana G. Green (Clark University) – "The Social Dynamics of Jewish Women Passing in Central Europe during the Holocaust"

14:45 Break

15:00-15:45 Areti Makri (University of Macedonia & State Archives of Greece) – "The Dark Tales of a Brother and a Sister: Comparing the Post-war Lives and the Resilience Abilities of Two Siblings, Auschwitz Survivors"

15:45 Break

16:00 Panel discussion

Tour of “Jewish Zagreb”

16:45 Visit to the city’s Holocaust Memorial and other sights with Tena Banjeglav (Documenta) as guide

19:30 Dinner

Wednesday, 11 May

Excursion to Jasenovac Memorial Site

08.00 Bus trip to Jasenovac

09:30 Jasenovac Memorial Exhibition and tour of the memorial site

13:30 Visit to Donja Gradina Memorial Site in Bosnia and Herzegovina

15:30 Visit to Uštica with Bibijana Papo Hutinec (University of Zagreb) as guide

17:00 Bus trip back to Zagreb

18:30 Discussion on memory politics, denial, and concentration camps in contemporary Europe

19:30 Dinner

Thursday, 12 May

2nd Panel: Racial Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion

09:00–09:45 Karianne Hansen (University of Leicester) – “Approaching Race and Ethnicity in the Nazi Concentration Camps: The Case of Norwegian Political Prisoners”

09:45 Break

10:00–10:45 Alina Bojcic (University of Oslo) – The Antisemitic Exhibition “JEWS”: Antisemitism in the Ustasha.

10:45 Break

11:00–11:45 Théophile Leroy (Historical Research Centre of the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, Paris) – “The Rassenhygienische Forschungsstelle and the Racial Registration of Sinti and Roma in the Upper Rhine. Identification, Selection and Deportation 1937-1943”

11:45 Lunch

13:15–14:00 Alexios Ntotorakis Exarchou (Humboldt University/University College Dublin) – “From Athens to Brandenburg: Greek Prisoners in the Zuchthaus Brandenburg an der Havel”

14:00 Break

14:15 - 14:45 Panel Discussion

Event

16:00 “Between Global and Local Modes of Genocide Memorialization in Croatia.” Round-table discussion about the Holocaust Memorial in Novinarski Dom, Zagreb

20:00 Dinner

Friday, 13 May

Keynote Address

09:00 Nataša Mataušić “Female Prisoners in Concentration and Death Camps in the Independent State of Croatia”

3rd Panel: Silenced and Marginalized Aspects of the Holocaust

10:45-11:30 Paweł Michna (Jagiellonian University, Krakow) – “Between Propaganda and ‘Negative Testimony.’ On the Exclusion of Official Visual Material from the Holocaust and the Prospects for their Inclusion.”

11:30 Break

11:45-12:30 Jesse E. Lillefjeld (European University Viadrina, Frankfurt an der Oder) – “‘Molsdorfki’- The Female Officers of the Armia Krajowa and the Molsdorf – Aussenlager”

12:30 Lunch

14:00-14:45 Betsy Inlow (University of Leicester) - “Use of Holocaust Graphic Narratives within Museums: The Case Study of *CHUTZ-POW!* and the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh”

14:45 Break

15:00 Panel Discussion

Keynote Address

16:30 Nikolina Židek (IE School of Global and Public Affairs, Madrid) “Memory Culture among Croat Emigrants in the Postwar Period“

18:00 Dinner

Saturday, May 14

4th Panel: Spatial Dimensions of the Holocaust and its Aftermath

09:00-09:45 Jessica Cretney (De Montfort University, Leicester) – “Spatial Perpetration: Reconsidering Dachau, the SS and the Limits of Architecture“

09:45 Break

10:00-10:45 Alexandra M. Szabo (Brandeis University, Waltham) and Eszter Katona (ELTE University, Budapest) – “Revisiting Early Testimonies of Hungarian Jewish Holocaust Survivors through a Digital Lens“

10:45 Break

11:00-11:45 Daan de Leeuw (Clark University, Worcester) – “Inclusion and Exclusion of Concentration Camp Society Reconsidered: The Impact of Prisoner Relocations Upon Inmates’ Social Relations“

11:45 Lunch

13:15-14:00 Ana Kršinić-Lozica (University of Zagreb) – “An Exhibition as a ‘Compass of the History Flow’: Jasenovac Memorial Museum Designs and Ideas“

14:00 Break

14:15 Panel Discussion

Workshop Conclusion

15:15 Concluding discussion, evaluation, and election of the new organizing team and topic of the next workshop

19:15 Dinner

Sunday, 15 May

Departure day

(Optional trip to Spomen-park Dotrščina in Zagreb)

Short Biographical Notes

Keynote Speakers

Prof. Alexander Korb

Since 2011 he has been working as Associate Professor in Modern European History at the University of Leicester. His role there, in addition to teaching and research, is in academic self-governance in his role as Director of Assessment. From 2012 to 2018, he was Director of the Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the University of Leicester. He also served on the academic advisory boards of ITS Bad Arolsen, as well as the National Holocaust Centre in the UK. In university administration, he is committed to international cooperation, for example in his function as Erasmus representative of the Department of History and Politics. He has also been a visiting professor at the Universities of Belgrade, Rostock, and Regensburg as part of the Erasmus program.

His intellectual curiosity is especially directed towards the question of how the collective violence of the Second World War can be placed transnationally in the context of the history of violence in the twentieth century. Furthermore, the social acceptance of violence forms a focus of his work. His doctoral dissertation examined genocidal dynamics in Yugoslavia during World War II. The work, published in 2013, was awarded five international research prizes, including the Fraenkel Prize (Vienna Holocaust Library). It forms a substantial contribution to the national histories of Serbia and Croatia and sparked historical policy debates in both countries. It grew into the book *Hitler's European Allies* (expected to be published in 2023), which provides a comparative study of European collaborators and the nature of their cooperation with the Germans. His current research project -- *Völkische Europäer* -- analyzes international networks of German intellectuals and their völkisch nationalism from the 1920s to the 1940s. In addition, he is working on two international collaborative research projects: the international editing project *Ideologies in National Socialism*, and the project *Narrative Art & Visual Storytelling in Holocaust & Human Rights Education*, in which graphic novelists and scholars collaborate with survivors on graphic novels about genocide survival.

Dr Nataša Mataušić was advisor to and head of the collection of photographs, films and negatives at the Croatian Historical Museum as well as the main coordinator for all historical museums and historical collections in the Republic of Croatia before her retirement in 2021. From 1997 to 2021, she was president of the Council of the Jasenovac Memorial Institute, and she was also active in IHRA's Working Group for Memorial Museums. In 2020, she obtained a doctoral degree with the dissertation *Diana Budisavljević and the Action to Save Child Victims of Ustaša Terror* (*Diana Budisavljević i građanska akcija spašavanja djece žrtva ustaškog terora*).

Mataušić is the author of more than 30 historical exhibition catalogues of which the exhibition “El Shatt – Escape from Croatia to the Sinai Desert, Egypt 1944–1946” won the Croatian Museological Society’s award for best exhibition in 2018. In 2021, her exhibition “If I forget you – Holocaust in Croatia” received special recognition by the same society. She is also the author of several books on Jasenovac and the Independent State of Croatia, including *Jasenovac – Work Camp and Death Camp (Jasenovac – radni logor I logor smrti)*, 2003; *Jasenovac – a Photo Monography (Jasenovac – fotomonografija)*, 2008; *Women in the Camps of the Independent State of Croatia (Žene u logorima NDH)*, 2013; and *Diana Budisavljević, a Forgotten Heroine of the Second World War (Diana Budisavljević, zaboravljena heroina Drugog svjetskog rata)*, 2020.

Dr. Nikolina Židek is Adjunct Professor at IE University Madrid, School of Global and Public Affairs and a member of Research Group *Places, marks, and territories of memory*, at the Memory Studies Nucleus, at IDES, Buenos Aires, Argentina. She received her Ph.D. in political science from Complutense University. Before entering academia Dr. Židek was previously working for 12 years as a Croatian professional diplomat. She was posted in Croatian Embassies in Madrid and Buenos Aires. Her current research is focused on the Croatian post-World War 2 diaspora in Latin America and Spain. Her most recent articles were published in *Memory Studies Journal* and two volumes published by Routledge.

Speakers

Alina Bojic finished her MA degree in history at the University of Oslo in 2011 where she wrote her dissertation about the Ustasha movement and the regime’s antisemitic exhibition “JEWS”. Her historical interests center around fascism, exhibitions in history, antisemitism, and the Balkans.

Jessica Cretney is a third-year Midlands4Cities/Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded PhD student at De Montfort University. Her research interests include Nazi concentration camps and the history of the Holocaust and genocide, in particular social and spatial ordering and historical understandings of eugenics and “race”. Her doctoral project, *The Concentration Camp, Spatial Experience & Architectural Modernism, 1933-1945*, examines connections between the built environment of camps, Nazism’s exclusionary and genocidal goals and contemporary architectural thinking on societal “improvement”.

Alexios Ntotorakis Exarchou graduated from the History and Archaeology department of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He completed his MA in European History at the University of Humboldt and University College Dublin writing his thesis on the Greek prisoners of the Brandenburg an der

Havel Zuchthaus. He has worked at the Brandenburg an der Havel Gedenkstätte and for the oral history project Istorima in Greece. His interests include Greek forced laborers and prisoners in Nazi concentration camps and prisons, the Bulgarian occupation of East Macedonia and Thrace and the Holocaust in Greece.

Hana G. Green is a doctoral candidate at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University. She holds a BA in History from the University of Florida and an MA in Holocaust Studies from the University of Haifa. Her research interests include Holocaust history, Jewish history, and gender and identity studies. She holds a Claims Conference Fellowship (The Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany; 2018-present) and has received fellowships from the Leo Baeck Institute, the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, EHRI, and the Tauber Institute. Green is currently in residence as a DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) fellow at the Institute for Contemporary History (IfZ) in Munich.

Karianne Hansen is a third-year doctoral student at Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, University of Leicester. Her doctoral thesis examines the construction of national identity among individuals categorized as Norwegian political and racial enemies in the Nazi concentration camps during the Second World War and the Holocaust. She holds postgraduate degrees from the University of Edinburgh (MSc Contemporary History) with a particular focus on political violence and genocide, and Birkbeck College, University of London (MRes History) where she carried out an in-depth study of the Auschwitz main camp prison in Block 11 under the supervision of Professor Nikolaus Wachsmann. Her interests include transnational approaches to the Nazi concentration camps, spaces considered the periphery of the Holocaust, and the question of national identities in contemporary European history.

Betsy Inlow is a PhD student within the University of Leicester's Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies and School of Museum Studies. Her doctoral research is investigating the potential future roles of Holocaust graphic narratives within the museum sector. She is the recipient of a Junior Fellowship at NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies (Amsterdam), and works as a research assistant with the SSHRC-funded Narrative Arts and Visual Storytelling in Holocaust and Human Rights Education project, based at the University of Victoria (Canada). Participants for her research include camp memorial sites Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück and Gedenkstätten Gestapokeller und Augustaschacht.

Eszter Katona is a PhD student and assistant lecturer at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. She is a researcher at ELTE Research Center for Computational Social Science. Her research interests include Natural Language Processing, Data Visualization and Research Methodology.

Daan de Leeuw (1987) is a PhD candidate at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University, USA. He holds a BA and MA in History from the University of Amsterdam. His MA thesis on Nazi doctors who committed human experiments on prisoners in German concentration camps during World War II was awarded the Volkskrant-IISG Thesis Award 2014. His doctoral research focuses on Jewish slave labor during the Holocaust from a spatial perspective. Prior to his doctoral studies, he worked at NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies and was involved in EHRI (European Holocaust Research Infrastructure).

Théophile Leroy is a Ph.D. student under the co-supervision of Laurent Joly (director of research at the CNRS) and Ilse About (Research Fellow at the CNRS) at the Historical Research Center of the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS), Paris. He studies Roma and Sinti persecutions in France during World War II and focuses on the Alsatian territory under the rule of German authorities. Using a microhistorical perspective and the Arolsen Archives, Théophile Leroy works on the trajectories of Alsatian itinerant families between 1940 and 1944 to understand the process, actors, and temporalities of the genocide of Sinti and Roma people occurring in Western Europe

Jesse E. Lillefjeld completed his Master's Degree in European Cultural History with the title "From Warsaw to the West: the plight and journey of the Armia Krajowa survivors after the 1944 Uprising" at the European-University Viadrina; and his Doctoral project under the working title "The Nationalization of Public Spaces: War Cemeteries between the World Wars". Research interests include national mythmaking as processes of othering in the 'age of extremes' as well as today, gendered roles during conflict, the repurposing of 'national content' during the process of de-Sovietization in East-Central Europe, and the experiences of Displaced Persons from East-Central Europe and Polish PWX (former prisoners of war) during the 1945-1949 period.

Ana Kršinić-Lozica is an art critic, researcher and curator who graduated in Art History and Comparative Literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb University (2008), where she is currently completing her doctoral studies. In her PhD, she deals with transformations of memory on the Jasenovac concentration camp traced through its representations in visual arts, film, literature and architecture. Recently she has completed a long-term project where she was a research leader on the heritage of modern sculptor Vera Dajht-Kralj coordinated by Zivi Atelje DK and the Croatian Museum of Architecture of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Her earlier work

includes a research assistant position at the Croatian Museum of Architecture, where she was working on socialist modernist architecture and memorialization strategies used for remembering difficult heritage in the context of post-Yugoslav space (2009-2016). She has recently published an article, *Screening Jasenovac: Manipulations of Identities and Performances of Memory* (in: *Jasenovac – Manipulations, Controversies and Historical Revisionism*, JUSP, 2018) and monograph *Beyond Visible: The Public Sculpture of Vera Dajht Kralj* (UPI2M BOOKS, 2018).

Areti Makri is a reference archivist at the General State Archives of Greece in Thessaloniki. She is a postgraduate student in “History, Anthropology and Culture of Eastern and Southeastern Europe” in the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Eastern Studies of the University of Macedonia, Greece. She holds a BA in “Greek Civilization” from the Open University of Greece and a BA in “English Language and Literature” from the American College of Thessaloniki. Her research interests focus on primary sources, local history and the microhistory of the Holocaust. She has presented relevant papers to conferences and workshops

Paweł Michna graduated from the Department of Art History at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. He is currently a PhD Student in the Department of Anthropology of Literature and Cultural Studies at Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland, where he is working on a project on the functioning of the Graphic Office in Łódź Ghetto. His research interests focus on politically and socially engaged art from interwar avant-garde to contemporary art and Holocaust Studies, particularly art and visual documents created during Shoah. In 2020 he received the Joseph Kremen Memorial Fellowship in YIVO Institute and Gerald D. Feldman Travel Grant awarded by the Max Weber Foundation.

Maria Pantazi completed her MA in 2021, at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Her specialty field is historical research in Modern and Contemporary History. Her main interests evolve around Christian-Jewish relations during interwar years and the transformation of those relationships during Holocaust in Greece. For her thesis she conducted research on the social and survival networks that were formed in Thessaloniki during Jewish deportations. She took part as an EHRI Fellow in the EHRI Conny Kristel Fellowship Programme for 2021.

Alexandra M. Szabo is a PhD student at Brandeis University and a researcher at ELTE Research Center for Computational Social Science. Her research interests include immediate postwar social history and women’s history in the Holocaust with a specific focus on fertility events and experiences that translate to sexual violence. She is the recipient of the Crown Fellowship at Brandeis University, the 2021 EHRI

Conny Kristel Fellowship, and the graduate research scholarships of the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute and of the Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry.

Participants

Johanna Blender has been involved in different research and education projects on the diversity of remembrance culture, Jewish history, and comparative history of flight and migration of the 20th and 21st centuries. After two years of volunteering for Action Reconciliation Service for Peace in Berlin and Tel Aviv, she studied History and Anglistics at Humboldt University of Berlin and University College Dublin and completed a master's degree in Public History at the Free University of Berlin. Recently, she curated an exhibition on Berlin as a city of refuge for Jewish Displaced Persons after 1945. She currently works for Centropa, a Jewish Historical Institute based in Vienna, Budapest, Hamburg and Washington DC.

Juliette Constantin (born 1991 in Strasbourg, France) studied history, sociology, economics, philosophy and literature in Lyon, Aix-en-Provence and Tübingen (Germany). She's been working on her Phd since 2016, the main topic is the history of three French associations of former inmates in NS-camps since 1945 – the French associations of Buchenwald, Mauthausen and Dachau. She focuses on their transnational activities, for example on the pilgrimages to memorial sites in Europe. The origin of her project is her activity of transmission of NS-history. She's been working for 8 years in three memorial sites of former concentration camps and extermination sites in the South-West of Germany – Tailfingen-Hailfingen, Oberer Kuhberg (Ulm) and Grafeneck (T4 killing site). She's also doing projects in schools with the NDC (Netzwerk für Demokratie und Courage – Network for democracy and courage), in order to sensitize young people to different forms of discrimination and making them aware of neo-nazist and populist movements in Germany. She's now living in Ulm, Germany, and finances her PhD by working in a shop for art materials. She's aiming at submitting her PhD-thesis by September 2022. She was a participant at the 20th Workshop in Minsk and part of the Organizing Team at the 21st Workshop in Aix-en-Provence.

Ella Falldorf is a PhD candidate at the Art History Department at Jena University, funded by the Ernst-Abbe-Foundation. Her dissertation is about the interpretation of camp experiences, articulated in artworks that were created in Buchenwald and other NS camps. From 2018-2020 she worked as a freelancer at the Art Collection of the Buchenwald Memorial. She is a graduate of the MA program in Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa and earned her BA in Art History, Film Studies, and

Sociology at the University of Jena. Her MA Thesis was awarded the Herbert Steiner Anerkennungspreis and the Rector's Price of Haifa University in 2020. She is a board member of the association "Riebeckstraße 63 e.V." that tries to commemorate continuities of social exclusion practices and forced labor at the historical site of a former workhouse. Since January 2022 she is a freelance advisor for memorial culture of the city of Leipzig. Her article "The Many Faces of the Inmate as a Worker: Artworks of Political Prisoners in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp" recently appeared in *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 35:4 (2021). In May 2022 an article about artworks that were created in Buchenwald and later edited by French Communist survivors, will appear in the anthology "Organisiertes Gedächtnis" (in German). Ella presented a paper titled "The edges of Buchenwald. Artistic Interpretations of the 'Little Camp' between Accusation, Fascination, and Fear" at the 24th workshop NS Camps in 2020.

Christos Fotoglidis completed his undergraduate studies at the Department of History and Archeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and his postgraduate studies at Political History and War at the Department of Political Science of the same University. He has collaborated as a researcher in various research projects. He has dealt with the history of places of detention and incarceration in Thessaloniki during World War II as well as with the national resistance and its action. He also deals with the 1960s, youth and political activism. His research interests also include topics of public history and memory. He has participated in conferences on the above subjects. He is a member of the editorial board of the new scientific journal on History, Society and Culture entitled "Twentieth Century". The journal will be based in Thessaloniki and aims to host papers by researchers from the humanities. He writes articles in various digital and print magazines.

Franziska Koch (M.A.) is a research assistant at the Department of Slavic Literature and Cultural Studies (Polish Studies) at the Institute of Slavic Studies at the University of Potsdam. She is currently doing her doctorate on non-Jewish rescuers in the Polish Shoah discourse. Her research interests include Polish-Jewish cultural history, its memorial debates and museum representations.

Clara Mansfeld is a curator and educator at Memorials Brandenburg an der Havel. She specializes on educational concepts to teach about the national socialist euthanasia killings – on location and with new digital approaches. She studied Modern and Contemporary History, Economic and Social History and Cultural Anthropology in Freiburg and Basel (CH). During her studies, she worked as an intern and did freelance work in numerous museums and memorials across Germany and abroad. From 2013 to 2016, Clara Mansfeld worked at the Buchenwald memorial, where she was part of a team preparing the new permanent exhibition about the history of the concentration camp Buchenwald (Buchenwald).

Ostracism and Violence 1937 to 1945). From 2017 to 2020 she has been a research associate and a doctoral candidate at the Europäisches Kolleg Jena. Her thesis project is in the topic: The Imaginary Visitor. German Museums and their Public.

Dimitris Mitsopoulos is a M.A Student at the Free University of Berlin and Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, in Global History. He obtained his BA(Hons) in History and Archaeology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, while his post-graduate studies are generously supported from DAAD. His M.A thesis focuses on contraband trade activities in southeastern Europe during the "long" First World War, while his interests include the Holocaust, Jewish history, transition from empire to nation-states, borderlands and memory studies.

Esther Renee Selman UK born, Berlin (Germany) based freelance educational officer specializing in Holocaust and genocide education focusing on social impact and community-based projects. Having spent almost a decade within the field of Holocaust education she currently works for 'HistoCON' a German based history festival supported by the Federal Agency for Civic Education as their Social Media Content Creator and online workshop facilitator and as an educational officer for March of the Living UK. Occasionally she works as a developmental researcher for production companies. She is the founder of 'Without the Footnotes' podcast, supported by the Weiss-Livnat Innovation Hub at the University of Haifa, that aims to bring Holocaust and genocide education to new audiences in a non-academic way. I hold a BA in Human Rights from Kingston University, London and a MA in Holocaust Studies from the University of Haifa, Israel.

Anna Schüller is a teacher and doing a doctorate with the topic „Sachsenburg as a place of disciplining and ideologization. History – participants – memory. 1850 until today.“ She volunteers for a memorial at the former concentration camp in Sachsenburg.

Organizing Team

Christos Chatziioannidis studied History and Archaeology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (B.A.) and Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean Studies at the International Hellenic University (M.A.). He has worked for the Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki as a researcher since 2018 for the projects “Mapping the Memory: Jewish students in World War II Salonika and the Holocaust (1939-1943)” [2019] and “Mapping the Childhood: The Jewish Children of Thessaloniki until 1943” [2021], which are part of the exhibition of the Museum. These projects have been presented at international conferences and workshops since 2017. He was a speaker at the 23rd Workshop in NS camps and killing sites in Thessaloniki and a participant at the 24th Workshop in Salzburg.

Angeliki Gavriiloglou is an ELES Research Fellow. She is a PhD candidate at the Freie Universität Berlin, in the department of Philosophy and Humanities, Modern – Greek studies. She has graduated from the department of History and Archaeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She concluded her Master's degree in Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean studies at the International Hellenic University. She has worked on a research project titled “Post – war transformation of Thessaloniki and the fate of the Jewish assets”, and on a project concerning the Jewish students of Thessaloniki, during World War II, titled “Mapping the Memory: Jewish students in WWII Salonika and the Holocaust (1939 – 1943)”, supported by the Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki and the Chair of Jewish studies. The project was presented at the *23rd Workshop on the History and Memory of Nationalist Socialist Camps and Extermination Sites*, in Thessaloniki (March 2019).

Emil Kjerte is a doctoral candidate in history at Clark University in Massachusetts, USA. His dissertation analyzes the guard force stationed at the Jasenovac concentration and death camp complex in Croatia. He has a BA in history from the University of Copenhagen and an MA in Holocaust and Genocide Studies from Uppsala University. His doctoral research has been supported by the Central European History Society, the Holocaust Educational Foundation of Northwestern University, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah.

Lovro Kralj specializes in the areas of fascism, anti-Semitism and Holocaust studies with a geographic focus on Central and Southeastern Europe. He is currently finishing his dissertation on the Holocaust in Croatia at the Central European University in Budapest/Vienna. Kralj presented his research results at more than twenty international conferences and workshops. He received support for his research from Northwestern University, the Wiener Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, the Claims Conference, and others. He has published extensively on the history of the Holocaust, genocide, and

fascism in journals and anthologies such as the Journal of Perpetrator Research, Routledge, Palgrave MacMillan, Brill, and others.

Lisa Quaeschnig studied Modern History, Slavic Studies, and Culture and History of Central and Eastern Europe in Greifswald, Warsaw, and Frankfurt (Oder) from 2007 to 2014. During her studies, she completed internships at memorial sites and meeting centers in Poland and began working as a language mediator (German-Polish) and freelance trainer in the field of international historical-political education for various institutions. Since 2015, she has been working full-time at the Brandenburg an der Havel memorial sites within the Brandenburg Memorials Foundation, where she serves as a research and educational staff member and deputy head. A planned doctoral project is dedicated to the role of the Nazi judicial system as well as the penal institutions in the handover action of persons in security confinement for "annihilation through labor" in 1942/43.

Silke Umdasch studied German literature and history at the Paris Lodron University in Salzburg and is currently writing her master's thesis entitled: "Rape, forced sex labor and genital mutilation as a demonstration of power in the National Socialist Mauthausen concentration camp complex from 1938 to 1945". She works as an intermediary at the Mauthausen Memorial, supports the processing and labelling of found objects in the depot of the concentration camp memorial and was involved in several video projects to convey the history of the Holocaust.

Judith Vöcker studied German literature and linguistics and Slavic studies in Cologne, Cracow and Moscow and Eastern European History in Frankfurt Oder and London. During her studies, she interned at the Goethe Institutes in Moscow and Almaty and the German Embassy in Warsaw. Judith is a PhD student at the Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies of the University of Leicester and is supervised by Svenja Bethke and Klaus Richter. She has received several scholarships and fellowships, among others from the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure, the Holocaust Educational Foundation of Northwestern University, the German Historical Institute in Warsaw, the Vienna Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies or the Leibniz Institute for Contemporary History in Munich.

Abstracts

"JEWS": Antisemitism in the Ustasha

By Alina Bojcic

In the month of May in Zagreb 1942, in what was the Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, or the Independent State of Croatia, the NDH regime proudly presented the opening of the antisemitic exhibition “ŽIDOVI”, or “JEWS”. The exhibition, which was to be held at the Art Pavillion by Strossmayers square, aimed to present to its visitors, as the exhibition title explained, the “expansion of Jewry and the destructive work of Jews in Croatia before April 10th, 1941 and the solving of the Jewish question in the NDH”. Great time and effort was put into the antisemitic exhibition which travelled across numerous cities in the NDH’s territory during the spring and summer of 1942. In many ways, the antisemitic exhibition “ŽIDOVI” was the culmination of the NDH’s antisemitic propaganda and efforts to persecute Jews across the NDH territory. Not only was the exhibition a means to spread antisemitic propaganda, and a homage to the establishment of the NDH and “Poglavnik”, Ante Pavelić, who they claimed through the establishment of the NDH had solved the Jewish question in Croatia. The exhibition also served to cement the extermination of the Jews in the NDH by celebrating them as a now long-gone “race”. Much of the exhibition’s contents served to justify the introduction of antisemitic laws by presenting the Jews as a destructive force throughout history not only in Croatia, but all corners of the world. The exhibition “ŽIDOVI” can then be said to be a synthesis, or a condensation, of the Ustasha antisemitism, and can be used to look at how antisemitism was expressed and its functions within the NDH and Ustasha.

Spatial Perpetration: Reconsidering Dachau, the SS and the Limits of Architecture

By Jessica Cretney

The “spatial turn” in Holocaust studies has allowed researchers to take fresh scholarly approaches to the history and memory of National Socialist camps and killing sites, challenging assumed knowledge about the concentrationary environment and spatial dynamics of genocide more broadly. It is increasingly clear that within concentration camps, the relationships between long- and short-term goals and pressures, in addition to prisoner agency and the limits of SS control, contributed to a complex and continually evolving environment.

Yet despite a growing body of important work focusing on the spatial experiences of victims and survivors, perpetrators’ conceptions of space remain predominantly overlooked. In order to further new perspectives on concentration camps, it is vital to also interrogate National Socialist conceptions of space, both in terms of ideology and its practical applications. In particular, there is a

need to address the role of architects in translating Nazi racial and eugenic thinking into physical form. Concentration camps were deliberately created spaces of persecution and genocide, yet the architecture of concentration camps has often been relegated to superficial visual analysis or, more problematically, deterministically ascribed with the possession of “total” power.

This paper will examine Dachau as an example of a so-called “Musterlager” or “model” concentration camp; many of the physical and organizational aspects of later camps were based on the Dachau template. Using an interdisciplinary approach in order to examine construction documents, correspondence, SS trial transcripts and architectural critical analysis, this paper will question how perpetrators, from architects to guards, shaped and experienced the camp. It is suggested that far from being a simple and direct rendering of power, architecture, as a method of spatial ordering, functioned as a significant but imperfect instrument of Nazism. By considering the divergence between architectural intentions and experienced reality, a clearer picture can emerge of perpetrators’ use and conceptions of space.

From Athens to Brandenburg: Greek prisoners in the Zuchthaus Brandenburg an der Havel

By Alexios Ntetorakis Exarchou

Over the last two decades, historiography on the occupation of Greece has flourished, including a great advance in the research of the Holocaust of Greek Jews after a long period of neglect and silence. A topic that has been ignored from both historiography and public memory, however, is that of non-Jewish Greek prisoners, deported to camps and prisons in the Third Reich, usually grouped under the collective term “hostages” (Omiroi). Only in 2020 was a first monograph on the topic published in Greece and as a result, there is not even a safe estimation of their number. The number of published testimonies is limited and archival documentation scarce. Despite their relatively small number among the wider number of prisoners and forced laborers in Nazi Germany, Greek prisoners were found in all the major concentration camps as well as in prisons and labor camps across the Reich. Their backgrounds are also quite diverse, as among the prisoners there were people captured in mass arrests in order to exploit their labor, people arrested for resistance activities or for petty crimes and workers who had emigrated voluntarily to Germany to avoid the harsh consequences of the triple occupation of Greece and were imprisoned for various offenses committed there.

During my research for my thesis, I focused on the prison of Brandenburg/Havel as a case study. 280 Greek prisoners were sent there in four transport groups from Athens during 1944, most of whom had been convicted by German and Italian military courts. In Brandenburg, a special camp was created, called “Griechenlager”, where most of the Greek prisoners were held. Information was gathered, using both archival sources from the prison and from Greek archives, as well as personal

written memories from family archives and oral testimonies of some of the last survivors. Even in this limited group of people, one can see that their experience of imprisonment was far from uniform. Biographical data reveal a wide array of geographical, political and social backgrounds among the prisoners which also influenced the individual terms of their imprisonment in Brandenburg. By examining the reasons for their capture, the conditions of work and life in Brandenburg and their liberation and difficult return to Greece, I am trying to position their case within the context of the Greek experience of imprisonment in Nazi Germany. Research on the topic of Greek prisoners can not only shed more light on the occupation of Greece but also on NS camps in general. Further it can reveal the factors that contributed to the exclusion of their experience from public memory of the war in Greece and how that can be related to the long-lasting lack of memory towards the fate of Greek-Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

The Social Dynamics of Jewish Women Passing in Central Europe during the Holocaust

By Hana G. Green

Elemental to my dissertation project on the phenomenon of Jewish “passing” during the Nazi period, this paper explores the social dynamics of wartime passing among Jewish women. Here, the term passing reflects the response wherein an individual disguised their Jewish identity and, effectively, functioned as Christian or Aryan by hiding in plain sight as a method of evasion and survival. Using a broad base of source material including oral testimony, published and unpublished manuscripts, postwar memoirs, registries, and supporting documentation, this paper will plumb the ways in which Jewish women passers engaged in and were impacted by the various social dynamics of their wartime milieu. Through the exploration of several distinct case studies, I aim to establish how individuals navigated survival under the guise of a false identity, to address the formation of various relationships and group dynamics, and to explore how individuals remained connected—to one another, to their Jewish identity, and to society—while passing. Further, this paper addresses wartime and postwar questions of the self-perception of Jewish passers, broader conceptions of Jewish identity, and notions of belonging in both Jewish and Gentile spaces.

Approaching Race and Ethnicity in the Nazi Concentration Camps: The Case of Norwegian Political Prisoners

By Karianne Hansen

The Nazi concentration camps were multinational spaces where many victims survived for months, even years. The need to capture the uniquely destructive psychological and sociological environment of the Nazi camps has guided research since the early post-war period. The view of the camps by

survivor historians such as Primo Levi, Eugen Kogon, and David Rousset to name a few, testify to the many sources of conflicts and tensions among prisoners. These texts are often concerned with broader philosophical and psychological questions, suggesting that the camps were a closed-off universe; created and sustained by Nazi violence and extermination on the one hand, and the ensuing the lawless struggle for prisoner survival on the other. At the same time, academic research is moving away from narrow institutional histories. Eschewing this focus, historians of the camps now emphasize the perceived societal character of the camps by rethinking approaches to prisoner morality, virtues, and solidarity in a multi-layered social world shaped by prisoners' complex backgrounds.

This presentation builds on new research on Norwegian political prisoners in Sachsenhausen and Natzweiler between 1942 and 1945. Norwegian prisoners were considered 'privileged' in camp society due to their status as 'Aryans' from the point of view of the Nazi state and the SS, with benefits including the receipt of parcels and letters from home as well as being housed in specific national barracks. They thus formed a clique of their own, making them ideal subjects for exploring new dimensions of prisoner lives. This paper asks how and why Norwegian deportees classified as political prisoners create what I argue are racialized and ethicized discourses about other prisoners. Additionally, this approach necessarily complicates the idea that the camp environment alone led to processes of 'othering' in the conflict-ridden prisoner society and instead aims to assess the broader historical significance of prisoner inequalities in the Nazi concentration camps. The paper also offers the opportunity to interrogate the image of the 'privileged' prisoners in camps, thus demonstrating the ambiguity of the category itself. Finally, I suggest that a methodological approach that takes ethnicity and race into account allows us to probe more deeply into the role of the Nazi concentration camps as part of 20th European history.

Use of Holocaust Graphic Narratives within Museums: The Case Study of *CHUTZ-POW!* and the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh

By Betsy Inlow

Since the publication of Art Spiegelman's *Maus* in 1980, the graphic narrative medium has become an increasingly popular method for presenting narratives of traumatic and difficult histories such as the Holocaust.¹ This paper, *Use of Holocaust Graphic Narratives within Museums: The Case Study of CHUTZ-POW! and the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh*, presents a case study which seeks to discover whether there is a role for Holocaust graphic narratives within the museum sector. The Holocaust

¹Hillary L. Chute, *Disaster Drawn: Visual Witness, Comics, and Documentary Form* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 2; Diederik Oostdijk, "'Draw yourself out of it': Miriam Katin's graphic metamorphosis of trauma," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 17, no. 1 (2018); Art Spiegelman, *The Complete Maus: A Survivor's Tale* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), [original publication in *Raw* magazine, 1980].

Center of Pittsburgh (HCPGH) creates and publishes its own Holocaust graphic narrative, *CHUTZ-POW!*, a series of comics based on the lives of “upstanders” during the Holocaust. *CHUTZ-POW!* is integral to the programming of the HCPGH and is used in various ways, including but not limited to as a “bridge” to the survivor community and as a tool for audience development. Via a semi-structured interview with the HCPGH’s *CHUTZ-POW!* Project Co-Ordinator, Marcel Walker, this paper will look into the processes of creating a Holocaust graphic narrative for educational purposes and the ways in which *CHUTZ-POW!* is used as a primary resource in museum programming. The paper will conclude with preliminary findings into how the *CHUTZ-POW!* case study has contributed to the overall picture of Holocaust graphic narratives as a museum resource.

Inclusion and Exclusion of Concentration Camp Society Reconsidered: The Impact of Prisoner Relocations upon Inmates’ Social Relations

By Daan de Leeuw

After people had been deported from their home countries to concentration and death camps, the Germans transported prisoners selected for forced and slave labor to places where the war industry needed them. The movement of Jewish slave laborers from camp to camp was a central feature of the Holocaust. Each relocation shattered the prisoners’ networks and social structure as it affected the bonds that inmates created among themselves. This type of forced movement was pervasive, yet scholars have hardly scrutinized it.

In this paper, I will analyze the daily lives of Jewish slave laborers, tracing their trajectories through the concentration camp system in the latter half of World War II. My starting point will be the deportation of 937 Dutch Jews from Westerbork transit camp to Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz-Birkenau on May 19, 1944. The train brought 238 “privileged” Jews to Bergen-Belsen; the remaining 699 deportees ended up in concentration and annihilation camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. I will follow some twenty Jewish deportees of this transport and map their routes through the camp system. Drawing upon wartime and postwar documents and survivor testimonies, I will reconstruct and visualize their pathways and experiences through geographic information system (GIS) and manual cartography. In addition, I will scrutinize the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion of prisoner society, particularly in the light of inmates’ frequent transfers through the camp system. Finally, I will address how chance, luck, and fortuitous circumstances shaped inmates’ pathways, social relations, and ultimately, their survival.

My paper will address the following questions: What factors determined Jewish slave laborers’ trajectories? Why did some Jews on the same deportation train follow similar routes together whereas in other cases groups dispersed and people went through the camps more or less on an individual

basis? Who determined the relocations? In other words, did the Germans select Jews and send them off to another camp or could Jews exert some form of agency over their site of incarceration and fate? How did relocations affect Jewish slave laborers and the social structure that obtained among them? And what was the role of chance and luck in the everyday life of concentration camp prisoners?

The Rassenhygienische Forschungsstelle and the Racial Registration of Sinti and Roma in the Upper Rhine. Identification, Selection and Deportation 1937-1943

By Théophile Leroy

The *Rassenhygienische Forschungsstelle* (RHF) was decisively involved in the Sinti and Roma genocide. Using genealogy, photography, and anthropometry, this institute created in 1936 was dedicated to the census of individuals perceived as “gypsies” living in Germany. From the summer of 1937 onwards, racial anthropologists of the RHF and police officers of the *Kriminalpolizei* (Kripo) conducted several censuses in different Rhine cities such as Freiburg, Karlsruhe, and Mannheim to register, identify, and categorize more than 1 000 Sinti using a complex racial classification with numerous variations between a “pure gypsy”, a “mixed-raced gypsy” and a “non-gypsy”. With the annexation of Alsace and Moselle in 1940, these census measures against the so-called “gypsies” were extended to these borderland territories with the same police methods of registration and identification. The results of these registration operations were used by the German authorities to select labelled “gypsies” living in the Rhine area during the spring 1943 and the implementation of deportation policies to the *Zigeunerlager* of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Through a case study focus on the Upper Rhine area, this proposal paper will try to contribute to a better understanding of the concrete implementation of identification, persecution and genocidal policies against Sinti and Roma and how racial science and anthropology has been used to categorize, identify, select, and deport people labelled as “gypsies”.

“Molsdorfki” – The Female Officers of the Armia Krajowa and the Molsdorf-Aussenlager

By Jesse Lillefjeld

After the end of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, over 12,000 Polish POWs entered German captivity, among them were over 2200 female combatants who were the first group of women to be interred under the provisions of the 1929 Geneva Convention. However, the Wehrmacht was unprepared for this situation and the women soon found themselves in the KZ Bergen-Belsen under a unique set of conditions. They were classified as POWs, but camp’s Gallows were visible from their camp quarter.² In December 1944 the female officers were transferred to the newly created Oflag IXc Molsdorf in

² Ostrowska, Elżbieta. ...a wolność była wśród drutów: Oflag IXc Molsdorf... p. 42

Thüringen, and the enlisted to Stalag IVc Oberlangen in Emsland – both of which were former KZ-Aussenlager ‘repurposed’ for the female POWs. In Molsdorf the women entered what the International Red Cross had classified as a ‘closed Aussenlager of KZ Buchenwald.’³ Here in a former lakebed, they were lodged in miserably cold, filthy, narrow wooden barracks. One prisoner, Elżbieta Ostrowska, further likened the camp to a menacing creature lurking in the wasteland of a nightmare - “przyczajony na pustkowiu niczym groźny stwór z kozmarnego snu” - she found it a bitter irony that the Germans had selected this place for the first POW camp for women in history.⁴ Due to their gender, their quarters were routinely inspected by “*Gestapówki*”, who spoke Polish and presumably came from KZ-Buchenwald, yet the camp guard was comprised mostly of invalid-conscripts of the Wehrmacht, which further demonstrated the interrelation of the KZ system and the SS with the Wehrmacht.⁵ The POWs were constantly pressured to renounce their POW status, given promises of being let go free to return to the *Generalgouvernement*, an obvious ruse as they were quite aware that the Red Army had already established a bridgehead across the Vistula in August 1944. I plan to conduct further research in order to understand the relationship between the Erfurt and/or Buchenwald SS women and their duties at Molsdorf. Furthermore, there is hardly any secondary literature on the Molsdorf camp, so it would serve to better flush out the history of this otherwise forgotten KZ turned Oflag, its prisoners, and its *Aufseher*innen*. The research could help better illustrate the role of SS-Women in the Nazi-German camp system beyond the well documented cases such as KZ Ravensbrück.

An exhibition as a “Compass of the History Flow”: Jasenovac Memorial Museum Designs and Ideas

By Ana Kršinić–Lozica

On the example of the history of exhibitions and design ideas for the Memorial Museum of the Jasenovac Memorial Area, the paper traces the influence of various cultural policies on the remembrance of difficult heritage. It analyses the close connection between the paradigms of (post) modernity and ideology through changes in the representational modes and rhetoric of exhibition settings in different social, political and economic systems.

³ Farré, Sébastien, “The ICRC and the detainees in Nazi concentration camps (1942-1945)” in *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol 94. Num. 888. 2012. p. 1391

⁴ Ostrowska, Molsdorf, p. 70

⁵ Almost certainly Waffen-SS Helferinnen from the SS-Helferinnenschule Erfurt or KZ-Buchenwald. The last two training courses for these SS auxiliaries were held in Erfurt and as Jutta Mühlberg’s research has also shown, many SS-Helferinnen were stationed at KZ main camps as well as the network of Aussenlager. Jutta Mühlberg, *Das SS-Helferinnenkorps: Ausbildung, Einsatz, und Entnazifizierung der weiblichen Angehörigen der Waffen-SS 1942-1949*.

Memorial Museum designs and exhibition layouts have a long history in which the entanglements of historiography and aesthetics in the transmission of traumatic events play a significant role in the institutionalization of cultural and social memory of the Jasenovac camp. After the end of World War II, until the late 1950s, the problem of representing what happened in the camp was reduced mainly to testifying about crimes and gathering evidence. At the beginning of the 1960s, since exact patterns of approach to the subject had not yet been established, the issue of choosing a mode of representation, with all its ethical, aesthetic, social and political implications, proved to be urgent. Numerous design ideas, public and professional debates reveal the plurality of representational strategies and genre choices with the diversity of their approaches. On the example of various design proposals for the realization of the museum and exhibition within the Jasenovac Memorial Area, we can follow the attempts and negotiations to establish representative models that would be considered appropriate. At the end of the '60s, a dominant discursive and representational mode was established, which became part of the then official policy of remembrance and memory related to Jasenovac in the next two decades. The first paradigm shift occurred in the late '80s with the change of the permanent exhibition layout, shortly before new ruptures would be inscribed in the Jasenovac Memorial Area during the war of the 1990s, including the partial loss of the collection and the division of the Memorial Area into two separate parts. The second paradigm shift occurred in 2006 with the third permanent exhibition, whose opening provoked public debates to a certain extent comparable to those of the 1960s in their search for an adequate model of musealization of the Holocaust and genocide.

These changes in museological practices, design approaches, and rearrangement of historical narratives that frame exhibitions give us a clear insight into reshaping collective memory and its related group identities. They play a significant role in battles for meaning over Jasenovac continuously conducted in the broader cultural field to interpret the past, determine the present and define belonging. Museum designs and narrations create subject positions from which the story of Jasenovac is told, portraying victims and perpetrators in ways that change significantly in different periods and social contexts. The politics of inclusion and exclusion (of specific narratives and identity groups) are inextricably linked as two faces of the same memory process that govern the architectural, museological and historiographical aspects of exhibition-making.

The Dark Tales of a Brother and a Sister: Comparing the Post-war Lives and the Resilience Abilities of Two Siblings, Auschwitz Survivors

By Areti Makri

In this paper I shall try to establish a mode of comparison between the post-war lives of a deported pair of young Romaniot siblings, a brother and a sister, who returned from Auschwitz, to their town of origin, Chalkida, Greece. In an effort to better understand the factors facilitating resilience and emotional recovery, I shall analyze the content of documents and narratives in order to discern and to juxtapose the different ways in which the two siblings have dealt after the war with their near to death experiences and their common endeavor to communicate their dark tales to their family and community. In March 1945, Haim Costis from the Polish Red Cross hospital in Auschwitz (Block 22) writes a letter back home, (one of those 'first dispatches'), to assure his family that he is still alive. In this 4page document he explains in a few timid words what has happened in this damned place. In May 1946, Louiza Costi in Chalkida, accuses in court the traitor and collaborator who turned her in to the Gestapo, in her effort to not only claim justice but also to denounce the tremendous horror she suffered in the labor camps and the death march. As Haim and Louiza are no longer alive, the oral testimonies they have left behind, their family narrations, documents and memorabilia, can be used in order to reflect on their attitudes towards life. I shall discuss how they have regained their functionality and their emotional recovery by taking into account their respective age and gender in a comparative perspective. Marriage, work, parenting, social obligations, success, projected and understood within the context of the Greek postwar social reality, and the special needs of the Greek Romaniot and Sephardi communities to rebuild themselves after the Holocaust, are offering the necessary framework of analysis. Particular importance will be attributed to the ways in which the two siblings have been dealing with the responsibility not only to testify, but also to process their experiences in cathartic ways, within their family and their social environment. Time and therefore age seem to have significantly molded their emotional states, in different ways, as they have been moving through the phases of their lives, as young adults, spouses, parents, grandparents.

Between propaganda and „negative testimony.” On the exclusion of official visual material from the Holocaust and the prospects for their inclusion.

By Paweł Michna

A significant influence on the perception of post-war representations of the Holocaust is the decorum of the Holocaust. The principles of appropriateness, which, although not codified, have been discussed continuously practically since the end of the war. They do not seem to apply to materials created

during the Holocaust - artifacts made by the hands of Shoah victims, which acquire the status of quasi-relics. However, there are documents whose interpretation is influenced by discussions on appropriateness that took place after their creation and post-war evaluations of phenomena and attitudes of figures depicted in these materials. In my presentation, I would like to analyze documents that have been excluded or consciously omitted from both the historiography and the memorialization of the Holocaust despite their extraordinary visual form and narration. These are official materials from the ghettos of Lodz and Terezin commissioned by the Jewish administration. Moreover, documents from Łódź ghetto were created in modern stylistics, using a photomontage medium and appealing to constructivist avantgarde. Posters and albums were propagandistic and showed a false, positive image of the ghettos. They contained iconographic motifs associated with industrial production and portrayed the ghettos as spaces of rationally organized and efficient work and a place in which all needs of Jewish "inhabitants" were fulfilled. Listed above reasons made those documents impossible to include in memory of the Holocaust. Such images from the Shoah will always raise objections if read through contemporary decorum of the Holocaust and rule of truthfulness - one of the essential organizing it. Such seeing of those documents blocks them from understanding. Although these documents show a vision of the ghettos that is false, I believe we should analyze them as a significant historical source. Thanks to the theoretical concepts of Mieke Bal's preposterousness and Dorota Głowacka's "negative testimony," I will propose how we can effectively include them as valuable sources for the study of the Holocaust that allows us to understand better the behavior and survival strategies adopted by the victims.

Survival and Social networks in Thessaloniki during Jewish deportations

By Maria Pantazi

The city of Thessaloniki represents a case study at a southern European level during Holocaust. Instead of focusing on the 96% extermination rate, this study hopes to examine the factors that enabled the 4% survival rate of the city's Jewish population. In reality, only about 2% escaped deportations since more than 1,000 people survived the Holocaust, despite being deported to the death camps. Most of those who managed to avoid deportation tend to attribute their rescue to one or more pre-war or wartime acquaintances with Christian Greeks. Therefore, the main question this study poses is: was survival through rescue a random process and, if not, what explains it? The large number and the format of oral interviews with rescued Jews enables us to trace interpersonal relationships throughout their lives. Usually, interviewees evaluate these relationships with words such as "family, friends, or

acquaintances”, providing us with useful information on the ways they perceive their rescue. Such detailed focus on interpersonal connections helps us answer the following questions: in what terms did the harsh antisemitic measures in Thessaloniki had impact on Jewish-Christian interpersonal relations? What types of ties enabled high levels of trust between the persecuted and the help providers in order to engage in extreme-risk underground activities? To explore such questions, a focus on the social spaces that formed Thessaloniki in terms of neighbourhoods, schools and workspaces is required. The questions this study poses enables us to examine an issue under constant negotiation between possible providers and recipients. The social and economic milieus of both Jews and Christians are perceived to form the terms under which the negotiation is performed. Shedding light on such aspects is hoped to help us explore the wide range of actions and reactions during the Holocaust beyond the analytic categories of perpetrators, victims, bystanders and rescuers.

Revisiting Early Testimonies of Hungarian Jewish Holocaust Survivors through a Digital Lens

By Alexandra Szabo & Eszter Katona

We work together on the research project ‘Revisiting Early Testimonies of Hungarian Jewish Holocaust Survivors through a Digital Lens’ (in short, Digital Lens) at the research group RC2S2 led by Ildikó Barna. One of the main goals of our research includes understanding the topography, spatial orientation, and the movement of survivors as recounted in their testimonies in the immediate postwar period. The basis of our research is reliant on the database of the National Committee for Attending Deportees (in short, DEGOB), which recorded almost 5,000 interviews between 1944 and 1946 in Budapest. Other objectives of the committee included offering aid to the recently arrived deportees, documentation of all obtained information, and sending expeditions to previous concentration and displaced persons camps in order to bring back survivors to Hungary. The DEGOB material we examine bases our inquiry on oral history, yet we approach our research questions with the tools of digital humanities, namely through the methodology of computational history. For the conference, we aim to present a visual representation of all the different movements from the gathered information that DEGOB’s work entailed. With the help of interactive data visualizations, we will present where exclusions within the borders of Hungary happened, what different directions this resulted in, and how this meant inclusion to newer spheres. We will use maps to show the geographical routes, and network representation to visualize connections between locations or survivors. We will prepare (that is, clean and preprocess) our textual data coming from the DEGOB protocols in Python, and for the data visualization we will use different tools, such as d3 (a JavaScript library) and Gephi (for network representation). In order to showcase all of our visualizations, we will create an HTML site. Our presentation will display and

follow numerous National Socialist camps and killing sites, thus showing the flux of Hungarian deportees in the constant flow of exclusion and inclusion. Following our visualizations, we also plan to raise relevant ethical questions and concerns regarding Holocaust representation through digital innovation, an aspect that we look forward to discussing with other participants of the workshop.