

ABSTRACT BOOK

Travels Beyond the Holocaust: Memorialization, Musealization and Representation of Atrocities in Global Dialogue

Vienna, 25-28 June, 2024

10th Annual Conference of the [Historical Dialogues, Justice & Memory Network](#)

9th Simon Wiesenthal Conference

Annual Conference of the [Institute of Culture Studies](#)

Final Conference of the ERC project “[Globalized Memorial Museums](#)”

Institute of Culture Studies (IKW) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) &

Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI)

In cooperation with the Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies of the [Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences](#) (NIOD)

Local Organizing Committee

Zuzanna Dziuban, ERC project “Globalized Memorial Museums”, IKW, ÖAW

Éva Kovács, Deputy Director of the VWI for Academic Affairs

Ljiljana Radonić, IKW Deputy Director & head of the ERC project “Globalized Memorial Museums”, ÖAW

Venues

1. Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW), Doktor-Ignaz-Seipel-Platz 2, main building
Aula (ground floor)
Festsaal (1st floor)
Sitzungssaal (1st floor)
2. Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW), Bäckerstraße 13 (right opposite the square, 1 min away from main building)
Seminarraum 1 (ground floor in the yard)
3. Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI), Rabensteig 3 (6 min walk from ÖAW).
Please bring ID for security check!

The conference panels on 26-28 June are for registered conference participants only.

This abstract book will not be printed out for the conference participants, we will only print the program.

While a standard Powerpoint or PDF presentation needs no preannouncement, please let us know if you are planning to use audio or video during your presentation. We can guarantee this only if preannounced three weeks in advance.

Contact: gmm.conference.2024@oeaw.ac.at

Tuesday, 25 June

14:30-15:30 **Registration | ÖAW Aula**

15:30-17:45 **Welcome & Keynote | ÖAW Festsaal (public event)**

Welcome: Heinz Faßmann (ÖAW)/Jochen Böhler (VWI)/Alexander Karn (AHDA)

Ljiljana Radonić/Zuzanna Dziuban: Introduction of the ERC Project "[Globalized Memorial Museums. Exhibiting Atrocities in the Era of Claims for Moral Universals](#)"

Keynote

Chair: Ljiljana Radonić

***Ljiljana Radonić** is the vice-director of the [Institute of Culture Studies](#) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna and heads a project funded by the European Research Council (ERC) on "[Globalized Memorial Museums. Exhibiting Atrocities in the Era of Claims for Moral Universals](#)" there. Contact: ljiljana.radonic@oeaw.ac.at*

Carol Gluck: Memory on the Move: The "Comfort Women" and their Afterlives

***Carol Gluck** is the George Sansom Professor of History Emerita at Columbia University. A historian of modern Japan, she also writes on global memories of the Second World War. Contact: cg9@columbia.edu*

17: 45 **Wine Reception | ÖAW Aula [no dinner]**

Wednesday, 26 June

09:00-11:00 Session 1 | ÖAW Sitzungssaal

Opportunities of Musealization and Remembrance in Education: Analytical Tools and Practical Examples from Europe and Latin America

Chair: Monika Mokre

***Monika Mokre** has been a research fellow at the Austrian Academy of Sciences since 1991. Since 2009 senior researcher at the ÖAW Institute of Culture Studies, lecturer at the Institute for Cultural Management and Cultural Studies at the University for Music and Performing Arts and at the Institute of Cross Disciplinary Strategies at the University of Applied Arts. Chairwoman of eipcp, european institute for progressive cultural policies, member of the executive committee of ror-n, Refugee Outreach & Research Network, member of the Center for Research on Democracy and Law, Thessaloniki, Chairwoman of the Works Council of the OeAW. Contact: monika.mokre@oeaw.ac.at*

Angela Bermudez: Representations of Violent Pasts in Memorial Museums: Ethical Reflection and History Education

In her presentation entitled 'Representations of Violent Pasts in Memorial Museums: Ethical Reflection and History Education', Bermudez discusses the benefits of using the Ten Narrative Keys model that she developed for conducting research. Bermudez explains that each key in the model reveals a discursive mechanism used to build on narrative representations present in textbooks and other materials, such as museum exhibitions. These representations and their analysis can teach students about the violent past in a manner that recognizes related causes, consequences, and human impact, giving special consideration to the victims' standpoint. The ten keys together frame the meaning of violent events and pay attention not just to what is said, but also to what is not said and how things are said. They can also operate in two directions, towards exposing the normalizing of violence or de-normalizing it. To illustrate her point, Bermudez uses two examples: The Exile Memorial Museum in La Jonquera, Catalunya, Spain, which commemorates the experience and legacy of the Catalan and Spanish Republicans forced into exile by Franco's dictatorship, and the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, UK, which highlights the local manifestations of the slave trade in Liverpool and its impacts around the world. Bermudez argues that incorporating museum exhibits into teaching about the violent past can lead to a better understanding of history and promote historical justice. Museum exhibits can expose past violence in ways that encourage critical reflection on victimization, the cost and profits of violence, resistance, and more. Compared to conventional resources like textbooks, museum exhibits have the potential to foster a deeper understanding of history that is relevant to students and their societies.

***Angela Bermudez** is the Principal Investigator at the Center for Applied Ethics at Deusto University. She leads the research group on Conflicts and Cultures of Peace and conducts research on the role of history education in promoting a critical understanding of political violence. Her work also focuses on how history education can contribute to peacebuilding. Contact: angeber@deusto.es*

Julian Bermeo: School Museums of Memory in Colombia: Opportunities for Making Sense of the Violent Past

The phenomenon of school musealization about the armed conflict in Colombia is addressed in a presentation called 'School Museums of Memory in Colombia: Opportunities for making sense of the violent past'. The presentation focuses on the emergence of 'school museums of memory', which are initiatives resulting from the efforts of teachers, students, parents, and community members to commemorate and educate about the causes and consequences of the violent past as they experienced it. Although the phenomenon is geographically dispersed and localized, it synthesizes the forces of formal and informal encounters with the past that shape historical learning, especially for younger generations today. The presentation draws on empirical information gathered from four different schools in Colombia affected by the armed conflict differently in terms of exposure and intensity. It uses the notions of historical culture and historical consciousness developed within the field of history education to show how these initiatives settled at the community level are responsive to global trends of remembrance in accordance with the so-called memory boom. The presentation argues that these school museums of memory are able to activate students' sensitivity and self-representation in relation to the past. These abilities are related to the development of historical consciousness or the use of the past to orient action and identity in the present and the future (Körber, 2016, 440). Therefore, school museums of memory, apart from carrying symbolic value, may also bring practical effects on students taking part in transitional justice and peace-building-related processes.

Julian Bermeo is a Doctoral student at the Center for Applied Ethics at Deusto University. In his dissertation research, based in the Colombian case, he is studying the interplay between history education and memorial museums. Contact: juliandavid.bermeo@deusto.es

Brent Geerts/Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse: In- or Excluding Colonial Violence? The Representation of 'Small War' Trophies in Belgian Museum Exhibitions

In their contribution 'In- or excluding colonial violence? The representation of 'small war' trophies in Belgian museum exhibitions', Brent Geerts and Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse discuss how violence, undeniably inherent to the early decades of the Belgian colonisation of the Congo (Roes, 2010), is linked to Belgian museum exhibitions about the colonial past. The museum representation of artefacts relating to the 'Arab Campaign' serves as a case study. Often referred to as a so-called small war, this colonial military conflict in Eastern Congo during the 1890s led to the looting of Swahili-Arab cultural heritage objects. These objects were turned into 'colonial heritage', and were integrated as war trophies in two Belgian museums, established at the beginning of the early twentieth century: the colonial museum in Tervuren and the Royal Army Museum in Brussels (Couttenier, 2018). Today, both museums approach the exhibition of this 'colonial heritage' in radically different ways. The Army Museum vitrines on the 'Arab Campaign' still present the objects as the booty of colonial contest and exploitation, without proper contextualisation. The Tervuren museum, restyled as the *AfricaMuseum* after a large renovation process during the last decade, has tried to reinterpret its colonial collections, including those relating to the Swahili-Arab past. This recontextualisation aims to focus on the cultural contexts in which artefacts were produced, and on their social, cultural and economic significance for formerly colonized societies (Hassett, 2022). This presentation applies the Ten Narrative Keys model that has been developed by Bermudez (2020) to both museums' current exhibition of these 'small war trophies'. It analyses, in a comparative perspective, the museum narratives that are constructed around these objects, both textual and visual. More specifically, it aims to uncover how the violence that is inherent to the acquisition of the artefacts is (not) acknowledged in the exhibitions. Recent

postcolonial debates in Belgium have largely impacted the remembrance of the colonial past and the representation thereof in the larger historical culture (Goddeeris, 2023). They significantly challenged museum exhibitions and museum educational practices to include multiple voices and to acknowledge how violence was intrinsically linked to colonialism. Yet the integration thereof often remains difficult and/or contested. Drawing from these debates, explanations for the (un)changed way in which these objects are represented in both museums and for the differences between them will be discussed.

Brent Geerts is a Doctoral student at Leuven University's History Department (Belgium). His dissertation is on museum education about (the representation of) colonial heritage in two Belgian museums. The project aims to foster a critical approach to museum education about colonial history, informed by postcolonial perspectives. Contact: brent.geerts@kuleuven.be

Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse has a PhD in history, and is currently associate professor in History Didactics at Leuven University (Belgium). His research focuses on various aspects of historical thinking, and the link with identification and civic attitudes, in formal and informal educational settings. Contact: karel.vannieuwenhuysse@kuleuven.be

Denise Bentreovato: The Carabinieri Museum in Rome: A Post-Colonial or Postcolonial Museum?

In their presentation, entitled 'The Carabinieri Museum in Rome: a post-colonial or postcolonial museum?', Denise Bentreovato and Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse will extend the research on representations of violent colonial pasts in a post-colonial world, examining whether and, if so, to what extent, postcolonial perspectives have influenced current representations of colonial violence in another museum setting, this time in Italy, a country that continues to struggle to reckon with its colonial past. The paper will apply the Ten Narrative Keys model to the relatively little-known Carabinieri Historical Museum (*Museo Storico dell'Arma dei Carabinieri*) in Rome. Established by Royal Decree under fascism, in 1925, and placed under the supervision of the Ministry of War (now the Ministry of Defence), the historical museum represents "a privileged depository of relics, documents and mementoes that bear witness to the actions of the Force in peace and war', across "two centuries of history at the service of citizens" (<https://www.carabinieri.it/chi-siamo/ieri/museo-storico>). Inaugurated and opened to the public at its current site in 1937, and restructured and modernised in 1985, it remains a testament of and lesson in "military honour and civil virtue", of Carabinieri, who "brilliantly fought" and "resisted to the bitter end", including in Africa. The paper will analyse those sections of the museum referencing the colonial past, across the chronological and thematic itinerary of its 26 exhibition rooms. The analysis of the museum representation will be contextualised within and juxtaposed to representations circulating in popular historical culture, school history and academic historiography, in the light of ongoing debates on decolonisation. Within this broader context, it will reflect on the extent to which the discourse and memories of Italy's colonial past that the museum articulates feed into the enduring myth of the "good Italian" and, specifically, the "legend of Italian colonialism as different, more tolerant, and more humane than other colonialisms" (Triulzi 2006, 431-2). With a view to highlighting opportunities and pitfalls of musealization and remembrance in education, the paper, after exposing the museum's uncritical reproduction of a colonial discourse and imaginary, with its inherent celebrations and amnesia, will reflect on the possibilities of articulating a more critical discourse about the colonial past, in ways that may induce questions and reflections in visitors.

Denise Bentreovato holds a PhD in history, and is a research fellow in the Department of Humanities Education, University of Pretoria, South Africa, and in the Department of History, University of Leuven,

Belgium. She is also the co-founder and co-director of the African Association for History Education. An important part of her work examines the intersection of history education, collective violence and historical justice, particularly in (post-)colonial and (post-)conflict societies in Africa. Contact: denise.bentrovato@up.ac.za

09:00-11:00 Session 2 | ÖAW Seminarraum 1

Migration, Memory and Historical Justice in Vienna and Beyond

Chair: Karina Horsti, Klaus Neumann

Karina Horsti: Memorialising Injustices at Europe's Border

Mass deaths are an ongoing issue at Europe's external borders. Publics and governments across the continent know well how the Mediterranean has become a watery graveyard since Europe began changing its immigration, visa, and border policies after the Schengen Convention of 1990. Deaths are being counted by civil society actors and an inter-governmental body, the International Organization for Migration. Border deaths do not 'happen', but are 'made' in a complex, diffused, and contested global context. In this paper, I discuss how mass deaths during migration at Europe's borders are being memorialized, by whom and with what social and political consequences. I draw on my ethnographic research that centers on a specific disaster, the so-called *Strage di Lampedusa*, the sinking of a boat on 3 October 2013 off the island of Lampedusa, Italy. This highly mediatized disaster brought the topic of mass deaths into Europe's mainstream consciousness, albeit with hardly any long-term consequence: the central Mediterranean route through the Strait of Sicily is still the deadliest migration corridor in the world. The Lampedusa disaster produced a kaleidoscope of afterlives that have taken on different forms depending on the position of the witness and the type of witnessing. People who were touched by the disaster either through mediation or most intimately as survivors or family members have engaged with its memory and politics in the public domain, and memorialization has been a central form of engagement. However, the meanings and politics of memorializing vary, both among those who memorialize the death of 'their own' or of 'unknown strangers'. In this presentation, I examine in more detail how different memorializations intersect in one memory site, Piazza Piave, a square in Lampedusa. Eritrean-European survivors, families of the victims, local rescuers, those who witnessed the disaster through mediation, and stakeholders of other migrant disasters create a communicative space through memorials and rituals. In this space, meaning and memory of the event, and the issue of border deaths more broadly, are negotiated and contested. Civic engagement through memorialization produces new kinds of identities, such as 'survivor citizenship' and 'forensic citizenship', that underscore the agency of new Europeans. These interactions add another political scale to the memorialization that encourages visitors to ask who the victims were and why they died.

*Karina Horsti is Visiting Professor at University of Minnesota (2023–2025) and University Lecturer in Cultural Policy at University of Jyväskylä. Her research focuses on migration, media, memory politics and culture. She also collaborates with artists and museums, assisting with exhibitions and artwork related to migration and writing essays in catalogues. She is the author of *Survival and Witness at Europe's Border: The Afterlives of a Disaster* (Cornell University Press, 2023).*

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Klaus Neumann: (Not) Remembering Violence Against Migrants in a Country of Immigration

When in 2015 the authorities in the East German state of Saxony decided to accommodate asylum seekers in a hotel in Freital near Dresden, all hell broke loose. There were demonstrations, sometimes on a daily basis. Some of the protesters resorted to violence and were later charged with terrorism offences and convicted. Since 2015 Freital has been a synonym for *Dunkeldeutschland* (dark Germany), where strangers are not welcome and the natives yearn for the resurrection of a culturally and ethnically homogeneous nation. It is tempting to argue that what is needed is some kind of local *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* or *Aufarbeitung*, a working-through of the events of 2015, that would be similar to working through the historic wrongs of Nazi Germany or those of communist East Germany. Even more relevant than a public engagement with the events of 2015 might be an acknowledgment of events in 1991, when the building that subsequently became a refugee hostel, housed Vietnamese contract labourers. In September 1991, locals firebombed the building and tried to drive out its residents. This earlier episode has been largely erased from local public and social memory. I use the example of Freital to reflect on how in today's Germany violence against migrants has been remembered (or forgotten).

*Klaus Neumann worked for many years as an academic in Australia (until 2018 as professor of history at Deakin University). Since 2018 he has been an independent researcher, whose work has been funded by the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture. He has written widely about issues of colonialism, public and social memory, historical justice and forced migration in Papua New Guinea, Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and Germany. His book *Blumen und Brandsätze, a history of German local public and policy responses to refugees since 1989*, was published in April 2024.*

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Anne Wiederhold-Daryanavard/Michael Podgorac: For an Inclusive Public Memory in Vienna (I): BUNKER16 - Erinnern in Zukunft

The initiative BUNKER16 – Erinnern in Zukunft, led by Anne Wiederhold and Michael Podgorac, plans to make the air-raid shelter from World War II under Yppenplatz at the Wiener Brunnenmarkt accessible to the public. The goal is to create an open space that fosters exchange through exhibitions, music, performances, and readings on the topic of plural remembrance in our society. <https://www.brunnenpassage.at/audiovisuell/bunker-16>

*Michael Podgorac, also known as Mikal Maldoror, was born in Munich, Germany, and grew up in Prnjavor and Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he completed medical school. He graduated in Social and Economic Sciences from the University of Belgrade, Serbia, and has studied for a PhD in Theater, Film, and Media Studies at the University of Vienna, Austria. Michael is active in artistic and cultural circles, focusing on (trans)migration, social and (sub)cultural themes. He authored and published the book *AUZINE* (2021), reflecting his deep commitment to social issues. He co-founded the *LINE IN* art association, an art gallery, and the experimental space *AU*. He leads the initiative *Bunker 16 – Erinnern in Zukunft* with Anne Wiederhold and has been a project coordinator at *Brunnenpassage* since 2020. He also served as the production manager at *WIENWOCHE*, an art and activism festival. As a director of avant-garde films and music videos, Michael is also involved in graphic design. He founded several bands, including *Soda Gomorra*, an experimental rock and post-punk band, and *Ausländer*, a hardcore punk collective with a progressive performance style. Michael's philosophy is rooted in his war experiences, believing that art can overcome the suffering of war. He advocates for an art space that fosters a pluralistic culture of remembrance, healing, and connecting diverse communities. His*

work bridges cultures and helps overcome past traumas, promoting deeper understanding and connection between different communities. <https://www.d-arts.at/angebote/michael-podgorac>
Contact: podgorac@brunnenpassage.at

Anne Wiederhold-Daryanavard is co-founder and artistic co-director of Brunnenpassage Vienna and co-lead of Bunker16 as well as an organizational psychologist and actress. She has a master of psychology at the University of Bremen and studied acting in Bremen and Vienna. Her work as a curator and diversity expert focuses on the format development of transcultural art, in the field of socially engaged art, and in diversity strategies for cultural policy. Anne Wiederhold works as a juror as well as in committees for, among others, the European Commission in the EU working group Work Group for the Role of Public Arts and Cultural Institutions in the Promotion of Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue (2012-2014). Co-author of *Art Practices in the Migration Society – Transcultural Strategies in Action* at Brunnenpassage in Vienna, transcript Verlag, 2021. Anne Wiederhold is requested nationally and internationally for speaking engagements, panels and diversity consulting. Since 2020 she is a member of the advisory board of the Volkstheater Wien. She works as an actress primarily in international productions mostly in contemporary political documentary theater.

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Elena Messner: For an Inclusive Public Memory in Vienna (I): MUSMIG – for a Museum of Migration

MUSMIG is calling for a Museum of Migration in Austria. Since 2019, this collective of historians, social and cultural scientists, artists and activists has been organizing performances, exchanges and dialogues on the possibilities and concepts of a Museum of Migration in Vienna. Currently the project is located at the Volkskundemuseum Wien, where MUSMIG put together an exhibition about the structural, physical and linguistic violence of the bureaucratic apparatus dealing with migrants and other non-citizen residents. In the panel discussion the history of the project and its status quo will be presented, and future perspectives and solidarity-based possibilities will be discussed.

<https://musmig.wordpress.com>

Elena Messner is a novelist and scholar, who is currently working as a FWF Senior Post-Doc researcher (Elise Richter Programme) in the Department of Slavic Studies, University of Vienna, on a project about translations in feminist periodicals from Ex-Yugoslavia. Her PhD thesis was on the post-Yugoslav anti-war literature and its reception in the German-speaking world. From 2013-2018 she was teaching German and Austrian studies at universities in Aix-en-Provence and Marseille. She has also been teaching at the Department of Slavic Studies, University of Klagenfurt since 2014. She is a co-founder of the collective MUSMIG – Museum of Migration. Recent publication: "Wars belong into museums! But how?" (in German; co-editor with Peter Pirker, Edition Atelier, 2021).

Contact: elena.messner@textfeldsuedost.com

Roundtable: In the Shadow of the Holocaust. Making Atrocity Legible

Chairs: Angelika Bammer/Karen Remmler

Angelika Bammer is Professor of Comparative Literature at Emory University. She has published on twentieth-century literature and culture, film and photography, and utopian thought. Her volume on *The Future of Scholarly Writing: Critical Interventions* and an expanded new edition of her *Partial Visions: Feminism and Utopianism in the 1970s* appeared in 2015. Her book, *Born After: Reckoning with the German Past* (2019) traces the transmission of history across four generations in form of a personal narrative. Her new work, *In History's Wake: Encountering the Pasts of Others*, asks how to engage with unresolved pasts across cultural and historical differences. Contact: abammer@emory.edu

Karen Remmler, Mary Lyon Professor of Humanities Emerita at Mount Holyoke College, focuses her research on the politics and cultures of transnational memory and on forensic approaches to the remains of the dead in the aftermath of atrocity, as well as their visual representation. She also writes and teaches on family genealogies and residues of memory, the production of memory in the work of W.G. Sebald, and transgenerational memory of the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide through digital technologies. Remmler's publications include *Waking the Dead: Correspondences between Walter Benjamin's Concept of Remembrance and Inge Bachmann's "Ways of Dying,"* and with Sander Gilman, *Reemerging Jewish Culture in Germany: Life and Literature in Germany, Life and Literature since 1989*, with Leslie Morris, *Contemporary Jewish Writing in Germany*. Contact: kremmler@mtholyoke.edu

This roundtable will feature a conversation among a group of engaged artists, scholars, and artist-scholars based on the following focus: The Holocaust has come to serve as the almost universally recognized limit case of human-generated violence and the ultimate violation of human rights through the perpetration of genocide. As such, Holocaust narratives and images have provided a normative template for the representation of mass atrocity. Piles of corpses, emaciated figures in striped uniforms gazing out from behind barbed wire, a child in the ghetto raising his arms in surrender, hoping to be spared. Familiar images such as these have come to signify what atrocity looks like. But what does this mean for the representation of atrocities located outside or beyond the temporal and spatial parameters of the Holocaust? Our roundtable will explore some of the ways in which Holocaust iconography has shaped our perception of what atrocity looks like and our understanding of what atrocity is. We will consider the extent to which familiar images that have become normative can be generative by offering forms (at once visual and narrative) through which to make atrocity visible. At the same time, we will ask whether—and how—the normative nature of these established forms limits—or even prevents—us from attending to and seeing other forms of atrocity that have their own history, their own trajectory, their own forms of violence and suffering. Might the frameworks established by images that have become normative even, inadvertently and unintentionally, limit the very ways we ourselves understand the full complexity of what we think the Holocaust is? Finally, we will direct our gaze to atrocities beyond the Holocaust, asking how the imprecise cipher of the Holocaust might map onto the temporality and spatiality of present-day images of mass violence and prevent us from seeing the specificity of their particular cultural, aesthetic, and local coordinates?

Participants:

Jason Francisco is an artist and essayist. Joining documentary and conceptual art, his photoworks and writings focus on the complications of historical memory, and new directions in the art of witness. Much of his work concerns the inheritance of trauma, specifically concerning Jewish experience in eastern Europe. Francisco's large-scale projects include *Alive and Destroyed: A Meditation on the Holocaust in Time* (Daylight Books, 2021), *The Camp in its Afterlives* (2010-2018), *An Unfinished Memory* (2014-2018), *After the American Century* (2002-2018), *Big City* (1989-2022), *Far from Zion: Jews, Diaspora, Memory* (Stanford University Press, 2006), and *The Villages: Rural India at the End of the Twentieth Century* (1990-1997). He is also the author of numerous limited-edition photobooks, web-based installations, experimental films, hybrid photo-text writings, reportages, essays, and poems in translation. Since 2008, Francisco has been a member of the faculty at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Contact: jfranc9@emory.edu

Professor Renata Stih, a Berlin based artist/activist, art critic and curator known for her media and public art discourses, urban interventions and performances, has published widely on art, theater, film, and architecture. She teaches art, film, and technology at the Berlin College of Technology BHT/University of Applied Sciences and has had visiting appointments at numerous North American universities (including Princeton, Harvard, SAIC, MICA, RISD, and Brown) and Hebrew University in Israel. Stih chairs the Art Advisory Board of the Berlin Cultural Senate and served as president of the San Marino pavillion at the Venice Art Biennale. She was a board member of The Women's International University at EXPO 2000 and co-founded The Human Rights Watch Committee in Berlin. Fellowships and awards include the German Federal Grant at the Cité des Art in Paris; the Berlin Art Grant; the Freund Fellowship at Washington University, St. Louis; the Rockefeller Fellowship at the Rockefeller Advanced Research Center in Bellagio/Italy; the Obermayer German Jewish History Award; the Whitney J. Oates Fellowship in the Humanities at Princeton University; and Rouse Visiting Artist at Harvard University. Contact: mail@stih-schnock.de

Professor Dr. Frieder Schnock is an artist, art historian, cultural advisor, gallerist and curator widely known for his artistic documentary photography and conceptual art projects. He is an Honorary Professor at the Institute of Philosophy and Sciences of Art at Leuphana University, Lueneburg where he created a range of seminars and art projects together with Renata Stih focusing on art and memory in public space, cultural representation, and colonial art history. Schnock has created visual studies at the Berlin College of Technology, and an advanced educational program for artists at Berlin's Artist Association. He has been a visiting scholar/artist at numerous institutions of higher education, including Hebrew University, SAIC, MICA, Bard College, ZHDK, NYU, and Princeton University. Schnock has curated private and public collections, including the Museum Fridericianum in Kassel and Engelhorn Foundation in Munich, and served as advisor to entrepreneurs like the architect Jean Nouvel. He is a co-founder of the Gesellschaft für Blickschulung and Loft 44/45, organizations that represent and support the work of contemporary experimental artists. Fellowships and awards include Rouse Visiting Artist, Harvard University; Rockefeller Fellow at the Rockefeller Advanced Research Center in Bellagio/Italy; Freund Fellow at Washington University, St. Louis; the Obermayer German Jewish History Award, the Whitney J. Oates Fellowship in the Humanities at Princeton University. Contact: mail@stih-schnock.de

Stih & Schnock are known internationally for their artistic research and memorialization projects in both museums and public space. They include the decentralized memorial Places of Remembrance in

Berlin-Schoeneberg (1993); BUS STOP, Berlin-Mitte (1994/95); Show Your Collection, Jewish Traces in Munich Museums (2008); LIFE~BOAT, MoAFL and Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, MA (2005-08); Who Needs Art, We Need Potatoes, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (1998-2008). Lacan Doesn't Live Here Anymore, Platform L.E.S. Gallery, New York (2012); Raft With Stranded Objects, the Saint Louis Art Museum. ROSIE WON THE WAR, the Boca Raton Museum of Art (2015/16) and NYU - Kimmel Galleries (2019). Activating Memory, the Boca Raton Museum of Art (2023). HERMANN LEVI LAB – KiZ Giessen. (2023/24). BUS STOP – A Memorial Concept for Berlin, Melbourne Holocaust Museum; Rosie at the Hollywood Canteen. Normandy Institute, Chateau de Bernaville, France (2024). Group exhibitions and installations include: CTRL Space, Center for Art and Media (ZKM), Karlsruhe, Germany (2001-2002); RAF., Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art Berlin, Joanneum Graz / Austria (2005); Reality Bites, Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, Washington University, St. Louis (2008); Capital Offense: The End(s) of Capitalism. Beacon Arts, Los Angeles/ USA. Documenta-15, Kassel (2022). Haus der Geschichte, Bonn (2024). www.stih-schnock.de

Chair: Gerald Lamprecht

Gerald Lamprecht, since 2006 head of the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Graz and since 2018 Professor of Jewish History and Contemporary History. Researcher and head of numerous projects on Austrian Jewish history, the history of persecution during the Nazi era and Austrian cultural memory. Since January 2024 coordinator of the antisemitism research group at the ÖAW Institute of Culture Studies. Contact: gerald.lamprecht@oeaw.ac.at

Jan Elantkowski: Holocaust and Trauma in Post Socialist Europe: Contemporary Art from Hungary and Poland after 1989

Hereby, I would like to propose a paper addressing the memorialization of the Holocaust in contemporary art, more specifically, I aim to present and analyse selected examples of Hungarian and Polish contemporary art, responses to the trauma of the Holocaust, that emerged in these Central-Eastern European countries after the political transition of 1989, within the context of newly established democratic states. I aim to propose and highlight certain topics, aspects, and phenomena that, in my view, are symptomatic of this time and place, applying the term „Post-Socialist”. The paper concerns issues of contemporary artistic culture, which is a current and ever-changing process. Thus, I use the concept of “postcatastrophe”, highlighting the enduring aftereffects of the Holocaust in the present day, suggesting that the tragic past continues to resonate. Given that art history heavily relies on visual material, the core of my research lies in the analysis of artworks. These artworks exist within a specific temporal context. While they reflect on the past, they are also deeply immersed in the present. They offer a retrospective perspective on the past from a current vantage point. Moreover, they indirectly reflect the current socio-political climate of post-Socialist societies, just as this paper is reflecting the contemporary perspective, considering the present-day political situation. Embracing the belief that art is inherently political, the meanings attributed to these works are a reflection and product of the here and now. I aim to present two distinct categories of works within this context. The first category pertains to activism, which manifests in the reinforcement of Holocaust memorialization through art installations and interventions in public spaces within Poland, exemplified by the endeavours of Joanna Rajkowska and Rafał Jakubowicz. The second category of works revolves around a thematic continuum that prioritizes a transnational discourse on Holocaust commemoration. This transnational perspective will be elucidated through instances of artistic expression originating from Hungary, such as those by the painter Attila Szűcs, which delve into the historical context of Czechoslovakia, and the efforts of the artistic duo Lőrinc Borsos. The creations of the latter establish connections between post-war Austria and contemporary Hungary, drawing parallels that highlight historical continuities.

Jan Elantkowski M.A. (PhD defence to be scheduled: Jan-Feb 2024, Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest) is an art historian and curator based in Budapest (HU). Between 2015 and 2018, he was a teaching and research associate in the Chair of East European Art History at Humboldt University of Berlin (DE). Currently (2018–) he works as a curator and art historian in Ludwig Museum–Museum of Contemporary Art in Budapest. Contact: jan.elantkowski@gmail.com

Eva Kuttenberg: Travels Beyond the Holocaust: Literary, Cinematic and Artistic Reminders of the Kindertransport

The Kindertransport is among the most diversely remembered humanitarian rescue operations. Frank Meisler's bronze sculptures in Gdansk, Berlin, Hamburg, Holland, and London mark his very own travails as a Kindertransportee. However, this talk focuses on literature that offers one of the most insightful approaches to this unfathomable experience. In "Going on Living", the preface to Ruth Kluger's *Still Alive: A Holocaust Childhood Remembered* (2001), the Viennese-born, NYC-based writer Lore Segal reminds us that "when seven-year-old Ruth Kluger's mother learned about the *Kindertransport* that was to carry some ten thousand Jewish children to safety in England, she refused the opportunity. Children, she reasoned, belonged to their parents. Ironically, it was this same reasoning that permitted the United States Senate to kill in committee an initiative that would have brought Jewish children to America" (9). America does enter the picture decades later with Deborah Oppenheimer's award-winning documentary *Into the Arms of Strangers* (2000) featuring Segal who left Vienna on the first Kindertransport, an experience she shared in her internationally acclaimed autobiographical fiction debut *Other People's Houses* (1958). Vienna, a prolific site of Holocaust memory, houses a Kindertransport museum, plus records of the Kindertransport in the archives of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde. Yet, the topic has been scarcely addressed in the booming genre of Austrian fictions of memory. A notable exception is Eva Menasse's debut novel *Vienna* (2005) offering a glimpse at a family's experience with two children sent on a Kindertransport. The novel balances the perspective of those who left but eventually returned with those who stayed behind. The older son, a highly decorated officer in the British Army, had fought in Burma and witnessed war atrocities while the younger one honed his talent for soccer in England. In spite of Menasse's lighthearted take on the past, the novel exemplifies paradigm shifts in critical literary memory studies because it moves beyond nationally driven memory frames and exemplifies heterogeneous, multidirectional, dialogical memory. When the Viennese family hires a Burmese caretaker for the elderly "hochdekorierte Dschungelkämpfer" (*Vienna* 19), it engages with contemporary issues of labor migration. The literary analysis will be embedded in a discussion of controversial aspects of the Kindertransport by looking into the reasons why some were left behind while others succumbed to the enormous psychological burden of settling into a foster home away from home and committed suicide.

Eva Kuttenberg is Associate Professor of German and Program Chair of Global Languages and Cultures at Penn State Erie. She is interested in manifestations of Austrian cultural memory in public art, film, and literature. This talk is part of a larger project on Austria's Topography of Memory. Contact: euk1@psu.edu

Chiara Antico: Ephemeral and Intangible Travelling Objects of Memory: The Holocaust Repertoire within Musical Commemorations Around the World

Music is a one-time happening. Here we intend it as sounds, melodies, or harmony, coming out of the instruments or voice, depending on the musicians. Aesthetically, recordings are already a different form of art. This means that repeatability is a characteristic of music, but every repetition is a reenactment, something new. This paper aims to investigate music as the materiality of memorialization of an aspect of the Holocaust. In fact, the repertoire played in the concentration camps during the Holocaust is often reproduced and shared as a tribute to victims and historical events. Some memorial museums hold fragments of music scores or instruments to indicate the

musical activity performed as spontaneous resistance or forced labor, but the sound itself is not in those concrete objects. Sounds can surround us in the air, without materiality. Recordings can accompany exhibitions about music from the Holocaust, to help visitors get involved in the history or the particular experience. How can we consider an object of memory without materiality? If sound is the artifact itself, where is the reference of this object? What is transferred from one musician to another in different parts of the world? What kind of inner significance do contemporary performances have? This study uses the micro-historical approach, but it considers the methodologies of musicology and aesthetics. Through live performances, musicians make the music exist: even in the absence of some tangible records, music becomes not only a language for commemoration but also a traveling means that unifies communities and institutions beyond time and places. A timeless traveling entity that holds the original story. In Holocaust documentation, we find information about concerts, instruments, repertoire, musicians involved in the performance, and audience (if the concert was given to prisoners or the SS guards). In their interviews and memoirs, musician survivors gave details of their activity in the camp but no musical queue is used when today's performers approach Holocaust performances. So, which human message belongs to some music pieces played at the same time in different parts of the world? The purpose of this paper is to open the question of the intangibility of music as a precious characteristic of contemporariness and timelessness in Holocaust studies. This tragic and complex historical period shall spread unity, solidarity, and respect, disseminating tolerance and historical consciousness. Music acts in this particular way: it coexists all over the world bringing emotional healing and strengthening hope and remembrance. It can't be locked in a museum but it belongs to every person, it is owned by every witness and citizen of contemporary society.

*Italian viola player, **Chiara Antico** is a DMA candidate at Universidade NOVA of Lisbon, applying her artistic research to the musical activity and repertoire during the Holocaust. Her educational project deserved an award from the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial in 2021. The author has an active career as a chamber music player and viola teacher. She holds a MA summa cum laude in Music Performance and a Master's degree in Pedagogy. Contact: chiara.antico@campus.fcsh.unl.pt*

Absented Voices and Gendered Memorialisation of Political Violence

Chair: Alexander Karn

Alexander Karn is associate professor of history and peace and conflict studies at Colgate University (USA). His research and scholarship focus on the politics of history and evaluating possibilities for historical justice and reconciliation. He currently serves as convener of the Historical Dialogues, Justice, and Memory Research Network. Contact: akarn@colgate.edu

Violeta Davoliūtė: The (Un)silencing of Sexual Violence and the Politics of the Past in Lithuania: A Tale of Two Diaries

Several days after the German invasion of the USSR on 22 June 1941, the Jewish residents of the small town of Darbėnai (Dorbian) in north-west Lithuania were forced out of their homes by German security police and local collaborators. Estera Kverelytė (Ester Kverel) a gymnasium student, was sheltered by the family of her best friend. For several weeks, Estera kept a diary, until she was seized by the former mailman, now collaborating with the Germans. This young man, well known to locals, was seen taking Estera to a nearby forest, where she was found dead, her body battered and violated. In 1964, Estera's story was featured in a Soviet documentary film entitled *Unfinished Page of a Diary*. Alluding to her tragic demise but providing no details concerning her fate, the film constructs a typical Cold War narrative, in which the hard facts of genocide are spun into the yarn of Soviet solidarity in the face of Western imperialism. The identity of the alleged perpetrator is positioned outside the local community through the metonymy of the empty chair of the accused ringleader tried in absentia—a Catholic priest who fled the Red Army's advance and now resides in the USA. The agency and motivation of local perpetrators are glossed over by the label of "bourgeois nationalist" in the progressive narrative of Soviet justice. In Lithuania today, the name of Estera Kverelytė is known to few, just as few know much about the prevalence of sexual violence committed by locals against their Jewish neighbours during the Holocaust. Many more will have heard of Elena Spirgevičiūtė, a Lithuanian girl murdered by a pro-Soviet partisan after an attempted rape in 1944. Her case was silenced during the Soviet period, but her diary was preserved and published secretly by dissidents. Commemorations of her fate became public as Lithuania approached independence, and a process to canonize her as a saint was initiated, portraying her as a "martyr of faith and chastity." Histories of war are notorious for glossing over gender and sexuality; the experience of sexual violence behind Germany's Eastern Front during WWII was 'silenced' by taboos of Holocaust representation, the conspiracy of silence regarding local collaboration, and the opacity of the local to outsiders. The 'return of memory' since 1989 has involved the 'unsilencing' of sexual violence, and as Andrea Pető emphasizes, the process of unsilencing is subject to a politics of its own. Drawing on the feminist literature of situated knowledge, this paper analyses the politics of silencing and unsilencing the experience of sexual violence in German-occupied Lithuania in Soviet and post-Soviet Lithuania. Questioning the dichotomy of global universalism vs. local parochialism, it analyzes the instrumentalization of gender and trauma and argues for critical engagement with the local, embodied, and partial perspective of eyewitnesses against the various forms of unlocatable and irresponsible knowledge claims.

Violeta Davoliūtė is a professor at Vilnius University, Institute of Political Science and International Relations and Project Leader of Facing the Past: Public History for a Stronger Europe (Horizon Europe, 2022-2025). A specialist in cultural memory and social trauma, she completed her M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of Toronto and has since held fellowships at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for

Holocaust Studies, Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena, Yale University, EHESS, and Uppsala University. Contact: violeta.davoliute@tspmi.vu.lt

Julia Gerster: Whose Lessons Do We Learn? On the Absence of Women’s Memory in Public 3.11 Disaster Memorial Museums in Japan

After the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear disaster (“3.11”), dozens of disaster memorial facilities have been built in the disaster-affected Tohoku region. Similar to other museums memorializing traumatic events, the main goal of these facilities is to preserve the memory and pass on lessons learned from this disaster so as never to repeat a similar tragedy. Yet, in contrast to war-related museums, whose lessons are being told at disaster memorial museums are rarely being questioned. This might be due to a still widespread assumption that natural hazard disasters are disconnected from political or social issues, strike without bias and that individuals bear the same risk of becoming victims. In social science-driven disaster studies, however, the social aspects that lead to vulnerabilities have long been stressed as key factors turning hazards into disasters. This means to fulfill their role in disaster education, disaster memorial facilities need to address these social aspects in their exhibitions. Among the many elements connected to social vulnerabilities (such as ethnicity, age, health, (dis)ability, income, social capital, etc....), this presentation focuses on issues connected to gender roles that lead to higher vulnerabilities in the Great East Japan Earthquake. Based on a coding method, the authors of this research analyze the visual material, including pictures and videos of survivor accounts, displayed at prefectural disaster memorial museums focusing on “3.11” from a gender perspective. Initial results show that over half of all the materials include only men, whereas only 12 percent depict only women. The rest of the materials show mixed groups or are non-disclosed regarding distribution by sex. The gap widens even more regarding video testimonials, in which more than 77 percent of all the speakers are male. This means that many important lessons in disaster mitigation from the viewpoints of women as well as targeting women are excluded from these public places of memory and disaster education. Drawing from gender-related literature on disasters, ethnographic field research and qualitative interviews with museum directors and staff, this paper aims to explain the difficulties regarding representation equality in cultural memory and offer hints for a more inclusive representation in disaster memorial facilities.

Julia Gerster works as Assistant Professor at the Disaster Culture and Archive Section of the International Research Institute of Disaster Science (IRIDeS), Tohoku University. She received her PhD in Japanese Studies at Free University of Berlin with a dissertation on the role of local culture in community building after the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake. Her research interests include disaster preparedness and recovery, recovery from nuclear disasters, difficult pasts, cultural and collective memory, heritage, and social capital. Contact: gerster.irides@gmail.com

Tine Destrooper: “The Truthfulness Lies in the Process, Not the Outcome”: Using Artistic Practices to Further Truth-Telling and Memorialization in the Philippines

The Philippines have never known a unified state-sanctioned narrative about the violence that happened during the Marcos dictatorship. In order to resist ongoing disinformation campaigns that seek to erase evidence and memories of past violence, various institutional and civil society actors are currently initiating interventions in the domain of truth and memorialization. Notably, artists,

curators, and creative professionals are engaging in various kinds of so-called ‘narrative documentation’ and ‘narrative change-making’. Several of these initiatives mobilize spatial dynamics and co-created processes to facilitate more complex forms of truth-telling and memorialization, which foreground complexity and ambiguity, and which prompt more engaged forms of truth-listening. This article zooms in on a specific project that mobilizes traditional artisan and artistic techniques and forms to revisit women’s experiences of historical and ongoing violence by crafting layered and ambiguous narratives about harm. In doing so, the Weaving Women’s Words on Wounds of War project seeks to further memorialization, truth-telling, and truth-listening about gendered violence that took place over decades and centuries, with peaks during the Marcos Martial Law era and the armed conflict in Muslim Mindanao. Through an analysis embedded in scholarship on memory, truth, and artistic practice, I argue that it is the generation of ambiguous and complex narratives that invites an active and relational type of engagement and listening. This holds potential for resisting the erasure of complex forms of violence, both in the context of the Philippines, as well as in other contexts where truth or memorialization initiatives may be incapable of capturing the gravity of lived experiences of violence or of facilitating genuine listening.

Tine Destrooper is the director of Justice Visions and an associate professor of human rights and transitional justice at the Faculty of Law and Criminology of Ghent University. She is also a member of the Human Rights Centre at Ghent University. She is the PI of an ERC-funded project on victim participation in transitional justice and is engaged in various case studies regarding transitional justice in paradigmatic contexts. In 2023 she was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to undertake research at Columbia University’s Law School. She is currently a member of the Flemish Young Academy, a Board member of the Flemish Human Rights Institute, an advisory board member of the Hannah Arendt Institute, and a member of the Research Council (Ghent University). She is also a co-editor of the Journal of Human Rights Practice (Oxford University Press), and the co-chair of the Human Rights Research Network (Ghent University). Previously, she held positions at various European and American institutions, including New York University, the European University Institute, Leiden University, Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin and the Universities of Antwerp and Leuven.

Contact: tine.destrooper@ugent.be

Chair: Baskara T. Wardaya

Baskara T. Wardaya, Ph.D., publishes works on addressing issues related to the 1965-66 massacres in Indonesia. Among his publications: *Cold War Shadow* (2007), *Truth Will out* (2013) and *Memori Genosida* (*Memories of Genocide*, 2021). Contact: baskaramu@yahoo.com

Susie Protschky: Soldiers' Memories of Raymond Westerling and the Attempted APRA Coup in Bandung, January 1950

This paper examines how Dutch soldiers' memories of Raymond Westerling's role in the attempted APRA coup in Bandung (January 1950) cohere around themes of leadership, rebellion and sacrifice in ways that resonate internationally today, particularly in the Netherlands. Westerling is better known for his command of the Depot Speciale Troepen (Special Forces Troops) in Sulawesi in 1946/7 and his role in authorising the killing of at least 3,500 people, most of them civilians. He was also the mastermind of the failed APRA (Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil) coup in Bandung and Jakarta in January 1950, several weeks after the transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia. The coup attempt in Bandung resulted in Indonesian military deaths and the sentencing of 124 soldiers, most of them Indonesians from the Dutch colonial army (KNIL). More than 20 photographs illicitly taken at the scene were leaked to commercial sellers and the international press. For soldiers in Dutch/KNIL forces, these photographs shored up Westerling's status as a hero and became 'trophy' of a rogue attempt to save the KNIL and overturn the Republic of Indonesia, particularly its attempts to fashion a unitary state. I suggest that this last action of the KNIL in Indonesia before its dissolution in mid-1950 helps explain a latent support for Westerling among communities in the Netherlands today, despite his reputation as a war criminal.

Professor Susie Protschky is a Chair in Global Political History at Vrije University. Specialised in modern Dutch colonialism, Indonesian history, and the history photography. Her research ranges across visual cultures of war and violence, environment and natural disaster, gender, race and citizenship. Contact: s.protschky@vu.nl

Katharine McGregor: Indonesian Engagement with Dutch War Cemeteries in Indonesia

The Indonesian cities of Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Semarang and Cimahi all host a series of official Dutch honorary cemeteries called Ereveld, which commemorate Dutch civilians and members of the Dutch colonial army (including Indonesians who fought for them) who died in Indonesia. These sites of memory, administered by the Dutch War Graves Foundation, feature neat rows of graves, surrounded by carefully manicured fields of grass. Their perimeters are marked out by large gates that separate them from surrounding urban neighbourhoods. Their preservation and continued existence on Indonesian soil required careful negotiation by the Dutch government with Indonesian authorities. Annual commemorations organised by the Foundation are usually attended by family members and Dutch dignitaries. Yet there is also some interesting Indonesian engagement with these sites of memory. This engagement comes at a time when there has been increased attention to new narratives about the Indonesian Independence War internationally including greater emphasis on

Dutch violence against Indonesians. In this paper I examine how the city tour group *Cerita Bandung* or Bandung Stories engages with the history of Dutch victims of war and conflict in the Pandu Ereveld Cemetery in Bandung in the form of narrated walking tours, which are followed mostly by local residents of Bandung. What kinds of stories are told on this tour and to what extent does this constitute a new form of Indonesian engagement with colonial history and related histories of violence? What potential does this new form of interaction with the past have for generating increased understandings of the complexity of colonialism and related histories of violence? Here I pay particular attention to how stories of Indonesian soldiers who fought in the KNIL are narrated alongside reflections on broader sensitivity to this topic in Indonesia because of the fact it breaks down simplistic ideas about the revolution being fought only between Indonesians and the Dutch. I argue that this new forms of engagement with colonial history constitutes a new opening of histories that have frequently been silenced in Indonesia.

Katharine McGregor is a Professor in Southeast Asian History at the University of Melbourne. She specialises in the study of memory, violence, activism and modern Indonesian history. She is currently working on a large Australian Research Council funded project called *Submerged Histories: Memory Activism in Indonesia and the Netherlands*. Contact: k.mcgregor@unimelb.edu.au

Ana Dragojlovic: Decolonising Heteropatriarchal Silencing: Intergenerational affects and decolonial therapeutics in the documentary *Indo's Silence* (“*Indisch Zwijgen*”)

The 2022 Documentary *Indisch Zwijgen* (*Indo's Silence*) by Indo filmmakers Juliette Dominicus and Sven Peetoom brings new attention to the enduring topic of *Indisch* silence around memories of colonialism and related racial prejudice. The *Indisch* community in the Netherlands is a group of people with historical ties to the former Dutch colony of the Netherlands East Indies and includes people with Dutch ancestry and mixed Indonesian and Dutch ancestry. Most people within this community forcibly migrated to the Netherlands following the Dutch defeat in the Indonesian revolution from 1949 onwards. They carried with them memories of loss and suffering during the colonial era, the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942-1945) and the Indonesian War of Independence. They arrived in a post-war country that held no space for their experiences, traumas and stories. As a result, it was difficult to voice their own needs and experiences, resulting in decades dominated by “*Indisch zwijgen*”. This Dutch term references intergenerational silenc(ing) in Indo households in the Netherlands and characterizes a dynamic of on the one hand not being able to speak about the colonial past, and on the other hand not being listened to. In this documentary Dominicus and Peetoom engage in representations of the intergenerational affects of this *Indisch zwijgen* such as pain, sadness, grief, and shame in their efforts to make visible complex emotions that constitute this silence. By following three third generation Indo-Dutch women the film attempts to break through the *Indisch zwijgen* within their families and demonstrate how this silence around experiences of Dutch history of colonial violence affects their identity. Even though many of the experiences and trauma have remained unspoken, the documentary shows how the presence of the past has been felt in many ways in familial settings. This paper explores how the filmmakers try to decolonise the silenc(ing) embedded within the colonial heteropatriarchal system of power through the therapeutic mechanism of repair. It also reflects on the success of the documentary in the Netherlands.

Ana Dragojlovic is an Associate Professor in Gender Studies at the University Melbourne. She is an anthropologist interested in feminist, queer and decolonial approaches and in studies of care. She is

currently working on a large Australian Research Council funded project called Submerged Histories: Memory Activism in Indonesia and the Netherlands and will be presenting this paper also on behalf of the co-writer Astrid Kerchman (Utrecht University). Contact: ana.dragojlovic@unimelb.edu.au

Chair: Monika Mokre

Monika Mokre has been a research fellow at the Austrian Academy of Sciences since 1991. Since 2009 senior researcher at the ÖAW Institute of Culture Studies, lecturer at the Institute for Cultural Management and Cultural Studies at the University for Music and Performing Arts and at the Institute of Cross Disciplinary Strategies at the University of Applied Arts. Chairwoman of eipcp, european institute for progressive cultural policies, member of the executive committee of ror-n, Refugee Outreach & Research Network, member of the Center for Research on Democracy and Law, Thessaloniki, Chairwoman of the Works Council of the ÖAW. Contact: monika.mokre@oeaw.ac.at

Renée Ragin Randall: Minor Massacres, Major Histories: Memorialising Multiple Atrocities in Ilyas Khuri's Novel 'Yalu'

This paper begins with a departure: in the context of contemporary Lebanon, atrocities committed before, during and after the 15-year internationalized civil war (1975-1990), from which it has yet to recover, have seldom been memorialized. In fact, remembering them is not encouraged at all. During the course of the war, a dozen massacres were committed by local militias, often with the material and tactical help of neighboring states such as Israel and Syria. The names of the places where these atrocities occurred are themselves mnemonics for the terrible histories they index—but even those names spoken aloud or written down inspire silence. Makeshift museums and memorials are engineered from among the populace, sometimes supported by local political organizations, but never a national project. And of the voluminous trilingual literary canon of the Lebanese civil war—a canon which includes over 100 novels, including several by authors whose work has been acclaimed by various world literary prizes—less than a dozen of these novels tackle the history and aftermath of the atrocities that continue to require hushed tones. This paper shares a portion of a chapter from my forthcoming monograph on narratives of atrocities in the history of contemporary Lebanon. In it, I consider as a memorial of sorts one of the few novels to take up the question of atrocity's afterlives: Ilyas Khuri's *Yalu*. Perhaps the best-known Lebanese novelist in English translation, Khuri's work has long considered the interconnected histories of Palestine and Lebanon; this text, in particular, offers a story of not only the atrocities of the Lebanese civil wars and the criminal instability of the postwar state, but also the legacy of Syriac Christians who took refuge in Lebanon after the Ottoman Empire's *sayfo* massacres. The novel, whose frame story is the life of the eponymous protagonist, is a palimpsestic historical narrative of atrocity in nation-states on the brink of becoming and dissolving. It positions the atrocities of Lebanon through a transnational and pre-national lens, disturbing the categories through which we so often address the history of atrocity. What is more, it does so through a plot that is partially rooted in spiritualism, grounded in the ancient Syriac language (though written originally in Arabic) and in Syriac religious beliefs. This insistence on the spiritual stands in stark contrast to the secularism of discourse on violence, memory and the ethics of representation that permeate scholarly and popular discussions of trauma today. Telling a story in registers that contravene what has become canonical for war literature and literature of trauma, I argue, the novel becomes a memorial not only to the accumulated histories of atrocity in a region of the world, but also to what we lose when practices of commemoration, memorialization and remembrance become standardized.

Renée Ragin Randall is an Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature and Middle East Studies at the University of Michigan where she is completing a monograph on narratives of atrocity in the aftermath of the Lebanese civil wars (1958, 1975-1990). Prior to academia, Renée was a Foreign Service Officer with the U.S. Department of State serving in Washington, D.C. and Saudi Arabia. Contact: reneeran@umich.edu

Rimantė Jaugaitė: The Power of Coffee in Srebrenica Remembrance

Coffee brings people together, serving as an essential ritual of gathering and sharing life with somebody dear to us. Thus, some artists embrace coffee into their artworks to remember 8,372 mainly Bosniak men and boys killed during the Srebrenica genocide (1995) to talk about their absence. This paper reveals how Srebrenica's 'never again' historical imperative travels through the medium of coffee and raises awareness about genocide and crimes against humanity. The first initiative that this paper explores is the nomadic monument *Što te nema (Why are you not here?)* constructed out of 8,372 Bosnian coffee cups (*fildžani*) by Bosnian-born artist Aida Šehović. The second research object is the one-time inclusive memorial performance *8372* by the Slovenian artist Benjamin Zajc, who, together with his audience, carefully ground 8372 grams of coffee to remember each victim of the genocide. The third initiative is a documentary play, *My Thousand-Old-Land (A Song for BiH)*, by British director Susan Moffat and Bosnian war survivor Aida Salkić-Haughton, staged at the New Vic Theatre in Newcastle-under-Lyme, England. Here, coffee became one of the devices of theatre language to approach the audience and send an understandable message. As one can imagine, this analysis extends beyond traditional forms of memorialization as it considers the role of coffee in participatory art and memory activism. In this paper, I am interested in 1) how the selected works employ artistic forms and rituals to commemorate the Srebrenica genocide and 2) how utilizing cultural and symbolic elements contributes to the depth and shaping of the commemoration process. Also, I explore how the memory of Srebrenica interacts with the broader global discourse on atrocities, particularly the recent violence against civilians in Ukraine and Palestine. The paper examines the challenges and controversies when historical narratives move across different cultures. Additionally, it considers the intersections of gender, crimes against humanity, ethnicity, and religion that play an essential role in all three artworks. In short, this paper explores how a daily coffee ritual intersects with the act of remembering, reflecting on the memorialization dynamics and the broader implications for globalized memory studies.

Rimantė Jaugaitė is a final-year PhD student at University of Bologna in the Global Histories, Cultures, and Politics program to develop a project on the alternative commemorative practices and politics of mourning across post-Yugoslav space, with a particular focus on Srebrenica remembrance through coffee. Contact: rimantejaugaite@gmail.com

14:00-15:30 Session 8 | ÖAW Seminarraum 1

Memorialisation and Musealisation of “Comfort Women” (1)

Chair: Carol Gluck

Carol Gluck is the George Sansom Professor of History Emerita at Columbia University. A historian of modern Japan, she also writes on global memories of the Second World War. Contact: cq9@columbia.edu

Maumita Banerjee: Museums as Sites of Civic Engagement: The Case of Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace, Japan

This paper discusses the role of the Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM) in generating public knowledge about the issue of ‘comfort women’ in Japan. WAM is unique because, despite all the conversations related to the issue of Japan’s military sexual slavery in East Asia and beyond, this is the only museum in Japan that focuses on the issue. Furthermore, though there is a surge in the global demands to acknowledge histories of sexual violence and war atrocities, initiatives by the Japanese government and civil society remain much lacking. Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace was founded by Yayori Matsui (1934-2002), a prominent journalist, in 2005 with non-governmental funds from Japan and abroad and is tucked away in the narrow lanes of Tokyo. This small museum which is run through membership fees and donations houses testimonies of around one-seventy-nine women from ten different countries. This paper explores the role and scope of this museum as a site for initiating dialogue about human rights and addressing the issue of ‘comfort women’ in Japan. It draws upon the testimonies, documents, photographs, newspaper reports, oral histories, the material remains displayed and other exhibitionary strategies of the museum and asks: when compared to other similar museums, what are the challenges WAM faces in stimulating civic engagement to tell the marginalized histories of Japan’s sexual violence? Also, how an institution like WAM navigates the nexus between international shifts in museology to support war atrocities on women, and hegemonic nationalistic histories and politics. Through the example of the Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace, this study is an attempt to understand the contemporary politics in Japan and its relation to the difficult history of Japanese military sexual slavery victims.

Maumita Banerjee received her Ph.D. degree from Waseda University (Japan) in 2019. Since then, she has held visiting fellowships at Harvard University (USA), University of East Anglia/ University of London (UK), and Basel University (Switzerland). Currently, she is part of an international project on historical reconciliation studies supported by the Japanese government at Waseda University. Contact: banerjeemaumita@asagi.waseda.jp

Clara Martín Rivero: War and Women’s Human Rights Museum (Seoul) (전쟁과여성인권박물관): A Museum for Survivors, Made by Survivors

The War and Women’s Human Rights Museum was born from an amalgam of organizations (Korean Council for Justice and Remembrance for the Issues of Military and Sexual Slavery by Japan) that sought to educate the public on sexual slavery, but also as a space for remembrance of the victims and a way of resistance to the silence to which the victims are usually forced into. Both the mission and the vision of the Museum are to give back their voice to the victims who were silenced, whether

by governments or their society, through the education of history to regain the dignity of the victims, as well as to create a platform of intergenerational solidarity and activism between the survivors and people. Using the whole building and its architecture, the WWHRM puts its focus on the survivor's histories and testimonies, not only as victims, but as individuals, as young girls that lived through such traumatic experiences, and reminds the necessity of asking for legal responsibility from the perpetrator. The discourse used in the permanent exhibition uses the halmonis (할머니) (grandmas) testimonies of resistance and resilience to explain the historical situation, as well as other sources, such as photographs, official documents from the Japanese military forces, personal diaries from soldiers, etc. This discourse is often intertwined with spaces that invite the visitor to meditate and reflect on the conflict as well as shed light on the activist journey of the victims and their supporters. Thus, the Korean Council uses the museum as a platform for activism, enabling a network of victims, families, NGOs, volunteers, activists, etc., and resistance towards both the Korean and Japanese government's stance, as well as introducing other cases of sexual slavery, such as the cases in Congo or the Vietnam War. The WWHRM is also a space for research and through their website they facilitate information and resources on the topic of military sexual slavery by Japan, changing the narrative and the terminology used historically to refer to the "comfort women". The museum is also actively maintaining a historical archive on the issue, to ensure the continuation of the tasks and participating in different activist activities. In my proposed presentation I will discuss how this museum engages with the visitors (both locals and foreigners) to individualise the victims without forgetting the context, whether it be related to colonialist or nationalistic ideas, and at the same time gives the survivors a support network. I will discuss, as well, how the mission and vision of the museum can be sometimes in tension with the public and political sphere creating resistance towards governments. Finally, I will discuss the museum's methods of diffusion to reach a broader public, using both the exhibitions on site and online as well as the activism and its projection inside and outside Korea.

Clara Martín Rivero is a History PhD student at Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF). Research focused on the political usage of history, heritage and museums in South Korea during the 20th century and its current diffusion to the public. Contact: claramrive@gmail.com

14:00-15:30 Session 9 VWI

Memorial, Spacial and Political Reconfigurations in the Decolonial Moment

Chair: Erica Lehrer

Erica Lehrer is a sociocultural anthropologist and curator. She is Professor in the departments of History and Sociology-Anthropology and held the Canada Research Chair in Museum and Heritage Studies (2007-2017) at Concordia University, Montreal, where she is also Founding Director of the Curating and Public Scholarship Lab (CaPSL). Along with numerous publications (see Academia.edu), she is Principal Investigator on the international team project Thinking Through the Museum: A Partnership Approach to Curating Difficult Knowledge in Public (2021-2028), see thinkingthroughthemuseum.org. Contact: erica.lehrer@concordia.ca

Emiliano Abad García: The Ghosts of the Nation: Museums, Oblivion and Knowledge in Postcolonial Spain

What is the relationship between museums, identity and democracy? Democracy requires citizens to participate and, in order to participate, they need to embrace an identity. However, there can be no identity without stories that give them meaning. Yet not just any story is possible. Those which construct identity are always connected with notions of origin and belonging. The main objective of this paper is to identify, analyse and deconstruct the master narrative structure of the Museo de América, located in Madrid (Spain). The museum was created in 1941 by the fascist dictatorship lead by Francisco Franco. Since the so-called “Disaster of 1898” –when Spain lost its colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines- every single ideology, political system and form of state has used and relied on America as a way of reuniting Spanish society. All, from right to left, from royalists to republicans and from fascists to democrats, have used America as a basic and permanent ingredient in the definition of Spanish national identity. In fact, during the Civil War (1936- 1939), both sides of the conflict attempted to create a museum dedicated to the Americas. The Republicans did so in 1937, with the failed foundation of the Museo de Indias, whilst the fascists waited until 1939 to create the also unsuccessful Museo Arquelógico de Indias. Moreover, the main Spanish festivity continues to be October 12th, the day Christopher Columbus “discovered” the Americas, a “National Holiday” celebrated since 1918. Although the actual Museo de América was finally created after the war, in 1941, it opened its doors to the public in 1944 and moved to its current location in 1965. Franco died in 1975 and Spain signed a new democratic Constitution in 1978. In 1981, the museum was shut down, as a means to bring the old-fashioned fascist museum in line with the new democratic times and, in particular, to adapt its narrative to the forthcoming commemoration of the Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of the Americas (1992). The new and current Museo de América reopened its doors two years later than expected, on October 12th 1994. Since then, and especially after the recent appointment of Andrés Gutiérrez Usillos as its new general director in May 2023, the museum has assumed the purpose of offering a more critical, pluralistic and reflexive account of its national and colonial past. Therefore, it is worth asking a few questions: how inclusive, pluralistic and democratic is the new Museo de América? How does it deal and respond to the conflictive relationship between the colonial past and the multicultural present? Who speaks on behalf of whom in the permanent exhibition and what place is assigned to different cultures? How does the Spanish society expect us to act in order to face contemporary democratic challenges such as racism, xenophobia and the

“globalization of memory”? And, last but not least, how could 2 museums in general, so closely linked to colonial expansion and the building of the nationstate, be transformed into an instrument of multicultural citizenship?

Emiliano Abad García has a PhD in Contemporary History (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid; 2022), with strong interests in global, imperial and postcolonial narratives. His publications cover a wide spectrum of subject areas, such as cultural studies, sexual dissidence, theatre and comparative literature, in addition to studies of material culture, architecture, urban planning, subaltern experiences and memory transmission. Email: emiliano.abad@predoc.uam.es

Stephen Winter: Redress and Representation in Aotearoa New Zealand

In December 2021, Aotearoa New Zealand’s Royal Commission into Abuse in Care issued its report on redress for survivors of abuse in care entitled He Purapura Ora, he Māra Tipu: From Redress to Puretumu Torowhānui. This presentation analyses the nature of representation in the subsequent policy-making process. I make two main points. First, this groundbreaking process involves survivors leading the development of a redress programme. As a form of policy migration, the role of survivor-leadership depends upon the importation of agency-focussed discourse and practice developed in adjacent fields, such as Indigenous policy-making and Disability advocacy. My second point problematises the nature of representation in the process, arguing that inadequate institutionalisation hampered survivors’ agency in the policy-making process.

Stephen Winter is an associate professor at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. He has published on transitional justice and state wrongdoing, and is an expert on redress programmes for survivors of historical abuse. In 2022, he published *Monetary Redress for Abuse in State Care* (Cambridge University Press). Contact: s.winter@auckland.ac.nz

Memorialisation and Musealisation of “Comfort Women” (2)

Chair: Katharine McGregor

Katharine McGregor is a professor in Southeast Asian history at the University of Melbourne. Her expertise centres on Indonesian history and issues of historical justice and memory. Contact: k.mcgregor@unimelb.edu.au

Lee Moore: Ama Museum – Gender, Museum and Taiwanese Memory in World War II

Moral claims are never alone sufficient to warrant the representation of the violence of the past. The politics of that violence always colors questions of whether or not to represent. As charges and counter-charges pulse around the globe in the wake of violence in the Holy Land, the question of who has the right to represent trauma is at the forefront of the global news cycle. The paper I will present at the Travels “Beyond the Holocaust: Memorialization, Musealization and Representation of Atrocities in Global Dialogue” will seek to link these broader questions of representation to a specific museum, the Ama Museum in Taipei, Taiwan, the only museum that examines the issue of the Comfort Women of Taiwan. During World War II, Taiwan was Japan’s oldest colony. As with many other Japanese colonies, Taiwan’s women were mined as a resource to further Japanese imperial aims. Many women were forced to work in brothels for soldiers. When documents proving this were released in the mid-1990’s, Taiwanese society was undergoing drastic changes, as it shifted from a dictatorship to a democracy and from a polity oriented towards China to one that is increasingly defining itself as different from China. The Comfort Women issue became a casualty of Taiwan’s culture wars. A group closely associated with the pro-China camp created a museum to memorialize the Taiwanese women victimized in Japan’s sex slavery. The museum charts how these women were selected and forced into brothels, offering testimony from the women themselves. The museum also discusses how these women have dealt with the trauma after it ended. Despite the historical evidence, many in Taiwan sought to ignore or downplay the Comfort Women issue. As Taiwan’s populace turned away from the pro-Chinese forces, the Ama Museum was a casualty of this downplaying. The museum had to shut down and move into a smaller space, due to lack of funds. Many in the anti-China, pro-Japanese camp have tried to claim that the violence perpetrated against these women does not warrant representation; some in this camp even suggested that these claims of violence against women by the Japanese empire are false. This paper will look both at the history of the museum, the present state of the museum and the contents of the museum. In May, I was able to visit the museum in its new location, photograph the entirety of the museum’s contents (with the exception of some audio-visual material). Reading this photographic index as a single museum text, this paper will analyze the contents of the museum alongside its socio-political context. It will seek to adumbrate how the politics of museum representation is simply a synecdoche of a larger political battle.

Lee Moore is an adjunct professor at the University of Oregon, teaching courses on Chinese and Taiwanese literature and film. Dr. Moore’s research is focused on museums in China and Taiwan. Dr. Moore also occasionally works in journalism, having contributed to outlets such as *The Economist*, *The China Project* and *The China Books Review*. Contact: aqenbite.lee@gmail.com

Yujie Zhu: Forgetting and Remembering: The Comfort Women Museum in China

In the field of memory and heritage studies, museums and memorials are used to construct and reinterpret the social memories of nation-states and sub-groups within national populations. While much of the scholarship has focused on remembering, this paper highlights the importance of forgetting. Through the lens of the "comfort women" during the Japanese invasion of China in World War II, this paper examines the politics of forgetting and remembering. It delves into how local scholars and students specifically respond to this state amnesia regarding comfort women, employing exhibitions and transnational networks as forms of memory activism. The Comfort Women museum in Shanghai serves as a platform for cultural exchange between activists, scholars, and students from various countries, including the USA, Korea, and Japan. The initiative gained public attention through publication, media promotion, and international networking. In May 2015, these local historians submitted a joint nomination of Documents on the Japanese Military Comfort Women to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register, along with fourteen other NGOs from eight countries. Through an analysis of the politics of forgetting and remembering surrounding the issue of comfort women, the study highlights the role of grassroots exhibitions and commemorative practices in challenging state amnesia and promoting peacebuilding.

*Yujie Zhu is Associate Professor at the Centre for Heritage and Museum Studies at the Australian National University, Australia. With a background in anthropology and critical heritage studies, his research explores the cultural politics of the past within heritage and memory spaces. He is the author and editor of eight books including *Heritage Tourism* (Cambridge 2021), *Heritage Politics in China* (Routledge 2020, with Christina Maags) and a special issue on *Heritage Interpretation, Conflict and Reconciliation in East Asia* (2021). He served as Vice-President of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies from 2014 to 2020. Contact: yujie.zhu@anu.edu.au*

Mohor Chakraborty: Memory, Monuments and Representation: Leitmotif of "Comfort Women" Activism

The impassive, solemn and determined statue of a young girl in Busan, memorialising Japan's perpetration of organised sexual slavery on non-combatant women during the Second World War, sent ripples of discomfiture in political and economic relations between Japan and South Korea (2017). Similar furore over the unveiling of a 'comfort woman' statue in San Francisco (2017) embittered Japan-United States relations, thus exposing the international impact of monuments/statues and its ramifications for 'memory' politics and activism. Other victim nations followed suit. World history is replete with instances of complicity driven by the political dispensation across the Orient and the Occident and official efforts to muffle the same. The Second World War witnessed the perpetration of organised sexual slavery on non-combatant women, "recruited" from different parts of the Asia-Pacific, particularly the Japanese colonies, including Korea, China, Indonesia, Taiwan and the Philippines. Christened as the infamous "Comfort Women" (nearly 200000) system, the Imperial Japanese army was complicit of involvement in, management and systematic perpetuation of this crime, tantamount to a war crime and crime against humanity. Although in the post-World War scenario, Japan refused to acknowledge responsibility for its complicity, in the post-Cold War context, the emergence of Feminist movements, testimonies of surviving 'comfort women' and legal recourse prompted the issue to resurface, forcing Japan to accept responsibility for the same. Given this context, the objective and concerns of this paper are to:

- Situate the significance of memorialisation in contextualising issues of complicity and social justice and analyse its impact on wider international politics;
- Provide a brief historical background unveiling the rationale behind Japan's complicity in establishing the 'comfort women' system, perpetrating gender and social injustice;
- Analyse the reasons, trends and impact of the re-emergence of the 'comfort women' issue in the post-Cold War scenario as a means to seek gender justice, social justice and reparation; and
- Analyse the contemporary responses adopted by the Japanese Government in dealing with the issue, against the backdrop of 'monument activism'

The abstract/paper concludes with an inquiry into whether monuments/memorialisation as 'leitmotif' of perpetration and injustice have been successful in igniting international conscience, while challenging standard narratives provided by the perpetrators.

Mohor Chakraborty is Assistant Professor in Political Science at South Calcutta Girls' College, Kolkata, India. She studies international affairs, Area Studies, with particular focus on South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Indo-Pacific regions, Conflict Resolution & Peace Studies. She is a regular contributor to journals and edited books related to her interest areas. She has presented papers at national and international conferences, adding value to her research and scholarship.

Contact: mohor_5@yahoo.co.in

Chair: Jochen Böhler

Jochen Böhler, PD Dr., is a historian and the director of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies. He is an expert on the history of violence in Eastern Europe in the 20th century. Habilitation at the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena in 2019. As a research associate, Jochen Böhler established the research department "War and Foreign Rule in the Age of Extremes" at the German Historical Institute Warsaw from 2000 to 2010. From 2010 to 2019, he was a research fellow at Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena. Following positions at the Centre for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, at the International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem, and a visiting professorship at Sorbonne University, he most recently represented the professorship of Eastern European History at Friedrich Schiller University in Jena from 2019 to 2022. Contact: jochen.boehler@vwi.ac.at

Katrin Antweiler: The Construction of a Memory-Integration-Nexus in Contemporary Germany as a form of Globalised Holocaust Memory

Historical references to the Holocaust are ubiquitous in Germany's contemporary political and public discourse while the country's ever-changing postmigrant society poses new challenges to long-standing mnemonic practices, as has been heatedly discussed over the past years. Since 2017, claims that newly arriving migrants should be educated in Holocaust history became louder and eventually culminated in a revised curriculum for the mandatory integration- and orientation courses, which newly arriving migrants who do not yet speak German are obliged to attend. Premised on the conviction that Holocaust memory and education has the ability to convey core values of German society, this new curriculum aims at historical literacy for the purpose of igniting, amongst the newcomers, a sense of national identification and responsibility for their new society. At the same time, so the hypothesis I will discuss, the mandatory Holocaust education in integration courses is increasingly becoming a disciplinary mechanism that predominantly targets those migrants who are racialized as "Arabs". I will thus argue that such memory politics risk to exclude people from the "national culture" by neglecting responses to Holocaust history that might look different to the ones expected by mainstream society. By drawing from ongoing ethnographic research into different memory-educational programs for refugees in Germany, I seek to illustrate how paradoxes of plural democracy are negotiated on the basis of mnemonic practices and the construction of a collective memory more generally. The paper will thus provide crucial insights into a very specific settings in which the still emerging nexus between a normative national memory and Germany's politics of integration is being constructed as well as contested. At the same time, I will explore how the here discussed German context, especially the logic behind the integration course's curriculum that assumes an intrinsic connection between memory education and an increase in respect for democracy, draws from the globally traveled Holocaust-human rights nexus that is mentioned in the conference call. This way, my presentation delves into a complex setting of global dialogue on Holocaust memory by focusing on the ways in which this dialogue is restricted by national discourse and narrative structure while simultaneously contesting it.

Katrin Antweiler is a cultural theorist with special interest in memory studies. She currently works as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Bremen (Germany), where she leads the project entitled “Remembrance as a social norm? Paradoxes of collective memory in the postmigrant society”. Katrin received her PhD in 2022 from Justus-Liebig University Giessen (Germany) for a work on the governmentality of Holocaust memorialization in human rights museums and has many years of experience as an educator at different Holocaust-related memorial sites around Berlin. Contact: k.antweiler@uni-bremen.de

Susanne Luhmann: Nazi Family History Beyond Black and White: Responsibility, Race, and the (Re)Making of German Identity

For decades now, members of the German post-war generations have publically broken the silences and secrecy that long surrounded the role of beloved (and not so beloved) family members (fathers, brothers, uncles, increasingly grandfathers and, to a lesser degree, mothers and grandmothers) during National Socialism – as perpetrators, bystanders, supporters, sympathizers and collaborators. A commonly used byline marks much in this vast canon as, specifically, *German* (family) stories. Indeed, having - and disclosing - a Nazi family history might well have newly emerged as a constitutive part of *Germanness*. In this crowded field, Jennifer Teege’s (2013) memoir, published in its English translation in 2015 with the sensational title *My Grandfather Would Have Shot Me: A Black Woman Discovers Her Family’s Nazi Past*, still stands out. Teege tells the story of her traumatizing discovery that Amon Goeth, the sadistic commander of the Platzow Concentration camp, was her grandfather. As a Black kid raised by her white upper-middle-class adoptive family in Munich, Teege knew her white biological mother, but not that her mother was the love child of her beloved grandmother’s affair with the infamous commander at Platzow. In this paper, I juxtapose Teege’s sensational memoir about coming to terms with being related to an infamous Nazi perpetrator with the performance and exhibition project *Stricken* by Madga Korsinsky, work inspired by Teege’s book. Based on interviews with Afro-German women about their white grandmothers who had lived through National Socialism, on the surface, Korsinky’s work is about the quotidian of daily life, values and habits passed on from white grandmothers and, in turn, adopted, questioned, altered, or rejected by their biracial granddaughters. However, similar to Teege’s, at the heart of the work are broader questions of inheritance and responsibility: what legacies do grandmothers, while not infamous perpetrators but “ordinary German women,” bestow upon their mixed-race granddaughters? And how are responsibilities in the present for a violent national past, if any, when refracted through racialization? A central focus of my analysis concerns the dilemmas of genealogical implication raised by Michael Rothberg (2019): How are questions of responsibility made more complicated in Teege’s and Korsinski’s work, respectively, given the history of persecution of Black people in the Nazi state and the ambivalent status of Black Germans even today? I argue that Teege’s and Korsinski’s respective projects, differently so, challenge and politicize the still pervasive perception of Germany’s whiteness, and they do so by bending well-established narratives of historical responsibility beyond the black and white of *the German* post-war family legacy.

Susanne Luhmann is a professor at the Department of Women’s and Gender Studies, University of Alberta, in Canada. Contact: luhmann@ualberta.ca

Luisa Bauer: Championing Memory: On the Export of German Memory Culture to Peru

The (left-wing) military government (1968–1975), its overthrow, the attempt at democratization and the subsequent internal armed conflict (1980–2000) in the Andean state of Perú play a marginalized role in the global reception and also differ significantly from other conflicts on the Latin American continent. The internal armed conflict in Peru (1980–2000) has been officially addressed since the opening of the state museum Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social (LUM) in the Peruvian capital Lima in 2015. The civilian Museo de la Memoria - para que no se repita in Ayacucho had already opened in 2005 just five years after the official end of the conflict. Initially, both were financed by German development funds provided by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and the German Development Cooperation (GIZ). In addition to the financial support, it was the German representatives who in both cases brought the idea of a musealization of the conflict to life and furthermore who shaped the museum script of the LUM. My contribution would focus primarily on three aspects: 1) the demonstration of how and why the German representatives worked primarily with Peru's intellectual elite – including Mario Vargas Llosa – and mostly ignored local museum workers like Buntinx who had already warned against a museum-like mimicry of European institutions by formerly colonized countries in 2006. 2) the issue of accessibility by pointing out how the LUM was built in the capital of the centralist state and located in the richest and most touristic part of the city (on a former landfill). Yet the violence has mainly affected the indigenous population in rural areas, e.g. Ayacucho. 3) the consequences of its immediacy with which the German institutions provided funds and experts (only 5 and 8 years after the Peruvian conflict, whereas Germany took decades to musealize their memory) prevented South-South-cooperations with Chile or Colombia, for example. My proposal challenges the involvement of German memory politics as a matter for depriving other societies of the opportunity to come to terms with any development with regard to the particularity of their history and formats. I continue Bodemann's and Czollek's analyses of German politics of memory: Germany can not only be considered (and criticized) as self-proclaimed "memory world champion", but also as "memory export world champion". I will address the question, if the German impact can be considered as part of a memory industry complex. To this end I will articulate Jewish, migrant, and decolonial critiques of German memory culture as well as of politics itself so as to incorporate them into a reflection of the German-Peruvian cooperation on memory. I offer an analysis of a specific relationship between the movement of memory in and across global contexts that will demonstrate the extent to which global references of memory are institutionalized.

***Luisa E. Bauer** studied Philosophy and Sociology in Germany and Spain at the University of Mainz and Universidad de Granada (B.A.), respectively, Media Culture and Art Theories at the University of Art and Design Linz (M.A.) in Austria. After a research stay in Peru in 2022, she completed her studies in 2023 with a thesis on the history of entanglement of museums of both Germany and Peru („Museos de la Memoria: On the promotion of museums of memory by German institutions in Peru“) supervised by Gudrun Rath. From 2016 to 2023, she received a scholarship from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's scholarship program for gifted students. Since October 2023 she has been a research associate and doctoral candidate at the Department of Art and Society at the University of Kassel and the documenta Institute. Over the course of this, she has become a member of traces - Transdisciplinary Research Center for Exhibition Studies. Contact: luisa.bauer@uni-kassel.de*

Joseph Ngoaketsi/Zat Makaba: “Never Again”: The Influence of the Holocaust in Memorialisation, Commemoration, Representation, and Musealization of the 21 March Sharpeville Massacre

In all accounts, 21 March 1960 exposed the inhumane nature of colonial apartheid in South Africa. The ruthless and violent mass slaughter of unarmed Pass Laws protestors by the police, which left 82 people dead, and scores wounded became the symbol of the evil of the apartheid system. This incident, historians agree apartheid regime one of the key watershed in the history of twentieth-century South Africa. It also marked a turning point and further altered the course of the liberation struggle in the contemporary history of the struggle against *apartheid* which created a cyclical pattern that would continue for the next thirty years. In 1966, the United Nations General Assembly declared the 21 March an International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in solidarity with the victims of the massacre and observed this day since then. It further pronounced apartheid as a crime against humanity although no one has ever been prosecuted for this crime following this massacre. In the 1990s, the African National Congress infused the famous holocaust mantra ('Never Again') in its anniversary commemorative themes of the Sharpeville Massacre. In the post-1994 democratic South Africa, the official narrative of how this day should be recalled invoked as a point of reference elements of the holocaust in the debates and critiques of how the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville uprisings should be memorialised and commemorated. Though the Holocaust is an event that took place predominantly in Europe, the memory of it has a strong presence in South Africa. Drawing evidence from interviews and participant observation of the participatory commemoration of Sharpeville Massacre events post 1994 characterised by Jewish and descendants of Holocaust victims and survivors to Sharpeville memorials and exhibition center and comparative analyses of homogenized rituals (wreath-laying, vigils, and lighting candles) as well as famous mantras (*Never Again* and *Human Rights*), on how this day is recalled and observed. The paper analyses how the communicative memory politics of the Holocaust is influencing the commemoration, memorialisation and modes of visual representation in the Sharpeville exhibition centre which is based on the culture of permanency of artifacts-driven representation is influenced and inspired by Holocaust museums and permanent exhibitions around the world such as the Imperial War Museum in London, Jewish Museum Berlin and the Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre as educational tools to visitors.

Joseph Ngoaketsi is a pre-doctoral cultural history researcher at the University of Witwatersrand. His research interests are historical memory studies, Archives and Records Management. Contact: ngoakmj@unisa.ac.za

Zat Makaba is an MA History student and a Research Assistant at the North West University, South Africa. His research interests are Memory Studies, Museums, Archives & Heritage, and Biographies. Contact: zat.makaba@gmail.com

18:00-19:30 Session 12 | VWI

Roundtable: Celebrating #10: The Historical Dialogues, Justice, and Memory Network

Chairs: Katharine McGregor, Stephen Winter

Katharine McGregor is a professor in Southeast Asian history at the University of Melbourne. Her expertise centres on Indonesian history and issues of historical justice and memory.

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Stephen Winter, associate Professor at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, publishes works in transitional justice and redress for survivors of abuse in out of home care. His most recent book is *Monetary Redress for Abuse in State Care* (Cambridge University Press 2022).

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Participants: Nanci Adler, Alexander Karn, Éva Kovács, Ariella Lang, Klaus Neumann, Baskara Wardaya

The Historical Dialogues, Justice, and Memory Network was set up in 2010 and hosted its first international conference in 2012. The hosting of conferences – which so far have been held in North America, Europe and Australia – has been one of the key activities of the Network, alongside organizing seminars, maintaining an active online presence, seeking out the voices of scholars, activists and advocates in the fields of historical and transitional justice, historical dialogue, social and public memory. To mark the Network's tenth international conference, members of its Steering Committee will reflect on its mission, the questions that inspired its foundation, the projects it has undertaken over the past fourteen years, and visions for its future.

Thursday, 27 June

09:00-11:00 Session 13 | ÖAW Sitzungssaal

Nationalism and Memory Politics in Micro Perspective

Chair: Éva Kovács

Éva Kovács, Prof. Dr., deputy director of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, sociologist, studied sociology and economics at the Corvinus University in Budapest, Habilitation 2009. She is also a Research Professor at the Centre for Social Sciences/Hungarian Academy of Sciences Centre of Excellence in Budapest. Her research fields are the history of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe, research on memory and remembrance, and Jewish identity in Hungary and Slovakia. Contact: eva.kovacs@vwi.ac.at

Béla Bodó: “Jewish Pain? Socialist Pain? – No Pain at All:” The Place of the White Terror in Hungarian Collective Memory, from 1920 to the Present

This presentation will explore the memory practices associated with the White Terror from 1920 to the present. The White Terror, which represented the “hot phase” of the counterrevolution in Hungary in the fall and winter of 1919 and the early spring of 1920, claimed the lives of about 3000 people. At least one-third of the victims were Jews. The same period witnessed at least 60 pogroms and anti-Jewish riots in the country. The White Terror was the largest outburst of anti-Jewish violence in Hungary before the Holocaust. Religious and ethnic hatred manifested itself not only in violent attacks on Jews: the White Terror also gave birth to one of the most important antisemitic legislation of the period, the *numerus clausus* law of September 1920 (which limited the yearly intake of Jewish students to the Jewish share in the general population) and to other, less obviously anti-Jewish measures, such as the land reform law passed in the same year. These laws provided the model for the antisemitic laws of the late 1930s and early 1940s, and thus paved the way, indirectly, to the long and “twisted road to Auschwitz.” The presentation will focus on art (drawings, paintings, memorial plates, and sculptures) and street signs, which adorned (or can still be seen in) parks, town squares and cemeteries. The presentation will deal with the origins of these objects (the changing place -- against the background of major political events -- of the White Terror in collective memory); the worldview and political intentions of the artists and their sponsors; form as politics – the aestheticization of political content; the role of the memorials in the yearly ceremonies; and, last but not least, the meanings of the memorials and the ceremonies to both the active participants and the passive spectators. Special emphasis will be placed on the conflict between public and private commemoration, and the role of the Jewish victims and their family members in the memorial practices. The presentation will deal with the destruction of the Soviet Republic monuments after 1990, and the rise of the cult of the political and paramilitary leaders who either ordered the atrocities or directly participated in anti-Jewish violence during the counterrevolution. Finally, I will discuss the commemoration of the Red Terror (against the background of the suppression of the public memory of right-wing paramilitary and mob violence against Jews and socialists), as the best indicator of the right-wing shift in Hungarian political life and culture in the last twenty years.

Béla Bodó teaches East-Central European history at the university of His last works include Black Humor and the White Terror (London: Routledge, 2023), which deal with Jewish responses to paramilitary and mob violence in Hungary after WWI. Contact: bbodo@uni-bonn.de

Sarah Grandke: Controversial “Memory Activists” and Silenced Memory: Ukrainian Nationalists, their Global Trajectories and Flossenbürg Concentration Camp Memorial 1947-1950

In the immediate years after World War Second and while waiting for years in Germany some Displaced Persons (DPs) became energetic “memory activists” (Gutman/Wüstenberg 2023). Among them were Nazi survivors but by far not only. Following Allied definition, Displaced Persons were people outside their country of origin. Most of them were from Eastern Europe. All of them were considered in need of help, especially in returning home. However often there was no home left or reason to go back. Whereas more research on Jewish DP-commemoration has been done, this is not the case for the in size much bigger group of non-Jewish DPs. Though, a large-scale memorial-park in Flossenbürg (located in North East Bavaria, about 100 kilometers from Regensburg, Germany) was one of the first Concentration Camp Memorial Sites in Germany ever built - 1946 and the following years –, these mostly (non-Jewish) DP activities are largely forgotten. Or more precise and in Trouillot’s sense: due to language barriers, ambivalences as well as contested past(s) and narratives, made forgotten. Over time other groups and individuals from Western and Eastern Europe as well as Germany became involved in Flossenbürg. Today the engagement of Western survivors and their decedents as well as Germans in this early memorial project is well known. Yet, already in mid-1947, new and very conflicted DP “memory activists” joined and also used the memorial project for their political agenda. Until now, ultra-nationalistic “memory activists” from Ukraine, Lithuania and Latvia had not been much noticed. In fact, there has been a lack of interest and research into non-Jewish DP memorial projects in general and so also into (ultra-)nationalistic ones. Partly due to languages barriers as well as unknown and uncovered sources in community archives, but also one might guess, because of the difficulty of the topic itself. Was it hijacking memory of victims of Second World War? Holocaust distortion? An attempt to whitewash one’s own involvement and crimes alongside the German National Socialists? Today material on that topic is scattered around the globe as most of the DP “memory activists” emigrated all over the world, mainly at the end of the 1940s. A large number of sources have only recently been found. This now makes it possible for the first time to analyze the internal perspectives of these other memory activists. The paper uncovers uncomfortable perspectives on early memorial projects in Germany and Austria, that have been ignored so far. How did these DP activities – despite language barriers, internal and external tensions, their marginalized position and only temporary presence as well as resentments by the German population - had an impact beyond their respective group(s)? Which long-term and globally widespread trajectories and networks can now be identified? How did heterogeneous backgrounds, political agendas and mindsets influence DP memory activism?

Sarah Grandke, curator and historian, currently visiting research fellow at the Sydney Jewish Museum, Australia and scholarship holder of the German based Heinrich-Böll Foundation. She is a PhD candidate at the Institute for Eastern and Southeast European Studies at the University of Regensburg (Working title “From Intermediate Station to Action Space - Life Paths, Networks and Memory(s) of Displaced Persons in Flossenbürg 1946/47”; advisor: Prof. Dr. Guido Hausmann/University of Regensburg and Ass. Prof. Anna Holian/Arizona State University). 2018 to 2023, she was curator at the Hamburg

Documentation Center "denk.mal Hannoverscher Bahnhof" on Nazi deportations of Jewish and Romani people and previously that staff of Flossenbürg Concentration Camp Memorial, the Munich Documentation Center for the History of National Socialism and Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial. Contact: SarahGrandke@gmx.de

Andrew Weinstein: Meshes of Nazism, Neo-Nazism and the Confederacy: Stories of Opposition to Monuments that Honor the American Doctor J. Marion Sims

My paper examines recent responses to public monuments honoring the nineteenth-century American medical pioneer J. Marion Sims, the “father of modern gynecology” who conducted research on enslaved women, without anesthesia. I explore the extent to which American attitudes have developed in reaction 1) against American Neo-Nazi ideology, and 2) in imitation of present-day German responses to Nazi history. In the American Alt-Right, the fusion of Neo-Nazism with support of the Confederacy (the pro-slavery South during the American Civil War), alongside recent eruptions of Alt-Right violence, have influenced public opinion that Confederate symbols are not about heritage, as advocates had long claimed, but instead about hate. The murder of nine worshippers in a South Carolina church in 2015 by a gunman who held Neo-Nazi beliefs and who posed with a Confederate flag catalyzed political action to remove that flag from the statehouse grounds. Soon thereafter, in 2017, when Alt-Right demonstrators demanding the preservation of a Confederate monument rallied in Charlottesville, Virginia, murdered a counter-protestor, and inspired President Donald J. Trump to infamously say that there were “very fine people on both sides,” politicians across the political spectrum in the South to remove Confederate monuments from public space. The mayor of Columbia, South Carolina, the seat of the state capitol, declared that the most offensive statue on the statehouse grounds was the 1929 bust of J. Marion Sims (who was originally South Carolinian). At this point, activists and politicians in New York City took note of their own Sims monument, created in 1894 and located in a place of honor in front of the New York Academy of Medicine, but disagreed on a course of action. Some demanded its removal. Others opted for adding a plaque or another sculpture alongside it honoring the enslaved women on whom Sims had experimented. Harriet Washington, author of the pioneering 2007 study *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present* – the study which had first turned critical attention to Sims – initially advocated preservation. Then Washington visited Germany and took note of its zero-tolerance policy in categorically refusing to honor any Nazi, and she changed her mind. In public forums about the New York monument, comments demanding that the statue be removed compared Sims to Nazi doctors and invoked Germany for its refusal to honor them. In 2018 the New York monument was removed. Through it all, prominent voices in the American medical establishment dismissed criticism of Sims and defended him, above all on account of his indisputable achievements. Their support, I conclude, sends a dubious message, as does the surviving Sims bust in South Carolina and a 1939 Sims statue in Montgomery, Alabama. By tacitly implying that the ends justify the means, as Nazi doctors believed, continued public honor for such a doctor may well suggest to medical researchers today and tomorrow that they, too, might receive esteem for pioneering achievements notwithstanding ethical failures.

Andrew Weinstein is a professor of art history at the Fashion Institute of Technology, State University of New York, and a curator of exhibitions of contemporary art, including *Mastering Death: Artistic Perspectives – Contemporary Artists on Medical Ethics from the Nazi Doctors’ Trial to the Present at*

the Josephinum, Medical University of Vienna, and, most recently, Baneful Medicine at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York. His academic writing focuses chiefly on the ethical mandates and challenges of Holocaust representation in contemporary art. Contact: andrew_weinstein@fitnyc.edu

Graziela Ares: Primo Levi and Kossuth Square: The Use of Memory to Tell History

In his book "If this is a man?", Primo Levi relies on his personal experiences and memory to register his most dramatic experiences during Holocaust. In his autobiography (or autoethnography) as a witness, Levi is not a mere narrator. He has a deep and sharp consciousness of his physical and emotional existence and analyzes the concentration camp as an organism, which included the perpetrators of the most sordid violence. In his last book, "The Drowned and the Saved", Levi is more reflexive about his own work and the contributions of others to use memory to tell history. At that time, he problematized the use of memory to replace history. The author was anticipating a problem that was exacerbated after the Cold War: the uprising of the political use of memory and the commemoration politics against scientific history. The increase of right-wing populism and severe polarization in the 21st century may happen in different ways and use other toolkits, but the de-humanization inflicted to impose the beliefs and interests of a group over imagined "others", as registered in the memories of Levi, is still actual even within [self-proclaimed] democracies and [supposed] rule of law. My research uses memory studies and the Hungarian illiberal democracy experiences, since 2010, to demonstrate that Levi's concerns and experiences are contemporary and relevant.

"We do not recognise the communist constitution of 1949, since it was the basis for tyrannical rule; we therefore proclaim it to be invalid. We agree with the Members of the first free National Assembly, which proclaimed as its first decision that our current liberty was born of our 1956 Revolution. We date the restoration of our country's self-determination, lost on the nineteenth day of March 1944, from the second day of May 1990, when the first freely elected organ of popular representation was formed. We shall consider this date to be the beginning of our country's new democracy and constitutional order."

The above excerpt of its preamble and the Hungarian Constitution of 2011 are the ground to problematize how ideological narratives have been used to justify political acts that affect material and symbolically the collective memory and consciousness of Hungarians and their impact on public spaces. From the analysis of the impact of the Imre Steindl Program and the Parliamentary Resolution 61/2011 (VII. 13) OGY on Kossuth Square in Budapest and its monuments (individually and collectively), I expect to demonstrate how democratic institutions are used to legitimate the (re)creation of the "Square of the Nation" in the name of a "pseudo consensus" about the years between 1944 and 1990. I will also analyze how such material and symbolic change is "romanticizing" the period between World Wars, recalling people of (supposed) collective traumas, distancing the country of its share of responsibility for the violent events in the past, and erasing the urban traces of Communism and 1956 Revolution from the surroundings of the Hungarian Parliament.

Graziela Ares is a PhD candidate in "Discourses: Culture, History and Society" at the Centre for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra. The author's PhD research "Carving Hungarian Illiberal Democracy in Stones: The Recreation of the Past in Kossuth Square since 2010" is funded by a studentship granted by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology - FCT, I.P. Contact: grazielaares@ces.uc.pt

09:00-11:00 Session 14 | ÖAW Seminarraum 1

Whose Narrative Afterlives? Global Reflections on Strategies of Transitional Justice in “Post”-Conflict Societies

Chair: Nanci Adler

Nanci Adler is Professor of Memory, History and Transitional Justice, a chair established by the NIOD, the University of Amsterdam, and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. Her current research focuses on transitional justice, the Gulag, the legacy of Communism, oral history, and memory. Adler currently serves on the Academic Advisory Board of the Simon Wiesenthal Institute, International Advisory Board for the Journal for Genocide Research, the Steering Committee of the Historical Dialogues, Justice and Memory Network, and is delegate to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. Contact: n.Adler@niod.knaw.nl

Katie Wu: When ‘the duty of forgiveness’ isn’t ‘plain and simple’: Rethinking Petitions for Land in the Post-bellum U.S. South

In the wake of the U.S. Civil War, formerly enslaved Black men and women petitioned the federal government and the newly established Freedmen’s Bureau, making material claims for property and military pensions. As the United States entered a period of Reconstruction and transitioned from a slave to “free” society, Black Americans carved out new meanings of citizenship in a post-emancipation world. For the historian, this moment offers a rich papertrail of testimonies from Americans who lived in bondage. At the same time, this presentation illustrates that testimonies that reached the Freedmen’s Bureau must be considered as mediated political strategies: through their testimonies, Black petitioners confronted, challenged, and at times, observed logics of loyalty, deservedness, and forgiveness determined valuable by the U.S. government. By looking at two petitions written by a committee of freedpeople in South Carolina in the fall of 1865, I investigate these material claims for land by exploring the *literary genre* of the petition and uncovering the *petitioners* themselves. In doing so, this presentation also considers the ways in which the circulation and reproduction of historical sources become themselves forms of memorialization of atrocities that can inadvertently simplify our collective understanding of historical calls for redress. Even though the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade has been considered within the history of genocide, fewer historians have written about the U.S. as a post-genocide society. At the same time, while the history of petitioning is well documented, I argue that petitioning as a literary and political form offers insight into how historical actors thought about redress through articulating harm and proposing a remedy. This presentation focuses on oft-quoted but under-explored petitions written by a committee of freedpeople on Edisto Island, South Carolina, that emerges out of this context. While the Edisto Island petitions have long captured the attention of scholars of the Reconstruction Era and are often used in high school curriculum, the petitioners themselves have been effectively blurred out by the archive. Through genealogical research, archival petitions, and historical maps, this paper traces the afterlives of these three petitioners – Henry Bram, Ishmael Moultrie, and Yates Sampson – as they forged their way in a postwar South. Secondly this paper illustrates how the authors relied on the long-standing political genre of petitioning and articulated their right to land they had made valuable. The genre of the petition made these testimonies of suffering during slavery legible, but also limited what freedpeople might demand of a newly established federal government. Finally, in exploring the

pervasiveness of these petitions in histories of Reconstruction, the presentation invites questions on how these sources are considered today. If material claims for repair and reparations are contingent on testimonies of suffering bound in the logics of deservingness, then how do we as scholars interpret these narratives of historical harm? In looking at these petitions, I consider how testimonies of historical harm and the material demands of survival in a “post-conflict” society function together.

Katie F. G. Wu (*she/her*) is a second-year History PhD student at the University of Virginia, where she studies race, land, and memory in the post-Civil War Era in the United States. She is especially interested in the social and political landscapes that animated movements for redress and reparations. Prior to her graduate work, she served on the Equal Justice Initiative’s curatorial team as the Project Manager of exhibits for the 40,000 sq. foot expansion of the internationally-recognized Legacy Museum: From Enslavement to Mass Incarceration located in Montgomery, Alabama. Katie also works as an archival researcher for the Memory Project, a public history project documenting the slave trade in Charlottesville’s Court Square, and as an oral historian for the Repair Lab, where she leads interviews in coastal Virginia with communities impacted by environmental threats. Katie graduated magna cum laude in 2017 from Harvard University’s History and Literature undergraduate program, and received her Masters in History from UVA in May 2024. Contact: gpg6uj@virginia.edu

Tyler J. Goldberger: Exhuming Spain’s “Glorious Crusade”: Contested memories and strategies of reckoning at the Valley of Cuelgamuros

Deemed the “Spanish Holocaust” by historian Paul Preston, the Spanish Civil War, along with its national and global consequences, mobilized memory practices that have arguably defined Spain since 1936. Spain’s public and private landscapes hold over 100,000 Republican victims whose corpses remain unidentified and unmarked in mass graves across the country, the second largest disappeared population globally. This includes the thousands of victims buried and forgotten under the Valley of Cuelgamuros, a connoted fascist site of memory that embodies the contestations of Spain’s historical memory landscape. The polyvocal narrative afterlives of this site illustrate the shifting meaning, interpretation, and memorialization of Spain’s bloody civil war in contemporary times. The Valley, through its twenty-first century resignification, serves as a microcosm for the strategic disinterment, interment, and reinterment efforts to tell a more complete Spanish past in the present. As a site at the nexus of delegitimizing fascist iconography and idealizing Franco, the 150 meter tall, 47 meter wide mausoleum reveals how sites of memory amplify and extend practices from other regions undergoing transitional justice work. Spanish civil society has learned from and expanded upon the forensic anthropology work spearheaded by Latin American activists to serve as an international leader in literally and figuratively *unearthing* the memories of its 20th century violence. On April 1, 1940, the one-year anniversary of the coup’s defeat of the democratically elected government, Dictator Francisco Franco decreed the construction of a civil war monument to honor those who died for Spain’s “glorious crusade” against its leftist population. Franco elected to move and enshrine the remains of fascist political party leader Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera while tossing another 30,000 bodies under this site without properly acknowledging these victims. Upon Franco’s natural death in 1975, the dictator’s trusted officials decided to place him prominently across from Primo de Rivera’s corpse in this evolving fascist mausoleum. Heavy silence regarding Spain’s violent past persisted until 2000, when human rights activist Emilio Silva publicly completed the first exhumation of Spanish Civil

War victims, disinterring and identifying his grandfather and twelve other victims of Franco's regime. Proclaiming "my grandfather was also a disappeared," he evoked transnational human rights rhetoric stemming from Argentina and Chile to catalyze a generation of memory resignification. This movement has spurred a generation of removing fascist hagiography from the Valley, exhuming and reinterring Franco and Primo de Rivera, and demanding the government identify and relocate the remains of Franco's victims underneath this mausoleum and throughout the nation. The Valley exemplifies a globalized network of memory practices emphasizing exhumations, resignification, and civil society in becoming a more polyvocal, and therefore more truly national, site of memorialization. Using Francisco Ferrándiz's *Necropolitics* as a foundation, this paper will argue that exhumations serve as a prominent strategy for redress following contested violent pasts, illustrating symbols, debates, and protests of historical memory. Ultimately, this paper will emphasize Spain as a crucial case study for "post"-conflict societies reckoning with narrative afterlives of human rights atrocities in the public sphere.

Tyler J. Goldberger (he/him) is a fifth-year History PhD candidate and public historian specializing in historical memory. His research interests surround sites of memory, transnationalism, and human rights in the United States and Spain in the 20th and 21st centuries. His dissertation, tentatively entitled, "*These memories cannot be wiped': Remembering, Forgetting, and Silencing the Spanish Civil War and Francisco Franco's Dictatorship in the United States, 1937-1962,*" examines how different sectors of the American population cared about Spain over the course of the mid-twentieth century, including the interweaving memories of those in the United States raising awareness, funds, and support for Spanish Republican exiles and against Franco Spain. Tyler's research has been generously supported by the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, New York Public Library, Duke University Human Rights Archive, and Charles E. Scheidt Teaching & Research Grant for Atrocity Prevention, among others. Contact: tjgoldberger@wm.edu

Ayleen Correa: Caring Laterally Through Violence: La Cuarenta's Transformation from Torture Site to Community

How to build a home on the silenced remains of violence? This is the question that *Las Fundadoras* (The Founders), a group of women in the Cristo Rey neighborhood of the Dominican Republic, inherited from their families. *Las Fundadoras'* roots sprout from the complicated legacy of Cristo Rey: a place marked by the remains of one of the largest clandestine torture sites, *La Cuarenta* (The 40), utilized during Rafael Trujillo's dictatorship (1930-1961). In 1961, after the dictator was assassinated, clandestine torture sites such as *La Cuarenta* became one of the spatial spectacles for the country's re-democratization. Silence and dislocation became synonymous with urbanization and development – two processes deemed necessary to move from dictatorship to democracy. President Joaquin Balaguer, the former dictator's right-hand political partner, declared the urbanization of Cristo Rey in 1978, displacing community members, including *Las Fundadoras* and their ancestors, from their homes. Simultaneously, this project attempted to interrupt national claims for justice and accountability by dislocating narratives of violence from the land. Clandestine torture sites were to be clandestinely buried into displaced silence. However, as *Las Fundadoras* and their families resisted displacement from their homes, they also produced a counterculture to, borrowing from Michel-Rolph

Trouillot, the “silencing of the past”: the loud act of caring for their community’s wellbeing. Many of *Las Fundadoras* are the offspring of the first inhabitants who informally populated the *montes y culebras* (hills and snakes) of what is today Cristo Rey. These families were early migrants from the interior rural areas. They lived around *La Cuarenta* before it became a torture site. As clandestine activity took place in *La Cuarenta*, the violence loudly haunted their community. For them, the disappearing, torturing, and killing of thousands of people during the dictatorship was not a clandestine act. It was happening near their homes. Very few records remain due to intentional destruction. In the aftermath of the dictatorship, violence to silence continued, enacted by state-condoned terrorist groups like La Banda Colorá. Yet, *Las Fundadoras* and their ancestors educated the growing community about the history of Cristo Rey. Unsilencing the past became their clandestine goal. They exercised a politic of “lateral care,” which according to Christine Sharpe, is the act of tending to the people around you, acknowledging their humanity - and history - while remembering the possibility of violence. Lateral care is an act of defiance for *Las Fundadoras*, where homemaking and love became pillars of a community targeted with violence, silence, and ongoing displacement. They became the teachers of the newly built school, mothers for children made parentless, caregivers of the sick, and defenders against La Banda Colorá’s raids. Cristo Rey and the land of former *La Cuarenta* was their home. In this presentation grounded on Black feminist theories, I will share some lessons from *Las Fundadoras* and the possibilities lateral care enables as a path to address traumatic collective memory and resist ongoing violence. This project also engages in the localized creation and intergenerational sustainability of counter-hegemonic memory as well as community-centered healing from trauma.

Ayleen Paola Correa Rodriguez (she/her) is a Ph.D. student in Anthropology and History at the University of Michigan - Ann Arbor. Her research interests surround the politics of spatial and community reconciliation post- state-led or state-condoned violence, especially in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Ayleen is also interested in topics on mental health, healing, trauma-informed methodologies, and intergenerational historical trauma. Contact: ayleenc@umich.edu

Lucy Gaynor: The Right to Judge the Doorkeeper: Reckoning with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

The 26-year international justice project for Rwanda, championed and conducted by the United Nations, ended with a “slap in the face of victims and survivors”. On 7 August 2023, the Appeals Chamber at the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Trials (IRMCT) - the judicial body which took over the functions of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) - ruled that 88-year-old former businessman Félicien Kabuga was unfit to stand trial for crimes against humanity and genocide. Contrary to the decision of the Trial Chamber to proceed with an “examination of the facts”, an unprecedented and untested mode of examination within international criminal law, the Appeals Chamber insisted upon an “indefinite stay of proceedings.” Kabuga had been charged with crimes against humanity and genocide. He had been accused of running Rwanda’s most popular radio station, RTLM, which incited violence against the Tutsi ethnic minority, as well as funding the Interahamwe, Rwanda’s militias which carried out much of the violence. Narrated in early ICTR trials as something of a ‘mastermind’ behind Rwanda’s 1994 genocide, the spectre of Kabuga hovered over the entire 26-

year UN tribunal. His unfinished trial not only thwarted a potential conviction. It also failed to reconcile or verify any of the vague narratives about his past which had been generated through other trials. Attempts to explain, understand, or represent atrocities in their aftermath are here defined as 'narrative afterlives'. The UN's judicial representations of atrocity can be considered one iteration of the narrative afterlife of the violence in Rwanda. This presentation will examine fluctuating representations of the genocide in Rwanda within the UN's post-genocide justice initiative. The tribunal's 26-year lifespan allows a unique perspective on judicial reckonings with atrocity, and the temporal challenges of representing atrocity within a judicial framework. Judgements written by ICTR judges became less certain about historical 'truths' as the tribunal progressed. As an institution, the ICTR became simultaneously more historically knowledgeable and less historically confident about the genocide's causes and planning, as well as epistemology and interpretations of facts. Beginning from a Holocaust template of how genocide happens, informed largely by the Nuremberg trials, judicial practitioners had to rethink their initial assumptions that what happened in Rwanda was 'tropical Nazism'. Using transcripts, press releases, and media coverage, this presentation will consider: How suitable are individual criminal trials to build representations of atrocity? How 'global' is the dialogue of the UN-run ICTR? It will argue that the long-term nature of the ICTR had unique consequences on the international 'atrocity narrative' of Rwanda, the complications of which are still being felt today. The ICTR's confident-yet-confused representation of the Rwandan genocide has resulted in an inability to truly grapple with its failings as a mechanism of transitional justice. Addressing these questions will expand our understanding of the complications and contradictions inherent in long-term, internationalised, transitional justice initiatives. The shifting representations of atrocities within the Rwanda tribunal, and the top-down imposition of these representations, need problematising if we are to understand the narrative afterlife of post-genocide legal transitional justice.

Lucy Gaynor is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Amsterdam, and NIOD-Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide studies. Her thesis is tentatively titled "Narrating (In)Justice: The Creation of Historical Narratives within International Criminal Trials". It focuses on the creation of historical narratives through the constrained, enticed, and abridged testimony of expert witnesses before a variety of international tribunals and courts. Her PhD will focus on such expert witness testimonies at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, and the International Criminal Court. Beyond her thesis, Lucy's research interests broadly encompass themes of transitional justice, international criminal law, colonial and postcolonial violence, and the creation of narratives about past violence. Contact: l.j.gaynor@uva.nl

Chair: Carol Gluck

Carol Gluck is the George Sansom Professor of History Emerita at Columbia University. A historian of modern Japan, she also writes on global memories of the Second World War. Contact: cq9@columbia.edu

Emily Matson: Complicity and the Cold War: The Long Shadow of Unit 731 in Sino-US Relations

Simply put, the Holocaust “counts for all of us as the supremely horrible crime of the twentieth century.” Less well-known in the west, however, is the Japanese Kwantung Army’s Unit 731, a site of horrific human experimentation conducted by Ishii Shirō and his colleagues between 1936 to 1945. These inhumane experiments were, like Josef Mengele’s infamous experiments on twins at Auschwitz, chillingly macabre: the ultimate example of a “perverse science” that stripped the victims of their human dignity. Subjects would be injected with a variety of pathogens and subjected to extreme conditions to determine the length of time until death. Ishii alone conducted human experiments related to “botulism, brucellosis, gas gangrene, glanders, influenza, meningococcus, plague, smallpox, tetanus, and tularemia.” He subjected his victims to extreme frostbite, gas gangrene, mustard-gas tests, and pressure. Understandably, the painful memory of such atrocities is still acute in both China and the diaspora community today. However, added to the pain of the Japanese military atrocities is the afterlife of Unit 731 after the end of World War II. In 1947, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to guarantee Ishii and other perpetrators immunity from prosecution in exchange for the research data. The twisted afterlife of Unit 731 did not stop with the pardoning of the scientists, however. There exist strong allegations to this day in China that the US subsequently conducted bacteriological warfare on Chinese and North Korean civilians in the Korean War. This paper examines how memories of this “victor’s justice” remain a strong component of Chinese patriotic education today. It argues that China’s “century of humiliation,” which focuses on Chinese victimization at the hands of foreign imperialism, does not end in 1949 with the formation of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), but rather is employed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) today to portray Chinese victimization at the hands of US imperialism through at least the end of the Korean War (1953). Furthermore, it suggests that understanding Chinese public memory of Unit 731 is incredibly relevant to contemporary Sino-American relations, as these memories help shape public perception of the United States for ordinary Chinese.

Emily Matson is an Assistant Teaching Professor of modern Chinese history at Georgetown University in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Asian Studies Program and the College of Arts and Sciences, Department of History. Her PhD and MA are in History from the University of Virginia, and her BA is in East Asian Studies from the College of William and Mary, where she graduated summa cum laude and was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa. Dr. Matson’s research interests include Manchuria, museums, historical memory, and World War II, and she is currently working on the manuscript of her first book, which explores the official change to China’s World War II timeline in 2017. Contact: em1592@georgetown.edu

Lothar Wigger/Jun Yamana: Visualizing Memories of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima in Scientific Dialogue

Memories of crises and catastrophes are also part of the cultural memory of societies and are mediated in different ways socially, politically, medially and pedagogically. The number of people who can talk about their experiences in the Second World War is decreasing from year to year. Their authentic narratives have been and continue to be central to cultures of remembrance in Germany and Japan, as well as of education committed to a peaceful and sustainable future. How can the temporal boundaries of communicative transmission be transcended, how can the experiences of contemporary witnesses be conveyed to later generations? Since 2007, the Peace Memorial Museum Hiroshima has been sponsoring an educational project at the Motomachi Municipal Senior High School in Hiroshima that takes a novel approach and remains unique to this day. In the project "Pictures of the Atomic Bomb: Drawing with the Next Generation," students in the "Creative Artistic Expression Course" transform the memories and stories of contemporary witnesses in dialogue with them into paintings over a period of 10 months. These paintings are donated to the Peace Memorial Museum and used by the Hibakusha for their events as well as presented by the students at the museum and other schools. This educational activity has since received much attention: It has become the subject of a Japanese play, "Paintings of This Summer," written and directed by Keiko Fukuyama in 2015, the subject of papers by sociologist Yasutsugu Ogura (2017), and the subject of a colloquium by the History of Educational Thought Society in Japan in 2021. In 2024, the book "Paintings of the Atomic Bomb," edited by Jun Yamana and Lothar Wigger, will be published with reports on the experiences of former participants in the project as well as empirical analyses and scientific interpretations by Japanese and German-speaking scholars from educational, psychological, art-theoretical, media-theoretical, sociological, and philosophical perspectives. The lecture will introduce the project, report on the empirical analyses, place it in the theories of Memory Studies and Bildung, and contextualize it in the dialogue of diverse German and Japanese discourses.

Lothar Wigger was Professor of General Education at TU Dortmund University from 2000 to 2018, held visiting professorships at the University of Vienna (2008 and 2025) and Kyoto University (2022), and was JSPS Fellow at Kyoto University (2011 and 2015) and at the University of Tokyo (2024). His main areas of research are philosophy of education (theory of Bildung), biographical research, and memory culture, and he has published extensively on these topics in German, Japanese, and English. Contact: lothar.wigger@tu-dortmund.de

Jun Yamana is a professor at the University of Tokyo since 2017. He has taught numerous courses on the philosophy of education. His current specialty is "Memory Pedagogy", which analyzes educational theories and practices from the perspective of cultural memory developed in the field of Memory Studies. Since his studies at Humboldt University in Berlin in the 1990s, he has collaborated with German educational researchers on various philosophical and historical research projects. He has numerous publications in Japanese, English, and German. Contact: jyamana6s@p.u-tokyo.ac.jp

Kirk A. Denton: The Representation of Atrocity in Taiwan's February 28 Museums

Produced in 1989, two years after the lifting of martial law, Hou Hsiao-hsien's film *City of Sadness* (1989) was one of the first films to "represent" the tragedy of February 28, 1947 (or 2-28), when the new Nationalist overlords in Taiwan violently suppressed a local protest movement during which

thousands were killed and many more arrested and imprisoned. But the film does not depict the atrocities directly—we see little actual violence in the film; rather, as critics have noted, that violence is sidelined in favor of a more contemplative mode of memory-making. Hou may have chosen to do this for artistic reasons, but in this presentation I ask: when knowledge of 2-28 enters the mainstream, how do public museums choose to represent this atrocity? Since the appearance of Hou's film, the representation of 2-28 has become embroiled in Taiwan's multiparty political conflicts between the blue camp (supporters of the Nationalist Party, whose precursors in the late 1940s gave the orders that would lead to the 2-28 massacre) and the green camp (supporters of the Democratic Progressive Party, which leans toward Taiwan independence). In the post-martial law era (1987-), both political parties have sought to shape how 2-28 gets represented, particularly in the very public and visible arena of museums. In this paper, I focus on how two museums—the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum and the National 2-28 Memorial Museum—have represented this atrocity. The former was established in 1997 by Chen Shui-bian, then DPP mayor of Taipei. Its representation of 2-28 has been revised over the years, often as a response to political pressure from the party in power in Taipei. The latter was established in 2011 as a blue camp response to former—a desire to avoid the politicization of the memory of 2-28 and moderate its representation of atrocity.

Kirk A. Denton is emeritus professor of Chinese studies at The Ohio State University. He has published two books on the politics of museums, one on museums in China, the other on museums in Taiwan. Contact: denton.2@osu.edu

Florian Pölking/Dong Hun Kim : Local, Domestic, and Global Memorialisation of the Jeju April 3rd Incident: A Contested Narrative for Peace

During the process of establishing the Republic of Korea (henceforth Korea) after the end of the WWII and the Japanese colonial period, the Jeju April 3rd incident was a significant but comparatively lesser-known event that affected the political, social, and cultural landscape of Korea. From 1948 to 1954 an act of state violence was committed against the Jeju Island residents. This act was driven by a domestic political struggle that was intertwined with the early Cold War, specifically in the Korean peninsula and East Asia. The slaughter of tens of thousands of its own citizens was subsequently veiled during Korea's authoritarian era through the narrative of anti-communism, North Korean infiltration, and state security, to the degree of almost erasing it from public memory. Only with the advent of democratic reform in 1987 and liberal-progressive governments in the early 2000s, did official accountability of past atrocities in Korea become possible. This was largely due to pressure from Jeju Island's civil society. Since the occurrence of the Jeju April 3rd incident, a wide range of research and investigations have been carried out to examine the events in an objective manner. The official Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Korea published a comprehensive report of its findings in 2003. Since the 1990s, civil society, including local authorities on Jeju Island, has been active in shaping collective memory. The establishment of the Jeju 4.3 Peace Park and museum as the memorial space for the incident in 2008 exemplifies this. While scholars in the West had conducted research on the April 3rd incident much earlier, research in Korea only gained momentum from around 2000 onwards. This research has, however, been affected by political and social polarisation, resulting in both substantial support and vehement opposition. Recently however, efforts are being made to register the Jeju April 3rd archives as part of the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. My presentation aims to introduce some of the intricate entanglements of political, social, regional and historical

factors that continue to impact the documentation of past events and the current memory landscape surrounding the Jeju April 3rd incident. I will provide insights into how this domestic conflict reflects in venues such as museums and other memory spaces. Based on this, I would like to present preliminary findings from my ongoing investigation into how the remembrance of the incident is cross-memorialised with the remembrance of the Holocaust and other historical occurrences classified as "genocide" while it focusses on the motive of peace. Furthermore, I will offer some early suggestions on how and why the present memorialization differs significantly from the original motives and how the current attempts to have the Jeju April 3rd archives registered as a part of the UNESCO Memory of the World Register relate to this context. While my approach is based on ontological security and (global) civil society concepts, the exchange of ideas among conference participants will ideally furnish additional insights on this particular Korean case for the global discourse.

Florian Pölking studied Korean Studies and Sinology (History and Philosophy of China) at Ruhr-University Bochum and obtained his PhD in Korean Studies in 2016. Dr. Poelking employs both historical and contemporary perspectives to examine political, social, and cultural aspects of modern Korea and East Asia using interdisciplinary approaches, such as identity or memory studies. His current work focuses on South Korea's foreign policy and international political economy, as well as collective memory and national identity in times of multiple global and regional challenges. Contact: florian.poelking@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

Prof. Dr. Dong Hun Kim studies German Language and Literature at Seoul National University and did his Ph.D. 2018 about Friedrich Schillers drama and theatre at Ruhr Universität Bochum in Germany. Since 2019 he focuses also on the narrative in the testimony of Shoah survivors. He is now assistant Professor at Sungshin Women's University (Seoul, South-Korea) in the Department of German Language, Literature and Culture. Contact: donghun.kim@sungshin.ac.kr

11:30-13:00 Session 16 | ÖAW Sitzungssaal

Holocaust Commemoration in Asia (1)

Chair: Kirk A. Denton

Kirk A. Denton is emeritus professor of Chinese studies at The Ohio State University. He has published two books on the politics of museums, one on museums in China, the other on museums in Taiwan. Contact: denton.2@osu.edu

André Hertrich: The Musealization of the Holocaust in Japan

As probably in any country, also the Japanese Holocaust commemoration and remembrance show some specificity, as for example the enormous popularity of Anne Frank or Sugihara Chiune, the diplomat who issued numerous visas which allowed thousands of Jewish refugees to transit to Japan. Theses and other specificities can be found in the few museums commemorating the Holocaust in Japan. There is a whole protestant church in Amagasaki dedicated to Anne Frank; Sugihara Chiune's alleged birthplace Yaotsu commemorates him with a peace park and a museum; also, Father Maksymilian Kolbe, who died in Auschwitz, is remembered in the monastery he founded in Nagasaki; and the port city of Tsuruga praises itself as "Port of Humanity" for welcoming Jewish refugees arriving from Europe. By doing so, all these places thematize the Holocaust and contrast it with a specific Japanese perspective, portraying Japan and the Japanese as innocent, helpful and righteous. I will analyze those exhibitions not only on the level of their narrative of Japan's alleged friendliness, I also will analyze these museums on the level of exhibition design and display of objects, such as the use of architectural features, i.e. dark, confined spaces or the display of photos of individuals, both common characteristics of a contemporary Holocaust musealization. I also will take a look at the usage of so-called Holocaust tropes, i.e. objects and object-installation common in Holocaust exhibitions, such as cattle cars or heaps of suitcases or shoes. All in all, what does this kind of Holocaust representation say about the perception of the Holocaust in Japan as well as the perception of Japan as an aggressor during the war and as Nazi Germany's closest ally? How are those four museums representing the events in Europe, the war and the persecution of the Jews, and what are the roles of Anne Frank, Sugihara Chiune, the welcoming people of Tsuruga or Father Kolbe in the context of Holocaust memorialization in Japan.

André Hertrich holds a Ph.D. in Japanese Studies from Hamburg University. His doctoral thesis deals with museums of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (*jieitai*) and their strategies to circumvent contested topics such as Japan's war responsibility or war crimes. Since 2019 he is a post-doc researcher at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, working for the ERC-Project "Globalized Memorial Museums" doing research on Japanese memorial museums. Contact: andre.hertrich@oeaw.ac.at

Ran Zwigenberg: Ashes: Finding the Holocaust and Nanking at a Kyoto Museum

At the Ritsumeikan Peace Museum in Kyoto exhibit there stands a little, black urn that contains ashes of Auschwitz victims. The urn is one of several urns in Japan, the first of which arrived in Hiroshima in 1963— a history I explored elsewhere, yet its story is separate and unique. It was brought to Kyoto by peace activists, who were wishing to make amends for the crimes of their own countryman in China, as part of their efforts to promote peace education in Kyoto. Their journey was both transnational,

converging with the Polish Communist Party memory diplomacy and its use of the camps to forward its agenda and the use of the remains of the dead in global commemoration, as well as a very local one. The Auschwitz and other camp museums have sent dozens of similar urns all around Poland and globally, building a secular network of pilgrimage sites with its own relics and altars in schools, museums, and memorials. Importantly, the likely Jewish identity of the remains was usually not mentioned. In Japan, the Poles connected with a group of veterans and activists who wished to uncover the activities of Kyoto's own 16th Division, which was heavily involved in the Nanking massacre. The (literal) objectification of the Jewish dead in a place so far removed from Europe meant different things for different actors in this story. Tracing the urn's journey and its various uses, reveal the complex politics and cultural landscape of the transnational commemoration of World War II in its very local meanings in Japan, Poland, and beyond.

Ran Zwigenberg is associate professor at Pennsylvania State University. His research focuses on modern Japanese and European history, with a specialization in memory and intellectual history. He has taught and lectured in the United States, Europe, Israel, and Japan, and published on issues of war memory, atomic energy, psychiatry, heritage, regionalism, and survivor politics. Zwigenberg's first book, *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), won the 2016 Association for Asian Studies' John W. Hall book award. His latest book, *Nuclear Minds: Cold War Psychological Science and the Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2023) deals with the psychological aftermath of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. For more information on this and other projects, please see <https://pennstate.academia.edu/RanZwigenberg>
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Ariko Kato: The "Relay of Visas for Life" and the Expanding Definition of Japanese Rescuers of Jewish Refugees: Contemporary Japanese Narratives on the Holocaust in Constructing Perceptions of the War

Chiune Sugihara's acts of issuing visas to Jewish refugees in Kaunas, Lithuania, became widely recognized in Japan in the 1990s, making him an iconic figure of Japanese narratives on the Holocaust. This was at a time when Japanese perception of the Asia Pacific war, or so-called "Fifteen-year War," from the Manchurian Incident from 1931 to 1945 became the most important issue in political, social, and academic discourse. Simultaneously, revisionist nationalists began taking action to suppress narratives of Japan's invasion and colonization by demanding the deletion of such descriptions from school textbooks, where they began instead to feature Sugihara as well as the military officer Kiichiro Higuchi, who they claimed also helped Jewish refugees. These rescuers were used by the nationalists to justify Japan's policies during the war by using disinformation to indicate that Sugihara's actions did not contradict the national policy. Since the 2010s, the focus of narratives of Japanese rescuers in Japan has shifted to Japanese civilians who helped Jewish refugees after they had arrived in Japan with transit visas issued by Sugihara. Included in these narratives were not only the scholar of Judaism Setsuzo Kotsuji and a travel agency employee Tatsuo Osako who helped the refugees during and after the voyage but also anonymous citizens of Kobe, the city where the refugees lived temporarily, and Tsuruga, the port city where the refugees arrived by ship from Vladivostok – "rescuers" who warmly welcomed the refugees arriving in a foreign country. In the past ten years, Japanese media and museums started to call these events the "Relay of Visas for Life." ("Visas for Life" is favorably used in Japan for the visas issued by Sugihara.) Owing to this perspective, the list of potential Japanese

“Righteous among the Nations” has been extrapolated; the story of Sugihara has transformed into a story of the Japanese rescuing Jewish refugees. My paper will analyze the emerging narratives of these newly discovered Japanese rescuers and reveal the entangled background of local, national, and international uses for these narratives. Today, municipalities, embassies, and cultural institutions in Japan and abroad actively organize commemorations of these Japanese rescuers. By analyzing narratives in publications and exhibitions (Tsuruga Museum, Sugihara Chiune Museum), as well as the reception of the photo series “Wandering Jews” (1941) by the amateur photographers belonging to the Tanpei Photo Club, an avant-garde photographers’ club based in Kobe, I will discuss the business, touristic, and diplomatic aspects of these commemorations and point out that the seemingly pacifist narratives emphasizing humanity are, in fact, carefully constructed not to contradict the Japanese revisionist ideologies omitting the dark past of Imperial Japan. The Polish case of instrumentalization of the Righteous among the Nations under the rule of the PiS (Law and Justice) party (2015-2023) will serve as a reference for examining the Japanese case in the global context. The analysis will demonstrate how the nationalized, yet localized narratives on the Holocaust function together as a tool to construct an ahistorical format for historical narratives on the twentieth century’s wars in Japan.

Ariko Kato is a professor at Nagoya University of Foreign Studies, specializing in Polish literature and cultural studies (PhD in cultural studies at the University of Tokyo, 2010). She is the author and editor of several books and many publications. She has been a visiting fellow at the Polish Academy of Sciences, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and Yale University. Contact: akato@nufs.ac.jp

Digital Memory

Chair: Stephen Naron

***Stephen Naron** has worked with the Fortunoff Archive for more than 12 years, starting as an Archivist. Now, as director of the Fortunoff Archive, Stephen works within the wider research community to share access to the collection through the access site program, as well as writing and presenting on testimony for conferences, symposiums and class sessions inside and outside Yale.*

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Veerle Veerbeek: Digital Threads of Memory “Remembering the Revolution is the Second Round against the Regime”

The way images of human suffering circulate online nowadays has changed global understanding of conflict. The Syrian conflict that erupted in 2011 has been labeled “the first YouTube war”. Video activism became an important form of activism and resistance, and YouTube a platform where atrocity videos were disseminated. When Syrian diaspora activists observed that footage gathered online began to disappear, they started collecting, preserving and verifying as many visuals of human rights violations as possible to prevent “collective amnesia”. In 2014, they officially founded an organization, the Syrian Archive. Particularly in the Syrian context of attempts to erase signs of opposition from history, the issue of archival and visual memory took on a “renewed and contested urgency”. As members of the Syrian Archive explain, the government’s violent response to the peaceful protests, and the subsequent conflict, was in danger of fading from the collective memory - similar to what happened with the Hama massacre of 1982, a haunting episode that slipped from the annals of Syrian history. In addition to preserving the footage, the Syrian Archive’s systematic approach and tools ensure that eyewitness videos of atrocities have a greater chance of playing a forensic and evidentiary role in future accountability and justice processes. By collaborating with other diasporas, the organization was able to replicate their verification model to countries facing similar challenges such as uprisings, authoritarian regimes, and impunity. Besides the Syrian Archive there are currently three other archives under the umbrella of Mnemonic: the Sudan Archive, Yemen Archive, and Ukraine Archive. These developments raise questions of what it means to remember in today’s digital landscape. How do bottom-up approaches of archiving documentation of human rights violations influence the construction of global memory? And especially given the gradual normalization of relations between Assad and the international community, how does this verification and label “visual evidence” influence memory? Drawing on this case study, the article will reflect on a new form of remembering in this digital age. It explores how digital developments have changed the concept of ‘archive’ and created new possibilities in global memorialization processes. The article draws on literature of transitional justice, archives and memory, human rights reports and interviews conducted with members of the Syrian Archive between October 2021 and January 2022.

***Veerle Veerbeek** is a PhD-researcher at the Department of History and Civilisation of the European University Institute. Her master’s thesis, on the Syrian Archive, a Syrian-led organization in Berlin that collects and verifies documentation of human rights violations of the Syrian conflict, sparked her interest in the complexities and challenges posed by visual evidence of human suffering. Her current PhD research is about the impact and role of visual evidence of atrocities in war crimes tribunals since*

Nuremberg and the implications of the label of "visual evidence" for memory, narrative and/or historiography. Contact: veerle.veerbeek@eui.eu

Fisseha Tefera: Translocation of Memory: Holocaust and Genocide Discourses in Ethiopian Social Media

I used the term "translocation" in the title by merging the words "translocation" and "elocution". It's intended to convey the idea of memory narratives that are not only moved across borders (translocation) but also spoken about or articulated (elocution) in new contexts. In the digital age, the mnemonic landscapes of societies experiencing conflict are increasingly shaped by references to historical atrocities that transcend local narratives. One can, for instance, find reference to aspects of the history of the Holocaust or the Rwandan genocide being circulated in Ethiopian political discourse. This paper proposes an exploratory study into the appropriation of Holocaust and Rwandan genocide discourses within the Ethiopian social media landscape, amidst the nation's intensifying ethnic conflicts and political polarization. The paper investigates how memories of distant genocides permeate Ethiopian digital spaces, serving as allegories for contemporary political contestations and identity formation. Social media, such as Twitter (now X) and Facebook, an expanding arena for political contestation in Ethiopia, will serve as the primary corpus for analysis. The research will trace the genealogy of Holocaust and Rwandan genocide references, examining their resonance and recontextualization in the discourse surrounding Ethiopian ethnic conflicts and polarized political landscape. Relevant to this investigation is the concept of 'transnational memory'—a phenomenon where memory narratives cross cultural and geographical boundaries, often acquiring new meanings in the process. This concept will be instrumental in dissecting the complex layering of historical references, as Ethiopian social media users invoke images and narratives of the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide. The rhetorical strategies employed by various actors to align themselves with or distance themselves from these historical events will be a focal point of analysis. This study is informed by relevant works in the field of memory studies, such as Astrid Erll's "Transcultural Memory" and Michael Rothberg's "Multidirectional Memory". These concepts will be interrogated within the Ethiopian context, offering a contribution to the discourse on how global memories of atrocities travel and are localized in contemporary political narratives. Anticipated findings are expected to illuminate the mechanisms through which Holocaust and genocide discourses are adapted and instrumentalized within Ethiopian social media. Furthermore, this study will contribute to broader discussions on the role of social media in the formation of collective memory and identity, particularly in the context of Africa. As such, the paper aims to enrich the understanding of memory's mobility and its impact on political discourse while providing empirical insights into the Ethiopian experience. By examining the Ethiopian case, this paper seeks to contribute to the discourse on the global dialogue of atrocity memories. It also aims to underscore the importance of considering transnational perspectives in the study of collective memory, particularly in the context of increasingly interconnected global societies.

***Fisseha Fantahun Tefera** is a PhD candidate in Peace and Development at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. He is currently working within the research project 'Famines as Mass Atrocities: Reconsidering Violence, Memory and Justice in Relation to Hunger'. His research interests include politics of development, transitional justice, and memory politics in Africa with a particular focus on Ethiopia. Contact: fisseha.tefera@gu.se*

Éva Kovács/Kinga Frojimovics: “A Miraculous Sign!”. Challenges of Virtual Memory Tours on Slave Labour in Vienna

In the current debates, Jewish urban landscapes and buildings contribute to the construction of social relations; yet their significance is often fluid and open to interpretation rather than intrinsic. The memory of the Shoah is at the meeting point (sometimes even the conflict point) of these tendencies. Are the Holocaust memorials part of a classic city tour, and if so, how? To what extent should a city tour or even a Jewish museum include the topic of the Shoah in its current programme? The digital turn of the 2000s fundamentally changed the Jewish heritage landscape. Thousands of interactive maps, mobile apps, 3D virtual testimonies, online curricula etc. help to navigate between the virtual and the material memory of European Jewish history. Ten years ago, the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI) developed a website, based on geo-data visualisation of archival material. This website enabled the conceptualization and organisation of virtual and physical memory tours concerning the history of Hungarian-Jewish slave labour in Vienna during 1944/45. Schools, local communities and researchers have been using the website for a decade. It is time to reflect on how such a website can contribute to the Jewish virtual heritage. The website of the history on the Hungarian Jewish slave labourers can be considered a successful initiative as it has facilitated many commemorative events, be it district initiatives, school projects, podcasts, or memorial walks for survivors' relatives. In this sense, it can even be said that it is not only a “Virtual Jewish World by non-Jews” but also a “Jewish space”. On the one hand, in the relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish spaces, various historical periods and geographical locations can be discussed in the given urban context. On the other hand, it is very difficult to integrate the history of the Shoah into the framework of mainstream tourist attractions, because their culturally embedded meanings absorb all alternative stories. In this discourse, Hungarian Jewish slave labour can only appear as a “perfect stranger”.

Éva Kovács, Prof. Dr., deputy director of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, sociologist, studied sociology and economics at the Corvinus University in Budapest, PhD 1994, Habilitation 2009. She is also a Research Professor at the Centre for Social Sciences/Hungarian Academy of Sciences Centre of Excellence in Budapest. Her research fields are the history of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe, research on memory and remembrance, and Jewish identity in Hungary and Slovakia. She has authored five monographs, edited ten volumes, published numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals, co-curated exhibitions in Budapest, Berlin, Bratislava, Krems, Prague, Vienna and Warsaw. She is the founder of the audio-visual archive “Voices of the Twentieth Century” in Budapest. Contact: eva.kovacs@vwi.ac.at

Kinga Frojimovics, Dr., historian and archivist, project leader at the VWI since February 2020. Frojimovics studied history, archival studies, and archaeology at ELTE University in Hungary, and Jewish history at Bar-Ilan University in Israel. She is the former director of the Hungarian Jewish Archives (Budapest, 1993-1997), and was head of the Hungarian Section of the Yad Vashem Archives (Jerusalem, 2006-2018). From 2010 she is member of the Commission for the Designation of the Righteous among the Nations of Yad Vashem (Jerusalem, Israel), and from 2011 Member of the Academic Advisory Committee of Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, Brandeis University (Waltham, MA, USA). Her research fields are the history of the Holocaust in Hungary, Jewish religious life in Hungary, and cataloguing of Jewish and Holocaust-related archival collections. She has authored six monographs, edited four volumes, and published numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals. Contact: kinga.frojimovics@vwi.ac.at

Chair: André Hertrich

André Hertrich holds a Ph.D. in Japanese Studies from Hamburg University. His doctoral thesis deals with museums of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (*jieitai*) and their strategies to circumvent contested topics such as Japan's war responsibility or war crimes. Since 2019 he is a post-doc researcher at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, working for the ERC-Project "Globalized Memorial Museums" doing research on Japanese memorial museums. Contact: andre.hertrich@oeaw.ac.at

Lillian Tsay: Touring Sugihara Chiune: JTB, the Holocaust, and Japan's War Memory

Sugihara Chiune (1900-1986), the Japanese diplomat who issued transit visas for Jewish refugees in Lithuania during the Holocaust, stands as an emblem of one of Japan's few positive actions during the Second World War. To date, studies have focused much on Sugihara's persona as a hero, a diplomat, or even a traitor to his own government, yet few have explored other equally important figures and institutions that made the Jewish refugees traveling to Japan possible. Foremost among these is the crucial role of JTB and its employees, the largest travel agency in Japan that continues to thrive today. This paper proposes to explore the lesser-known stories of Sugihara's heroic episodes through the aspect of tourism and its historical memory. First, it investigates the Jewish refugees' expenditure to Japan through JTB's cruise *Amakusamaru* and draws insights from the testimonies of an employee named Tatsuo Osako (1917-2003), who played a critical role in assisting the refugees during the trip until they reached the Tsuruga port in Fukui Prefecture. However, just as Sugihara's narrative diverges from Japan's atrocities in East Asia during the Second World War, I posit that JTB's role should be contextualized within the historiography of empire and tourism in prewar Japan. While acknowledging JTB's humanitarian contribution to Jewish refugees, it is crucial to recognize their simultaneous active support for the Japanese Empire's ideologies in East Asia, exemplified by their provision of wartime tours in Japanese colonies and occupied territories. As much as this episode has become history, its legacies continued through tourism in contemporary Japan. For instance, in 2016 JTB launched a campaign "Life's Visa" (*Inochi no biza*) to retell their past in escorting the Jewish refugees to Japan. Preparing for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, the company also seized the commercial opportunities by providing package tours tailored for foreign tourists to explore Sugihara's history and Japan's assistance to refugees. These tours primarily feature visits to the Sugihara Museum in Gifu Prefecture, accompanied by other nearby tourist destinations unrelated to this specific historical aspect. Through the lens of critical memory studies and dark tourism, the second part of this paper will explore how the history of tourism shaped today's inbound tourism and its historical memory. Analyzing the itinerary of package tours, the representation of Tatsuo and JTB in film adaptations, and the exhibitions at the Port of Humanity Tsuruga Museum, I argue that while these narratives move away from the heroization of Sugihara and shed light on lesser-known figures such as Tatsuo, they served a similar purpose by obscuring the whole picture of Japan's history. By incorporating JTB's involvement in Sugihara's well-known narrative, this paper offers a new perspective to enrich our understanding of the historical memory of the Holocaust in Japan. It extends beyond the story of a single "good" Japanese man during the war but extended to the private company's image that still holds influence on foreign tourists visiting Japan today.

Lillian Tsay is a PhD candidate in modern Japanese history at Brown University. Her dissertation explores how the making of Western-style confectionery was entangled with the Japanese Empire's everyday life governance from the metropole to the colonies. Before her studies at Brown, she worked at JTB in Tokyo as a web editor and marketing specialist. Contact: lillian_tsay@brown.edu

Marketa Bajgerova Verly: The Holocaust as an Instrument of Chinese Diplomacy: Exhibiting Shanghai Jewish Refugees History in the Xi Jinping Era

The topic of Shanghai Jewish refugees has been recently gaining traction in the field of Holocaust studies, as well as in the institutions devoted to the musealization of the Holocaust. In spite of the pandemic, many museums around the World launched exhibitions on the topic in the past few years, putting the history of 20,000 Jews who fled Europe between 1933 and 1941 on display. Hardly accidentally, this contemporary revival of the topic follows a dramatic change in Chinese state's position regarding Holocaust history. Though previously missing from the official WWII discourse in China, since Xi Jinping entered power, the Shanghai Jewish Refugees history entered the forefront of Chinese public diplomacy and the nationalist ethos of China's WWII memorialization. This paper explores how in the Xi Era, the Holocaust, introduced reductively and exclusively through the Sinocentric lens of the Shanghai Jewish Refugees history, is instrumentalized to promote China's morally virtuous image in the international community as the "rescuer of Jews". Firstly, it demonstrates how, on the one hand, this allows China to progress its global power ambitions, while on the other it also serves to whitewash China's systematic persecution of non-Han ethnicities. Secondly, the paper zooms in on the Chinese state-funded war museums which are at the core of this new development. Whereas previously absent from the exhibits, since Xi Jinping's ascent to power, the museums started to incorporate the Holocaust into their permanent exhibitions, most frequently through the history of the European Jewry that fled to Shanghai during the war. A key institution in this regard is the Shanghai Jewish Refugee Museum, which in 2020 underwent a large-scale expansion project introducing a new permanent exhibition that provides a striking insight into the link that China draws between its diplomatic ambitions and the Holocaust, as well as the lengths to which it goes in misappropriating history to achieve those ends. The exhibit begins by equalizing Jewish and Chinese wartime suffering, to then romanticize wartime Shanghai and the Chinese treatment of the refugees, all while self-contradicting itself through the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in some of its curating decisions. This paper aims to deconstruct this museum's content and demonstrate how its specific sections serve to promote Xi Jinping's political ambitions and its imaginings of Chinese nation.

Markéta Bajgerová Verly is a PhD candidate in the ERC project Globalized Memorial Museums at the Institute of Culture Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences, and at the University of Vienna. Her research focuses on War of Resistance against Japan museums in contemporary China. In 2020, she obtained an MA degree in China Studies at the Yenching Academy of Peking University. In China, she led a Dean's Grant project mapping 30 museums across China devoted to the memory of the War of Resistance and studied its memory politics. This project informed her MA thesis analysing the impact of the discourse on the museum's domestic audience as well as her current PhD research. She holds an undergraduate degree from the University of Glasgow in Politics and History. During her early studies, she focused on politics of sacrifice and the affective turn in politics and was a research associate at the Institute of International Relations in Prague. Contact: marketa.bajgerovaverly@oeaw.ac.at

14:00-15:30 Session 19 ÖAW Seminarraum 1

Forensic Aesthetic and Memorial Practices in the Aftermath of Political Violence

Chair: Zuzanna Dziuban

Zuzanna Dziuban holds a PhD in cultural studies. She is a senior postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Culture Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences within the ERC project "Globalized Memorial Museums". Her research focuses on the material, affective and political afterlives of the Holocaust and other instances of political violence, and the politics of dead bodies. She is the editor of *The 'Forensic Turn': Engaging Materialities of Mass Death in Holocaust Studies and Beyond* (2017), and co-editor of *Accessing Campscapes: Critical Approaches and Inclusive Strategies for European Conflicted Pasts in Heritage, Memory and Conflict* (2023, with Rob van der Laarse), and *Displaying Violence in the Austrian Journal of Historical Studies* (2023, with Stefan Benedik and Ljiljana Radonić). Contact: zuzanna.dziuban@oeaw.ac.at

Hikmet Karčić: From Collective Burials to Memorial Centers: How Collective Memory Developed in Bosnia and Herzegovina

This article examines the evolution of collective memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a specific focus on the transformation of burial sites of genocide victims into memorial centers in three locations: Prijedor, Višegrad and Zvornik. It traces the journey from the initial collective burials of exhumed victims from mass graves to the eventual establishment of these sites as centers of memory. The study begins with an exploration of the immediate post-war period, detailing the processes and challenges of exhuming mass graves and the subsequent reburial of victims in central graveyards. Through a blend of qualitative research methods, including interviews and site analysis, this paper delves into the sociopolitical and cultural factors that influenced this transformation. In doing so, the article offers a comprehensive look at the dynamic interplay between memory, mourning, and memorialization in the context of post-conflict micro societies.

Hikmet Karčić is a Research Associate at the University of Sarajevo and author of "Torture, Humiliate, Kill: Inside the Bosnian Serb Camp System" (University of Michigan Press, 2022). Muamer Džananović is a Senior Researcher at the University of Sarajevo. Jasmin Medic is a Research Associate at the University of Sarajevo. Contact: karcichikmet@gmail.com

Željana Tunić: Forensic Aesthetics and Nationalist Memory in the (Post)Yugoslav Space

Forensic investigations of human remains have gained a crucial role in the aftermath of mass violence since the second half of the 20th century in different post-conflict settings from Spain, Bosnia and Herzegovina to Iraq and the Philippines, to name but a few (Crossland, 2010; Ferrándiz & Robben, 2015; Anstett & Dreyfus, 2016; Moon, 2016). Forensic investigations are of enormous political, social, and emotional relevance, as exhuming and identifying the victims offer an opportunity to counteract state-supported violence in the form of "citizen forensics" (Renshaw et al., 2020, p. 9) and provide the space for closure for the families of the missing (Nettelfield & Wagner, 2014). In this regard, evidence generated with the help of forensic teams plays an essential role in "processes of reconciliation and restorative justice, as well as in the local and intimate processes of mourning" (Bøndergaard, 2017, p. 1). However, the notion of human remains as evidence also opens up a space for different nationalistic

imaginaries and agendas that inform the racial conceptualization of human corporeality and belonging, as I will argue in this paper. I will focus on the period just before and after the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s to explore the role of various representational, curatorial, and religious practices of staging human remains in claiming exclusive victimhood. Namely, in an atmosphere of growing ethnonational tensions in the 1980s, various political actors launched exhumation projects aimed at proving their respective contested victimhood, especially concerning mass atrocities committed during and after the Second World War. Similar ones followed these practices after the Yugoslav wars ended. This paper will discuss cases when the exhumed human remains were neither forensically analyzed nor properly documented but used in the media and exhibitions as evidence of ethnonational suffering. Special attention will be given to the project initiated by bishop Mile Bogović that launched several exhumations and the erection of "The Church of the Croatian Martyrs" in Udbina, as well as still not realized project of the "All-Croatian Tomb" as a memorial place that should reunion all human remains under the umbrella of Croatian victimhood. I will argue that these exhumations were given a 'forensic outlook' and that forensic aesthetics was meant to prove victimhood and cover one's responsibility ultimately. The very idea of elucidating the mass atrocities by forensics was inverted into its opposite.

Željana Tunić is an associate professor of Slavonic cultural studies at Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. Her research concerns the ways in which societies and individuals work through experiences of war and violence, especially during and after the Second World War and the violent disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1991-1999). She focuses mainly on works of art, literature, and theater that destabilize official regimes of truth. In her current research, Tunić explores forensic examinations of mass violence while moving between forensic anthropology, medical humanities, and technical sciences. zeljana.tunic@slavistik.uni-halle.de

Lorena Maeso Blanco: Objects Recovered during Exhumations in Mass Graves: Using these Material Objects in a Didactic Way

The objects that are recovered during exhumations in mass graves have a major value because of the belonging and sentimental charge of the object itself but moreover because of the data information that experts can extract from it and later on study. The objects are surely the tangible evidence of a humanity that accompanies the exhumed remains and, as such, they have what can be symbolically called the 'power' to explain the past in a present moment or to act as a link between recent-past. This paper aims to lay the foundations for an analysis and reflection around the possibilities of using these material objects in a didactic way and framed within the heritage of memory and the archeology of the conflict. To do this, it puts the focus on the study case of different exhumations in mass graves from the civil war in Spain. It will be analyzed which uses of the objects can be effective today to disseminate to the general public and the educational communities a complex and delicate subject. What resources and strategies have been used and what new venues of dissemination could be used. It wants to emphasize on investigating what differences and similarities we can find in other heritage processes of the memory. As well as reflect whether these practices can contribute to the recovery of historical memory and awareness of the impact that supposes for a community a war conflict. The paper is also ongoing research that explores the context of memory heritage in other places outside Spain and therefore explores the context of transnational memories. The purpose is to trace a line of analysis of memory policies in terms of the importance within society today, which methodologies of

dissemination and treatment of information and scientific research can be used in the didactics of memory heritage and what goals are to be achieved by using these objects for the recovery of historical memory.

Lorena Maeso Blanco holds a Degree in Translation, a Master's degree in Cultural Heritage and Museology and a Postgraduate Degree in Policies and Research in Transitional Justice and Democratic Memory. Currently she is developing further knowledge on history by carrying out a Master's Degree in Contemporary History. She has dedicated most of her professional career to cultural projects in museums in the field of education and her main topic of research and interest is the dialogues within heritage and memory, or memorial heritage, and the impact it has on society.

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Entanglements between the Local and the Global in Genocide Memory in Rwanda

Chair: Rachel Ibreck

Rachel Ibreck is a senior lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Goldsmiths, University of London. She holds a PhD in Politics and International Relations from the University of Bristol (2009). Her research centres on memory politics in Rwanda and the politics of human rights, justice and civil society in Eastern Africa. Her book, South Sudan's Injustice System: Law and Activism on the Frontline (London: Zed Books, 2019) explores the power of law, and tenacious struggles for justice during a protracted violent conflict. Contact: r.ibreck@gold.ac.uk

Stephanie Wolfe: Agency in the Post-genocide Memorialization Process in Rwanda

Agency within the memorialization process of the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda is frequently overlooked in current academic discourse. Historically, much of the research has emphasized the role of the Rwandan government in shaping the creation and narrative of genocide memorials. This approach often oversimplifies the multifaceted nature of memorialization and focuses primarily on power dynamics. Consequently, it sheds insufficient light on the roles played by other non-state actors, including individual survivors and non-survivors (both Rwandans and non-Rwandans), local communities, the diaspora, religious institutions, artists, as well as local and international non-governmental organizations and agencies. In challenging the prevailing notion that the state is the sole or most influential actor in the development of genocide memorials and narratives, this article seeks to acknowledge the significant agency of various actors who have contributed to the collective history and creation of sites of memory. Beyond the extensively debated question of "state legitimacy" as the primary *raison d'être* for genocide memorialization, this article comprehensively explores the roles played by diverse actors, both Rwandans and non-Rwandans, to expand our understanding of how genocide memorialization took shape in the post-genocide period. It will address the overlooked complexity of agency and memorialization. This includes individuals who served in dual roles (both survivor and government official); the divides found among both survivors and those who were returnees from Uganda and abroad, social class and political divisions, etc. It also addresses current realities in Rwanda such as who has "ownership" over the memorial, resistance to shifting and consolidation of memorials and policies, and the influence of international organizations and agencies in memorial creation. This research project began in 2016 when CNLG provided our team with a list of 265 official memorials and 113 private sites designated as genocide cemeteries. Between 2016 and 2019 we traveled to over 100 memorial sites and interviewed survivors, memorial workers, CNLG staff, and more. Since 2020 we have interviewed members of the diaspora and individuals outside of Rwanda.

*Stephanie Wolfe is a Professor of Political Science at Weber State University. She has published *The Politics of Reparations and Apologies* (Springer, 2014), and several other book chapters on international law, reparations, apologies, justice, and memory. Her latest work was an edited anthology *In the Shadow of Genocide: Justice and Memory Within Rwanda* (Routledge, 2023). Contact: stephaniewolfe@weber.edu*

Anna-Marie De Beer: Memorial as Home: Survivors and Sites of Memory in Rwanda

The majority of Rwanda's genocide memorials dedicated to the 1994 genocide of the Tutsi were initially constructed by local communities. These burials took place under enormous pressure and urgency to lay to rest the multitude of unburied bodies immediately after the genocide. Memorials in Rwanda range from what Longman refers to as 'memorialized massacre sites' (2017: 67) to memorials created, and cared for, by survivors, which they call 'home' (interviews: 2016-2019). Survivors have differing opinions over these sites, with some having a keen sense of ownership, whilst others prefer to avoid memorials entirely. It is this former relationship with memorials, where survivors have claimed agency over them and meaningfully interact with them, that will be explored. We will delve into the profound symbolic and reparatory significance of memorials that survivors have identified as "home"; a concept we found in multiple interviews between 2016 and 2019. We will explore how these locations are symbolically viewed and serve as an essential component of reparative justice. Beyond their role in remembrance, some memorials have become focal points for survivors where they can incorporate "visits" to their families as an everyday part of life. Memorials can offer survivors sanctuary: a place for them to share their stories, honor their lost loved ones, and assert their agency. Commemoration and memorialization, which are integral aspects of these memorials, are inherently linked to reparative justice. Survivor-led initiatives, such as testimonies, personal artifacts, and art installations created by survivors or families of those who survived, contribute to a more comprehensive commemoration, emphasizing the agency of survivors in preserving their history. The act of remembering has become a reparative gesture, acknowledging the atrocities and suffering endured by survivors and those who died. Memorials as home, however, can also be an act of resistance. Survivors have to continually advocate for themselves. Survivors do not share the same perspective on memorials and commemoration practices, and while some agree with government policies regarding memorials, others do have different perspectives. For example, some survivors prefer the remains to be buried while others see the display of victims' bodies as a means of countering genocide denial and proof of the suffering endured during the genocide. Other differences in perspectives also exist in practices of shifting or merging memorials. Survivors' agency and advocacy on these topics, and how this informs and shapes memorials will be explored. Finally, we will consider how the notion of memorials as home contrasts with the role of memorial museums and cultural influences. This paper is based on a research project which began in 2016 when CNLG provided our team with a list of 265 official memorials and 113 private sites designated as genocide cemeteries. Between 2016 and 2019 we traveled to over 100 memorial sites and interviewed survivors, memorial workers, CNLG staff, and more. Since 2020 we have interviewed members of the diaspora and individuals outside of Rwanda.

Anna-Marie de Beer is a lecturer in French and francophone studies at the University of Pretoria in South-Africa. Her field of interest is the memorialization of collective trauma. She has published on literary representations of the genocide against the Tutsis in Rwanda and her current research focuses on memorialization and musealization of this genocide. Contact: annamarie.debeer@up.ac.za

Eric Sibomana: Memorializing and Musealizing the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda: The Holocaust as Reference

The beginning of a new research discipline of Holocaust and genocide studies in 1980s has set the stage for the Holocaust in the scholarly debates about memorialization and musealization of mass

atrocities across the globe. In this vein, the “Holocaust’s ubiquity” has become a prominent theme in this “era of claims for moral universals”. For thirty years, researchers have explored the memory and musealization of the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, placing attention on the role of international actors, especially the Holocaust memory experts, especially Stephen Smith and James Smith and their UK-based non-governmental organization, the Aegis Trust. Few scholars have taken interest in one or two aspects of the Holocaust in Rwandan memory and musealization politics, neglecting the exploration of instances of the Holocaust travelling trends as well as their loci. Thus, to close this gap, this paper centres around the questions: What tropes and techniques of musealization do Rwandan genocide memorialization and musealization borrow from the Holocaust, and how does their accommodation shape Rwandan landscapes of memory and musealization? To answer these questions, this paper attends to the analysis of the Kigali Genocide Memorial Museum and Murambi Genocide memorial – both being national genocide memorials – as well as memorial practices: commemoration and burials, since 1995 – a period when the government of Rwanda officially intervened in memory, musealization and dead body politics. This paper argues on the one hand that building on the Holocaust model in coming to terms with the past has powerfully influenced the Rwandan customary ways of expressing mourning, commemorating, and performing funeral rituals; and that, it has introduced new technologies in Rwandan traditions of framing suffering, on the other hand.

Eric Sibomana is a PhD student at the University of Vienna within the framework of a project funded by the European Research Council (ERC) “Globalised Memorial Museums. Exhibiting Atrocities in the Era of Claims for Moral Universals” based at the Institute of Culture Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. His PhD deals with Rwandan politics of memorialization, musealisation of the 1994 genocide, and dead body politics. Contact: eric.sibomana@eaw.ac.at

Matthew Bergbower/Carly Schmitt: U.S. Public Opinion During the Rwandan Genocide and the Challenges of the ‘Never Again’ Mentality

We examine United States (U.S.) public opinion during the Rwandan genocide in the spring and early summer of 1994. We track over a dozen public opinion polls during these few months that specifically ask Americans their knowledge of and beliefs about the Rwandan genocide, appropriateness of United Nations involvement, support for U.S. military intervention, and President Bill Clinton’s management of the crisis. We see that the mass public is most commonly believed to be a true representation of “public opinion” and is most often ascertained through the use of polls. Longstanding theory recognizes public opinion as being one strong variable in explaining the behavior of nations in international affairs. However, difficulties arise in understanding public opinion in international affairs as the public has been described in this area as being erratic, misinformed, emotional, and forgetful. In the case of U.S. foreign policy towards the Rwandan genocide, our research sees a lack of knowledge of this small African country experiencing a high amount of violence and a lackluster level of support for intervening in the genocide. This is expected, in part, because the public will be unfamiliar with details of an international crisis during the initial stages as information is still be gathered by media companies all-the-while government leaders are usually tight-lipped about classified and non-classified intelligence reported to them during these early days and weeks. Such challenges on the matter of time it is necessary to inform the public and persuade the public because costly on civilian lives lost and conflicts escalating. These results lead us to discuss the need to further grow public

awareness on crimes against humanity and the “Never Again” mentality. A concluding message covers the necessity of further memorialization of genocide which ought to instill public sentiments to support intervention of future mass atrocities.

Matthew L. Bergbower, PhD, is a professor and chair in the Department of Political Science at Indiana State University. Dr. Bergbower teaches courses in American politics and has published a variety of articles converting diverse topics such as the Rwandan genocide, social media threats between America and Iran, and decision-making processes during U.S. elections.

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Claims for Justice, Memory and Community Engagement in a Global Perspective

Chair: Klaus Neumann

*Klaus Neumann worked for many years as an academic in Australia (until 2018 as professor of history at Deakin University). Since 2018 he has been an independent researcher, whose work has been funded by the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture. He has written widely about issues of colonialism, public and social memory, historical justice and forced migration in Papua New Guinea, Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and Germany. His book *Blumen und Brandsätze, a history of German local public and policy responses to refugees since 1989*, was published in April 2024. Contact: klaus.neumann@wiku-hamburg.de*

Tichaona Mazarire: The Politics of Genocide Reparations: The Case of Germany and Namibia

The genocide of the Herero and Nama by German Colonial troops between 1904 and 1908 is now considered by many scholars as the first genocide of the 20th Century. Estimates have put the death toll of the Herero and Nama at 100 000. However, the wheels of justice, particularly with regards to reparations to the Herero and Nama descendants have been slow, with Germany only officially recognizing the colonial era Genocide in 2021 more than a century after the crimes were committed. Moreover, the compensation of €1.1 billion euros that Germany proposed (in 2022) to pay as reparations is problematic due to the limited amount offered and the conditions attached to the payments. This is primarily because the €1.1 billion euros would be paid over a period of 30 years and the money would be directed towards developmental projects meant to benefit descendants of the Herero and Nama killed during the genocide. Many Herero and Nama have expressed their disappointment over the amount offered given the losses suffered by their ancestors, particularly the loss of fertile arable land (thousands of hectares) which the Germans seized from the Herero and Namas during the genocide, including thousands of cattle which were also forcefully taken. The amount, €1.1 billion euros, therefore, falls far short of the losses these communities suffered. Although the Namibian government initially accepted the offer, there was widespread rejection of Germany's reparations proposal by the Herero and Nama traditional leadership which was absent throughout the negotiations between the German and Namibian governments. Consequently, the outcome of the talks has been undermined, as there lack legitimacy given that the victims were excluded from the negotiations. Given the aforementioned shortcomings in the deal, the Namibian government officially requested to renegotiate the reparations in late 2022, however the absence of the aggrieved victims (Herero and Nama Leadership) on the negotiation table remains problematic, whilst Germany's insistence on developmental aid also poses as an obstacle in addressing the issue of reparations. The study will utilize a qualitative research design approach to assess and map the current economic state of descendants of the Herero and Nama communities directly affected by the genocide. Based on data gathered, the study will seek to highlight the plight of marginalised Herero and Nama descendants in rural Namibia, whilst proposing socio-economic measures Germany can undertake to directly support the Herero and Nama communities in postcolonial Namibia. Significantly, this research will shine a light on the forgotten genocide of the Herero and Nama communities, (1904-1908) which up until recently was overshadowed by the Armenia genocide of 1915-1917, widely regarded by some scholars as the first genocide of the 20th century. Through this study, a light will be shone on the long-term socio-economic effects of genocide, thereby giving

scholars, bureaucrats and diplomats from Namibia, Germany and beyond a clear picture of what is at stake as negotiations for reparations continue.

Tichaona Mazarire is a Postdoctoral Fellow at North-West University's School of Government Studies in South Africa. His research interests include Genocide Studies, Peace & Conflict Studies, African Politics and Public Policy. Contact: tichmazyezra@gmail.com

Neringa Klumbytė/Dovilė Budrytė: Memorialization, Historical Justice, and Jewish Property in Post-Holocaust Lithuania

Throughout Europe, dispossession was an integral component of the mass murder of Jews during the Holocaust. Interviews with survivors, eyewitnesses, and collaborators in Eastern Europe affirm that theft was a common reason for the active participation of local populations in the mass killings known as the "Holocaust by bullets." The personal belongings of victims ended up in the families and homes of those who conducted the killings or assisted the perpetrators. Others were redistributed to local populations or sold at auctions; locals moved into houses previously owned by their Jewish neighbors. Our research among Lithuanian Jewish communities illustrates that families of Holocaust survivors and victims remember family property and things as integral part of the Holocaust. However, their memories do not directly resonate with state initiatives that implement the Terezin declaration to commemorate Jewish victims and restore justice via restitution of Jewish property. While Lithuanian Jews approve Terezin declaration initiatives of commemoration and restitution, they understand justice in terms of *moral materialities*—that is, restitution is, for them, inextricable from recognition of their communities, the restoration of personal dignity, and inclusion into society. Scholars advance ideas that proper memorialisation and "moral remembrance" after the Holocaust can 'transform and direct nationalist realities in post-conflict societies toward a non-violent course, simultaneously placing them on a safe path to a bright democratic future' (David 2020). Our presentation will explore interconnections between national initiatives to honor the memory of the Holocaust victims and restore justice through restitution of Jewish property *and* local articulations of history and justice by Lithuania's Jewish communities in terms of moral materialities. Taking property and things as a new lens into the Holocaust, we argue that memorialisation and "moral remembrance" advanced by the government following international organizations only partially integrate local Jewish community's moral visions of the past and the present. Moreover, memorialization through restitution of property unintentionally creates boundaries between Lithuanians and Jews that local Jewish communities continuously unmake in their memories of the Holocaust property and things and narratives of post-conflict coexistence and integration into a Lithuanian society.

Dovilė Budrytė is Professor of Political Science at Georgia Gwinnett College in Atlanta and a member of EUROPAST project at Vilnius university. She is current President of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies (AABS). She has published on memory politics, gender and war and minorities in the Baltic states. Contact: dbudryte@ggc.edu

Neringa Klumbytė is Professor of Anthropology and Eastern European and Russian Studies and Director of the Lithuania Program at the Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies, Miami University, USA. She is the author of *Authoritarian Laughter: Political Humor and Soviet Dystopia in Lithuania* (2022, Cornell University Press); a co-author of *Social and Historical Justice in Multiethnic Lithuania* (2018, Vilnius) and co-editor of *Soviet Society in the Era of Late Socialism, 1964–85* (2012,

with Gulnaz Sharafutdinova). Her current projects focus on the Holocaust, sovereignty, and historical justice in Lithuania. Contact: klumbyn@miamioh.edu

Eszter Kirs: Past without an Echo – The Parallel Poleis of Civil Resistance under the Communism and Youth Resistance Movements in the Illiberal Regime of Hungary

One of the founders of Charter 77, the philosopher Jan Patočka maintained that the signatories of the Charter were not united by any particular political concerns, but rather by a specific moral attitude, by the conviction that society cannot function properly if it lacks a moral foundation. Patočka insisted on the nonpolitical, personal reasons of individuals for joining resistance. As opposed to his views, Vaclav Benda, author of the 1978 essay on the parallel polis argued that Charter 77 opened up an arena for principled behavior in public life. By signing Charter 77, the individuals decided to take political action, and started to build a community: a parallel polis. When individuals deciding to live within the truth (as opposed to the lies of political power) connect, and they create non-bureaucratic, informal, free communities: a parallel polis, they can safeguard collective morality and become the foundation of a better society. What binds the members of these dissenting communities together? Not a uniform worldview, not necessarily one kind of political ideology, but freedom. The paper would compare “islands of freedom” in civil resistance under the communist regime and those of youth resistance movements in the current illiberal political system of Hungary. Emphasis will be put on (1) the goals and collective values of parallel poleis (e.g. protection of individual and institutional autonomy, self-determination, freedom in art and education), (2) attacks by governmental power (e.g. administrative measures, police action or smear campaigns), (3) personal motivations and sacrifices of members of resistance movements. The following parallel poleis will be subjected to research: (1) the free artist community occupying an unused chapel in Balatonboglár for organizing exhibitions without prior permission of the communist “jury” in 1970-73, (2) the Monday Universities between 1978-85, where lectures were delivered, which were prohibited by the communist regime (either due to the speaker or the subject matter), (3) the FreeSZFE movement organizing the blockade of the University of Theatre and Film Art in 2020 resisting the governmental attacks against the autonomy of the university, (4) the movement of secondary school students protesting against governmental action in public education in 2022-23. The paper will address the research question whether members of current youth resistance movements consciously reflect on similarities between parallel poleis of civil resistance under the communism and the current illiberal regime? My hypothesis is that a conscious reflection on similarities on the nature and operation of repressive power and individual moral decisions behind the actions of civil resistance in the past and today is painfully missing. I explore this question based on interviews with leading members of the above Hungarian youth resistance movements shedding light on the potentials in enhancing civil resilience through historical reflection.

Eszter Kirs has been an associate professor at the Department of International Relations of the Corvinus University of Budapest since 2016 having been a lecturer on international law and human rights at various academic institutions since 2003. She was a Fulbright visiting researcher at the Columbia Law School in 2009-2010, a visiting lecturer at the University of Minnesota Law School in 2019 and presented at several annual conferences of the Historical Dialogues, Justice & Memory Network. She has published academic papers and two monographs in the fields of transitional justice, human rights and youth resistance movements. Contact: kirs.eszter@gmail.com

Amanda Grzyb: Surviving Memory in Postwar El Salvador: Co-Creating Massacre Memorials, Museums, and Memory Routes with Communities

This presentation explores the collaborative research, design, and realization of massacre maps, memorials, and community museums by the Surviving Memory in Postwar El Salvador team, emphasizing the power of survivor-led grassroots memory work, participator methodologies, and international solidarity. Surviving Memory (www.elsalvadormemory.org) is an international partnership of survivors, scholars, artists, lawyers, museums, architects, community organizers, municipal governments, civil society organizations and mental health professionals who are committed to documenting the history of the Salvadoran Civil War (1980-1992) and preventing future violence. Funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), the Canadian Foundation for Innovation (CFI), the Ontario Research Fund (ORF), and 8 universities, our goal is to engage in high-impact, community-driven research and commemoration projects, oral histories, and accessible knowledge sharing activities that approach historical memory work holistically through the intersections of justice; art, music, and theatre; intergenerational education; documentation and testimonies; mental health and healing; commemoration; environmental reparation; and local economic reconstruction. Together, we work to realize the recommendations of the UN Truth Commission for El Salvador which, in its final report *From Madness to Hope* (1993), held Salvadoran state agents responsible for 85% of war-time violations. Although the Commission called on the Salvadoran government to pursue reparations and erect monuments with the names of victims, national commemoration efforts have been woefully inadequate. Our research team includes more than 20 institutional partners and more than 100 survivors, researchers, students, and local collaborators from more than 10 countries. As an example of “research as accompaniment,” our memorial projects amplify the voices of massacre survivors, incorporate Salvadoran youth into the design and construction of memorials, emphasize intergenerational education, and fortify local efforts to commemorate the history of the Salvadoran armed conflict.

*Amanda Grzyb is Professor of Information and Media Studies at Western University, where her primary teaching and research interests include state violence, Holocaust and genocide studies, media and the public interest, social movements, and memory studies. Her articles, book chapters, public reports, and artistic projects focus on Central America, Nazi-occupied Europe, Rwanda, and Sudan. Her edited and co-edited books include *Organizing Equality: Dispatches from a Global Struggle* (MQUP 2022), *Memoria Viva: Testimonios Sobre la Vida en La Virtud y Mesa Grande, 1980-1992* (MUPI 2021), *Conflict in the Nuba Mountains: From Genocide By Attrition to the Contemporary Crisis* (Routledge 2015), and *The World and Darfur* (MQUP 2009). Dr. Grzyb currently serves as the project director for *Surviving Memory in Postwar El Salvador* (www.elsalvadormemory.org), a community research partnership project supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), the Ontario Research Fund (ORF), the Canadian Foundation for Innovation (CFI), Western University, and matching contributions from more than 20 institutional and community partners. Contact: agrzyb@uwo.ca*

Chair: Alexander Karn

Alexander Karn is associate professor of history and peace and conflict studies at Colgate University (USA). His research and scholarship focus on the politics of history and evaluating possibilities for historical justice and reconciliation. He currently serves as convener of the Historical Dialogues, Justice, and Memory Research Network. Contact: akarn@colgate.edu

Matt James: Learning, Doppelganging, Saming: The Politics of Historical Injustice Comparison in Times of Crisis

One key promise of historical justice is that developing regretful, introspective cultures of memory can promote analogical learning from past atrocity. This kind of learning is often encapsulated in what I call mnemonics of rights: memorable shorthand invocations of past injustices that we deploy to try to prevent new ones. Rothberg's notion of multidirectional memory and Levy and Sznajder's focus on the globalization of Holocaust memory theorize key aspects of these valuable dynamics. Introductions to successive editions of Rosenbaum's classic reader, *Is the Holocaust Unique*, even evidenced optimism that the future of Holocaust memory would develop along these lines. Today, this optimism is shattered. I focus here on one particular area of concern, a mnemonic move often favoured by far-right populists and authoritarians, which I call "saming." Saming involves mobilizing some well-known historical injustice to warn about or protest against alleged new wrongs, and thus bears what Naomi Klein would call a doppelganger resemblance to productive multidirectional memory and analogical learning. But what balefully distinguishes saming is that 1) the comparison between the past injustice and the alleged present-day wrong is implausibly far-fetched and 2) the comparison also insinuates that the memorial culture associated with the original injustice is somehow corrupted or invidious. Thus, saming is a quintessential bad-faith move. It seeks to trade on the prominence or symbolic capital of a memorial culture that it works at the same time to mock and drain of resonance and meaning. Today, saming abounds in far-right invocations against pandemic-era public-health restrictions—think of the odious anti-lockdown meme, "I know how Anne Frank felt," for example. Klein's recent book, *Doppelganger*, explores other instances of what I would consider saming in the context of far-right online culture more generally. Focusing on Hungary's oft-criticized House of Terror museum and 1980s and 1990s campaigns for historical redress in Canada, this paper argues that saming—however abhorrent and destructive it may be—is a ubiquitous problem that flows naturally from the development of introspective, regretful memory cultures. The problem of saming cannot be reduced to the pandemic, far-right plotting, or the pathologies of cut-and-paste digital culture. Instead, I argue, understanding its inevitability amidst the necessity of "never again" memory cultures is a first step to more productively confronting its threat.

Matt James is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Victoria, where he studies the politics of historical justice and memory. He has published on these topics in venues such as the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Citizenship Studies*, *Global Studies Quarterly*, *Human Rights Review*, *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, and *Review of Constitutional Studies*. Contact: mattjame@uvic.ca

Nicole Immler: Transformative Justice: What to Gain from a Relational Approach for Revealing Epistemic Injustice?

This paper discusses *Transformative Justice* that as concept has gained some ground in the Transitional Justice field aiming to identify the 'root causes' of structural and systemic violence, rather than addressing just the 'symptoms'. *Transformative Justice* has been called an 'advocacy tool' to address structural situations of victimisation and marginalisation and to develop a 'shared, common understanding of a transformative purpose'. Linking critical theory and empirical data I will show in which way a relational approach ('relationality') - discussing various forms of institutional historical injustice and violence in relation to each other - can provide deeper insights into the epistemic nature of injustice and consequently in the ways they can be addressed in recognition and reparation procedures. Questions to be explored: Under which conditions do recognition and justice procedures allow transformation? What is understood as transformative? Who has the right to say what is transformative? And particularly (opposing exclusive logics of victimhood): What does a relational approach allow to reveal otherwise unseen? The paper argues that reparations for historical injustice are too often too narrowly framed, thereby often repeating the logics of the original harm.

Nicole Immler is Professor of Historical Memory and Transformative Justice at the University of Humanistic Studies in Utrecht, The Netherlands. In her current project Dialogics of Justice she explores with a team landmark decisions by Civil Courts regarding historical injustice (colonial violence, failed peace missions, abuse by the church and human rights and ecological violence by multinationals), exploring how reading those cases next to each other provides new insights into the nature and the legacies of historical injustice. Contact: N.Immler@uvh.nl

Erica Lehrer: Do We Need to Decolonize Atrocity Museums?

In the introduction to a forthcoming volume *Museums and Mass Violence: Perils and Potential*, Amy Sodaro and Paul Morrow note that "the greatest peril" in attempts by museums to address mass violence "is that museums are political institutions and the political, economic and social contexts in which they are created often constrain their ability to do the transformative work they are intended to do." To that apt observation, I would add that at least as great a peril to museums ability to do transformative work is that they are *historical* institutions. Embedded in their very bones – in collections, systems of classification, approaches to care and display of objects, the kind of gaze into which they inscribe visitors, and many other institutional structures – are enduring legacies of Western colonialism and imperialism. These uphold unexamined worldviews and epistemologies and guide everyday practices that are themselves partial, elitist, exclusive, and experienced as violent. If indeed, per Sodaro and Morrow, "museums have great potential to repair social wounds", this ability will only be unlocked if they first repair the wounds they have long inflicted on a great many individuals and communities by their very approaches to "museum-ness". After four days of discussions at the 44th ICOFOM symposium (International Committee for Museology) held in 2021 in Montreal, organizers Yves Bergeron and Michèle Rivel came into the conclusion that "the question of decolonisation is [today] at the heart of the issues that animate and transform the museum world." My proposed contribution to the "Travels Beyond the Holocaust" conference will address the question of what the work of "decolonization" would demand of genocide, human rights, and memorial museums, a category of institution that has thus far escaped the attention of this powerful and growing call to action. Doing so asks us to consider not only museums *of* mass violence, but museums *and* mass

violence, even – however provocatively – museums *as* mass violence. We must, in other words, ask to what extent an institution whose basic inherited structures have been part and parcel of global systems of domination can be used to redress those same systems. Examples will be drawn from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Toronto Holocaust Museum, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, and other institutions, and will address themes including the representation of violence, collections repatriation, and the treatment of human remains.

Erica Lehrer is a sociocultural anthropologist and curator. She is Professor in the departments of History and Sociology-Anthropology and held the Canada Research Chair in Museum and Heritage Studies (2007-2017) at Concordia University, Montreal, where she is also Founding Director of the Curating and Public Scholarship Lab (CaPSL). Along with numerous publications (see Academia.edu), she is Principal Investigator on the international team project Thinking Through the Museum: A Partnership Approach to Curating Difficult Knowledge in Public (2021-2028), see thinkingthroughthemuseum.org. Contact: erica.lehrer@concordia.ca

Thari Jungen: Gardens, Meadows, Forests – Holocaust Memories in Visual Culture

In large-format photographs, wild grass overgrows old concrete foundations. These are the borders of beds in the Dachau concentration camp, where the SS conducted research into biodynamic agriculture, and forced laborers* were enlisted and murdered. Under the motto "Against Healing", artist Andrea Büttner researches the National Socialist roots of the organic movement in the horticultural plantation euphemistically referred to as the "herb garden" (in German "Kräutergarten"). In doing so, Büttner creates an approach that not only puts the seemingly wholesome, pristine, and natural nature of gardening within the ecological turn in the visual arts into a different context but also raises questions about the visibility of Nazi crimes in a contested location: Refugees and homeless people have been housed in the buildings of the "plantation" since 2016; a memorial plaque dedicated to the memory of the crimes of the Nazi era; the greenhouses are falling into disrepair. In my lecture, I would like to ask to what extent artists understand gardens, forests, and plants as media of remembrance. The Holocaust scholar Roma Sendyka argues for a postanthropocentric perspective on places of memory, including extractivism-studies and plantstudies, etc. Following Sendyka, in my contribution, I want to question the politics of memory in museums: To what extent do artists* invoke the garden in their investigations of memory politics and commemoration? Do places such as the so-called "Kräuterarten" in Dachau remain mere dots on the map of crimes? Can plants take the role of catalysts within the still lively archives of the Holocaust crimes in the landscape, as the scholar Roma Sendyka suggests? And to what extent do landscapes become actors of memory? To answer these questions, in my contribution, I will pick up the threads of historians, anthropologists, and cultural studies scholars to outline approaches for a memory-cultural rereading of the gardens from the perspective of visual culture that includes more-than-human actors. Thereby, I will discuss recently produced temporary monuments that take more than human perspectives into account.

Thari Jungen (Dr. Phil.) is an artist and theorist specializing in artistic research. She holds a doctorate in philosophy from the Graduate School "Performing Citizenship" Hamburg and works as a lecturer at the Universities of the Arts in Berlin, Hamburg, and Halle. In the Summer of 2023, she was a visiting professor at Kunsthochschule Mainz. In 2015, she founded the artistic research collective „Institute for Falsification“. Thari's research focuses on practices at the intersection of the aesthetic and political and

examines topics like collaboration, memory studies, truth/fake, and the garden. Contact:
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Friday, 28 June

09:00-11:00 Session 23 | ÖAW Seminarraum 1

Challenges of Memorialization in Museums

Chair: Ljiljana Radonić

Ljiljana Radonić is the vice-director of the [Institute of Culture Studies](#) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna and heads a project funded by the European Research Council (ERC) on “[Globalized Memorial Museums](#). Exhibiting Atrocities in the Era of Claims for Moral Universals” there. She wrote her habilitation on the “World War II in Post-Communist Memorial Museums” (Berlin: De Gruyter 2021) at the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna where she also has been teaching since 2004. Member of the Austrian delegation of the IHRA. Contact: ljiljana.radonic@oeaw.ac.at

Stephanie Rotem: Universalizing the Architectural Language of Holocaust Museums

Museums play a crucial role in commemorating the Holocaust. They offer visitors a multi-dimensional experience through the display of authentic as well as reconstructed items, photographs, documents, short films, and works of art that inform, explain, and convey historical events in a manner that allows the visitor to experience them at various levels. The combination of didactic and narrative exhibits generates a sense of identification and empathy with the victims and offers visitors an emotional and even spiritual experience. Thus, Holocaust museums are located in an intermediate zone between the academic establishment and the popular media. They are perceived by the general public to be authoritative and trustworthy bodies that convey reliable historical information, while at the same time are accessible and welcoming and in this sense resemble the popular media, such as cinema. Most Holocaust museums present impressive architecture, which has become one of the most memorable components of the visitors' experience at the museum. Holocaust museums are represented by a multiplicity of architectural styles and concepts. Each museum reflects the society that stands behind its inception, its location and time – and the particular point of view of its architect. However, despite their essential differences, certain architectural elements are prevalent in Holocaust museums regardless of the time and place they were built, to such a degree that we can now identify the “Holocaust museum” as a distinct building type. Architecture is often thought of as the “packaging” of the building's contents, but in the case of Holocaust museums, the “package” is loaded with social, cultural, and political messages that critically construct the museum's narrative and, through it, our collective memory of the Holocaust – a memory etched in stone. The museal and architectural ideas first developed in Holocaust museums, have become a model, an archetype, inspiring and informing the design of other museums that commemorate mass violence and/or genocide, such as the “National September 11 Memorial & Museum” in New York, the “Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders” in East China, and “The Armenian Genocide Museum” in Yerevan. In this presentation, I will first identify the architectural elements that are prevalent in Holocaust museums, regardless of the time and place they were built. I will demonstrate how they have come to create a distinct museal and architectural type with particular characteristics and attributes, such as narrative-based exhibitions, circulation routes that correlate to them, choice of valued sites, abundance of symbolic elements, innovative design, and the incorporation of memorial spaces. Following, I will demonstrate how they inspired the design of other memorial

museums, and discuss the strengths and problematics of universalizing their architectural elements and language.

Stephanie Shosh Rotem is an architect, architectural historian and scholar of and museum studies. She received her PhD in the Program for Interdisciplinary Arts at Tel Aviv University and her doctorate was published as “Constructing Memory: Architectural Narratives of Holocaust Museums” (Peter Lang, 2013). Rotem was Head of the Museum Studies Program at Tel Aviv University, she taught graduate courses in Tel Aviv’s Faculty of the Arts, and in the International Program for Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa. Rotem was a Visiting Professor of Israel Studies at UC Berkeley (2019-21) and the University of Virginia (2018-19) teaching courses on Israeli art, architecture and culture. Currently, Rotem is a faculty member at the School of Architecture at Ariel University in Israel. Contact: shoshrotem@gmail.com

Mirah Langer: Kindling the Darkness: The Representation of Children and Grandchildren of Holocaust Survivors in Museums

This paper deals with one particular type of movement within Holocaust representation - how it travels across generations. The findings of a collection of over twenty case studies into the representation of children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors in museum exhibitions is presented. The research unpacks the impact when the story of the Holocaust extends into the aftermath of its effects across generations; it is the first project of its kind to map out how this narrative is portrayed specifically within museum spaces. The selection of museums traces the pathways of Austrian and German Jewish Holocaust survivors from their homelands, to displacement and imprisonment during the war and the places in which they and/or their descendants settled. It includes Holocaust, Jewish and other related history museums, with a particular interest in how the differing purposes and positioning of these institutions shapes their curatorial choices on this theme. The case studies are conducted in museums located across Germany, Austria and Israel as well as museums located within the site of the Auschwitz concentration camp and Theresienstadt ghetto. The representation of descendants analysed includes both implicit and explicit portrayals, ranging from bequests and testimony, to artistic and imaginative responses and their role in restitutions and reparations. Drawing upon Karl Mannheim’s model of generations, Walter Benjamin’s ‘The Angel of History’, and Lawrence Langer’s notion of the ‘afterdeath’ of the Holocaust, it explores striking ways in which the murdered generations of victims, the survivors, and those born in its aftermath are knotted together. Furthermore, the intersection between the private realm of memory and post-memory within survivor families and that of social sites of collective remembrance is explored. The findings offers profound wider resonance is into how commemorative practice is shaped and reshaped when it interrogates the intergenerational aftermath of trauma, war and genocide.

Mirah Langer, a PHD student in Sociology at the University of Vienna in Austria, is a member of the Vienna Doctoral School of Sciences, an upcoming EHRI Conny Kristel Fellow and one of ten students selected worldwide for the Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich Studienwerk (ELES)’s Global Jewish Leadership Programme. Born in Jerusalem as the daughter of a Holocaust survivor, Mirah grew up in a South Africa emerging out of Apartheid into a fledgling democracy. As such her work is also cross-illuminated by these two prisms of experience. Contact: mirahafrica@gmail.com

Maria Kobielska: Modes of Musealisation of Soviet and Communist Crimes in 21st Century Poland

A background to my paper is formed by well-recognised phenomena of 21st century mnemonic processes influencing East-Central Europe: globalization of Holocaust memory, evolving universal model of commemoration of genocide and atrocities, “double totalitarianism” memory paradigm in the EU, and competitive historical politics introduced by “mnemonic warriors” of the region. In this context, I intend to investigate relations between Holocaust memory and modes of memorialisation of Soviet/communist crimes revealed by permanent exhibitions of Polish historical museums of the 21st century. A general overview of the field allows to distinguish 2 groups of museums in question, substantially different in terms of application of a “Holocaust template” (Radonić 2020). First gathers museums which explore the general Polish history of the 20th century, including the period of Polish People’s Republic. Without exception, their narratives are anti-communist; all exhibitions include sections on communist crimes in post-war Poland, with repetitive tropes used to show terror (typically, a scenography of a death cell). A narrative framework of two (Nazi/German and communist/Soviet) totalitarian regimes of the 20th century, equally evil, is sometimes introduced by the exhibitions. However, any direct reference to techniques developed by global Holocaust memorial museums is rare in this group. In general, communist crimes and related suffering are exhibited beyond the “Holocaust template”. I will consider possible motivations for that, including specificity of (partially) traumatic memory evolving around the PPR. Against this backdrop, I will investigate in more detail museums which focus specifically on Soviet Union crimes and, in particular, include in their narratives deportations of ethnic Poles, Polish citizens or residents of Polish borderlands to the East. I will take into consideration 3 museums from this group. The Katyn Museum in Warsaw (open to the public in 2015) deals with a key *lieu de mémoire* of Polish anti-communist memory: mass executions of Polish POWs carried out by the NKVD in 1940. The traumatic Katyn memory tropes are deeply rooted in contemporary Polish remembering and historical policies, and the museum meticulously brings them together. The Sybir Memorial Museum, recently (2023) opened in Białystok, puts histories of Poles deported to the Soviet Union in the context of 19th century history and focuses on collective, familial and individual experiences of the victims. Finally, the Centre of Documentation of Upper Silesians Deportation in Radzionków, with its permanent exhibition opened in 2015, brings another layer to the story. At least 30 thousand residents of Upper Silesia (Polish-German borderland) were deported to the Soviet Union “as Germans” as part of the “living reparations” in 1945, despite their mixed national and ethnic identities and various pre-war citizenships; 30% did not survive. Their memory was long neglected, as a part of a confusing legacy, not fitting into a clear-cut national framework. Juxtaposed, the cases will allow to describe distinct variants of musealisation of communist/Soviet crimes regarding Holocaust memory forms. Testing the hypothesis of globalized Holocaust memory and challenging mnemonic claims for universalism, the research will also show other “templates” and factors that shape this museal landscape.

Maria Kobielska is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Polish Studies of the JU, founding member of the Research Center for Memory Cultures and current member of the Executive Committee of Memory Studies Association. Her research interests focus on contemporary Polish memory culture and she is currently leading a research project on new historical museums in Poland. Contact: maria.kobielska@uj.edu.pl

Mario Panico: Where They Lived: Questioning Perpetrator's Domesticity in Trauma Sites

This paper is part of a wider research project I am conducting on the representation of perpetrators in cultural imaginaries, museums, and memory sites. For this occasion, I will enter into detail about a specific kind of difficult heritage which is the former domestic spaces of perpetrators, drawing on examples from Europe and Latin America. Rather than the houses where perpetrators lived during their leisure time, my focus is on domestic spaces which were located close to – or were part of – concentration/transit camps or detention centres. The syntagmatic relationship and the topological closeness between the space for violence and the space for private life are central to my reasoning. This pairing enables a reflection on the modalities that sites of memory use to consider the complexity of the perpetrator's persona, but also, more interestingly and more strikingly, how perpetration could be interpreted and mediated not just as an act enabled by a sub-human without "a normal life". Adopting a critical heritage studies approach, I propose a taxonomy of the strategies implemented in some trauma sites to convey the infra-ordinariness of violence, offering to the visitors – in the best cases – a more stratified understanding of the different actors involved in acts of perpetration. Using different cases – e.g. the house of the women SS auxiliaries in the Ravensbrück former concentration camp and the house of the former director of the ex-Esma in Buenos Aires – I investigate what layers are added to the idea of violence in trauma sites, and what meaning-effects and imaginaries are proposed through museological and (permanent or non-permanent) artistic interventions. My objective is evidently not to ennoble deplorable violent practices or to give them visibility, but to offer a more comprehensive theoretical reflection on the cultural transmission of trauma, understanding the role a trauma site can have in the debate on the construction of "evilness". My taxonomy aims to inform the transnational debate on how trauma sites – that have this kind of heritage in their landscape – have tried (or not) to escape the simplistic semantic "bad vs. good" opposition that has long informed public-level memory narratives in post-conflict societies. Since every single site of trauma can also be a "crime scene" (cf. Biosca and Jirku 2021), I argue that reflecting on the strategies adopted by these sites to talk about the perpetrator through their material traces allows us to question the ontology and absolutization of memory subjectivities, addressing the problem of perpetration without the use of distancing and self-absolving narratives that relegate criminals merely to the status of "the other".

Mario Panico is a lecturer and postdoc at the University of Amsterdam where he teaches *Heritage and Memory Theory*. His research deals with the representations of perpetrators in memory museums and trauma sites in Europe and Latin America. Before this appointment, he completed his PhD in *Cultural Semiotics* at the University of Bologna, working on the role of nostalgia in memory museums. Contact: m.panico@uva.nl

Chair: Mirjam Karoly

Mirjam Karoly is a political scientist and the office manager at the VWI. From 2013-2017, she was head of the OSCE Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues at the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Previously, she served as Senior Adviser on Minority Rights at the OSCE Field Operation in Kosovo. She focuses on Roma in Europe, the situation of minorities and Roma displaced persons in conflict and post-conflict situations. She is an advocate for Roma rights and a member of the Austrian Delegation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. She also serves as a member of the Austrian Ethnic Council on Roma and is an honorary member of Romano Centro.

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Aleksandra Szczepan: Precarious Memorials for Precarious Memory: Memorialising the Roma Holocaust in Poland

The paper examines three models of memorializing the Roma Holocaust in Poland: communist-colossal, ethnographic-exotic, and performative-precarious, within the scope of their historic succession and manifold contexts. I focus on the locally specific memorialization of the rural Roma Holocaust in south-eastern Poland. For, although thousands of Roma died in death camps, other thousands were shot by special firing squads across Polish villages and towns. These places are now rarely commemorated and many of them are neglected. In the case of south-eastern Poland, some of the killing sites were commemorated by official monuments in the 1960s, such as the first monument of the 1943 massacre of the Roma in Szczurowa, or the monument for murdered Jews and Roma in Zasław. These memorials, monumental in their aesthetics, neutralize the ethnicity of the victims, calling them “victims of Hitlerite barbarity” or “martyrs.” The second trend in memorialization may be seen in the endeavors of Tarnów-based ethnographer Adam Bartosz, who in 1979 curated the first exhibition that covered the topic of the Roma Holocaust, Gypsies in Polish Culture at the Regional Museum in Tarnów. Although ethnographic in its scope and exoticizing Roma experience, this exhibition turned out to be a platform for a specific détournement. Members of the local Roma community came to its opening and – in a symbolic way – took over the space of the museum through their persistent presence and performative use of the exhibition’s setting. Finally, the performative-precarious model may be seen in the yearly initiative of the Roma Caravan Memorial (initiated by Bartosz), which visits sites of the Roma Holocaust in southern Poland, and ephemeral monuments by Polish-Roma artist Małgorzata Mirga-Tas, who created a wooden monument at the killing site in Borzęcin and then, after its destruction by neo-Nazis, made wax casts of the wounded sculpture.

Aleksandra Szczepan works as a post-doc researcher on the project “You will never walk alone? Civil and military imageries of Polish popular culture since the 1980s”, within the research project “Adjustment and Radicalization: Dynamics in Popular Culture(s) in Pre-War Eastern Europe”, a joint initiative of the Professorship for Slavic Literary and Cultural Studies at the University of Potsdam, Leibniz Center for Literary and Cultural Research (ZfL), the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO), and the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam (ZFF). Szczepan holds a PhD in Comparative Literature from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Her PhD investigated

how Polish post-war literature may be interpreted through the lens of traumatic realism. Contact: aleksandra.szczepan@uni-potsdam.de

Volha Bartash/Leonard Stöcklein: Sites of Memory of Roma and Sinti as Meeting Points of the Local and the Global

Despite decades of struggle for official recognition, many burial sites of Roma genocide victims remain unmarked, while some are in need of basic protection and preservation measures, in particular in Eastern Europe. Yet, local Roma communities often ‘appropriate’ such sites. They raise crosses and family memorials or mark them with the symbols of the International Romani Movement. The commemorative practices of Roma reflect familial and religious traditions, as well as international trends. Local organizers often look up to the commemorations in Auschwitz-Birkenau on the 2nd of August as an exemplary model. However, on the ground, the memorialization of Romani genocide has been influenced by national memory politics and the narratives of other victim groups. For instance, the memories of the Holocaust and Stalinism inform the commemoration of Romani genocide in the Baltics. Grassroots initiatives often face socio-political resistance and bureaucratic hurdles. Therefore, they seek to integrate into transnational initiatives and secure the support of foreign foundations. How does all of this inform the concepts of memorial sites of Roma? Taking a close look at memorials, symbols and acts of memory, we unveil the multilevel entanglements that have shaped the sites of memory of Roma. Our analysis draws on our recent research in NGO archives and conversations with memory activists, museum workers and educators in the Baltic states, Belarus and Germany. This allows us to highlight similarities and differences in the memorialization of Romani genocide across national borders.

***Volha Bartash** is researcher and lecturer at the University of Regensburg. For the past decade, she has been studying the experiences and memories of the Nazi genocide of Roma in Belarus and the Baltic states. For her projects, Volha has conducted extensive fieldwork throughout the region. She is recipient of the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellowship, as well as research fellowships of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Contact: volha.bartash@geschichte.uni-regensburg.de*

***Leonard Stöcklein** is doctoral researcher and lecturer at the University of Erlangen Nuremberg. His doctoral thesis investigates the emergence of central and regional memorial sites of Sinti and Roma in Germany from 1980 to 2021. Since 2019 Leonard has been also working on an oral history and exhibition project on the genocide of Roma in Belarus. He last visited the memorial sites of Roma in Belarus in October 2023. Contact: leonard.stoecklein@fau.de*

Kirsty Campbell/Timothy Williams: The Past as a Teacher for the Present? Discursive Connections between the Porrajmos and Discrimination in the Present

The foundations for the civil rights movement of Roma and Sinti in Germany was the fight for recognition as victims of the Holocaust, called Porrajmos by Roma and Sinti. The fight against discrimination led by Roma and Sinti activists was thereby inherently connected to remembering the Holocaust as both an atrocious event in the past, as well as a historic moment with a continuing detrimental legacy for Roma and Sinti living in Germany. Roma and Sinti’s fight for being acknowledged as equal victims of the Third Reich was therefore always also about recognition for their

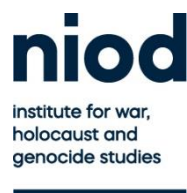
rights in the present moment, particularly as they continued (and continue) to face significant discrimination. In this paper, we seek to investigate the extent to which reference to the Porrajmos is still a discursive strategy for Roma living in Germany today when discussing their life histories, as well as experiences of discrimination. As such, we pose the question: What significance does the Porrajmos hold for Roma living in Germany and how is it discursively included in narrations of their life experiences? The paper focuses on the significance and discursive means of inclusion of the Porrajmos in the context of Roma people talking about discrimination and resilience. The data stems from 160 life histories and thematic interviews conducted with 53 people, collected using a participatory action research approach in which we trained Roma participants to carry out the interviews. Regular workshops with our interviewers ensured that their insights on the interviews informed our ensuing qualitative content analysis. Additionally, the activist background of the Roma project partners helps integrate their understanding of the trajectory of the Roma civil rights movement in Germany and its connection to narratives about the Porrajmos. Specifically, our research focusses on interviewees from the non-autochthonous Roma community living in Germany, who face a distinct set of forms of discrimination and are increasingly making these topics relevant to the civil rights movement of Roma and Sinti in Germany. We therefore analyse specifically how non-autochthonous Roma speak about the Porrajmos, considering both how it is included in their life histories, and how it is embedded in discussions on more current experiences of discrimination in Germany.

Kirsty Campbell is a PhD candidate at the University of the Bundeswehr München. She currently works as a research associate at the same institute in a project regarding the discrimination and resilience of Roma in Germany (DiREKT-Roma). She holds an M.Sc. in War Studies from the University of Glasgow and a Bachelor's degree with joint honours in English Literature and History, also from the University of Glasgow. Contact: kirsty.campbell@unibw.de

Timothy Williams is a Junior Professor of Insecurity and Social Order and Chairman of the interdisciplinary research centre RISK at the University of the Bundeswehr Munich, as well as Vice President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. Timothy is the author of the book *The Complexity of Evil. Perpetration and Genocide* (2020, Rutgers University Press) and has co-edited a volume on perpetrators (with Susanne Buckley-Zistel, 2018, Routledge). His next book *Memory Politics after Mass Violence. Attributing Roles in the Memoryscape* is under contract with Bristol University Press. Contact: timothy.williams@unibw.de

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