

STRASSLER CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST & GENOCIDE STUDIES

AT CLARK UNIVERSITY

2017
2018
YEAR END REPORT

A winter scene with a snow-covered path, trees, and a fence, overlaid with a large quote graphic. The path is covered in snow and has a series of footprints leading away from the viewer. The trees are bare, and the sky is a pale, overcast blue. A wooden fence runs along the left side of the path. The overall mood is quiet and contemplative.

Whoever fails to increase
knowledge, decreases
knowledge. – the wisdom of the sages





Thomas Kühne, Director and Mary Jane Rein, Executive Director

“Men are accomplices to that which leaves them indifferent,” according to the literary critic George Steiner. Our students and faculty dedicate their careers to studying genocide and mass violence; exemplars for those who seek to understand the past and give shape to a better tomorrow, they appreciate that we cannot overlook violent histories, neglect past injustices, ignore painful legacies, and disregard continuing consequences. Thus, we opened the 2017-18 academic year with a conference, *Children and Mass Violence* that examined the experiences of the most vulnerable victims in the Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide, and Native American history. The Strassler Center has been at the forefront in institutionalizing scholarship about the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide. Turning our attention to genocide and mass atrocities perpetrated against Native Peoples in the Americas is a logical next step. Other genocides also beckon our attention, chiefly the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the 1971 Genocide in Bangladesh, subjects of current dissertation research. These projects challenge indifference and inspire hope for a just and peaceful future.

As doctoral research, lectures, and conferences held at the Strassler Center grow more diverse, common structures, themes, and connections emerge. Scholars who participated in our 2017-18 lecture series revealed insights that emerged as they examined cases in a shared framework. Thus, Wolf Gruner described the importance of oral testimonies in the Shoah Visual History archive, now enriched by eyewitness materials collected about several genocides. Hamit Bozarslan uncovered connections between the Hamidian massacres, the Armenian Genocide and ongoing patterns of violence in the present-day Middle East. In discussing the trial of the Cambodian perpetrator Duch, Alex Hinton considered Hannah Arendt's notion of the banality of evil. Owen Miller compared and linked late Ottoman massacres with mass violence carried out against African Americans in the period following the

American Civil War. According to Stefan Ihrig, in the aftermath of World War I, racialized discourse in Germany excused mass violence against Armenians, prompting the Nazis to justify their plans for genocide.

In order to provide a theoretical framework that deepens appreciation for similarities and differences, we envision a professorship in human rights. The modern history of human rights arose in connection to the genocides and political violence of the 20th and 21st centuries. Expanding human rights education will forge dynamic connections between academia, pedagogy, and engaged scholarship. Such an approach offers the best hope for understanding possible strategies for prevention, steps toward intervention, and insights into promoting democracy and justice in the aftermath of violence.

With our focus on training scholars, our program remains future oriented. The international graduate student conference we organize triennially gathers an international cohort of PhD students. Participants travelled from seven countries to present their research at the fourth iteration of this signature event in April 2018. Organized in cooperation with Hebrew University colleagues Daniel Blatman and Amos Goldberg, the conference included excellent student work and provoked lively discussion. Victoria Sanford's keynote address highlighted anthropological approaches that have contributed to the search for justice in the aftermath of the Guatemalan Genocide. Her inspiring work provides a counterweight to indifference and is a model for engaged scholarship.

Fall 2018 marks twenty years since we welcomed our first cohort of PhD students. As we celebrate this milestone anniversary, we are delighted by the construction of the Colin Flug Graduate Study Wing. This addition, encompassing a book annex, student offices, and study commons, will open in early 2019; it is a physical manifestation of our expanded vision and mandate. We look forward to inaugurating the new wing just as founding director and Rose Professor Debórah Dwork transitions to a new role as Senior Research Scholar. The Strassler Center achieved international prominence under her steady leadership. The next Rose Professor will carry on the legacy of research and teaching she established.

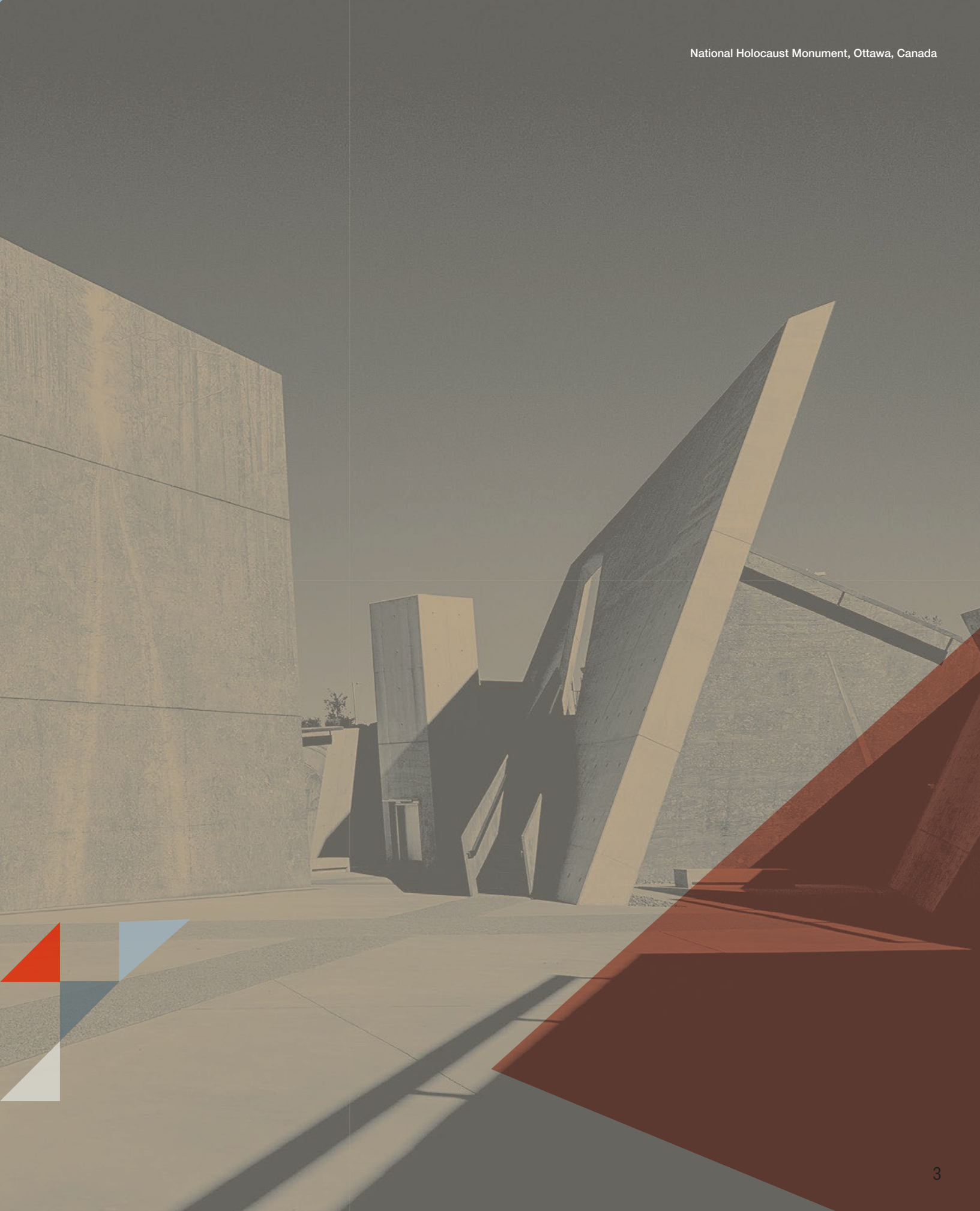
We are growing thanks to the support of our many friends and supporters, whose contributions advance our mission and contribute to the struggle against indifference. Anne Frank wrote, “Look at how a single candle can both defy and define the darkness.” Each friend of the Center is a candle in the darkness. These candles light the way to a brighter future.

Mary Jane Rein, PhD, Executive Director

Thomas Kühne, Director and Strassler Professor

EVENTS & LINKAGES





Wolf Gruner, “Genocide Survivor Testimonies of the USC Visual History Archive”

13 SEPTEMBER 2017

Oral testimonies of victims and eyewitnesses of mass violence and genocide are crucial sources for researchers. These accounts contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of mass killing, as Wolf Gruner, Shapell-Guerin Chair in Jewish Studies and Professor of History at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, amply demonstrated in a presentation at the Strassler Center. Gruner also directs the USC Shoah Foundation, home to the Visual History Archive (VHA), which he presented in a workshop sponsored by the William P. Goldman and Brothers Foundation. This growing repository contains over 54,000 oral testimonies related to the Holocaust, the Rwandan, Armenian, Cambodian, and Guatemalan genocides, and the Nanjing Massacre in China.

Gruner opened with a discussion of how victim testimonies about the Holocaust had been neglected by most scholars for decades. He admitted that he had been one of the many historians skeptical about their relevance to historical research. Historians regarded written sources as objective documents, whereas testimonies were deemed too subjective and possibly unreliable. His research on forced labor during the Second World War led Gruner to revise his negative perspective. He found that documentation about some smaller labor camps no longer existed. Yet, oral testimonies of survivors provided Gruner with detailed and valuable information about these particular camps.

Continuing along this line, Gruner highlighted the November Pogrom (Night of the Broken Glass) to demonstrate the value of oral testimonies. He found that document-based research on the topic mainly yielded mentions of synagogues and Jewish shops as targets of SA paramilitary forces and German civilians. By studying the testimonies in the VHA, Gruner discovered that the number of private homes that the SA and German civilians destroyed was actually higher than that of shops and synagogues. This had been overlooked in mainstream historiography because few sources describe attacks on private homes, and photographs did not capture this kind of violence and destruction. In the testimonies of the VHA, many survivors describe the invasion of their private homes. They explain how these attacks and the destruction of furniture and personal belongings impacted individuals. Furthermore, Gruner discovered that many vic-

tims spoke about Jewish resistance and physical self-defense during and immediately after the November Pogrom. Again, written sources hardly deal with this subject.

The idea for the creation of the USC Shoah Foundation dates back to Steven Spielberg’s movie *Schindler’s List* (1993). While filming, survivors asked the director why he wasn’t interested in their stories. In response, Spielberg established the VHA and from 1994 to 1999, Jewish survivors, Roma and Sinti survivors, Jehovah’s Witness survivors, homosexual survivors, rescuers, liberators and eyewitnesses to liberation were interviewed and filmed. The interviews document the life histories of the survivors, encompassing their prewar, wartime, and postwar lives. Gruner conceded that the many interviewees needed for this massive undertaking were not evenly prepared. Nonetheless, the VHA has become the world’s most important repository for Holocaust survivor testimonies.



Wolf Gruner

In recent years, the mandate for the USC Shoah Foundation expanded to include victims of other genocides and instances of mass violence. The archive is an ever-growing resource, which has acquired other collections of testimonies, prominent among them those of the Armenian filmmaker Michael Hagopian. In order to promote usage of the testimonies, the foundation established the academic Center for Advanced Genocide Research in 2014, which uses the archive to support interdisciplinary research on the Holocaust and other genocides, for example by organizing workshops and providing fellowships for visiting scholars.

Gruner concluded with a demonstration on how to use and search the archive. Technological advances continue to improve its usability and value. Gruner’s presentation demonstrated the significance of the Visual History Archive and its contribution to historical research. Thanks to the foresight and generosity of David H. Strassler, a former board member of the Shoah Foundation, the Strassler Center has enjoyed access to the full archive since 2010. The Center’s Rose Library is one of 85 designated sites that provide remote access to the full repository; faculty, students, and visitors to Clark are fortunate to enjoy this unparalleled resource.

Daan de Leeuw

Hamit Bozarslan, “From the Hamidian Massacres and Armenian Genocide to the Islamic State: The Dynamics of Mass Violence in the Middle East”

26 SEPTEMBER 2017

In a wide-ranging overview of violence in the modern Middle East, Hamit Bozarslan highlighted the devastation resulting from interpreting Islam as an ethnic frontier. Bozarslan, a professor in the department of Turkish, Ottoman, Balkan, and Central Asian studies at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (Paris), researches contemporary Turkish history, the Kurdish question, Middle Eastern minorities, and sociological interpretations of violence. In a lecture on the historical dimensions of Middle East brutality and its role in a long-term theoretical perspective, he suggested that history collapses with society and that cruelty often has no plan.

Beginning his survey in the late Ottoman period, Bozarslan described the oppressive rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Despite the “liberal” philosophy of reforms of the Tanzimat period, Abdul Hamid exercised despotic rule over non-Muslim minorities and initiated a project of restoration during the 1890s, carrying out a series of massacres against the Armenian and other Christian populations. Bozarslan analyzed these events as representative of a revolutionary system where Islam imposed a system of separation and domination. Shifting demographics and power dynamics permitted a form of biological materialism, where violence was deployed to alter communities. A system of domination evolved into revolutionary and radical actions built into communitarian projects. This period witnessed the emergence of the Committee of Union and Progress as the leaders of Ottoman Turkey. The dictatorship, dominated by the Young Turks, dismantled the Hamidian regime and radicalized Turkey. They resolved to amend European errors by creating a new national demography.

Bozarslan’s analysis of pre and post-Kemalist Turkey explained how territorial reorganization maintained the program of violence against minorities. The confiscation of cultural space and the Armenian Genocide ushered in a period of ethnic cleansing in the Middle East. Kemal’s administration, populated with former Unionist party members, promoted reform by establishing linguistic changes to reduce the visibility of minorities. In 1925, Turkish nationalist philosophy championed the idea that only one species could exist, which Bozarslan identified as a biological discourse, influenced by social



Hamit Bozarslan

Darwinism. The idea that Armenians would exploit Muslims, a logic applied towards Kurds as well, compelled a form of social cohesion for non-Turkish minorities. After the Ottoman retreat, a second phase of violence manifested itself in the aftermath of British and French domination. Arab revolts, during the 1920s, were met with repression. Massive anti-colonial feelings and socialism prompted a “cult of death” in the Arab world. This led to single-party dictatorships and elite dynasties. In time, civil war and internally fragmented communities replaced the ideal of Arab unity.

The 1979 Iranian Revolution broadened the scope of violence and introduced jihadism. Self-sacrificial violence evokes a paradox for Bozarslan, who asked how a just cause could be fought using suicidal methods. The principle of establishing an enemy and creating distance from that entity resulted in the destruction of societies. After the 1979 Revolution, the Iran-Iraq war introduced a racial syntax in which Saddam Hussein co-opted European right wing and Nazi rhetoric threatening Persians and Jews. The rise of sectarianism during the 1980s, led Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood to target Alevites and to decimate their populations. The uncertain status of Kurdistan, which continues despite their independence referendum, reflects prolonged brutalization and is a direct consequence of histories dating back to the Great War.

The recent revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, and the current Syrian conflict continue to evoke sectarian wars. Bozarslan defined Assad’s intent to destroy Syria’s Sunni population as an example of the defense of sectarian ideals, which brutalizes minority groups. ISIS shares the same genocidal attitude and seeks to impose “biblical justice” to justify murder not as a crime, but as historical justice. This militia-based diplomacy perpetuates violence and symbolically alters execution as a civilizing method. Bozarslan closed with the issue of responsibility, reminding the audience that Germany took responsibility for its actions after World War II. Changing the power dynamic in the Middle East is essential to ending the reign of violence. Bozarslan’s masterful survey was a powerful demonstration that mass violence persists where there is impunity for historical crimes.

Ani Garabed Ohanian

Conference: “Children and Mass Violence”

19-20 OCTOBER

What is the traumatic impact of mass violence on children and youth, the most vulnerable segment of society? Scholars of Indigenous genocides, the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust, and a Syrian activist addressed this topic during a two-day conference sponsored by the Friends of the Kaloosdian Mugar Chair, Alan Edelman and Debbie Sosland-Edelman, and Fran Snyder and David Voremborg '72. In opening comments, conference organizer Professor Thomas Kühne observed that child survivors sometimes experience a kind of second victimization, the first at the hands of the perpetrators, the second when scholars or other observers perceive them as helpless and passive casualties without choices. Yet, as emerging scholarship demonstrates, these young victims may not always act as powerless as traditionally portrayed.

Lina Sergie Attar, a Syrian architect and co-founder of the Karam Foundation, delivered the keynote address, *Stories of Syria's Children: Growing up in the Age of Genocide and Displacement*. She and the other presenters addressed issues of agency and identity, and the longing for a sense of belonging. In discussing the lives of children in Syria and her work with those displaced by the conflict, Attar elucidated the importance of maximizing agency as part of the healing process, through education, recreational opportunities, and the creation of a safe space for them to rebuild community. Her poignant presentation set the stage for the analysis of historical examples, beginning with a panel on Indigenous populations in the United States, Australia, and Canada.

In her presentation on child removal in settler colonial nations, Margaret Jacobs (University of Nebraska-Lincoln) examined the effects on agency and identity that arise from treating Indigenous Children as innocent victims powerless to protect themselves from the “imprisonment” of traditional lifeways and their “untamed” families. Attempts to cloak such measures as benevolent efforts to empower children and enable their escape from “unloving” homes have weakened as survivors of residential schools have spoken out. Exposing the abuses they suffered and drawing attention to the need for child welfare programs, education, and other forms of assistance have helped Indigenous children rebuild their identities. Andrew Woolford (University of Manitoba) discussed Canada’s residential schools and the process of “refamilization,” borrowing Foucault’s term. Drawing from institutions such as Mettray in France, he described how government policies targeted the Indigenous family as a site for group destruction. The forcible removal of children from Indigenous homes and their placement in “reformato-



Avinoam Patt, Joanna Sliwa, Margaret Jacobs, Nora Nercessian, Andrew Woolford, Lina Sergie Attar, Nazan Maksudyan

ries,” forced marriages, and adoption into white families entailed creating new affiliations intended to sever connections to Indigeneity.

During the panel dedicated to the Armenian Genocide, Nazan Maksudyan (Leibniz Centre for Modern Oriental Studies, Berlin) focused on children’s agency during and following the Armenian Genocide. She highlighted play and adventure, seizing economic opportunities, exercising personal talents, and exploitation of genocidal policies including adoption (escape and re-adoption) by Muslim families as a means of survival, a method of resistance, and a coping mechanism. Nora Nercessian (formerly of Harvard University) spotlighted the experience of children in the “Orphan’s City” located in the city formerly known as Alexandropol. She described the struggle between Soviet and American occupying forces in attempting to control the activities and identities of child survivors, and the ways in which those children resisted such attempts and used them to their advantage.

The final panel on the Holocaust began with Strassler Center alumna Joanna Sliwa (Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany). She examined the place of Jewish children in the Krakow ghetto. Focusing on Nazi genocidal policy and the definition of “children” for purposes of labor, Sliwa described how children adopted adult roles in order to survive and the conflicting ways in which their choices affected their post-war identities. By contrast, Avinoam Patt (University of Hartford) investigated the agency and identity of child survivors in the context of German displaced persons camps. He highlighted the roles of education, vocational training, and the Zionist political movement. Patt identified the ideological struggles that framed young people’s choices, observing how the young influenced the Zionist movement and efforts to rebuild Jewish community.

Restoring agency and complexity to the experiences of children in the aftermath of mass violence, the presenters provided fertile ground for future study of this important topic.

Alexandra Kramen

Alex Hinton, “Man or Monster? The Trial of a Khmer Rouge Torturer”

9 NOVEMBER 2017

Condemning perpetrators of genocide and mass atrocity is an easy task, but understanding them remains a challenge. Even in cases where their crimes are evident, it may be difficult to establish an individual perpetrator’s degree of guilt and level of responsibility; this complexity remains even when a perpetrator takes the stand during their trial. Alex Hinton, founding Director of the Center for the Study of Genocide and Human Rights and Professor of Anthropology and Global Affairs at Rutgers University opened his lecture with a photograph of the Khmer Rouge functionary Duch. “A picture speaks a thousand words,” Hinton observed in describing the “uncanny” photo of Duch that also provides the cover image for his book *Man or Monster? The Trial of a Khmer Rouge Torturer* (2016). Duch’s picture, embellished with glowing eyes, a devilish goatee, and the word evil scribbled across his shirt, prompted the question at the center of Hinton’s presentation: what sort of individual becomes a torturer and executioner?

During the Khmer Rouge’s genocidal regime in Cambodia (1975-1979), Kaing Guek Eav, known as Duch, served as the Deputy and then the Chairman of the Democratic Kampuchea’s Tuol Sleng (‘S-21’) political prison and security complex. A former math teacher and party cadre, Duch oversaw the interrogation, torture, and execution of approximately 20,000 victims at this notorious site. Hinton examined Duch’s behavior and motivations through a series of questions about who, what, when, where, why, and how he perpetrated his crimes. As the head of a large security apparatus, Duch was responsible for prisoner confessions, torture manuals, interrogation training, and ultimately executions.

Hinton examined various modalities that might explain why Duch committed these crimes. At his 2009 trial held in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), a split image emerged. Duch was either a zealous prison boss who exceeded orders or a cog in the machine, a “relay point” in a hierarchy that led all the way up to Pol Pot. During the trial, the *Phnom Penh Post* published the headline “Comrade Duch: Man or Monster,” which furnished the title for Hinton’s book. Yet, Hinton rejected this reductionist framing in favor of a more nuanced analysis of motivations. He used the graffiti scrawled photograph of Duch, now displayed at the Tuol Sleng Museum, to demonstrate how “different cultural frames of mind” understand this image in strongly diverging ways.

Hinton’s lecture highlighted his book’s main objective: to think criti-



Alex Hinton

cally about how criminal trials construct and frame images of perpetrators of genocide and mass atrocity. Incorporating his previous work around the motivations of ‘ordinary’ Khmer Rouge cadres, as well as research from *Man or Monster*, and his personal experience testifying at the ECCC as an expert witness on genocide, Hinton described how Duch fit into the Khmer Rouge ideology, structure, and consciousness. Focusing on Duch, Hinton explored how transitional justice mechanisms can produce various ‘articulations’ of the individual perpetrator. Some may see an inherently evil person, a ‘monster’, while others may see an individual ‘man’ struggling with deep-rooted psychological issues. In analyzing the different perceptions that emerged of Duch during his trial, Hinton exemplified how employing different cultural frames and redaction approaches can shed light on Hanna Arendt’s notion of the banality of evil in terms of “the banality of everyday thought.”

Following his thought provoking lecture, Hinton continued his fruitful visit at a workshop with doctoral students. He probed each regarding their dissertation projects, prompting them to consider the “why” that drives their research. His approach led them to ponder the rationale underlying their work and yielded valuable insights that will enrich their analyses and help place their projects into broader context. Hinton’s fascinating lecture served as a model; illuminating the crimes of Duch and his motivations uncovers ways to think about justice, terror, genocide, memory, truth, and humanity.

Alison Avery

Owen Miller, “The Ottoman Empire through the Lens of the American Civil War: Slavery and the 1890’s Armenian Massacres in Comparative Perspective”

28 FEBRUARY 2018

Black History Month provided the occasion for Owen Miller to present “The Ottoman Empire through the Lens of the American Civil War: Slavery and the 1890s’ Armenian Massacres in Comparative Perspective.” Miller was a post doctoral fellow at Union College and is now a professor at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey. He began by telling the story of the linguist V. Hovhannes Hagopian, whose life and work deeply affected him. A professor of Ottoman Turkish and Persian, Hagopian taught at Anatolia College in Merzifon, Rum Province (modern day Amasya Province, Turkey), a Greek and Armenian theological seminary established in 1864 and later a liberal arts college. At the outset of the Genocide, Turkish gendarmes murdered Hagopian and the rest of the Armenian faculty and students. Abandoning plans to study Ottoman connections with Africa, Miller turned to a comparative examination of the violence perpetrated against African Americans during the American Civil War and Armenians during massacres of the 1890s.

Miller described the events that led to the deportation, starvation, and murder of more than a million Armenians. He explained that sustained violence towards a population leads to their dehumanization, but wondered where this dehumanization begins. In comparing massacres carried out against the Armenian population with mass violence aimed at blacks in the American South, Miller identified a history of conquest as a precondition. Mass murder becomes a mechanism used to control space. The technologies employed to bring territories under US control were also effective in Ottoman territories.

Miller observed striking parallels in the patterns of violence that unfolded across the US and Ottoman Empire. He also noted that Turkish forces used similar weaponry and technology (the repeating rifle and telegraph) to subdue the Armenian population that the United States used in the Civil War and to subdue American Indians. Further, much like the anti-slavery movement in America, the great powers at the time (Britain and France) pushed for reforms to protect disenfranchised Armenians. The institutionalization of reforms led to a cascade of massacres, as some segments of Ottoman society viewed the



Owen Miller

Armenians as a threat. Miller compared the 1863 draft riots in New York to the Ottoman repression of a September 1895 Armenian protest in Istanbul—both led to fatal violence against mainly poor migrant laborers. Miller argued that when equality before the law is tested, particularly in elections and in political representation, violence unfolds in response to perceived threats to a group’s power and control.

For Miller, this challenge to political and hegemonic powers produced potent fear and paranoia that fueled repression in the post-Civil War period and in the late Ottoman Empire. He compared reports of armed rebellious slaves in the Confederacy to the August

1894 false reports of armed Armenians in the mountains of Sasun. In both cases, the central authorities ordered excessive responses—the sultan dispatched twelve battalions with orders to “destroy the ‘bandits’ and leave a legacy of terror.” On a smaller scale, but with equal effectiveness, public lynching of both African-Americans and Armenians aimed to reinforce authority and highlight the disenfranchisement of those without power.

Miller devoted the second half of his lecture to two men who played roles in both the American Civil War and the 1890s Armenian massacres. They each saw the Armenian plight through different lenses based on their war time experiences. Henry Otis Dwight (1843–1917) was born in Istanbul, the son of American missionaries. In 1861, he joined the 20th Ohio regiment of the Union Army. Following the war, Dwight returned to Turkey and was committed to publicizing the violence against Armenians. In contrast, Alexander Watkins Terrell (1827–1912), was a commissioned major with the First Texas Cavalry and served the Confederacy. As minister plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Empire (1893–1897), he was an apologist for slavery and also argued against Armenian rights.

Terrell believed Armenians were liars and advocated killing the men and converting the women and children to Islam. According to Miller, one of his letters plainly stated, “Armenians ask for too much. Just like blacks.” This comment offered a compelling rationale for Miller’s fascinating talk and a basis for further research.

Robyn Conroy

Rebecca Carter-Chand, “Soldiers for Christ in Hitler’s Germany: The Salvation Army and the Nazi State”

1 MARCH 2018

Salvation Army bell ringers and their Christmas kettles are a familiar sight around the holidays. Shoppers may contribute a few coins or bills but few are familiar with the history of the organization and the ideas that underlie its activities. Rebecca Carter-Chand, a Visiting Professor at the Strassler Center, presented a public lecture on the Salvation Army that explored its origins as a charitable Christian mission in 19th century England, its international growth, and how its German chapter operated during the Nazi period. Carter-Chand, who earned a PhD from the University of Toronto in 2016, researches Christian minority groups in Nazi Germany and their international networks during the 1930s and 40s.

Carter-Chand opened her talk, “Soldiers for Christ in Hitler’s Germany: The Salvation Army and the Nazi State” with an image, published on the front page of a Salvation Army newspaper. It shows the London-based Chalk Farm Band performing in Berlin in September 1936 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the German branch of Salvationists, the Heilsarmee. The photo combines some remarkable elements, including Nazi and Heilsarmee flags, as well as a prayer for “Führer, Volk, Vaterland, and world peace.” The picture prompted Carter-Chand to question how the Heilsarmee reconciled its profile as a Christian organization dedicated to justice and helping the poor with its operation in Nazi Germany. How did German Salvationists balance their loyalty to country with their commitment to an international organization headquartered in London? These seeming contradictions stand at the center of Carter-Chand’s research.

The Salvation Army was not committed to pacifism, as were the Quakers who also operated in Germany, but it aimed to remain neutral and above politics. Thus, during WW I, the German Salvation Army chapter separated from the parent organization and solidified its national identity as it continued with significant relief efforts. These steps helped the chapter become increasingly German in outlook and function. During the Weimar period, the Heilsarmee expanded its charitable works in Germany and built up social capital as a humanitarian group. With the Nazi rise to power, they enthusiastically supported Hitler, as did other smaller churches. What is more, General Evangeline Booth, the London



Salvation Army Newspaper, September 1936

based daughter of the founders of the Salvation Army, sent a conciliatory telegram to Hitler to help safeguard the group’s activities. The Heilsarmee was not the only minority Christian group that accommodated themselves to the new political landscape. Demonstrations of national loyalty allowed other small churches to carry on and gave the illusion of religious freedom, which helped Hitler promote a positive message abroad.

Carter-Chand highlighted the concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft* (people’s community) as a means of understanding the position of the Heilsarmee in Nazi society. Rather than viewing the church as either pro- or anti-Nazi, she explained their relief work in the context of welfare efforts that excluded Jews and other groups perceived as outside the *Volksgemeinschaft*. In advancing this line of reasoning, Carter-Chand acknowledged Professor Thomas Kühne’s important scholarship on this central concept. The Heilsarmee’s welfare efforts were integrated into the relief work sanctioned by the Nazi party. However, the targets of their assistance could not include those deemed “asocial” or Jews. On the other hand, the group’s charitable activities strengthened the *Volksgemeinschaft* by promoting a sense of belonging to a greater communal project.

Carter-Chand concluded by asking how Salvationists made sense of their association with the Nazi state. What did they know during the war and after? Those kinds of questions underlie another important project that Carter-Chand championed at Clark. As part of her course, “Rescue and Resistance,” she tasked her students to investigate what Americans knew about the Holocaust, as it was unfolding in the 1930s and 40s. This initiative, part of a nationwide project at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum called *History Unfolded*, asks people to research local newspaper coverage of events related to the Holocaust and to add news articles to a growing online database. Carter-Chand’s students investigated newspapers in Worcester and surrounding towns. Their findings suggest links between local history and global events that were the subject of an April talk Carter-Chand delivered at the Worcester Public library.

Mary Jane Rein

Victoria Sanford, “Anthropological Methods for Documenting Human Rights Violations and Genocide”

9 APRIL 2018

The fourth International Graduate Student Conference for Holocaust and Genocide Studies opened with a fascinating keynote lecture by anthropologist Victoria Sanford. Founding Director of the Center for Human Rights and Peace Studies and a professor at Lehman College of the City University of New York, Sanford researches genocide, femicide, and international humanitarian law during armed conflicts and in post-conflict societies. Since the 1980s, she has conducted extensive

fieldwork among Mayan communities in Guatemala. A genocide perpetrated against the indigenous population reached its climax during the brutal dictatorship of Efraín Ríos Montt in the mid-1980s. Defining herself as a public anthropologist, Sanford combines scholarship with practice. In addition to several publications on the genocide in Guatemala – including the praised *Buried Secrets: Truth and Human Rights in Guatemala* (2003) – she has published numerous reports on human rights violations and coauthored the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation’s report to the Guatemalan Truth Commission.

Sanford described the anthropological methods she has applied throughout her long engagement with documenting the genocide in Guatemala. One of these methods is forensic exhumation, which is critical for establishing the identity of victims. Sanford emphasized that due to the absence of dental records in Mayan communities and the scarcity of DNA facilities in Guatemala, identification generally depends upon postmortem interviews with survivors. In many cases, survivors can offer precise information about injuries and the clothing of deceased family members. Based on such descriptions, it is sometimes possible to establish the identity of victims. Another vital component of forensic exhumation is ballistic analysis, which is especially important for identifying perpetrators.

In addition to forensic methods, Sanford highlighted the centrality of archival research for documenting genocide and human rights violations. This component of her research entails examining a host of different sources, running the gamut from government decrees to morgue records. Declassified documents are an especially important source that often contains information about atrocities. Since transparency laws often are less strict than commonly assumed, Sanford encouraged the audience to explore the possibilities for accessing



Victoria Sanford

such documents in relation to their own research. Another significant source is leaked documents, which provide essential information about operational details regarding massacres. Such documents have been especially important to her as they have exposed the culpability of high-ranking officers in the Guatemalan army and can serve as incriminating evidence.

Sanford emphasized the importance of probing the interconnections between violence during times of war and peace. Presenting graphs, she demonstrated that the annual homicide rate in Guatemala is almost as high today as during the genocide. She emphasized the need to reflect upon how we define war in the context of post-conflict societies. Violence against women, in particular, remains widespread in Guatemalan society, and by widening the analytical framework to include the period before and after the genocide we obtain a more comprehensive understanding of its causes and dynamics.

Sanford concluded by underscoring that the culprits of the Guatemalan genocide, despite their age, must be held accountable for their crimes. While officers responsible for carrying out massacres, such as Francisco Luis Gordillo and Manuel Benedicto Lucas Garcia, have recently been prosecuted and convicted, many other perpetrators have eluded justice, and ending their impunity is imperative for ensuring the rule of law in Guatemala. Sanford’s empathic appeal for devoting scholarship to the quest for truth and justice, offered a highly relevant and stimulating starting point for the conference participants.

Strassler Center Director, Professor Thomas Kühne, who convened the conference, invited Sanford to give the keynote in order to draw attention to anthropological methods in genocide research as well as engaged scholarship. Equally important, discussing genocide in Latin America proved significant to a conference largely devoted to better-known cases. Opening the four-day conference with a lecture on Guatemala helped redress that imbalance. Finally, Sanford participated in a panel discussion that examined the under representation of women in the field of genocide studies. Her plea for promoting women scholars was grounded in a careful analysis that further speaks to her deep passion for scholarship, justice, and equality.

Emil Kjerte

Stefan Ihrig, “Justifying Genocide - Germany’s Entangled History with the Armenian Genocide and its Repercussions”

21 APRIL 2018

Lecturing in the Rose Library about the connection between the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust, Haifa University Professor Stefan Ihrig drew a book from the shelves behind the podium. Franz Werfel’s, *Forty Days of Musa Dagh* highlights the proximity between the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust. Contemporary readers would have understood the story of Armenian persecution as a warning. In the years before Hitler’s rise to power, debates in the German press made it possible for Werfel to use Armenians as substitutes for Jews. From 1919 to 1923, newspapers examined Ottoman intent, the economic dimensions of the genocide, and the mechanisms for killing. These discussions were not limited to elites but took place in the mass media and unfolded on a societal scale. The German public came to terms with the tragic fate of the Armenians thanks to these wide-reaching press debates, which laid the groundwork for Nazi ideology.

During the 1890s, the German public was well acquainted with the Hamidian massacres. Following a fact-finding mission to the Ottoman Empire, the Protestant pastor Johannes Lepsius published a popular book that sympathized with the Armenian victims. Nonetheless, Emperor Wilhelm II visited the Sultan in 1891 and energized Germany’s pro-Ottoman elites. As a result, German opinion shifted toward justification of violence committed against minority populations. The Protestant pastor and influential thinker Friederich Naumann also visited Constantinople and published a popular book that rationalized Turkish force as a means of self-defense. According to Naumann, Germans, like Turks, could not afford morality at the expense of national interests. Thus, pro-Ottoman nationalists and German government officials served as apologists for genocide although they sought to distance themselves from direct responsibility for these crimes.

Following World War I, as peace negotiations unfolded in Paris, Germany did not deny the massacres. Instead, they asserted German innocence by arguing that their consuls, stationed in key locations throughout the Ottoman Empire, had tried to help Armenians. Lepsius, Germany’s most fervent pro-Armenian activist, published diplomatic correspondence, which documented the atrocities from the perspec-



Stefan Ihrig

tive of the extensive German consular network. The publication proved detrimental to opinion abroad since the German ambassador had ignored these reports and continued to provide material, military, and ideological support to Ottoman Turkey. Futile attempts to aid Armenian victims showed that official Germany had known about their plight and failed to intervene. In response, a conservative backlash in articles and opinion pieces argued that Armenians were to blame for the violence and claimed wartime necessity for harsh measures against civilians.

The German press was awash with coverage that veered from pro-Armenian to strongly nationalist. The debate changed dramatically in

the aftermath of the 1921 assassination of Talaat Pasha, the architect of the genocide, then living in Berlin. The Armenian survivor Soghomon Tehlirian acknowledged responsibility for the murder and his prosecution proved to be one of the most remarkable trials of the century. The presiding judge allowed testimony from Armenian victims and witnesses such as Lepsius. The trial documented the genocide in such detail that the annihilation of the Armenian people became an established fact. With denial no longer possible, the pro-Ottoman faction expanded the case for rationalizing the genocide. In 1922, two further assassinations of leading Young Turks living in Berlin led to attacks against Armenians and other minorities in the nationalist press, which called for “an ethnic surgeon to cut away these foreign elements from the German national body.”

The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, ending the Turkish War of Independence and establishing the Turkish Republic, strengthened Nazi ideology. A cult emerged around Atatürk, which glorified his success in building the “new Turkey,” as a modern nation state purged of minorities. Hitler and Raphael Lemkin, the father of the UN Genocide convention, drew the same conclusions from these events. A perpetrator nation guilty of large scale atrocities could enjoy the material fruits and benefits of genocide with impunity. Ihrig made a compelling argument that this “original sin of the 20th century” demonstrates the need for properly integrating the Armenian Genocide into a comprehensive world history.

Mary Jane Rein

Linkages

Tibi Galis PhD '15, executive director of the Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR), invited the Strassler Center to host an AIPR fellow during the 2018 spring semester. AIPR is a New York City based organization that supports states to develop or strengthen policies and practices for the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities through education, training, and technical assistance. Victor Uhuru, the inaugural AIPR fellow and a graduate of the University of Nairobi in Kenya, was president of the Youth Advancement Initiative, which engages young adults in decision-making processes within their communities to foster a peaceful and just society. At Clark, Victor examined genocide through a variety of lenses, with the hope of applying what he learned to his own violence-prevention efforts in Kenya. Having concluded his fellowship, he enrolled at Clark University to earn an MA in International Development and Social Change. In an interview with *Clark Now*, he recounted his experience.

Why did you apply for the Auschwitz fellowship?

I wanted to deepen my engagement with efforts to end genocide and mass atrocities. Through conversations with AIPR, I saw the Strassler Center as a place to connect with experts in the field. I believe that I have a responsibility for my fellow youth and my country at large, and I wanted to expand my knowledge about the causes and effects of genocide. Kenya has gone through a long history of ethnic conflict, which has incited widespread violence especially during periods of intense electioneering. In 1994, our neighbor, Rwanda, experienced genocide, which claimed almost a million lives, and they are still struggling to recover. Mass atrocities in South Sudan and Somalia also make Kenya vulnerable to violence if we neglect internal conflicts. There is a sense that violent ideology, fomented through politics, could put Kenya at risk of genocide. We are working toward preventative measures focused on creating a more cohesive society where people can live as brothers and sisters.

Tell us a little bit about your background.

My experience in the 2007-2008 post-elections violence—during which my father died amidst the hostilities—informed my strong resolve to pursue peace as the greatest factor for co-existence. This shaped my choice for my undergraduate studies in armed conflict and peace studies. My further engagement with student activities influenced my decision to start the Youth Advancement Initiative. We believe that while youth may be disposed to propagate violence, they

are also the main asset for unifying the country. If they are not prepared to deal with conflict, they can be exploited to destabilize societies.

What have you learned about Clark and America?

I am happy to be in the United States, the leading free country in the world. My first thought when I arrived was the cold—we don't have winters like this in Kenya. The people here are very warm, however. You are a very solution-oriented society; I have seen that from working with students here. Everyone wants to feel like they have something to contribute.

Tell us about your classes.

I am learning so much about the role of gender in genocide prevention, activities of rescue and resistance, and understanding group behavior in the aftermath of violence. This simply means that genocide is a socially constructed ideology indiscriminate of gender identity and thrives under certain human-facilitated conditions. I am also learning about post-conflict group relations, which can be reconciled to restore harmony in a society. I feel sure that at the end of my program, I will be equipped to deal with the many complex issues around genocide and mass atrocities prevention.

What knowledge will you bring back home with you?

My experience is becoming richer day by day, but I believe the most important thing I will bring back are ways societies can create a sense of belonging. My classes have also shown me that if we confront genocide, we can choose resistance. This is a unique place to learn and I believe that when I return I will be more helpful to the Kenya National Committee on Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention and other platforms for peace building.

Zoe Wright '21

Linkages

We value the connections forged with partners near and far. And we recognize, with appreciation, those listed here.

Anti-Defamation League
 The Armenian Genocide Museum Institute
 Armenocide
 Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation
 Center for Holocaust Studies, Institute for Contemporary History,
 Munich
 Conference on Material Claims against Germany
 Danish Institute for International Studies
 Facing History and Ourselves
 Holocaust Educational Foundation
 Hrant Dink Foundation
 Institute for Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University
 International Holocaust and Remembrance Alliance
 The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous
 The Museum of Jewish Heritage – A Living Memorial to the Holocaust
 National Association for Armenian Studies and Research
 NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam
 Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw
 Rodgers Center for Holocaust Education, Chapman University
 The Sara & Sam Schoffer Holocaust Resource Center,
 Stockton University
 School of Historical Studies, Tel Aviv University
 Shoah Foundation Institute
 United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum
 Yad Vashem Jerusalem
 YIVO Institute for Jewish Research



Gabielle Hauth and Roger Brooks, PhD, President and CEO of Facing History and Ourselves



AIPR Fellow Victor Uhuru



FACULTY NOTES



Taner Akçam

Documenting the mechanisms of the genocide perpetrated against Ottoman Christians while challenging the denial of their persecution, Taner Akçam has dedicated his career to breaking taboos. In the 1990's, Akçam was the only Turkish scholar to risk discussing these events while the genocide was a forbidden topic in his country and few Turkish publications examined this history. For Akçam, researching the Armenian Genocide as a Turkish scholar meant being condemned to "solitude" and treated as "a traitor."

Today, thanks to his pioneering scholarship, a young generation of Turkish researchers have joined him in studying and writing about this subject.

In numerous scholarly publications, Akçam has demonstrated that Turkish reactions to the Armenian Genocide, ranging from silence to outright denial and hate, relate to national identity. For Akçam, these responses are products of a perceived threat to Turkish identity, as well as the influence of contemporary geo-politics. This view was essential to the message he delivered to the Swedish parliament on 24 April 2018 when he was invited to speak on the 103rd anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. In his address to the parliament, Akçam stressed that Turkey's denial defines its present and that the inability to establish a democratic regime in Turkey relates to the refusal to confront past crimes. In addition, the military operations Turkey has pursued in Syria and its war with the Kurds are further manifestations of the refusal to come to terms with history.

This academic year was particularly eventful for Akçam. He published a more comprehensive English language edition of his 2017 Turkish book, based on the extensive materials he discovered in the Krikor Gregorian archive. The Armenian Catholic priest Krikor Guerguerian (1911-1988) devoted his life to collecting documents about the Armenian Genocide from around the world, including from the Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate, the Ottoman, British, German, American, and Austro-Hungarian state archives. *Killing Orders, Talat Pasha's Telegrams and the Armenian Genocide* (2018) examines the government orders underlying the Armenian Genocide and establishes the authenticity of the documents that Aram Andonian, a survivor of the Genocide, published in 1921. Turkish authorities have long



Taner Akçam

discredited these documents and restoring their legitimacy is an important advance. Akçam's scholarly sleuthing proves the Ottoman government's central role in planning the elimination of the Armenian population. "The main argument I bring in the book destroys the classic denialist argument, which is that there were no killing orders," he explained in an interview to the *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*.

Working in collaboration with his doctoral students, Akçam finalized the scanning, classifying, cataloguing and transcription of

the Guerguerian archive. A portion of the many thousands of pages that Guerguerian assembled, long considered lost, are finally accessible to scholars and the interested public in an electronic archive. During June, Akçam visited Jerusalem and, with the direct permission of the patriarch, gained access to the genocide section of the Patriarchate Archive. In the next phase of the project, he will compare the documents Guerguerian copied to those in Jerusalem, which may yield fresh materials.

During spring and summer, Akçam embarked on an international book tour. In addition to many US cities, he travelled to Armenia, Australia, France, Germany Israel, New Zealand, and Sweden. In Yerevan, he was pleased to meet the Armenian Foreign Minister Zohrab Mnatsakanyan, with whom he discussed genocide prevention and the role of academia. Ever committed to inspiring young people, he delivered the graduation address at the Khoren and Shooshanig Avedisian School.

In May 2018, the Minnesota based World Without Genocide Organization recognized Akçam with their Outstanding Upstander Award. This richly deserved honor acknowledged his tireless efforts toward promoting justice and the rule of law. True to his humanitarian spirit, he dedicated the award to the defenders of human rights taken into custody and harassed during the April 2018 genocide commemoration in Istanbul. He reminded his audience that the fight against denial must include paying close attention to genocide prevention.

With his interest in democracy building, Akçam often comments on current political developments and publishes opinion pieces in online Turkish magazines. He epitomizes the scholar activist and is an inspiration to his students and the public at large.

Burçin Gerçek

Rebecca Carter-Chand, “History Unfolded”

“What did Americans know?” is one of the most significant questions surrounding the Holocaust. The issue of American knowledge of the escalating persecution of the Jews—among government officials and the general population—is often inextricable from the view that the United States failed to do enough to stop the Holocaust. The idea that limited information about the unfolding atrocities was available in the United States has persisted up to the present. To establish the extent of contemporaneous knowledge, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum initiated *History Unfolded*, an initiative that seeks to paint a more complex portrait of the issue.

The project asks people across the United States to comb through their local newspaper archives, looking for articles covering 34 Holocaust-era events ranging from the November Pogrom in 1938 to the liberation of the camps in 1944-45. Participants submit articles to an online database maintained by the museum and available to the public. As of May 2018, roughly 2,500 participants have submitted more than 12,000 articles from all 50 states and Washington, DC. This project also serves as part of the foundation for the museum’s newest exhibit, *America and the Holocaust*.

In spring 2018, Strassler Center Visiting Professor Rebecca Carter-Chand assigned the undergraduates in her seminar, “Rescue and Resistance during the Holocaust,” to participate in this project. They researched local Worcester newspapers including *The Worcester Telegram*, *The Worcester Evening Gazette*, *The Jewish Civic Leader*, *Le Travailleur* (the French language newspaper), as well as university newspapers including Clark’s *The Scarlet*, and Worcester Polytechnic Institute’s *The Tech News*. *The Jewish Civic Leader* provided the most extensive coverage of Nazi persecution of Jews by a significant margin. The paper published articles about the situation of European Jews in almost every issue throughout the Nazi era, often on the front page. As the plight of the Jews became increasingly dire, the paper began to fundraise among Worcester’s Jewish community. By the end of the war, the *Jewish Civic Leader* had assisted in raising \$500,000 in relief funds and war bonds.



Rebecca Carter-Chand

The university newspapers demonstrate the heavy reliance on eyewitness testimony common in reporting at the time. An article in *The Tech News* (November 22, 1938) reports on a talk, minimizing the dangers to German Jews, by a Modern Languages professor who recently returned from a trip to Germany: “[Professor Scheifly] said that the stories we hear of mistreatment of the Jews is more the exception than the rule. There is no doubt that the German people as a whole want to have all Jews out of that country, but it is an economic rather than a race-hatred reason that motivates them.” *The Scarlet* also used the testimonies of professors and students who spent time in Germany to depict the state of the Jews under Nazi rule.

In addition to what was reported on the fate of the Jews in the local press, what was absent proves equally telling about public knowledge and attitudes towards these events. Interestingly, both the *Worcester Telegram* and the *Worcester Evening Gazette*—the leading local papers—failed to highlight the plight of the Jews. This does not mean that such information was not available at the time, as demonstrated by the detailed coverage reported in the *Jewish Civic Leader*, but rather that these papers’ writers, editors, and publishers *chose* not to cover the events of the Holocaust. In explaining the dearth of coverage despite the availability of information, historians often explain that most Americans failed to see the Holocaust as a discrete event. They grouped Jewish persecution under a broad umbrella of Nazi victims that included Poles, POWs, and many others.

The *History Unfolded* database accepted several articles that Professor Carter-Chand’s students uncovered, which are now available online. This project offered Clark students (including me) an excellent opportunity to expand learning beyond the classroom, developing valuable research skills while making meaningful contributions to a critical part of history. In an April lecture at the Worcester Public library, Professor Carter-Chand and a few of my classmates presented our findings in a public event.

Spencer Cronin '18

Debórah Dwork

The Wisdom of the Sages teaches, “according to the effort is the reward.” As inaugural Rose Professor and Founding Director of the Strassler Center, Debórah Dwork invested her prodigious talent and efforts into developing an internationally renowned doctoral program. Following a year-long leave of absence to serve as a senior scholar at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), she resigned her professorship in August 2018. She has assumed the role of Senior Research Scholar at the Strassler Center and in this capacity, she continues to mentor a cadre of doctoral students. Having dedicated two decades to establishing the Strassler Center, Dwork’s reward is the lasting legacy of this institution and the students it educates, as well as the enormous impact of her scholarship and books. Graduates of the doctoral program advance the field here and abroad, and it is through them that she continues to actualize her vision to promote doctoral training and scholarship.



Debórah Dwork

Her final faculty profile is an interview, conducted by Mary Jane Rein.

In 2016-17, you enjoyed a yearlong sabbatical. How did you spend that year?

With no classes to meet, I was free to accept invitations to teach and lecture around the globe: from New York to Michigan to California.; Bucharest, Vancouver; Leipzig; Toronto; Jerusalem – twice. I served on the Fraenkel Book Prize jury, which was great fun. And I jumped down the rabbit hole of archival research for my project *Saints and Liars: American Relief and Rescue Workers during the Nazi Years*, pursuing the history and life stories of amazing Americans who went to Europe to give aid and stayed to effect rescue.

What did you do as Senior Scholar-in-Residence at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum during academic year 2017-18?

When the USHMM invited me to serve as the Shapiro Senior Scholar-in-Residence, I was delighted. “What will you research?” the staff asked. “I plan to write!” I replied. “I’ve done my research.” And then I met Ron Coleman (Chief Archivist) and Rebecca Erbelding (Historian/Archivist). They opened an Aladdin’s cave of archives related to my book project. Becky had scoured archives for her 2018 book, *Rescue Board*. Hugely generous,

she passed all relevant material to me. As for Ron: just one example. Assessing an enormous quantity of material from Russia, he came across a diary fragment in English, by Moses Beckelman, an employee of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee detailed to Lithuania. One of my chapters is devoted to Beckelman’s work in Vilna. Thanks to Ron, I got to know Beckelman intimately!

Have you reached any important insights while conducting the research for your book?

My project has three aims: to introduce Americans to American rescuers; to explore the role of gender in female operatives’ histories; and—most important to me! — to grapple with the role of the irrational in history. Historians have shied away from analysis of the unpredictable: timing; luck; fortuitous circumstance. We don’t know what to do with those factors, and so we don’t do much. I began to pay attention to these slippery, less concrete or measurable, yet forcefully significant factors in my book, *Flight from the Reich*.

In *Saints and Liars*, I tackle the even messier role of emotions, human relations, the irrational. I introduce a new turn in scholarship: to take seriously the very factors—the unpredictable and the irrational—that we know shape our own lives, but we more or less ignore in our analyses of the past. My goal is to prompt us to reframe the way we think about, analyze, and write history. Not to marginalize factors we already have identified as significant. But to add another lens.

What part of your legacy at the Strassler Center gives you greatest joy?

“You must feel like Queen Victoria,” Holocaust educator Jane Denny observed. And indeed, my students hold positions (leadership positions, in many cases) everywhere: the AIPR, Claims Conference, FDR Presidential Library; Holocaust Educational Foundation, Shoah Foundation, USHMM, Wiener Library, Holocaust education centers from New York to California, universities (Chapman, Columbia, Kean, Stockton, Uppsala, UMass). Our students have flourished and the program has grown to embrace a panoply of genocides as areas for teaching and research.

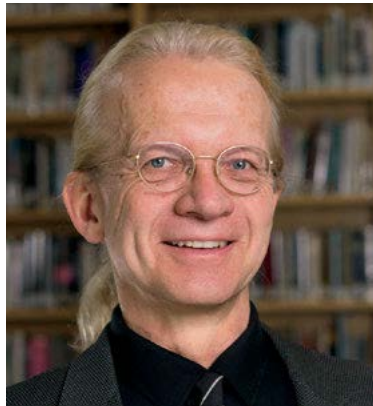
Clark is a special place. And in my view, the Strassler Center is the most special spot in that special place. Our students enjoy each other, support each other, and help each other. Those relationships continue long after graduation. That warm and robust far-flung web gives me great joy!

Thomas Kühne

A consummate scholar and dedicated professor, Strassler Center Director Thomas Kühne is as meticulous and impactful in his scholarship as in his administrative duties. He recognizes that directing the Strassler Center and serving Clark University are both essential to advancing a vision for academic growth. Thus, he was delighted to hold key leadership positions as chair of Clark University's Committee on Personnel (COP), chair of the search committee for the Dean of the Faculty, and member of several other university committees. "The Strassler Center is a crucial part of the University," he maintains, "and contributing to Clark by serving on important university committees ensures a healthy milieu in which all programs can thrive and develop." From his vantage point leading committees, Kühne gained important insights, which deepen his understanding of the university and enhance his leadership of the Strassler Center.

If serving the university matters deeply to Kühne, furthering the Strassler Center's doctoral program is an even greater privilege and responsibility. Having established the *International Graduate Conferences on Holocaust and Genocide Studies* at the Strassler Center in 2009, he was pleased to convene the fourth event in this series with thirty brilliant doctoral students from North and South America, Europe and Israel. Advising his own PhD students keeps Kühne busy throughout the year. In July, he was pleased to conclude his work with Mihai Poliec who successfully defended his dissertation, *A Dangerous Proximity: The Civilian Society and the Holocaust in Romania's Borderlands after July 1941*. In his capacity as Director of Graduate Studies, he also advises first-year doctoral students as they identify their research topics and choose their primary advisors. Eager to advance Clark's undergraduate concentration in Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Kühne supervised Spencer Cronin '18 on a summer 2017 LEEP project that examined Holocaust education in the Worcester Public Schools followed by a senior honors thesis examining the pedagogical organization Facing History and Ourselves.

A passion for history underlies all of Kühne's efforts. He is committed to furthering historical inquiry through publishing, editing, lecturing, teaching, and convening conferences. Having published *The Rise and Fall of Comradeship* in 2017, the culmination of two decades of inquiries into the mindsets of Hitler's soldiers and their



Thomas Kühne

complicity in the Holocaust, Kühne turned to new projects. Internationally recognized for his pioneering research on masculinity, Kühne guest-edited a special issue of the renowned journal *Central European History*, titled *Masculinity and the Third Reich*, published in fall. He authored two articles, solicited, edited, and guided through the peer review process various further articles for the issue. They explore how diverse notions of male honor, male solidarity, and male resilience fueled German military and criminal violence but also informed Jewish men's

strength and self-esteem under Nazi persecution. In a contribution to Wiley-Blackwell's new *Companion to Nazi Germany*, Kühne plumbs the chasms of the Nazis' genocidal morality. A Turkish translation of his 2010 book, *Belonging and Genocide. Hitler's Community, 1918-1945*, appeared with a forward penned by his colleague Taner Akçam. As book series co-editor of *Palgrave Histories of Genocides*, he shepherded three new books into publication (including Taner Akçam's path breaking *Killing Orders, Talat Pasha's Telegrams and the Armenian Genocide*).

In the end, all of these accomplishments foster the growth and development of the Strassler Center. As Director, Kühne has charted an energetic course to develop a truly comprehensive program that will forge dynamic connections between academia, pedagogy, and activism. Thus, he convened a fall conference, *Children and Mass Violence*, that included specialists on the Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide, and Native American Genocide. Now, he is preparing another major conference at the Strassler Center, scheduled for 11-14 April 2019, *E Pluribus Unum? Memory Conflicts, Democracy, and Integration*. It will provide a forum to discuss how violent and racist pasts in America and Europe inform resurgent waves of xenophobia, hatred, and bigotry, and what can be done to fight them.

Kühne envisions expanding the Center to include human rights education, to strengthen knowledge about individual genocides, and to provide a theoretical framework that deepens appreciation for similarities and differences. Active in building a Strassler Center Leadership Council, Kühne is eager to establish new professorships that will extend the program's reach to Africa, the Americas, and Asia. Ambitious goals for an ambitious scholar!

Mary Jane Rein

Ken MacLean

Humanitarian crises and ethnic conflict in Burma/Myanmar have concerned Ken MacLean for more than two decades. His expertise in the region has assumed greater significance with the intensification of violence perpetrated against the Rohingya, a Muslim minority population in Myanmar. An anthropologist by training and a core faculty member at the Strassler Center, MacLean is Associate Director and an Associate Professor in the Department of International Development and Social Change. With his regional focus on mainland Southeast Asia and the Greater South China Sea, he also serves as Director of Asian Studies. Fluent in Vietnamese and Thai, MacLean has extensive experience with NGOs in Southeast Asia and has conducted and published research on human rights violations in Vietnam and Myanmar.

The situation facing Rohingya refugees who have been fleeing over the Myanmar-Bangladesh border is an issue that MacLean is closely following. His 2018 article, “The Rohingya Crisis and the Practices of Erasure,” in *The Journal of Genocide Research*, places the violence against the Rohingya into a broader social, historical, and religious context. Long devoted to documenting human rights abuses in conflict-ridden regions of Myanmar, MacLean has been vocal about the plight of the Rohingya. In a fall 2017 lecture at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, he presented “A Genealogy of Dehumanization: The Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar.” MacLean is concerned with the challenges that underlie the social construction of facts and knowledge production. He examines the processes by which raw data is transformed in order to establish whether human rights abuses have occurred. Satellite imagery, an important source of data for documenting conflict in Myanmar, was the subject of a paper he delivered at the International Network of Genocide Scholars, Global Conference on Genocide in Marseilles, France, “The Slow Burning Genocide: Satellite Imagery, Infrastructural Ruins, and the Rohingya Exodus.” Drawing on his contacts in the NGO community, he organized a fall 2018 panel discussion to consider the historic roots of the Rohingya crisis, outline the broader political and military context in which the forced migration is occurring, and evaluate possible solutions.

MacLean is currently completing a book that examines the strategic utilization of “facts” within human rights archives in Myanmar, *Search and Destroy: Burma/Myanmar and Human Rights Fact Production*. In examining the history of counter insurgency operations, primarily in Karen State in Myanmar, MacLean addresses the challenges of verifying and corroborating facts. He breaks down the pro-



Ken MacLean

cesses behind the creation of human rights archives that document large-scale violations (including alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity). Among the issues he examines are the seizure of labor time, which reduces participation in armed groups; food as a weapon of war; shoot to kill policies; and commissions of inquiry.

MacLean’s interest in human rights issues extends beyond theoretical understanding. In 2018, his latest book chapter “New Visibilities: Challenging Torture and Impunity in Vietnam” appeared in *Human Rights Transformation in an Unequal World*, edited by Tine Destrooper and Sally Engle Merry. Given his knowledge of how to document facts, MacLean provides training to Burmese activists on report writing and advocacy work. He authored a 600-page independent report, published in 2018, on the use of food as a weapon of war titled *Famine Crimes: Military Operations, Forced Migration, and Chronic Hunger in Eastern Burma/Myanmar (2006-2008)*. With food security an important focus of his research and teaching, MacLean is pleased to serve as the faculty representative to the Food Services Working Group, which seeks to ensure food justice by encouraging procurement of more locally grown organic food products that support local business while providing healthier food on campus.

MacLean has diversified the research agenda and teaching topics at the Strassler Center. His wide ranging thematic interests include state theory and alternative sovereignties, human rights “fact” production and archives, legal regimes, digital technologies and censorship. A valued colleague and dedicated teacher, MacLean has helped advance the Center’s growing research program, particularly in the field of comparative genocide studies.

Mohammad Sajjadur Rahman

Program Faculty

We are grateful to the following faculty for their contributions of scholarship, expertise, and teaching.

Taner Akçam, PhD,

Robert Aram '52 and Marianne Kaloosdian & Stephen and Marian Mugar Professor of Armenian Genocide Studies and Modern Armenian History

Katerine Bielaczyc, PhD,

Director of the Hiatt Center for Urban Education
Associate Professor of Education

Debórah Dwork, PhD,

Senior Research Scholar
Founding Director and Inaugural Rose Professor of Holocaust History

Anita Fábos, PhD,

Associate Professor of International Development and Social Change

Everett Fox, PhD,

Director, Jewish Studies Concentration
Allen M. Glick Chair in Judaic and Biblical Studies

Thomas Kühne, PhD,

Director, Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies
Strassler Professor of Holocaust History

Ken MacLean, PhD,

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Valerie Sperling, PhD,

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Ora Szekely, PhD,

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Professor of Sociology

Robert Tobin, PhD,

Henry J. Leir Professor in Foreign Languages and Cultures

Johanna Ray Vollhardt, PhD,

Associate Professor of Psychology

Kristen Williams, PhD,

Professor of Political Science

STUDENT & ALUMNI NEWS





Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, Germany

Graduate Student News

Doctoral education is the centerpiece of the Strassler Center program. Our cadre of highly dedicated PhD students recognize that it is imperative to address historic wrongs in order to build a peaceful future. Scholarship is a necessary first step and the promising students trained in this pioneering program are committed to maintaining the momentum of scholarship, research, and education about the Holocaust and other genocides far into the future. The excellence of the doctoral program has made the Strassler Center a powerful model for academic institutions and organizations. Superior students come from around the globe and help to carry this initiative forward; they expand our intellectual reach by incorporating cutting-edge methodologies, introducing new cases, and challenging old ideas.

The success of the doctoral program is manifested in the academic and professional accomplishments of the students and graduates. They secure prestigious fellowships and travel the globe to present their research. Their work gains them access to important archives in Armenia, Israel, Europe, and the United States. They publish in peer-reviewed publications and chapters in edited volumes, they are the authors of scholarship published in Armenian, English, Hebrew, and Turkish. They are invited to present their research in conferences and serve as organizers, committee members, and catalysts. The interest of prominent outside scholars in mentoring them is an important gauge of their accomplishments. Doctoral student achievements from the 2017-18 academic year, summarized here, redound to the credit of the Strassler Center.

Anna Aleksanyan, the Harry and Ovsanna Chitjian Fellow, is now engaged in working full time on her dissertation, *Gendered Aspects of the Armenian Genocide in the Experiences of its Female Victims*. She studies how sexual violence served as a genocidal weapon in the context of the Armenian genocide. The Turkish Union and Progress Party initiated the Genocide by killing Armenian men. Women and children were not at risk of immediate elimination; rather, the government policy was to exile them to the remote Arabian deserts. Their relocation was accompanied by mass humiliation, rape and starvation, as well as mass killings. Kidnapping, forced marriages, and forced involuntary conversion were also significant weapons that Turkish gendarmes and Kurdish criminals deployed. Many Armenian women and girls “volunteered” to marry Turks, Kurds or Arabs or to become their slaves in order to rescue their relatives. The victims of these forced marriages had to change their religion and forget their names and identity in order to survive. In researching rape, sexual abuse, sexual slavery, and forced prostitution, Aleksanyan considers how pre-genocidal gender dynamics, cultural practices, and political economies can explain the motivations and forms of genocidal sexual violence.

During the fall semester, Aleksanyan studied Turkish at the American University of Armenia in Yerevan. She then travelled to Geneva to visit the League of Nations Archives where she found materials documenting slave markets of Armenian women and children in Mesopotamia and the Syrian Desert. In addition, Aleksanyan worked in the private archives of the UN examining the papers, letters, and reports of Karen Yeppe who was a representative of the League in the Middle East in the 1920s. She was primarily involved in operations aimed at



Anna Aleksanyan, Gabrielle Hauth, and Asya Darbinyan

rescuing Armenian women and children. Finally, Aleksanyan continued her archival research at the Nubarian Library in Paris, which has the largest collection of survivors’ testimonies (Andonian collection).

Having completed her archival research, Aleksanyan has begun to write the dissertation. The first chapter examines pre-genocidal society, gender roles, and the social position of women. The kidnapping of girls and women, as well as forced conversion, were already significant problems in Armenian life before the genocide. Aleksanyan will examine how Armenians responded to these events and how they were manifest in gender relations. There were legal and extra legal responses, passive reactions and active ways of fighting against these crimes. Aleksanyan will show how responses varied regionally and how they affected relations with neighbors (mostly Turks, Kurds,

and Circassians). Her research focuses on Erzerum, Kharbed, Diyarbakir, Bursa, Trabzon, Nicomedia, and Mush. To understand these nuances, Aleksanyan monitored Armenian newspapers and periodicals, published in Constantinople and in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Alison Avery, recipient of the Albert M. Tapper Fellowship, researches the relationship between economic deprivation and individual participation in genocide in Africa's Great Lakes Region, particularly Rwanda. Prior to her doctoral studies, she earned an MS in Global Affairs with a focus on Human Rights and International Law from New York University. She worked as an External Relations Assistant for the UN World Food Program, and as an Administrative Coordinator and Teaching Assistant at the Kupferberg Holocaust Center in Queens, NY.

Avery examines the origins and causes of genocide, specifically focusing on the Interahamwe civilian militia perpetrators in the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda. She aspires to uncover the micro-dynamics that shaped the formation and organization of the Interahamwe militia as well as the mindset of the perpetrators. Avery is especially interested in the economic factors that underlie genocide, and the interplay between economic deprivation and individual willingness to participate.

The methodological and epistemological approaches of Avery's project will go beyond traditional narratives about economic circumstances to explore the processes and mechanisms by which these factors relate to genocide. What conditions shaped the dynamics of mobilization, recruitment, and grooming of people who joined the Interahamwe? To what extent did these elements affect how they committed acts of violence during the genocide? What did it mean to be Rwandan in the period from 1990 to 1994? Was there consensus, or were there different viewpoints? When the Interahamwe emerged, was identity definitely racialized or was there a class component because many were poor Hutus? Avery will examine the intersection between the racialization of social identity and economic identity. She will consider how this relationship may have contributed to the othering that set up the preconditions for mass violence in Rwanda and Burundi.

Scholarly literature on the Interahamwe militia is limited. Avery aspires to fill the gaps in information and to analyze the recruitment, grooming, and mobilization of the Interahamwe, as well as their participation during the genocide. During the summer, Avery conducted



Alison Avery

preliminary research in Rwanda, establishing the groundwork for future field research. Specifically, she aimed to determine the feasibility of her topic, to build contacts, and to establish the parameters for acquiring a research visa in Rwanda.

Asya Darbinyan, T. McBane Fellow in Armenian Genocide Studies, explores Russian humanitarian responses to the Armenian Genocide. Drawing upon Armenian, Georgian, and, most significantly, Russian primary sources, she scrutinizes the process of refugee movement in 1914-1917 as a result of the Ottoman genocide against Armenians and the warfare on the Caucasus front of the Great War. Exploring the dynamics of the refugee crisis, she addresses core questions of motivation, decision-making, and implementation of humanitarian assistance and relief work by Russian civil and military authorities. Darbinyan aims to offer a new understanding of theoretical terms and concepts. She examines humanitarianism and altruism versus imperial policy and colonization; refugee flow and relief work versus population migration and displacement by "military necessity;" refugee status and refugee rights during the Great War period versus refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons in the present day (after the 1951 Convention on Refugees).

Having concluded the research phase of her project, Darbinyan has begun writing her dissertation. She focuses on the dynamics of the first mass population movements going from the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman-Russian border regions and explores the condition of

refugees streaming towards various areas of Transcaucasia, the Russian Empire's southwest region, from winter 1914 to summer 1915. Many of the refugees, forced into flight, had lost their property, homes, family members, and, finally, they had lost hope. Immediate mobilization of local villagers, and activists, timely reaction of relief committees and establishment of new ones, facilitated the organization of humanitarian assistance for those desperate people. Thus, in her first chapter, Darbinyan shows how the reaction to emergency circumstances transforms into action—immense humanitarian assistance on behalf of Armenian refugees. And finally, by assessing the multiplicity and diversity of actors involved in Armenian relief during the Great War and the Armenian Genocide, she elucidates the complexity of humanitarianism within an imperial context.

In addition to research and writing, Darbinyan participated in various academic events, conferences and workshops. In April, she presented “Victims, Survivors, Savages: Armenian Refugee Children in the Caucasus during the Great War” at the 9th Annual International Graduate Student Workshop, organized by the Armenian Studies Program of the University of Michigan. She lectured on “Self-help and Self-organization during the Armenian Genocide” at an Armenian community remembrance event in Springfield, MA. She welcomed the invitation to present her paper “Humanitarian Crisis at the Ottoman-Russian Border: Assisting Armenian Refugees of War and Genocide (winter 1914-summer 1915)” at the 23rd Annual Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention at Columbia University.

Claims Conference Fellow **Daan de Leeuw**, recipient of the Samuel and Anna Jacobs Research award, examines concentration camp slave laborers in the final stage of the Second World War. For his MA thesis in history from the University of Amsterdam, he addressed the perpetrator question on a micro level, with a focus on Nazi doctors who committed human experiments in German concentration camps. He received the ‘Volkskrant-IISG Scriptieprijs voor Geschiedenis 2014’ for the best history MA thesis written at a Dutch university. Prior to his doctoral studies, de Leeuw served as a research assistant at the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam.

During his first year, de Leeuw took advantage of the Strassler Center's access to the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive to familiarize himself with victim testimonies. Experiencing the richness of these interviews led him to prioritize survivor accounts regard-



Asya Darbinyan, Emre Can Dağlıoğlu, Taner Akçam, Burçin Gerçek, and Ani Garabed Ohanian

ing Jewish slave labor. For his dissertation, he will focus on the movement of Jewish slave laborers through the concentration camp system and consider how these movements affected the social structure among prisoners. Using geovisualisations, he seeks to find patterns in the movement of individual prisoners and groups of prisoners through space and time that can provide insights into the impact of relocations upon the prisoners, as well as patterns in relation to Nazi policies. He will obtain data from the records of the International Tracing Service (ITS) and oral testimonies of survivors. This doctoral research project will include both qualitative and quantitative data; it will contribute knowledge on this specific subject as well as on the development of digital methods.

At Clark, de Leeuw has been able to take advantage of the excellent course offerings in the Geography Department to become skilled with GIS (Geographical Information Systems). In November, he participated in two workshops that allowed him to reflect on the GIS methodology that he intends to use for his dissertation. The first workshop at the Weiner Library in London, *Improving Access to the International Tracing Service Digital Archive Workshop 3.1 Digital Humanities and the ITS Archive*, dealt with the use of archival sources at the ITS. The European Holocaust Research Infrastructure sponsored the “EHRI Workshop on Holocaust Spatial Data,” which examined geographical methods and historical research.

During the summer, de Leeuw visited the ITS archive in Bad Arolsen, Germany, and the NIOD archives in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He participated in the 10th International Summer School of the

Digital Interview Collections at the Freie Universität Berlin. The topic was “Learning with interviews. Video testimonies of Holocaust survivors in history and civic education”.

Burçin Gerçek finished her second year of doctoral study with the support of the Charlotte Calfaian Fund and Starhill Associates. With a background in political science and journalism, she previously served as Istanbul correspondent, between 2002-2016, for the French newspapers *L'Express* and *Ouest France*. She also specialized on Turkish-Armenian issues for the online magazine *Repair*.

For her dissertation, Gerçek researches the mindset of Armenian genocide perpetrators in Ankara Province. She was pleased to find materials that relate to the Unionist trials in the Guergerian archive, newly digitized and catalogued by Professor Taner Akçam and his team. These trial documents and copies of materials from the archives of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem are inaccessible in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. They include files from the investigation commission preceding the trials; depositions taken from perpetrators, survivors, bystanders and observers; and detailed lists of perpetrators that the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul prepared between 1918 and 1922.

Gerçek has identified diverse sources, including memoirs, newspaper interviews and articles, oral and written depositions from trials of bystanders, observers and some righteous figures that help to illuminate the dynamics of the violence. A high number of survivor memoirs come from different districts of Ankara province. Gerçek inventoried additional survivor memoirs, accessible in the Nubarian Library in Paris and the Aram Association Archives in Marseille, France. These testimonies shed light on the mechanisms of involvement and details of perpetrator behavior. Newspapers published in the postwar period (1918-1922) provide further information regarding high and middle ranking perpetrators.

Gerçek hypothesizes that a complex mix of resentment (economic, social, cultural or political in origin) paved the way to the involvement of heterogeneous actors in the Armenian genocide, as was the case in the 1909 Adana massacres. She has focused on the resentment felt by Muslim refugees from the Balkans and Caucasus to the Ottoman Empire and its



Daan de Leeuw

impact on their involvement in perpetrating atrocities. Many Muslims from these regions were among the high-ranking perpetrators in Ankara province, just as they were highly represented among CUP elites. In order to develop a broader perspective on their motivations, she deepened her knowledge of factors shaping perpetrator participation by studying recruitment mechanisms in other genocides.

Gerçek has continued to develop reading skills in Armenian and in Ottoman in order to study documents from the Ottoman archive, contemporary newspaper accounts, and survivor testimonies that will form the foundation for her dissertation research.

Shirley and Ralph Rose Fellow **Simon Goldberg** received the Jacob

Nyman research award to continue his doctoral research. His dissertation examines the provenance of original documentation from the Kovno (Kaunas) ghetto in Lithuania to explore the broader question of how knowledge about this ghetto was first constituted. The texts that survived the war years in Kovno offer a panoply of perspectives on ghetto life: they include an anonymous history written by Jewish policemen; a report written by members of the chevra kadisha (burial society); and the protocol book of the Ältestenrat, which details its



Amos Goldberg (Hebrew University), Simon Goldberg, Alexandra Garbarini (Williams College), and Debórah Dwork

wartime deliberations. Goldberg investigates the composition and original function of these disparate records to examine the stakes with which they were vested and assess their evidentiary value for our historical understanding of the Holocaust.

In the spring, Goldberg presented a talk to staff members at Facing History and Ourselves in Boston based on his MA research, which analyzes letters and postcards Jews wrote while on deportation trains to the East. An adaptation of his thesis was recently published as a journal article in *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust*.

During the summer months, Goldberg conducted research in Yad Vashem's archives as part of a European Holocaust Research Infrastructure fellowship. He mined materials held in the collection of Avraham Tory, who served as secretary of the Jewish council in the Kovno ghetto. Besides Tory's wartime diary, this trove holds administrative files, statistical reports, and historical monographs that shed light on the various Jewish departments in the Kovno ghetto. While in Israel, Goldberg also worked at the Ghetto Fighters House Archives, which holds a rare artifact from the Kovno ghetto: a miniaturized memorial tablet that contains graphs and statistical illustrations of mortality rates and population decline in the ghetto. Looking to improve his fluency in Yiddish, Goldberg enrolled in the Naomi Prawer Kadar International Yiddish Summer Program at Tel Aviv University, where he also participated in a forum for graduate students. He then returned to Vermont for his third Summer Institute as a Wexner Graduate Fellow.

Goldberg was awarded the Fellowship in Baltic Jewish History at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research for the 2018-2019 academic year. His research will also take him to the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, which holds vital collections from the Central State Archives of Lithuania, and back to Israel, to the archives of Yad Vashem, the Ghetto Fighters House, and the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, among others.

Claims Conference Fellow **Gabrielle Hauth** examines intimate relations during the Holocaust, focusing on the concentration camp setting, for her dissertation *Intimacy in Ravensbrück: Sex, Violence, and Survival in a Nazi Concentration Camp*. This study is limited to the history of Ravensbrück, a camp that employed both male and



Raz Segal PhD '13 and the current doctoral students gathered for the Fourth International Graduate Student Conference

female guards and in the latter part of World War II held male and female prisoners, in order to explore how intimacy functioned in that violent atmosphere and how it affected the everyday experience of both prisoners and perpetrators. Hauth challenges the linear model of sexuality often understood in terms of force, coercion, and consent in order to create a mosaic of sexual experiences that illuminates the roles of agency and power in camp society. She examines camp prisoners as well as camp guards in these settings— their relationships with those of their own group as well as relationships between members of the different groups. Studying all of these factions reveals the varied functions of sexuality in such settings. This little examined aspect of concentration camp life confronts stereotypes of heroic victims, morally compromised survivors, and sadistic guards to highlight the varied and nuanced realities in concentration camps.

Hauth's sources include published memoirs, unpublished prisoner testimony, post-war correspondence, trial records, and official Nazi personnel records. She has researched the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Bundesarchiv in Lichterfelde, and the Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück. Having uncovered extensive documentation on sexuality in Ravensbrück, Hauth is formulating case studies to include in her dissertation, one of which is the unusual relationship between an SS doctor and a German prisoner nurse. The



Emil Kjerte with Howard and Hanne Kulin (who fund Danish collaboration)

pair's sexual relationship is well documented in a 1943 SS trial that convicted the doctor of improper relations with a prisoner. While on the surface this seems a coerced relationship of power inequality, the nurse attests in her post-war trial that despite her subordinate status she influenced the doctor rather than him influencing her. Their relationship is one of many whose reexamination sheds light on subtle power relations in camp settings.

Hauth's fascinating research has garnered strong support. She received a Central European History Society Travel and Research Grant for research into the personal papers of survivor Rosa Jochmann at the archive of the Association for the History of the Workers Movement in Vienna, which may have vital information about lesbian relationships in Ravensbrück. She traveled to Berlin from July to October 2018 to conduct further research at the German Bundesarchiv and the Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück supported by a German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) research grant. While in Germany, she presented her work at the Universität Hannover. In February 2019, Hauth will begin a residency at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum as a Visiting Fellow.

Emil Kjerte is the recipient of the Louis and Ann Kulin Fellowship, which fosters cooperation with Danish scholars and institutions dedicated to Holocaust and genocide research. Kjerte holds a BA in history from the University of Copenhagen, where his thesis investigated the SS Einsatzgruppen and focused on the dynamics that escalated the killings as well as the motivations for committing mass atrocities. For his MA thesis at Uppsala University in Sweden, he turned to a comparative study of perpetrators. He compared the My Lai massacre, carried out by American soldiers during the Vietnam War, with a massacre committed by German order police officers in the Polish city of Bialystok at the beginning of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Based on trial documents in German archives and digital material, his research revealed that the two atrocities were organized in different ways and featured different perpetrator behavioral patterns, and the thesis provided explanations for these case variations.

For his dissertation, Kjerte compares SS guards and officers in Auschwitz with the camp personnel in Jasenovac, the largest concentration camp in the so-called Independent State of Croatia. A focal point of the comparison is the group dynamics and social relations among the camp personnel. In this regard, the dissertation will elucidate intra-group competition and the sense of community among the guards. Kjerte explores how these aspects shaped the cruel behavior they displayed towards their victims. An additional goal of the comparison is to analyze the indoctrination of the camp personnel in Auschwitz and Jasenovac. A central question is the extent to which the camp leadership appropriated policies and practices from the Nazi camps. By identifying similarities and differences between the German and Croatian camp personnel, the dissertation will contribute to integrating the study of Nazi perpetrators with the study of collaborative actors involved in the implementation of the Holocaust.

Kjerte embarked on an analysis of primary source materials, relying on digitized and scanned documents. These include interrogation statements by various camp commanders in the Jasenovac camp complex and witness statements from post-war criminal investigations and trials. This material provided a valuable starting point. Kjerte visited the Archive of Yugoslavia in Belgrade and the Croatian State Archive in Zagreb during the summer in order to examine the complete collection of documents from the post-war Yugoslav state commission on war crimes, which investigated the crimes committed by the Nazi and Italian occupiers and their collaborators during the war.



Alexandra Kramen

Alexandra Kramen, recipient of a Claims Conference Fellowship and a Marlene and David Persky Research Award, explores notions of justice and revenge among post-Holocaust Jewish refugees living in the Displaced Persons Camp Föhrenwald (1945-1957). Choosing the camp for its status as the longest-running post-Holocaust DP camp in Europe, Kramen views Föhrenwald as the ideal environment to explore the immediate postwar lives of survivors, including how they viewed revenge and justice in postwar Germany. The goals of her research are two-fold: to bring light to an area of Jewish life during and after the Holocaust that has received little attention, and to further analyze the effects of international policies on refugee identity, re-creation of home, and psychological needs in the aftermath of mass violence.

Kramen's dissertation will build upon her MA thesis, *Indefinite Displacement: Post-Holocaust Jewish Refugee Experiences, Community, and Life in Displaced Persons Camp Föhrenwald, 1945-1957*, which probed the stories of Jewish refugees, as well as Jewish aid workers from the United States and Britain. The dissertation will highlight how the policies of international institutions affected the lives of Jewish survivors and their need for justice and retribution. Kramen hopes to shed light on mechanisms, in addition to the international criminal tribunal system, that can help restore a sense of justice to

survivors of mass violence, a crucial component of both the trauma-coping and reconciliation processes.

For her MA thesis, Kramen relied heavily upon oral history testimonies. These included a variety of former Föhrenwald residents of diverse gender, age, and ability, as well as testimony from two American Jewish directors of the camp (personnel from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) and one of the British aid workers assigned to the camp. She also discovered a trove of administrative reports authored by relief workers and administrators from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad, and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Kramen will deepen her research by examining additional documentation in the JDC archives, German administrative and military documents in archives at what was once Föhrenwald, and American administrative and military documents in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. She will also research German and Yiddish oral histories in the USC Visual History Archive, copies of the newsletter *Bamidbar* created and published by Föhrenwald's DP community and held at the USHMM, as well as documents in the International Tracing Service archive.

Professor Debórah Dwork, Kramen's dissertation advisor, has given her original documents and photographs pertaining to DP camps. Kramen preserved the materials in protective sleeves and discovered a previously unknown prosecution opening statement from the Frankfurt war crimes trials. Unlike at the Nuremberg trials, the newly discovered statement specifically alleges the anti-Jewish nature of the Final Solution as well as additional crimes specifically targeting European Jewry. Awarded a Summer Graduate Research Fellowship for first year PhD students at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the USHMM, Kramen collaborated with a mentor, Kierra Crago-Schneider, who also researches Jewish life in Föhrenwald, to advance her dissertation ideas.

Sidney and Rosalie Rose Fellow, **Samantha Lakin**, analyzes local perspectives toward symbolic justice in the aftermath of genocide and mass atrocities, using Rwanda as the primary case study. She held a Fulbright Fellowship to conduct field research in Rwanda during the 2017-18 academic year; while there, she enjoyed additional research support from the Ronald and Deborah Ratner Family Foundation. During her fieldwork, she conducted 40 interviews with

key informants and local individuals. She also carried out research in the archives of the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide and the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission.

For her dissertation, *Kwibuka: Divergent Memory and the Quest for Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda*, Lakin examines how local experiences inform justice-seeking for societies transitioning from conflict to peace. Her project provides a systematic analysis of memory initiatives in Rwanda, and considers whether such practices contribute to a sense of justice for different groups. In cases of extraordinary violence, international courts that focus on punishing perpetrators are favored over symbolic measures that strive to help victims recover from the trauma of genocide or mass violence, yet these restorative efforts may prove more important than scholars previously imagined.

Lakin uses open-ended interviews, archival document review (speeches, written testimonies, etc.), and direct observation of commemorative and memorial practices to examine how genocide survivors, former perpetrators, ordinary citizens, and state entities respond. Her preliminary research and existing literature suggest that symbolic forms of justice can have a positive impact on people pursuing redress and healing outside of legal channels. Her project considers how genocide survivors, former perpetrators, ordinary citizens, and state officials understand and utilize symbolic justice to achieve their respective goals. Focusing on memorialization, commemoration, and personal memory practices, she seeks to create a new understanding of the multiple, competing, and coinciding perspectives involved in post-conflict recovery. She will illustrate how efforts to realize justice through symbolic means can inform existing theories of transitional justice that can guide policymakers.

In Rwanda, as in most post-conflict societies, actors construct narratives that address their needs for grief, mourning, justice, and development. People may attend the same commemoration yet remember different things. Rwandans participate in communal commemoration, yet group priorities may differ. Survivors, perpetrators, ordinary citizens, and states have their own narratives that constitute their perspectives, values, and actions. These narratives are not necessarily in conflict; they can coexist in the same memorial spaces.

Lakin welcomed opportunities to present her findings while carrying out her field research. She gave a talk, “Justice Beyond the Courtroom: Memory and Accountability in Rwanda and Northern Uganda,” in a seminar at the Protestant Institute of Arts and Social Sciences in Butare, Rwanda. She presented “Nuanced Memory: Responsibilities

of Context Specific Justice Practitioners” at the DAAD-Africa network on post-conflict memory at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. Finally, she participated in a research roundtable where she presented “Searching Rwanda: Narrative Identity, Traumatic Memories and Self-positioning” at the conference, *Historical Trauma and Memory: Living with the Haunting Power of the Past: An Interdisciplinary Symposium* in Kigali, Rwanda.

Armenian Community Fellow **Ani Garabed Ohanian** is the recipient of support from the Nishan and Margrit Atinjian Family Foundation, Michelle Kolligian, Steven and Deborah Migridichian, and Harry and Hripsime Parsekian. She entered the doctoral program having earned an MA in History and Literature from Columbia University in conjunction with the Université de Paris and a second MA in History at the École des hautes études in Paris where she completed her thesis on American missions in the period following WW I and the Armenian Genocide.

Trilingual in Armenian, English, and French, Ohanian has embarked on studying Russian and Turkish for her doctoral research. For her dissertation, she examines how the Armenian Genocide shaped Bolshevik-Kemalist relations. The nascent Republic of Armenia encouraged a Bolshevik and Kemalist alliance in order to suppress the Armenian Dashnak party. In the aftermath of the genocide, this triangular relationship highlighted the destruction of empire and the rise of nationalist ambition. The CUP and Kemalists had differing attitudes towards the Bolsheviks who had collaborated with perpetrators and even supported Enver Pasha militarily. Many Armenian Bolsheviks fought alongside Turks in order to defeat the Dashnak party. Given these competing ideologies, Armenia did not maintain independence for long and in December 1920, the Bolsheviks integrated Armenia into the Soviet Union.

Recipient of a Calouste Gulbenkian Short Term Grant, Ohanian attended the Middlebury College Language program to continue her study of Russian. With better access to Russian documents, she will refine her ideas about what sources she will need to examine for her dissertation research. Her project will rely heavily on documents in the Russian state archives and libraries, in addition to the Tbilisi and Yerevan archives. Other primary sources will include newspapers published in Armenian, Russian, and French. Her aim is to find documents pertaining to the Soviet Delegation, which may have had exchanges with the British and the French in order to express their views.



Ken MacLean, Mohammad Sajjadur Rahman, Bina D'Costa (UNICEF Office of Research), and Dirk Moses (University of Sydney)

During the spring 2018 semester, Ohanian managed the launch of the website for the Krikor Guerguerian Archive Project under the direction of Professor Taner Akçam. The website is a digital archive of highly significant documents related to the Armenian Genocide. Krikor Guerguerian (1911-1988), an Armenian Catholic priest and genocide survivor, copied material he discovered in archives around the world. Long thought lost or previously unknown, these documents will definitively demonstrate that the Ottoman Turkish Government engaged in a premeditated and centrally organized effort to annihilate innocent Armenians and other Ottoman Christians. Ohanian assisted with cataloging and finalizing the archival indexes for the website.

Claims Conference Fellow **Alicja Podbielska**, recipient of a Shahun Parish research award, examines popular memory of aid offered to Jews by ethnic Poles during the Holocaust. When, how, and why did Polish rescuers become national heroes? During the war, they constituted a lonely minority, threatened with denunciations by their fellow citizens. Afterwards, fearful of their neighbors' reactions they kept their actions secret for decades. Concomitantly, a narrative

about widespread and community-supported assistance emerged in the official discourse. In Polish collective memory today, the rescuers represent the entire nation's heroism and provide an alibi against allegations of antisemitism. Podbielska explores how the focus on rescue became the preferred, indeed, the only acceptable, mode of Holocaust memory, with prolific commemoration of rescuers that does not complement but overshadows remembrance of the victims.

Following the war, Poles who sheltered Jews often urged them to leave quietly and swore them to secrecy. Under occupation, rescuers hid their actions and lived in constant fear of denunciation. After liberation, hostility and outright violence against them continued. Some rescuers moved away from their towns and villages; those who stayed kept silent. In an ironic reversal of wartime roles, some rescuers contacted Jewish institutions to ask for assistance. The Central Committee of Polish Jews established the Commission to Aid Poles, which extended financial and material aid to helpers in need. Some tied their fate to Jews permanently by marrying people they helped or adopting children they fostered. To shelter their families from antisemitism, most emigrated to Israel or North America. Those separated by postwar circumstances tried to stay in touch, exchanging letters, parcels, and photographs. The early 1960s marked the first reunions during rescuers' visits to Israel, where they were hailed as heroes, a status they did not enjoy in Poland. The antisemitic events of 1968 in Poland (which brought back memories of the war and once again prompted some rescuers to assist their Jewish friends) and the passage of time severed many contacts. Starting in the 1980s, Jewish heritage tourism in Poland brought about a new wave of reconnecting.

In March, Podbielska gave a paper "The Righteous in the 1968 Antisemitic Propaganda" at *March '68. Fifty Years Later*, a conference organized by the POLIN Museum of History of Polish Jews and the University of Warsaw. In April, she delivered a talk about Polish rescuers of Jews who settled in Israel after the war at *Lange Nacht der Forschung*, a public outreach event at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute. Podbielska also lectured about her doctoral project at the Institute for Eastern European History, University of Vienna. In May, she presented at the graduate conference, *Poland, Post-War Trials, and DPs*, in Trento, Italy.

Having completed a Junior Fellowship at the Vienna Wiesenthal

Institute for Holocaust Studies, Podbielska holds the Fred and Maria Devinki Memorial Fellowship at the United States Holocaust Memorial. Next, she will begin a Junior Fellowship at the Centre for Holocaust Studies of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, Germany.

Fromson Fellow **Mohammad Sajjadur Rahman** advanced to ABD status following the successful completion of his comprehensive exams and defense of his dissertation prospectus. His doctoral project, *Against Freedom: Understanding the "Anti-Liberation Forces" in Bangladesh's War of Independence*, examines different narratives about the East Pakistani loyalists, widely referred to as "collaborators," who supported Pakistan's 1971 counter-insurgency operations against Bengali freedom fighters. He argues that the post-war construction of the collaborator as the "enemy within" depended upon many "silences" about the violent birth of Bangladesh.

During the war, local groups collaborated with the Pakistani army in committing atrocities against Bengalis of East Pakistan. So-called secular liberals have portrayed pro-Pakistan loyalists, popularly known as "Razakar" (member of a paramilitary group) and "Muktijuddho-birodhi Shokti" (anti-liberation forces), as fanatical ideologues betraying fellow Bengalis in the name of Islam. Over the last four decades, this view has obscured nuanced understandings of wartime collaboration, as well as the multilayered and ambiguous motivations of the collaborators. Yet, the secular-liberal narrative has failed to explain why some non-Muslim indigenous groups joined the Pakistani army to oppose the pro-independence Bengali guerilla forces. Moreover, this narrative conceals the fact that the loyalist East Pakistanis were not a monolithic Islamist group; they belonged to a variety of political parties, including secular ones, and professional backgrounds. Most importantly, current historiography of the 1971 War does not answer why pro-state collaboration occurred in the first place. Nor does it provide insights into the legacy of collaboration in shaping the politics of denunciation and justice in post-war Bangladesh.

Rahman examines the discourse on wartime collaboration and the construction of the secular-nationalist narrative. He seeks to fill gaps in the literature of the 1971 War that has mostly focused on the heroism of the Bengali freedom fighters. While the Bangladeshi state has never denied that collaborators committed mass atrocities, academic research has been inadequate. Apart from clarifying the nature of col-

laboration, Rahman will shed light on the post-war period when political leaders considered whether to prosecute the collaborators, an issue that further divided the already conflict-ridden society. The collective memory of "betrayal" and "treason" sustains the nationalists' grand narrative of the war itself, an issue that remains salient after almost half a century as collaboration remains among the most debated issues in Bangladeshi politics. Rahman aims to contribute to the broader understanding of wartime collaboration, as well as memory politics, justice, and the process of historical production.

Rahman is currently engaged in collecting secondary literature for his PhD project. Having returned to Bangladesh, he will conduct archival research at the National Archives in Dhaka and at the National Parliament. He also plans to interview a number of public intellectuals and politicians in Dhaka, Chittagong, and Khulna. Finally, he is editing a second volume on neoliberalism in Bangladesh, commissioned by ActionAid Bangladesh. His co-editor is Dhaka University Professor Mohammad Tanzimuddin Khan. The volume, with 12 chapters written by renowned scholars on the politics of development in Bangladesh, is forthcoming from the University Press Limited in Dhaka.

Mary Jane Rein

Life after the Center: Ümit Kurt PhD '16

The career path that recently minted PhD students follow can be winding; but for Ümit Kurt PhD '16, the path has crisscrossed the globe. Having taught at Sabancı University in Istanbul during his graduate training, he could have resumed an academic career in Turkey. Instead, given the political situation at home, which has become increasingly grim for Turkish academics and intellectuals, Kurt opted to stay close to Clark. He accepted a post-doctoral fellowship at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University but, following a productive year of research, he set his sights on returning to the Middle East. To do so, he secured a plum fellowship at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute. He relocated to Israel in fall 2017 to begin his five-year tenure as a Polonsky fellow. The Strassler Center has long nurtured connections with Israeli institutions, especially since establishing formal ties through an ongoing Israel Academic Exchange. Thus, Kurt knew that, despite the still evolving position of the Israeli government regarding the Armenian Genocide, he would find receptive colleagues.

The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, dedicated to innovative interdisciplinary research, is a special place for scholars. A leading center for advanced studies and for intellectual public discourse in crucially important and socially sensitive fields, it is home to renowned researchers. They promote innovative ideas in the humanities and social sciences that foster humanistic, democratic, and liberal values in Israeli social discourse. This proved an ideal setting for Kurt to broaden his scholarship beyond his dissertation, which explored the confiscation of Armenian properties, wealth transfer, local elites, and the Aintab Armenians. Making excellent use of his first fellowship year, he published *History and Historians in Turkey: Concepts and Practices* (2018). He then turned to a new book project that examines the motives of ordinary perpetrators during the Armenian Genocide. In this study, focusing on the biographies of three perpetrators, Kurt analyzes the reasons and mechanisms for Muslim civilian participation in acts of killing.

Fall 2018 found Kurt in yet another location. He gladly accepted a prestigious appointment at Fresno State University in California where he serves as Henry S. Khazadian Kazan Visiting Professor in Armenian Studies (a position previously held by Kurt's Strassler Center colleague Khatchig Mouradian PhD '16). His semester-long visit included teaching, "The Armenian Genocide in Comparative Perspective." In addition, Kurt agreed to deliver three public lectures, "A Rescuer, an Enigma, and a Génocidaire: Cemal Pasha;" "Proactive



Ümit Kurt PhD '16

Local Perpetrators: Mehmet Yasin (Sani Kutluğ) and Ali Cenani;" and "The Curious Case of Ahmed Necmeddin Bey: A Look into the Socio-political Climate in Aintab on the Eve of 1915." Following his semester in Fresno, Kurt returns to the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, where he will teach a course on the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, nationalism and mass violence.

Kurt remains close with his mentor Taner Akçam, with whom he published *The Spirit of the Laws: The Plunder of Wealth in the Armenian Genocide* (2015). On his first trip to Israel in summer 2017, Professor Akçam visited his former student. "With the evolving geo-political situation in the Middle East," Akçam observed, "Ümit is well positioned to educate his Israeli colleagues about the Armenian Genocide as he deepens his understanding of the Holocaust. At the same time, his impeccable scholarship will make a difference in the gradual process to secure Israeli recognition that the mass violence carried out against Armenians absolutely constituted genocide." Audiences at his talks and presentations have demonstrated that Israelis want to learn more about the Armenian Genocide. Indeed, Kurt is studying Hebrew to ensure that he can reach them. If so, he may find that his path has led him to a lasting academic home.

Mary Jane Rein

During 2017-18, Strassler Center alumni worked at a range of institutions as listed below:

Kim Allar (ABD), Instructor, Tsinghua University, Beijing

Elizabeth Anthony PhD '16, International Tracing Service and Partnerships Program Manager, Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Cristina Andriani PhD '13, Psychotherapist, Private Practice

Sara Elise Brown PhD '16, Postdoctoral Fellow-Research Associate at the Shoah Foundation Institute.

Beth Cohen PhD '03, Lecturer, California State University, Northridge; Research Associate, The Berenbaum Group

Sarah Cushman PhD '10, Director, Holocaust Educational Foundation, Northwestern University

Emily Dabney (ABD), Program Assistant, Institute for the Study of Modern Israel, Emory University

Tiberiu Galis Ph.D. '15, Executive Director, Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation

Michael Geheran PhD '16, Post-Doctoral Fellow in History and Genocide/Mass Atrocity Studies, United States Military Academy at West Point

Adara Goldberg, Ph.D. '12, Director of the Holocaust Resource Center, Kean University

Kathrin Haurand (ABD), Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich Foundation Fellow

Naama Haviv MA '06, Director of Development at MAZON: A Jewish Response to Hunger

Alexis Herr PhD '15, Associate Director, Holocaust Center of Northern California

Stefan Ionescu PhD '13, Senior Lecturer, Hugo Valentin Center, Uppsala University, Sweden

Jeffrey Koerber PhD '15, Assistant Professor of Holocaust History, Chapman University

Ümit Kurt PhD '16, Polonsky Fellow at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem

Natalya Lazar (ABD), Program Manager, Initiative on Ukrainian-Jewish Shared History and the Holocaust in Ukraine, USHMM

Beth Lilach (ABD), Senior Director of Education and Community Affairs, Holocaust Memorial and Tolerance Center of Nassau County

Jody Russell Manning (ABD), Assistant Professor, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Rowan University

Abigail Miller (ABD), Director of Education and Historian in Residence, Holocaust Museum and Center for Tolerance and Education, Suffern, New York

Khatchig Mouradian PhD '16, Nikit and Eleanora Ordjanian Visiting Professor; Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies Department, Columbia University

Ilana F. Offenberger PhD '10, Lecturer, History Department, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Mihai Poliec PhD '18, Saul Kagan Claims Conference Academic Fellow for Advanced Shoah Studies

Christine Schmidt PhD '03, Deputy Director and Head of Research, Wiener Library for the Study of the Holocaust and Genocide, London

Raz Segal PhD '13, Assistant Professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Sara and Sam Schoffer Professor of Holocaust Studies, Stockton University

Joanna Sliwa PhD '16, Historian, Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany

Lotta Stone PhD '10, Morgenthau Scholar-in-Residence, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library

Jason Tingler (ABD), Saul Kagan Claims Conference Academic Fellow for Advanced Shoah Studies

Natalya Lazar (ABD), Elizabeth Anthony '16, Debórah Dwork, Joanna Sliwa '16



Undergraduate News

Professor Shelly Tenenbaum, Coordinator of Undergraduate Activities for the Holocaust and Genocide Studies Concentration, takes great pleasure in assisting students with summer internships. In addition to advising, she awards competitive stipends to support these experiences, which align with Clark's commitment to combine learning with practical work. During summer 2018, two undergraduate concentrators advanced their academic and professional goals through internship opportunities.

Hannah Garelick '20 was delighted to secure a position interning at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, DC where she worked for the Director of Government and External Relations. She researched Congressional bills, such as funding for Holocaust education, and helped to organize the museum's Congressional and policy contact list. In spring 2018, the USHMM opened an important new exhibition, *Americans and the Holocaust*. To foster government relations, the museum extended invitations to view the exhibition to staff from government agencies as well as to leaders in the non-profit sector and the social justice field. Garelick assisted with their tours of the exhibition. A highlight of her internship was helping to conduct visitor surveys at *First Person*, a program where Holocaust survivors tell their stories. The cohort of interns also visited the museum's new archives center where they viewed artifacts and learned about the conservation process. Awarded the Ina and Haskell Gordon internship stipend, Garelick declined it when she learned that the USHMM offered her a paid position.

Maya Jabrallah '21 was the recipient of the Doris Tager internship stipend for her work at PROOF: Media for Social Justice. Based in New York City, PROOF uses visual storytelling to inspire social justice action and to educate about human rights. Their work ranges from exhibitions about child soldiers to a podcast series that contains interviews with activists who were active in the 1960s and 70s. The podcast series, *LinkBack*, was one of her projects. She learned how to put the series together, observing how the audio specialist recorded sound, the kinds of questions interviewers posed, and how to get the most out of an interview. She also assisted with the campaign *I Vote Because*, which focuses on voter advocacy and turnout. The campaign travels to cities across America, usually in swing states and areas with low voter turnout, and sponsors events that promote voter registration. Finally, Jabrallah assisted with *Picture Justice*, a three-week summer program for high school students interested in journalism, activism, photography, and social justice. Students interview activists, take their photos, and create photo stories, which they



Hannah Garelick '20

post in an online magazine. Using footage she filmed throughout the program, Jabrallah created a promotional video posted on PROOF's YouTube channel and shared with funders.

In addition to coordinating the HGS concentration, Tenenbaum advises the Clark chapter of STAND: The Student-Led Movement to End Genocide and Mass Atrocities. Their mission is to educate students about genocide prevention policies as well as the fundamentals of advocacy. During fall 2017, STAND focused on Yemen, where a major humanitarian crisis has been unfolding due to famine and cholera. In addition, US-supported bombing strikes have killed thousands of civilians. STAND held a *Yemen-aid Stand* on campus, selling lemon-flavored treats in exchange for a donation or a call to their senator to advocate for limitations on the transfer of weaponry from the United States to Saudi Arabia. Students also traveled to Washington D.C. to attend a STAND National Conference on Genocide Prevention where they lobbied on Capitol Hill in support of the Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocity Prevention Act.

STAND devoted the spring semester to raising awareness about the persecution of the Muslim-minority Rohingya in Burma. Cresa Pugh, a Harvard University doctoral student in Sociology and Social Policy, visited campus to speak about ethnic and religious conflicts in Burma as well as the role of collective memory and identity in shaping peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict societies. The lecture turned into a fascinating discussion as curious students, in true Clark spirit, asked questions about the conflict including how they can best take action to make a difference.

Mary Jane Rein

Undergraduate Profile: Hannah King '19

As an undergraduate concentrator in Holocaust and Genocide Studies, I had the remarkable opportunity to spend the 2018 spring semester in Rwanda. My coursework at the School for International Training focused on the anatomy of genocide, post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding, research methods and ethics, and Kinyarwanda (the official language of Rwanda). We enjoyed lectures by experts in the fields of genocide studies, transitional justice, and peace initiatives. An advisor to President Kagame was one of many visiting experts who discussed the process of reconciliation and government measures to ensure peace. We also visited an array of organizations involved in the peacebuilding process.



Hannah King '19

In order to get a broader view of post-conflict peacebuilding in Africa, we traveled to northern Uganda. This is the region where the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) fought against the Ugandan government's marginalization of communities by perpetrating violence against its own people and abducting thousands of children to use as soldiers. As the post-conflict situation differs from Rwanda, we were able to compare them and gain a more comprehensive view of societies recovering from mass atrocities. For example, in northern Uganda, the justice system typically pardoned perpetrators (except for important LRA leaders) in order to assist with reconciliation and since most had been abducted children. Rwanda used a combination of retributive and restorative mechanisms for reconciliation while striving to achieve justice for victims and survivors.

During the last month of the program, participants conducted independent research projects or interned with Rwandan organizations. I worked with Never Again Rwanda, an NGO dedicated to peacebuilding and genocide prevention. The organization uses a holistic approach in their efforts to support peacebuilding, youth development, sustainable livelihoods, governance and rights, education, and dialogue. During my internship, I documented the Societal Healing program that will conclude this year, by reading through previously written documents evaluating the program, as well as interviewing Never Again staff. This program creates communal spaces around Rwanda to help individuals support each other in healing and brings

together individuals from all sides of the conflict. During my internship at Never Again, I also explored how their approach to post-genocide peacebuilding can inform efforts toward pre-genocide prevention, such as intergroup dialogue, youth empowerment, and community-based socioeconomic projects.

The eighteen participants in the program stayed with host families around Kigali, learning to navigate the city. Unexpectedly, the homestay turned out to be an incredible aspect of my experience abroad. My host family was so welcoming and I cherished the relationships I formed with my five and eight year old "brothers." The family invited me to stay with them for two months after the pro-

gram ended while I interned in Kigali with Aegis Trust, the British genocide prevention organization that operates the Kigali Genocide Memorial Center.

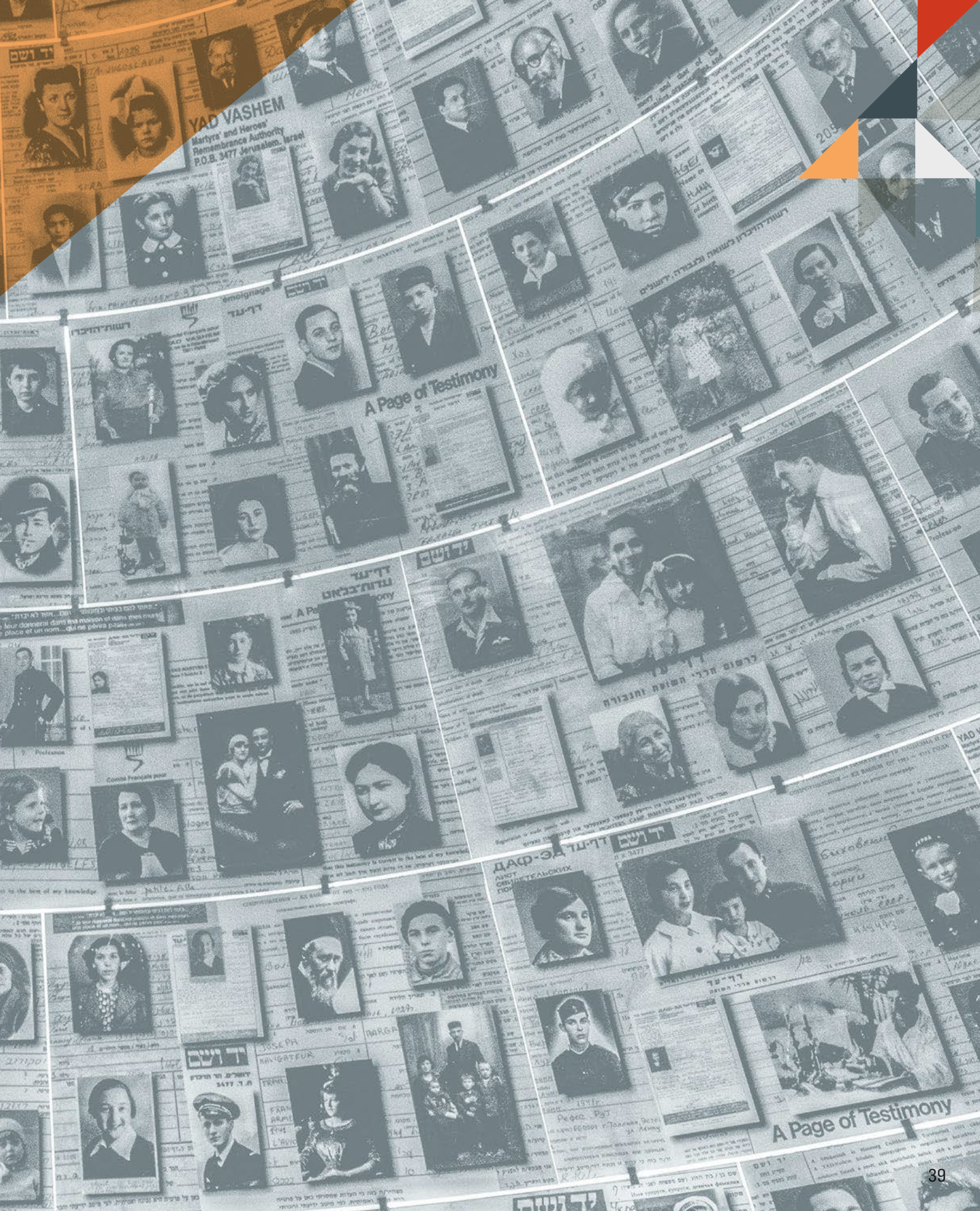
While in Rwanda, I connected with Samantha Lakin, a doctoral candidate at the Strassler Center, conducting research for her dissertation with the support of a Fulbright fellowship. She welcomed me to Rwanda on my first day when I was feeling overwhelmed and a little homesick, and I felt so lucky to have someone nearby who I knew from home. Throughout the semester, she was available to answer questions and provide me with support as I adjusted to a new country and an unfamiliar way of life. She even organized a Passover Seder and invited me and my friends from the study abroad program. It was very special to have this experience in Rwanda, and I am grateful she shared it with us.

As I am passionate about genocide prevention, the semester in Rwanda was extremely rewarding. It was moving to learn about the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi where it actually occurred, to meet people who lived through it, and to witness how Rwanda has developed. I gained insights and knowledge that surpassed what I could learn staying on the Clark campus. Studying the horrific violence that occurred while living in the peaceful country where it happened, and trying to connect the two, was a transformative experience that will shape my aspirations and professional future.

Hannah King '19

GROWTH & DEVELOPMENT





YAD VASHEM
Martyrs and Heroes'
Remembrance Authority
P.O.B. 3477 Jerusalem, Israel

A Page of Testimony
עמוד עדות

A Page of Testimony
עמוד עדות

Growth & Development

Charlotte Calfaian '70 and Mildred Suesser were great friends to the Strassler Center during the closing years of their long lives. Both made provisions in their wills to benefit doctoral education. While Mildred chose to make gifts anonymously during her lifetime, her cousin and the executor of her estate, Sandra Pine directed her bequest to an annual fellowship in Mildred's memory. Married to an Austrian engineer who fled Nazism, Mildred was a librarian for many years at the Bronx High School of Science in New York City. Although she was not computer literate, she recognized the importance of technology in libraries. To honor her desire to strengthen the library with cutting-edge resources, her endowed fund underwrote the costs for equipping the Rose Library as a smart classroom. Beginning in fall 2018, this technology will allow the Center to host remote lectures and eventually introduce distance learning, developments that would have delighted Mildred. In fall 2018, Ellen Johnson became the first student to hold the Suesser Fellowship.

Charlotte Calfaian '70 was among the early supporters of the Robert Aram and Marianne Kaloosdian and Stephen and Marian Mugar Chair and was devoted to funding the program in Armenian Genocide Studies. A 1935 graduate of Commerce High School in Worcester, Charlotte spent nearly forty years in various positions with the United States Government. Late in life, she attended the evening school at Clark University and earned a certificate in general studies. An active member of the Armenian Church of Our Saviour in Worcester, she was an enthusiastic volunteer and Sunday school teacher for many years. In addition to endowments in support of causes at her Church and other community institutions, she left a bequest to strengthen funding available to doctoral students working on the Armenian Genocide. Burçin Gerçek was the first student to hold a Calfaian Fellowship.

Permanent support for doctoral research, such as the Suesser and Calfaian endowments provide, help the Strassler Center recruit promising applicants to the PhD program. We are proud of our record of enrolling exceptional students who aspire to careers as scholars, historians, museum specialists, and activists. As professionals, they will provide expertise crucial to museums, memorials, education initiatives, and human services organizations. They will advance the fields of Holocaust history, Armenian Genocide scholarship, and Genocide Studies as well as enhance the education of teachers, students, and the public. Many donors recognize that funding student fellowships is essential to ensuring future scholarship and remembrance.

As chairs of the recently established Strassler Center Leadership Council, Rebecca Colin '89 PhD and David Voremberg '72 have



David Persky, Mary Jane Rein, and David Feingold



Colin Flug Graduate Study Wing

championed the effort to increase support for key initiatives. They preside over a group of alumni and friends who have joined the Leadership Council to assist in raising awareness and securing donations for fellowship support, public programs, conferences, and other priorities. As chairs, they have set an example through their generous giving. Rebecca Colin donated the naming gift for the graduate study wing currently under construction. She has been a diligent advocate, recruiting friends and family to join her in supporting the Strassler Center. David Voremberg, whose parents were German Jewish refugees and whose daughter Anna Ellement '13 was an undergraduate concentrator in Holocaust and Genocide Studies, has thoughtfully allocated his gifts to where they are needed most.

The accomplishments described in this report are a testament to the generosity of those listed in the following pages. We are grateful to them for funding student and faculty research, public events, academic conferences, and activities carried out during the 2017-18 academic year. Capital gifts donated on behalf the Colin Flug Wing ensure a vital future by providing the space needed to advance the program in important new directions. Together, we light the way to a better future.

Mary Jane Rein

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The following list includes gifts made between 1 June 2017 and 31 May 2018

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Senior scholars at the fourth International Graduate Student Conference for Holocaust and Genocide Studies: Thomas Kühne, Raz Segal (Stockton University), Andrea Löw (Institute for Contemporary History, Munich), Amos Goldberg (Hebrew University), Dagmar Herzog (City University of New York), Victoria Sanford (Lehman College), Daniel Blatman (Hebrew University)



Barbara Colin, Rebecca Colin '89 PhD, and Abbie Strassler



Margaret Jacobs (University of Nebraska) and Mikal Eckstrom '10 MA '12

Barry Hoffman, Honorary Consul General of Pakistan in Boston, has established the Barry D. Hoffman Book Collection

Donor Profile: Penny Kirsch Wein '68 and Bruce Wein '66

What inspires people to act with generosity? For married Clark alums Penny Kirsch Wein and Bruce Wein, the answer is rooted in family values. Penny's parents, Hilda and Al Kirsch, were wonderful role models. Her mother was a woman ahead of her time. Having earned a scholarship to attend Hunter College in New York City, Hilda planned to study medicine but the norms of the day directed her toward a teaching career. She taught high school German in the 1960s, a time when people did not wish to remember the Holocaust. Instead of "never forget," the common perspective was "let's forget!" Committed to education, like his wife, Al became a founding member of the Rockland Center for Holocaust Studies during the mid-1960s. This educational center was one of the first places to help teachers learn how to teach about the Holocaust. Renamed the Holocaust Museum and Center for Tolerance and Education, and located on the campus of Rockland Community College in Suffern, NY, the Rockland Center continues to serve as a resource for local schools, community organizations, and the public.

Sadly, Hilda Kirsch passed away at a young age. When Al died twelve years ago, Penny and her siblings agreed to divide a portion of their inheritance into thirds for projects in their parents' memory. Penny and Bruce chose to establish the Hilda and Al Kirsch Research Award to provide a grant awarded annually to a doctoral student at the Strassler Center. Fittingly, one of the recipients of the Kirsch award (there have been eleven so far), Abigail Miller now serves as the Director of Education and Historian in Residence at the Rockland Center that Al helped establish.

Jewish traditions, love of learning, and dedication to family are the core values that guide Penny and Bruce. Warm and spiritual, Penny taught kindergarten for many years at the Solomon Schechter Day School in Westchester, NY and served as a Hebrew School principal. Bruce has enjoyed his 50-year career as a lawyer. Together, they are devoted to their children and grandchildren. Their belief in the importance of Holocaust education and scholarship underlies their generosity to the Strassler Center year after year and inspires Penny to serve as an enthusiastic volunteer. She is a founding member of the Strassler Center Leadership Council and hosted a successful campus open house to educate her 50th reunion class about the Center's accomplishments and vision. Her energy and enthusiasm ensured the success of the program.

A plaque in the foyer of Cohen Lasry House lists the recipients of the Hilda and Al Kirsch award. It is the first thing visitors see upon



Al and Hilda Kirsch



Penny '68 and Bruce '66 Wein

entering the building. Frequent guests on campus and at Strassler Center events, the Wein's appreciate seeing the growing list of Kirsch award recipients whose scholarship honors their parents' priorities. They are optimistic that the research these scholars pursue contributes to more tolerance and civility in the world.

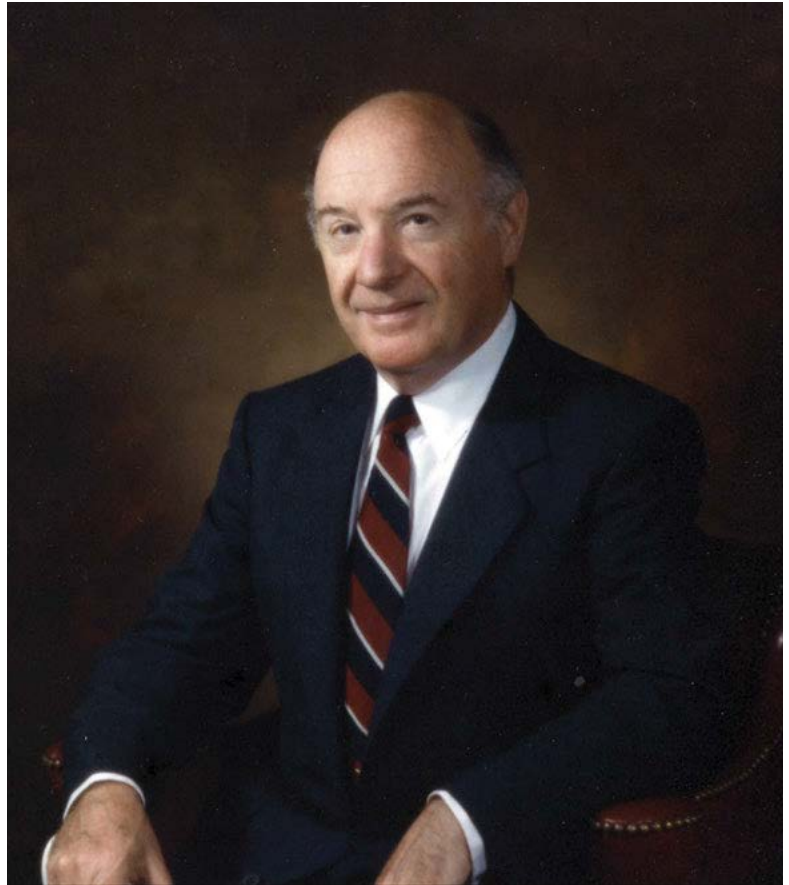
Mary Jane Rein

In Memoriam: Robert M. Siff (August 28, 1924-September 11, 2018)

Robert M. Siff, a successful and sharp-witted businessman, appreciated a good opportunity! Born and raised in Worcester, MA, Bob built his family's shoe manufacturing business into a global enterprise. With success, he embraced philanthropy and service to his community. When his wife Shirley heard Professor Debórah Dwork describe her plans to establish the first-ever doctoral program in Holocaust History, she was eager to introduce Bob to this exciting endeavor. Having earned an MA in Education at Clark (and then a PhD from the University of Massachusetts), Shirley was familiar with the university and the Siffs were regular donors to Clark's annual campaign.

Pillars in the Worcester community and committed to Jewish causes, Bob and Shirley recognized that Professor Dwork's initiative was significant and groundbreaking. They got on board early and remained consistent supporters of the Strassler Center for over twenty years. Their generous contributions include the Siff exhibition space on the ground floor of Cohen Lasry house, which opened in 1999. Bob's military service during World War II prompted his dedication to scholarship and research about the Holocaust. Having enlisted in the army at the age of 19, he saw active duty and earned the Bronze Star. As a member of the 95th infantry division under General Patton, he landed at Normandy and fought at the Battle of the Bulge. He was with American forces when they liberated two concentration camps and the horrors he witnessed remained vivid until the end of his long life. "These experiences cemented his commitment to the Strassler Center," Dwork recalled. "As Bob explained the very first time I met him, the Holocaust was no TV show for him; it was very real."

Returning from the war, Bob resumed his education at Brown University. Known for his humor and charm, he was devoted to life-long friends but above all to creating a beautiful life with his wife Shirley and children Larry and Karen. Financial success allowed him to fund many charitable causes, including Jewish institutions, adoption services, autism support, Alzheimer's research, and scholarships through the Two-Ten Footwear Foundation (of which he was a long-serving leader).



Robert M. Siff

"Bob was a member of the 'greatest generation,' and went on to be a successful businessman and a beloved family man," Dwork reflected. We are deeply grateful to Bob and Shirley for believing in the promise of what we could accomplish. The Strassler Center has flourished because caring individuals like the Siffs invested in its mission.

Mary Jane Rein

Gratitude

According to the poet and civil rights activist Maya Angelou, “When we give cheerfully and accept gratefully, everyone is blessed.” That is a sound principle when managing a small program with limited staff. Strassler Center colleagues depend on each other’s dedication and professionalism to advance the program’s excellence and international reputation. This annual report details the impressive activities and academic achievements of faculty and students; but staff efforts underlie these accomplishments.

Librarian and program manager Robyn Conroy brings an eagle eye for detail to planning events and conferences. In stewarding the library collection, she has expertly managed the Rose Library as well as the hundreds of volumes squirreled throughout Cohen Lasry House as we await the opening of the library annex in the Colin Flug Wing. Alissa Duke, our cheerful and competent administrative assistant, has first-rate organizational skills. She keeps the Center running smoothly, while her flair and style make Cohen Lasry House a welcoming place to study and work. Budget Coordinator Kim Vance ensures that our finances are in excellent order. Working in a half time capacity, she manages a complex financial operation. Cooperation and collegiality inform these efforts.

Staff support from offices across the Clark University campus is essential to the operation of the Strassler Center. We are grateful to colleagues in University Advancement, especially Vice President Jeff Gillooly, Jonathan Kappel '81, Dianne Dyslin, Paul Millionis, and Megan Horvitz; to the creative work carried out in Marketing and Communications by Angela Bazydlo, Jim Keogh, Lori Fearebay, Meredith King, Steven King and Carol Williams; to the technical support provided by the Information Technology and Media Services staff, chiefly Jim Cormier and Dan Meyer who installed our state of the art smart classroom equipment in the Rose Library Reading Room; to the staff of Physical Plant who keep Cohen Lasry House in good order and especially Dan Roderick and Lea Ann O'Neill who have shepherded the construction of the Colin Flug Graduate Study Wing. Finally, we are fortunate that Clark University President David Angel and the members of his senior leadership team recognize the Strassler Center as a center of excellence.

Mary Jane Rein





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