

The Sky's the Limit

An Interview with USC President
C.L. MAX NIKIAS

Remembering Survival

BY CHRISTOPHER R.
BROWNING

Setting the Record Straight

BY OMER BARTOV

Emerging Insights:

*Testimony in
Academia*

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“Character is destiny, and we can all be better humans once we learn tolerance.”

USC President C.L. Max Nikias, page 20

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PastForward brings together many voices around issues related to the educational and scholarly use of genocide eyewitness testimony. Whether survivors or their descendants, teachers or students, scholars, historians, or filmmakers, the variety of their experiences and opinions is a sample of the lively milieu of critical thought and discourse emerging around the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's Visual History Archive.



Meet the authors of this issue of **PastForward**



Mark Baker is director of the Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation and associate professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies in the School of Historical Studies at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia. He completed his PhD at Oxford University and was twice a Fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A former lecturer at the University of Melbourne, Baker has taught extensively on modern Jewish history, the Holocaust and genocide, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and terrorism in modern conflict. He is the author of *The Fiftieth Gate* (HarperCollins, 1997), an award-winning personal account of his parents' memories of the Holocaust.

representations of violence, and the Holocaust, and has edited scholarly anthologies on the Holocaust, genocide, religion, and war crimes. His most recent book, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present Day Ukraine*, indicates the new direction of his research on interethnic relations in the borderlands of Eastern Europe.

Ali Battat is a sophomore at USC majoring in international relations and Chinese. She is Associate Director of She Shall Go Free, an anti-human trafficking organization, and a member of the USC Women's Club Water Polo Team.



Christopher Browning is the Frank Porter Graham Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A three-time winner of the National Jewish Book Award in the Holocaust category, Browning has written eight books on the Holocaust and Nazi Germany. His most recent book, *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave-Labor Camp* (2010), is a case study of a complex of factory slave labors in Starachowice, Poland, based primarily on 292 survivor testimonies. In 2006, he was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.



Omer Bartov, the John P. Birkelund Distinguished Professor of European History and Professor of History and Professor of German Studies at Brown University, has a vast knowledge of the Holocaust and is considered one of the world's leading authorities on the subject of genocide. He is the author of seven books that deal with World War II,

Contributors

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Monika J. Flaschka is an instructor in the Department of History at Kent State University and is affiliated with the Jewish Studies and Women's Studies programs. She teaches courses on women; sexuality; Holocaust memory, history, and film; and comparative genocide. She completed her PhD in modern European history in 2009, with a dissertation titled, "Race, Rape and Gender in Nazi-Occupied Territories." Recently, she has been working on a series of articles and conference presentations, utilizing the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's testimonies, and on organizing an international conference on democracy and violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.



Dr. Carla Garapedian, a filmmaker and member of the Board of Directors of the Armenian Film Foundation, is leading a project to digitize nearly 400 interviews with survivors and other witnesses of the Armenian genocide for preservation in the Institute's Visual History Archive. Her critically acclaimed film *Screamers*, which focuses on the recurrence of genocide and genocide denial, won the 2006 American Film

Institute Audience Award for Best Documentary. In 2007, Garapedian received the Armin T. Wegner Humanitarian Award from the Armin T. Wegner Foundation and the Arpa Foundation for Film, Music and Art.



Silvia Goldbaum Tarabini Fracapane is a PhD candidate at Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung, Technische Universität, Berlin. In her dissertation she analyzes the everyday life of the Danish Jews in Theresienstadt.

Wolf Gruner is the Shapell-Guerin Chair in Jewish Studies and a professor of history in the USC Dana and David Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences. The author of nine books, he has specialized in research on the history of the Holocaust, comparative history of mass violence and genocides, and racial and state discrimination against indigenous populations. Gruner serves on the International Advisory Board of the *Journal of Genocide Research*, the Editorial Board of *Beitraege zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus*, and the Institute's Faculty Advisory Council.

Denise Kandel is a Professor of Sociomedical Sciences in Psychiatry at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University and a survivor of the Holocaust. Her current research focuses on the epidemiology and etiology of smoking and nicotine dependence in adolescence. Kandel has received distinguished

awards from the National Institute on Drug Abuse, the American Society of Addiction Medicine, and the Society for Prevention Research. She is married to Eric Kandel, a Holocaust survivor and a winner of the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in the year 2000.



Suzanne Kaplan is a researcher at the Hugo Valentin Centre at Uppsala University in Sweden. Her work centers on the long-term effects of extreme trauma on children. In the 1990s, Kaplan oversaw the collection of more than 300 interviews with Holocaust survivors and other witnesses in Sweden for the Shoah Foundation, and she was one of the first scholars to conduct research in the Institute's archive. Her study, *Children in the Holocaust: Dealing with Affects and Memory Images in Trauma and Generational Linking*, was published in 2002.



Kosal Path is a lecturer in the USC School of International Relations and a Deputy Director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), an independent, Phnom Penh-based research institution established to research and document the Khmer Rouge regime.



Hannah Pollin-Galay is a PhD candidate in Jewish history at Tel Aviv University and a Yiddish instructor at Ben Gurion University. Her doctoral thesis, which focuses on oral histories of the Holocaust in Lithuania, explores how different contemporary political environments, languages, and cultural frameworks inform memory. Pollin-Galay is a former director of Education in Los Angeles for *Yiddishkayt*, which works to ensure the survival of Yiddish language, culture, and history through innovative educational and cultural programs and large-scale events.

Irena Steinfeldt worked with filmmaker Claude Lanzmann on the documentary *Shoah* (1985). In 1993, she joined Yad Vashem's International School for Holocaust Studies, where she developed educational materials and worked with educators in Israel and abroad. In 2007, Steinfeldt was appointed director of Yad Vashem's Righteous Among the Nations Department. She authored the educational unit *How Was It Humanly Possible? A Study of Perpetrators and Bystanders During the Holocaust* (Yad Vashem, 2002), co-authored an interactive multimedia program *Into That Dark Night* (Yad Vashem, 2003), and is co-editor with Carol Rittner and Stephen D. Smith, of *The Holocaust and the Christian World: Reflections on the Past, Challenges for the Future* (Continuum, 2002).

Leadership News

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Institute Welcomes New and Emeritus Board of Councilors Members

THE INSTITUTE'S BOARD of Councilors has been strengthened by the appointment of Jerome Coben, Emanuel Gerard, and Harold Williams to emeritus positions, and the addition of four new members: Joel Citron, Joel Greenberg, Marcy Gringlas, and Tad Taube.

Joel Citron is a Managing Director and CEO of Tenth Avenue Holdings (TAH). He is also Chairman of Tenth Avenue Commerce and Chief Investment Officer of TAH Management. He has served as Chairman of the Board of Directors of Provide Commerce Inc., currently serves as Chairman of the Avenue Income Strategies Fund, and is on the board of Communications Capital Group, Attivio, and Symbius Medical, as well as other privately owned companies. In addition to his corporate engagements, Citron serves as President of the Board of Trustees of Kivunim and Vice President of the Board of Trustees of The Abraham Joshua Heschel School, and he is a Trustee of The Atlantic Theater. He holds an MA in Economics and a Bachelor of Science in Business Administration from the University of Southern California.

Joel Greenberg is a Founder and serves on the management committee of Susquehanna International Group, LLP, since 1987. He was a trial attorney in the Honors Program of the Criminal Division of the United States Department of Justice from 1984-1986, where he primarily worked in the Office of Special Investigations, which had a mandate to locate and deport Nazi war criminals who entered the U.S. Greenberg received a BA in History from the State University of New York at Binghamton in 1978, and a JD, Cum Laude, from Fordham Law School in 1984. In late 2010 and early 2011, he served as Co-chair of the Education Committee for Pennsylvania Governor Tom Corbett's transition team. He is Co-founder and Treasurer of the Seed The Dream Foundation. Greenberg is married to Marcy B. Gringlas (see below).

Marcy B. Gringlas is a member of the faculty in the Pediatrics Department at Thomas Jefferson University Hospital in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She received her BM from Indiana University in Bloomington, her MA from Columbia University, and her PhD in Developmental Psychology from Temple University. Her research includes longitudinal follow-up of high-risk infants and early childhood development. Gringlas is a member of the American Psychological Association, the Society for Research in Child Development, the World Association for Infant Mental Health and the National Center for Clinical Infant Programs. Marcy serves on the Boards of the Anti-Defamation League, Chairing the Bearing Witness Program; Steppingstone Scholars, Inc, Chairing the Program Committee; and the Baldwin School. She is co-founder and President of the Seed The Dream Foundation.

Tad Taube is the founder and chairman of the Woodmont Company. A dedicated philanthropist, he is the president and charter director of the Koret Foundation, and serves on the boards of the Hoover Institution and other non-profit organizations. Taube is also the founder and chairman of the Taube Philanthropies, which include the Taube Family Foundation and the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture. He has been honored with the Scopus Award from Hebrew University, the United Way's Alexis de Tocqueville Award, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars' Corporate Citizenship Award. In 2004, Taube was the recipient of the Commander's Cross, Poland's highest civilian medal. ■

More than the Sum of its Parts

By Stephen D. Smith

The archive is not limited to historical research. As testimonies are collected and compared, as THEMES ARE EXPLORED and comparative study done, *insights* that we did not expect emerge.

THIS ISSUE OF *PastForward* explores how the testimonies in the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's Visual History Archive are being used in higher education and research. At the University of Southern California (USC), faculty and students have daily access to the archive. It is also accessible at 30 locations across the world; new sites are added regularly, making the archive accessible to tens of thousands of students and researchers.

Though each testimony in the archive was provided by an individual who recounted their life history, the collected body of testimony is not limited to *historical* research. As testimonies are collected and compared, as themes are explored and comparative study done between single testimonies or groups of testimonies, insights that we did not expect emerge. As researchers from the humanities, social sciences, and even the hard sciences mine the information, new questions are raised on topics that vary widely, such as experiences related to resistance, gender, geography, or religious belief. Often we find that the witnesses in the archive have answered questions they were not directly asked. The archive is actually much greater than the sum of its parts; the many themes it addresses are an interdisciplinary treasure trove for researchers and students alike.

Here at USC, students and researchers from history, philosophy, psychology, languages, law, public health, music, cinema, international relations, art, gerontology, critical studies, education, multimedia literacy, media and communications, social work, and other disciplines are already using the archive. In his interview, USC President C.L. Max Nikias outlines his vision for this archive (page 20). For example, testimony is being used as an online video data resource in Scalar, a new Internet-based, academic publishing platform that is a project of the Alliance for Networking Visual Culture in association with Vectors, the USC Institute for Multimedia Literacy, and the USC Center for Transformative Scholarship, and with support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. A recent film competition at USC encouraged students to use the archive to contribute to the conversation on genocide. And in his article (page 28), Wolf Gruner describes a USC research group that is examining the issue of "resisting the path to genocide," for which the testimonies are an invaluable data set. So far, at least 59 courses at USC have utilized the testimonies in some way. As a result, we produced *Visual History Archive in Practice* (page 32) to show some of the



possibilities of using the archive in higher education.

What is not generally recognized is that each testimony includes the story of a person's life before and after World War II, in addition to their experiences during the Holocaust. That means there are tens of thousands of hours of material about European Jewish life in the 20th century, *excluding* the Holocaust period. With testimonies in 32 languages and from 56 countries, there is much comparative data about how the story is experienced and told differently in different contexts. For example, there are testimonies given by Holocaust survivors who had just lived through the 1990s Balkan wars; Yiddishists have hundreds of hours of testimony to watch and listen to; visual historians have hundreds of thousands of images to review, genealogists have 1.2 million names to work with. Public health professionals could search on the keyword *typhus* and yield results from 4,098 testimonies; and, if psychologists search on the keyword *trauma*, they too have thousands of testimonies at their fingertips. Historians Christopher Browning and Omer Bartov, both writing in this publication (page 18 and page 24 respectively), have used the testimonies in recent published historical works.

The Holocaust was not an intellectual event—it was anti-intellectual on many levels. We are cautious not to turn the testimonies into a data set in order to indulge our theoretical hypotheses, to publish new work, or to keep academics employed. But, as we think deeply and bring in a multitude of scholars to examine this tremendously complex past, we can get the best out of what we have been given by the eye-witnesses and add to our knowledge and understanding.

In this edition, we hear from a few of the scholars and students about their work with the archive, how they use it, and why testimony forms an integral part of their research. ■

Voices from the Archive

Nearly 52,000 Holocaust survivors and other witnesses gave their testimonies to the Institute, from 56 countries and in 32 languages. The archive is filled with more than 100,000 hours of unique life stories. It would take more than 12 years to watch every person's testimony, and it would be impossible to share all of their stories in *PastForward*. Here is a brief glimpse from the archive into the life of survivor Denise Kandel, who also wrote an article for this issue (see page 8). We invite you to view her entire testimony, and the testimony of her late brother, Jean-Claude Bystryn, on our website at dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/voicesfromthearchive.

Denise Kandel

Born February 27, 1933, Paris, France;
Interviewed 1996, Riverdale, N.Y.

ISER AND SARA BYSTRYN were in Normandy, vacationing with their six-year-old daughter, Denise, and their one-year-old son, Jean-Claude, when Nazi Germany invaded France. Denise remem-

bered hearing the drone of aircraft in the sky.

"My mother was an eternal pessimist...so I'm sure she was very worried," Denise said.

Home in Colombes, a suburb of Paris, the air raids began. Sometimes they lasted for minutes; sometimes they lasted for hours. Sara would take the children down to the basement, but Iser did not share her apprehension. "He used to say, 'If there's a little cloud in the sky, she's going to see it.'"

Iser was from Poland. When the first major roundup of foreign-born Parisian Jews began on May 14, 1941, he was ordered to report to the police. His wife urged him not to go, but he did not want to disobey the authorities. "He said, 'No, I'm going to go. I should go.'" He did go—and was sent to a detainment camp.

Iser was able to receive letters, and his family was permitted to visit him once a month. All their communications were monitored, so Sara would give secret messages to her husband by hiding little notes in the *pains d'épices* (honey cakes) that she sent him.

In Denise's testimony, she said, "I don't think I'm a good witness, because I don't think I remember enough of what happened in my life." Yet she remembered the period after her father's detainment. While her mother went "from office to office" each day to petition for Iser's release, Denise was left to care for her little brother. Each time her mother left the children alone in the apartment, she would warn Denise not to let Jean-Claude make any noise in case anyone came to the door.

Caring for Jean-Claude "really colored my relationship with him," Denise said, "because even after the war...I would tell him what to do, and it was a really big source of conflict."

Denise was also responsible for bringing home the daily food rations. This meant waiting in long lines, and there was always the risk that the food would run out before her turn came. "You always had to think of what to do in order to maximize whatever it is that you needed...which line to go in, when to go in line. ... You always had to think of what to do in order to survive..."

After trying for months to get her husband released from the detainment camp, Sara eventually arranged for his escape. Iser was initially unwilling to take the risk. Camp officials had put him in charge of a barrack, and he feared that other prisoners would be punished if he went missing. One night in January 1942, the French gendarmes (police) came looking for him at the Bystryns' apartment. Unbeknownst to his family, Iser had finally escaped and was making his way toward Lyons. The next morning, Sara and the children left for the free zone.

Though Denise can't recall how they were reunited with her father, she does know that her mother, her brother, and she fled to Southwestern France, where Iser joined them. Iser had an ulcer that required an operation, and in Cahors they met a surgeon who kept him in the hospital for six weeks so the authorities would not find him. The surgeon also convinced the nuns at a local convent to take in Denise and her brother, but her parents had to look for shelter elsewhere—sometimes in friendly homes, sometimes in the woods but always on the move.

Jean-Claude spent every night at a neighbor's home because boys were not permitted to live in the convent. Meanwhile, Denise tried her best to blend in with the other girls. There was only one problem: She had never been baptized, which meant she could not take communion at Sunday mass. "It added to the confusion and the fear and the anxiety," she recalled. "Every Sunday there was a public display that I was not like everyone else." After much deliberation, her parents decided that for her own safety Denise should be baptized. Sara would go to the convent to give



Denise Kandel (right) and her brother, Jean-Claude Bystryn, in 1943.

the nuns permission to perform the rite.

"I did not know what it was like to be a Jew," Denise said. "I had not the vaguest idea. We never used to go to synagogue, and it was never discussed. I don't have any memories of my parents teaching me anything about Judaism. We used to celebrate Christmas. I didn't even know about Hanukkah—I had never even heard the word."

Sara was in hiding in St. Céré, 80 kilometers away. When she reached the front door of the convent, she stopped. She could not knock on the door.

"She went back," Denise said. "It was very amazing, because my parents were not practic-

ing Jews, but somehow they could not cross this barrier."

In 1944, Denise was alerted that someone had reported her; she would have to leave the convent immediately. "People were nice to me, but I could never get close to anybody. Survival depended on not getting close to anybody."

She found refuge with a family near Toulouse, the parents of a teacher at the convent who took an interest in Denise and Jean-Claude. "They were very poor. I remember for dinner, it was always a meal cooked in a black iron pot hanging in the chimney over a fire, mainly cabbage," Denise recalled. "They would take one little piece of chicken maybe, or duck, they would

put it together, and it would be for everybody."

Denise was eleven years old when Allied forces liberated France in the autumn of 1944. After a brief stay in a home for Jewish orphans, she was reunited with her family. They tried to resume their former lives in Colombes, but things would never be the same. Jean-Claude had grown very close to the family who had taken him in, and he found it difficult to leave them. They remained part of his life even after the war; he would spend summer vacations with them until the Bystryns immigrated to the United States. Denise has noticed that some of the habits Jean-Claude adopted from this family have endured throughout his life.

The war changed Denise as well, in ways that became more evident to her as she grew older. "I'm terribly obsessive," she acknowledged, citing the times she spent as a child trying to decide which lines to stand in for food rations. "If I have to make a decision, it takes me forever. And I'm always debating, 'Should I do A? Should I do B?' And I know exactly why I'm doing this now...the experience of the war...in the course of a whole life, it's a very short period. But you get imprinted...especially when there's the influence of fear. It stays with you much longer."

"The other thing is this issue of identity," Denise added. "I basically always have the feeling that I'm not who I am—that I'm a fake, and I'm not doing anything well. I'm quite successful professionally...I have a PhD; I'm a professor at Columbia University in the Department of Psychiatry and the School of Public Health. But I always think, 'Why am I a professor? I mean, I really don't deserve to be a professor. ... How did I ever get tenure? I don't deserve to get tenure... I'm not a good lecturer; I'm not a good teacher.' "

Toward the end of her interview, Denise considered why she had decided to share her story. "You have these revisionist people, they think nothing happened," she said. "You have to be a witness to history." ■

The Elusive Recollections

By Denise Kandel

Denise Kandel, professor of Sociomedical Sciences in Psychiatry at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University, is a Holocaust survivor. For a full biography, see page 2.

New York City, January 20, 2011

As I write these words, I am preparing to go to France for an event at CERCIL, a small study and research center in Orléans, France, dedicated to the history of the three internment

camp of the Loiret. It was to two of these camps—Beaune-la-Rolande and Pithiviers—that the first group of Polish Jews was sent after being rounded up in France on May 14, 1941; my father was one of the 3,430 men arrested that day in Paris and shipped by train to Orléans.

My flying over for this occasion is symbolic of my obsession with my experiences during the war years, from 1942 to 1944 and of why also I agreed to be interviewed by the Shoah Foundation. The interviewer spelled out ahead of time the three questions around which the interview would be organized. Thus, a structure was set up in which to provide a coherent account of one's life during the war. In the days prior to the interview—and in many days since—I reviewed over and over the facts as I knew them. My testimony was incomplete but was probably partially correct and helped me to impose some order on my images. I testified on November 24, 1996, and looked at the video once on July 29, 2008, as soon as the testimonies could be viewable at Columbia University. I am consistently amazed by the importance that I attach to the two years when I was hidden to avoid being captured by the Germans, although these years

The author in New York, 2011

represent such a short period of my life.

I do not know whether I testified for others or primarily for myself. Preparing for the interview forced me to impose a linear narrative on events even though doing so was difficult. The fundamental issue is that there are many lacunae in what I know and many ambiguities in what I try to recall; I find the ambiguities extremely hard to accept, and I repeatedly attempt to resolve them as best as I can. I know that my father escaped from Beaune-la-Rolande in January 1942. How he did it, how he spent the next several months before he joined my mother in the southwest part of France, how he knew how to find her, these are questions to which I do not have answers and to which I now presume there will never be answers. To check out my memories, I had numerous discussions with my brother, who was



PHOTO BY DAVID BEYDA STUDIO

five years younger than I, and lived through some of the same events as I did.

But the record is not static. New elements come to light unexpectedly. To give but a few examples: A French genealogist whom I met completely by chance two years ago came across a document that listed my father as being in assigned residence near Clermont-Ferrand about four weeks after he escaped from Beaune-la-Rolande. Clermont-Ferrand was far from St Céré, where he eventually rejoined my mother. Another example: I spent two years in a Catholic institution, Ste Jeanne d'Arc, in Cahors; my brother only spent the first year there—and only during the day. I was nine, and he was four. I never understood why he was allowed to stay the first year and not the second. But in the summer of 2009, at the *Cérémonies des Justes* (for the Righteous Gentiles), which my brother and I instigated and which honored both the mother superior who hid us and the family who hid my brother, we discovered the reason he was allowed to stay at Ste Jeanne d'Arc during the day the first year. Although it was an institution for girls, there was a mixed kindergarten class that he could attend. The next year, my brother was too old and he could not even spend the days there.

I want to know what life in the camp was like for my father. I want to speak to people who were there and who may have known him. I harbor the irrational hope that in Orléans I will perhaps meet former internees—even though I know that the men who could have been in the camp with my father would be more than 100 years old and all would be dead by now. But perhaps I will meet a daughter or a son who would know more about the camp than I do.

I tried to use the archive of USC Shoah Foundation Institute's testimonies for the same purpose of reconstruction. Could I obtain information from other people who lived in the same towns or cities in which I lived and perhaps shared some of my experiences? Were there other Jewish children hidden in the



Prisoners being registered at the Pithiviers internment camp south of Paris

Catholic institution where I was hidden, in Cahors in the Lot? Were there other Jews hidden in Escamps, the small village where my brother lived after Jeanne d'Arc with one of the nun's relatives? I searched the archives for Cahors or Escamps. I found one reference to Cahors, but it was not helpful.

The archives are extraordinary. But my failed search illuminated for me some of their limitations. My search for potentially relevant testimonies was somewhat frustrating because of the way in which the interviews have been coded and the categories organized. I found it difficult to figure out how to locate interviews by locale, although I am a social scientist and know my way around codes and categories. When reading my own testimony, I saw that some key concepts had not been coded. Yet I was able to locate and view my brother's testimony. I was surprised by the details he remembered but that I had forgotten. I was also shocked at the depth of his emotions as he spoke to the interviewer. Here he was, a man almost 60, and he cried so hard that he could barely continue to speak. I had never seen him in such a state. It was a revelation. Was he crying for the childhood he missed when he was separated from our parents at such a young age? Was he crying because he still missed the love of the wonderful couple who hid him and

Perhaps the information is there in the thousands of words in the testimonies or in other archives but unknowable in the end. Ambiguity and the impossibility of resolving it are the driving themes behind my testimony and my continuing attempts at more complete understanding.

to whom he was extremely attached? I never asked him because I did not dare to do so. I felt that by watching his testimony, I had violated his privacy in some way.

I do not use the testimonies for my professional work as an epidemiologist at Columbia University. However, I am working on a book that will describe my experiences during the war, my parents' lives when they first immigrated to France from Poland, the role of the Church in France in saving Jews. I plan to listen again to my testimony. Ambiguities and doubts remain. Perhaps the information is there in the thousands of words in the testimonies or in other archives but unknowable in the end. Ambiguity and the impossibility of resolving it are the driving themes behind my testimony and my continuing attempts at more complete understanding. ■

A Pathway through Memory

By Mark Baker

The Institute's ARCHIVE is not only a tool of pedagogy. It is a *witness* that sees, speaks, and hears through the eyes, mouth, and ears of *students* today.

Mark Baker is director of the Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation and associate professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies in the School of Historical Studies. For a full biography, see page 2

learned to sidestep or walk blindfolded through the *Stoppelstayer*, the stumbling blocks of the murdered past. We see people brunching at ground level, framed by a void where once stood a house. The names of its former inhabitants are plaques on the tall façade of their neighbor's buildings. There are the bricks that etch out the shape of things no longer—the foundations of synagogues pegged on suburban space, or the traces of the fallen wall of 1989. History is written in graffiti on crumbling surfaces, carved on pillars and walls that exhibit bits of information.

But the voices of those who once lived here—who were deported from these places and murdered elsewhere—have been silenced forever. One has to travel farther east to see their remains—the silent mass graves of Eastern Europe; the ramshackle death camps, where the only sign of life are the crows who gather on the wooden watchtowers, mocking the tourists.

For my students in search of this elusive past, I asked the survivors to accompany them on their journey. Each of the students was assigned a testimony from the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's archive, a story that would

A Monash University student walks the train tracks at Auschwitz

I'VE COME WITH THIRTY university students to Europe on a study tour of post-Holocaust memory. "Welcome to the places you cannot see," I tell them as we set out on a tour of Berlin. There is no escaping history here; it surrounds, ambushes, traps, though regular strollers might have

guide us through this landscape of mass death. Each student—one by one—relayed a unique story, capturing the uniqueness of an individual life whose fate was collectively determined by those years/events we call the Holocaust. Without the testimony, the experience through Europe would have remained an abstraction. The students of the present—sixty years after the Shoah—would have moved through the void of remnant ruins as though it were a stage façade. Instead, every site we visited was revived through the living presence of one whose story was listened to face to face—the student staring into the depths of the screen and intimately bonding with a life once lived in the eye of the catastrophe.

The Visual History Archive is not only a tool of pedagogy; it is a pair of eyes, a witness—fifty-thousand times over—that sees, speaks, and hears through the eyes, mouth, and ears of students today. When these students follow the trail of a vanished world, the testimonies help them to retrieve it by making the invisible visible once again.

In my teaching at Monash University, I ask my students to listen to at least one testimony. I ask them to commit to a full story from beginning to end and to resist the contemporary fashion of multitasking and fragmented listening. For if the Holocaust realized the endpoint of dehumanization, the learning process must



PHOTO BY EMMANUEL SANTOS

begin from a position of empathy and human connection. Thus, even before engaging with the content of a testimony, the mode of learning provides the most important lesson—the value of life that was so radically inverted by Nazi racial policy and practice.

The Visual History Archive is the centerpiece of our undergraduate and postgraduate program in Holocaust and genocide studies. It frames archival research, accompanies lectures, and forms the basis for at least one major writing task where a formal question finds its answer in the experience of listening to a testimony. In a graduate course on Holocaust memories, students study the meaning of post-memory witnessing by writing about the significance of the Institute's archive. More than any other event, the enormity of the Holocaust challenges the limits of historical representation. If



A sign at Auschwitz II-Birkenau

Every site we visited was revived through the living presence of one whose story was listened to face-to-face—the student staring into the depths of the screen and ultimately bonding with a life once lived in the eye of the catastrophe.

this is true, then the archive forms a pathway through memory and at the very least allows us—wherever and whenever—to connect to the witnesses who experienced firsthand the events that are fading from living memory.

The Melbourne Jewish community was forged out of these living memories. After the war, thousands of refugees made their way here, forming the largest group of survivors proportionate to the broader community. The archive has captured more than five thousand of their stories. These testimonies will live beyond human time. For historical researchers and students of the Holocaust, they give life to the textbook and archival documents, and transform students into secondary witnesses of an event that poses an overwhelming question not only about the past but about ourselves and our responsibilities to the present and future. ■

Absent from the Records

By *Monika Flashka*

Testimonies can provide *information* about survivors' daily lives, their **RESPONSES TO PERSECUTION**, and about issues that Nazi documentation does not address.

Monika J. Flaschka is an instructor in the History Department of Kent State University and is affiliated with the Jewish Studies and Women's Studies programs. For a full biography, see page 2

I BEGAN WORKING with the Institute's testimonies during my doctoral research on sexual violence committed by Nazi soldiers during the Second World War. I was uncomfortable using only perpetrators' documents, because the victims of sexual violence were often absent from the records;

although court documents included statements from victims, these were often circumscribed by the nature of the questions asked by investigators—in this case, other Nazi soldiers. Moreover, these court-martial trials focused on the perpetrators of mass violence, and I did not want all of my sources to be perpetrator-centered, particularly when writing about sexual violence. Thus, to find the voices of victims of sexual violence, I turned to the testimonies of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute.

It can be difficult to watch survivors describe incidences of sexual abuse—sometimes in graphic detail—but I felt responsible to work with testimony so that my research would not be informed only by documentation from perpetrators. The testimonies have provided nonverbal evidence, through changes in body language when survivors discussed rape or sexual abuse, of the difficulty they have had in articulating their experiences. Also, the interview format allowed for further questioning about particular events. For example, interviewers could ask important follow-up questions about whether and how sexual violence may have affected survivors for the rest of their lives.

The Institute's testimonies are alive in a way memoirs are not. You can see survivors struggle with their memories and with the inability to describe sexual violence, which was invaluable for my research on the language of sexual violence—how survivors describe and explain what happened. Memoirs, although they may be beautifully written, are static. The language used to describe sexual violence can be cursory or literary, but it is always finished; there is no struggle to articulate the meaning of rape. That is not the case with the Institute's testimonies, wherein I can see the physical and linguistic manifestations of traumatic memory. In addition, the Visual History Archive contains testimony from male survivors who talk about sexual abuse, something that is almost completely absent from the written record. Thus, I can analyze sexual violence in a multitude of ways: Did the recounting of sexual violence vary according to the gender of the survivor of sexual assault? Were survivors (and interviewers, for that matter) more uncomfortable with discussions of sexual violence as opposed to nonsexual violence? Why might that be, and what might that mean? These testimonies demonstrate the taboos surrounding rape during the war, as well as decades later. Survivors often did not tell anyone about the abuse at the time; during the interview, they were also frequently reluctant to discuss sexual vio-

lence. The discomfort on the part of interviewers also speaks to societal perceptions of rape—even in a situation with the express purpose of discussing horrific events, there was, and is, I would argue, great resistance to discussing sexual violence.

The Institute's testimonies can provide a fantastic amount of information about survivors' daily lives, their responses to persecution, and about other issues that Nazi documentation does not address. But using the testimonies can also be challenging for scholars, who are generally resistant to using oral testimonies as historical sources due to concerns about factual accuracy and the passage of time. There is a belief that the written word is more accurate, as if Nazi documentation was unbiased in its description of events during the war. Reliance on only such documents creates a biased historical narrative, one that can be corrected by using victim-centered sources. For this reason, the Institute's testimonies are of the utmost importance.

As a researcher, I am still working through the issues of temporal discontinuity: Do survivors describe rape the way they would have immediately after the event, or do they use the language of a life lived for the past 50 years? I trust that they are describing events and emotions as they mean to; this is where body language, silences, and nonverbal emotional expressions are important. It would be the height of hubris to conclude, after watching a testimony, that a survivor got it wrong and did not mean exactly what she said.

Some scholars are critical of the structure of the Institute's testimonies or the approach of the interviewers. These are valid criticisms that still need to be addressed, as we have only recently begun to use the testimonies. It is clear, however, that the Institute has provided an amazing resource for academicians. Few events are so well documented; few have so many personal recollections to analyze. The study of the Holocaust will be greatly changed and enhanced when more scholars realize the potential of these testimonies and agree on the best methodologies of analysis.

The subjects of genocidal persecution, actual groups of people with a history and with agency, would disappear from the historical record without oral testimonies and memoirs—they would have no existence outside that created by the perpetrators. We do have memoirs, however. In the Institute's Visual History Archive, we have the voices of more than 50,000 people who describe events and their reactions thereto, thus giving a history to the victims, and providing a means for historians to examine more fully the process and effects of Nazi persecution. ■

Problems Without Passports

By *Kosal Path*

My students must think *critically* and *self-reflectively* about the LEGAL AND MORAL ISSUES involved with bringing Khmer Rouge leaders to justice.



Chut So, a Khmer Rouge survivor

Kosal Path is a lecturer in the USC School of International Relations and a deputy director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam). For a full biography, see page 2

PROBLEMS WITHOUT PASSPORTS is a USC program that enhances students' learning experiences by confronting them with real-world challenges outside of the traditional classroom setting. The program's Cambodia unit is an intensive, four-week summer course that requires students to conduct field interviews with genocide survivors and other witnesses of the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) period of 1975–79. In addition to considering various perspectives on truth, justice, and reconciliation, students must also think critically and self-reflectively about the legal and moral issues involved in the current effort to bring former DK leaders to justice.

I was recruited to teach the unit. I am a survivor of the Cambodian genocide; I've worked for Yale University's Cambodian Genocide Program, and I've worked for the Phnom Penh-based documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam). DC-Cam has gathered the largest collection of documentary evidence about the DK period, and the USC Shoah Foundation Institute has gathered the largest collection of video interviews with Holocaust survivors and other witnesses. Because of this similarity, the two organizations were identified as the ideal partners to support

and host students in the Cambodia unit of Problems Without Passports.

The USC Dana and David Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences has offered the Cambodia unit for the past two summers. Each time, I began by introducing students to the history of the DK regime and the politics of bringing the surviving DK leaders to justice. I provided background information to help students shape and fine-tune their research questions. Then, as part of preparing them for field interviews with survivors and former Khmer Rouge personnel in

Cambodia, students received training on interview techniques and questionnaire development from Karen Jungblut, the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's Director of Research and Documentation. Finally, before beginning their work in the field, students studied basic elements of Cambodian culture, which would enable them to connect more easily with survivors and their families. A survivor is more likely to share their story with a researcher who can form such connections, as well as show genuine interest and empathy.

The fieldwork required for the unit poses two main challenges: First, Cambodian genocide survivors are deeply traumatized and aging; their memory is fading. The students who participated in the program had to be sensitive to survivors' sense of personal loss, their emotional state, and the difficulty involved in revisiting painful experiences. They had to know what to ask, what not to ask, and how to prevent survivors from being carried away during interviews. Second, when interviewing perpetrators or former Khmer Rouge cadres, students had to be sensitive to moral and legal concerns by avoiding judgmental or provocative questions; even perpetrators want their humanity to be acknowledged.

As an educator, I take great pride in carrying students' intellectual curiosity outside of the classroom. I have a strong feeling that such programs should be expanded and better funded in order to enable more undergraduate students to apply themselves to real-world problems. ■

One Student's Perspective

By Ali Battat

It's hard to sit in front of a *genocide survivor* and ask them to relive what they might wish they could FORGET FOREVER. It's even harder to realize that you'll never truly understand.

Ali Battat is a sophomore at USC majoring in international relations and Chinese. For a full biography, see page 2

VINDICTIVENESS is ended by not being vindictive. So says the Buddhist teaching, and Buddhism holds much sway in Cambodia, a country where almost 95 percent of the population identifies themselves as Buddhist. But in the aftermath of

the Khmer Rouge genocide, after so much pain and unspeakable horror, after every Cambodian's life was literally turned upside down, this saying does not suffice for reconciliation.

What, then, does reconciliation mean for a country like Cambodia? Sure, there is currently the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), the U.N.-backed tribunal conducting the prosecution of the top five surviving Khmer Rouge leaders, but is this really what the people want? What is justice for the victims and survivors of the Cambodian genocide?

We left for Cambodia—eight USC students and two professors—after a course in Cambodian history and the how-tos of conducting a proper interview. Our research was about justice and reconciliation in Cambodia in the aftermath of the genocide; within that theme, we each focused on our own unique topic of interest. My research dealt with the effects of Buddhism on the reconciliation process; I found that while Buddhism supplies a good foundation for dialogue and forgiveness, it is not enough for full reconciliation and moving forward. Extra steps need to be taken: There must be more education and more dialogue.

We based ourselves at the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) to conduct archival and field research with help from the obliging staff. And when I say "field research," I mean it: We'd drive three, four, five hours outside of the city on unpaved roads into rice fields peppered with palm trees, into villages with houses on stilts in order to conduct our interviews with survivors.

It's hard to sit in front of a genocide survivor and ask them to relive what they might wish they could forget forever. It's hard to watch them recount the most scarring episode they can remember, even harder to realize that you'll never truly understand. Conducting interviews was the most challenging aspect of our research, but it was also the most memorable. I will never forget the two women from Takeo province: the passionate teacher we interviewed and her forgiving friend with the kind eyes, who just sat quietly listening and at one point held my hand in hers. She touched me more than anyone else, I think.

I look back at my time during Problems Without Passports and I am always astonished at what we were able to do. We were a part of collecting and documenting testimony of genocide survivors, and just being able to talk may help some survivors move forward from the tragedy. The road to reconciliation, however, will be a long one. ■



PHOTO BY KIM FOX

Paying Tribute to the Righteous

By Irena Steinfeldt

Today it is becoming *increasingly difficult* to piece together stories of rescue. Our work at Yad Vashem is sometimes more like **DETECTIVE WORK** than historical research.



Irena Steinfeldt on the documentary *Shoah* (1985). In 1993, she joined Yad Vashem's International School for Holocaust Studies. For a full biography, see page 2

WHEN THE GERMANS began rounding up the Jews in Rotterdam, Holland, in summer 1942, Isidor and Rebecca Spetter went into hiding. An acquaintance sent them to Albert Dirk and Johanna Plomp, who opened their small home to the Spetters in spite of the danger to themselves and their children; eventually, they took in Rebecca's brother and her parents as well. When Rebecca gave birth to a son, the number of hidden Jews rose to six. Sixty-six years later, in February 2010, the Commission for the Designation of the Righteous bestowed the title of Righteous Among the Nations on Albert Dirk and Johanna Plomp.

When Yad Vashem was established in 1953, a mere eight years after the Shoah, paying tribute to the Righteous was included in its mission. Struggling with the enormity of the loss and the effects of the total abandonment and betrayal of Europe's Jews, the young State of Israel resolved to remember non-Jews who had taken great risks

to save Jews during the Holocaust. The motivation was not merely gratitude and a sense of duty; it was rooted in a profound need. As Dr. Friedbaum explained at the first World Congress of Jewish Studies, "We will not be able to live in a world which is entirely dark, and we shall not be able to rehabilitate ourselves if we will be surrounded only by a dark world."

Living with the reality of Auschwitz, it was essential to emphasize that Man was also capable of defending and maintaining human values.

This program is an unprecedented attempt by victims to pay tribute to people who stood by them at a time of persecution and tragedy. Its purpose is to single out—within the nations of perpetrators, collaborators, and bystanders—individuals who bucked the general trend and protected Jews from death and deportation. Thus, the program is also a testament to the resilience of the victims who did not sink into bitterness and revenge but affirmed human val-

ues. In a world where violence more often than not only breeds more violence, this is a remarkable phenomenon.

The decision to bestow the title of Righteous is made by an independent commission whose members are mostly Holocaust survivors. The commission is chaired by a retired justice of Israel's Supreme Court and has a well-defined set of rules and criteria. With hiding and rescue having been done secretly, rarely leaving a paper trail, the program relies mainly on survivor testimony. Today, it is becoming increasingly difficult to piece together and substantiate stories of rescue: The survivors who turn to us were young at the time of the Holocaust; sometimes it is their children who turn to us; in other cases, rescuers' family members write to us to share the story that has been recounted within their families. Our work, therefore, is sometimes more like detective work than historical research. We search through Yad Vashem's collections of testimonies and documents; we try to trace survivors through the Pages of Testimony they submitted to Yad Vashem's Hall of Names in memory of family members and friends who perished; we work with archives, organizations, and Jewish communities all over the world to gather shreds of memory.

This was the case when we received a request to honor Albert Dirk and Johanna Plomp. By the time a relative of the Spetters brought them to our attention, Rebecca Spetter was too ill to be able to tell us her story. The only other living witness was Meijer Spetter, who was born in 1944, but who could not provide the necessary details. The missing piece

The missing piece was found in the Institute's Visual History Archive; in her testimony, Rebecca Spetter described in detail her hiding with the Plomp family.

was found in the Institute's Visual History Archive; in her testimony, Rebecca Spetter described in detail her hiding with the Plomp family. Thanks to this crucial evidence, the case could be submitted to the Commission for the Designation of the Righteous; Albert Dirk and Johanna Plomp's selfless deed will be remembered in perpetuity, and their names will be engraved on the walls in the Garden of the Righteous at Yad Vashem, in Jerusalem.

Four years ago, Avner Shalev, Yad Vashem's chairman, placed the responsibility for this project in my hands. Together with a proficient and dedicated team, we listen to testimonies, conduct research, and document the stories. It is a heavy

responsibility, as well as a great privilege. Helping survivors pay tribute to their rescuers—and sometimes gain closure—is a most gratifying endeavor. Nevertheless, many files contain deeper layers of traumatic memories. In our attempts to establish the circumstances of a rescue, we sometimes touch on these painful aspects. The memory of rescue—the noblest expression of sacrifice and solidarity and the terrible suffering it involved—continues to mark the families of both rescuers and rescued. When they turn to us, they entrust us with their memories of the world that was destroyed and the remembrance of rare moments of goodness. But above all, they teach us about the true meaning of resilience. ■

Living Histories: Seven Voices from the Holocaust, is an educational resource which features testimony from Johtje Vos, a rescuer during the Holocaust. To view the resource and listen to part of Johtje's testimony, visit dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/education/livinghistories/johtjevoss

Unearthing Stories of Deportation

By *Silvia Goldbaum Tarabini Fracapane*

There is an enormous discrepancy between an *individual's* story and documentation made from a distance. Combining both approaches allows us to grasp different FACETS OF HISTORY.

Silvia Goldbaum Tarabini Fracapane is a PhD candidate at Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung, Technische Universität, Berlin. For a full biography, see page 2

THE EVENTS OF THE FLIGHT to Sweden and rescue of more than 7,000 Danish Jews in October 1943 are well known and widely considered as a light in the darkness of the Holocaust. Less known is the history of the 472 Jews who did not reach Sweden, but who were deported from Denmark. Fifty-three of them, plus two babies born in Theresienstadt, perished before the Danish Jews were liberated in April 1945.

Historians who have worked on this page of Danish history have mostly focused on national efforts to help deportees, as well as the role played by the Danish administration in the important relief work, including shipments of food parcels, participation in the visit of the international delegation in the Theresienstadt ghetto, and the liberation of the Danish Jews by the so-called White Buses in mid-April 1945. These are indeed important aspects of history, but none of them tell us much about how the Jews experienced and dealt with brutal ghetto life, or about their confrontation with death and humiliation. Fundamental questions about survival and death are, in the Danish case, overshadowed by the focus on the relief work. Consequently, those who perished and the point of view of the survivors—some of the core aspects of the Holocaust in Denmark—have only to a minor extent been included in national historiography.



Eskilstuna, Sweden, May 1945. A group of Danish Jews liberated from Theresienstadt, at a quarantine hospital in Eskilstuna.

For my own research on the deportation and everyday life of the Danish Jews in Theresienstadt, survivor testimonies are indispensable and essential. There is an enormous discrepancy between the story of an individual, as regarded from his/her viewpoint, and those based on documentation made from a distance, by Danish bureaucrats and diplomats. Only a combination of both approaches allows us to better grasp the different facets of a complex history. Testimonies allow us to delve more deeply into issues that no other form of documentation can address: e.g., interclass relations and dissensions within the group; circumstances of birth and death; hunger and the lack of food; suicides; and violence against deportees.

There is also an important humane dimension to testimonies. During my

research I have interviewed 32 survivors. Some had never testified or been interviewed. Without their engagement in the project, their support and willingness to participate, the findings would definitely be different. Their eagerness to see this story told—not only the big picture but also a history that reflects their own experience—and their own search for and interest in details, have not only been essential to me from a strictly academic point of view, but also inspiring and encouraging.

I also had access to interviews conducted by others. Despite my delight in discovering testimonies from people I could not have interviewed myself, it was at times frustrating to use these interviews: Interviewers may have divergent interests, diverse personal and academic backgrounds, and they may well perceive their role as interviewer from a different perspective. Thus, historically speaking, interviews do not all bear the same relevance according to what one is researching.

A concrete example of the added benefit of testimonies can be exemplified by the fate of one person. Deportees from Denmark in Theresienstadt were protected by an agreement made between Werner Best, the plenipotentiary in Denmark, and Adolf Eichmann, which prevented their further deportation to the extermination centers. It is often stated that none of the Danish deportees were deported from the ghetto, but in fact one man was sent to Auschwitz. I have retrieved his name and data in archival documents, but no other information about him was available. By talking to survivors and examining written testimonies, we

Testimonies as a primary source are imperative to my research because they can shed light on aspects of the life of Danish deportees, which had previously been unaccounted for.

are now able to give an account of who he was and what happened to him in Theresienstadt prior to his deportation, which to a certain extent explains why he was included in a transport. In the case of a small country like Denmark, where so few people were deported relative to the size of the Jewish population in 1943, this has constituted an important finding.

Testimonies as a primary source are imperative to my research because they can shed light on aspects of the life of the Danish deportees, which had previously been unaccounted for. ■

Child Survivors and their Emotions

By Suzanne Kaplan

The SIMILARITIES between Rwandan Genocide survivors and Holocaust *survivors* were markedly more apparent than their differences.

Suzanne Kaplan is a researcher at the Hugo Valentin Centre at Uppsala University in Sweden. Her work centers on the effects of trauma on children. For a full biography, see page 2

BY DEFINITION, GENOCIDE is an attempt to murder members of an entire group; this includes its children. During the Holocaust, children were afflicted especially severely. Holocaust historian Debórah Dwork estimates that only 11 percent of the Jewish children in the countries occupied by the Nazis survived. In 2003, Human Rights Watch estimated that 10 percent of Rwandan children struggle to survive without one or both parents.

As a coordinator and interviewer in Sweden for the Shoah Foundation, I saw the archive of testimonies as a unique research resource. As a child psychoanalyst, I felt a strong sense of urgency to understand more about the circumstances in which they lived as children and as adults and, therewith, the coherent psychological phenomena regarding genocidal trauma, memory, and affects. I decided to begin doctoral studies after many years in clinical practice; the interviews became the starting point for extended research on the analysis of 40 testimonies of child survivors. My subsequent studies in Rwanda, where I conducted 12 interviews and follow-up interviews with teenagers, have, together with my study of Holocaust child survivors, formed the basis for an emerging theory about *overarching aspects of how child survivors deal with their affects* in the aftermath of the genocide. The psyche of different populations separated geographically and in time but firmly joined by the shared experience of being victims of genocide is being explored. The oscillation between the “proximity” to the interviewees’ life histories, and the overall work that theory generation has entailed, has been an essential process. *How* something was said became as important a guide for my understanding as what was actually recounted in the interviews. Hypotheses have formed the basis of a theory concerning the psychological processes that I call *trauma linking* and the constructive *generational linking*. The concept of linking implies an associative connection between affective states and major narrative elements. The theory is illustrated in a model on affect regulation, called the “*affect propeller*” (Kaplan, 2006, 2008). The shape of a propeller is used to emphasize the dynamic process within each individual. The blades of the propeller represent different categories: *affect invading* (crying instead of words), *affect isolating* (distantly controlled narrative), *affect activating* (letting oneself be moved by telling), and *affect symbolizing* (being creative helps an individual feel more free in relation to his or her past).

The blades of the model may cover each other or lie separately, similarly to how emotions fluctuate. This has proved to be a useful tool for analyzing the affect regulating of an individual (how an individual deals with emotions in

the aftermath of genocide) as part of the trauma process: the interplay between affective states. It may also, as a whole, be seen with the different expressions of affect regulating as an illustration of how complex the psychological processes are for every traumatized individual.

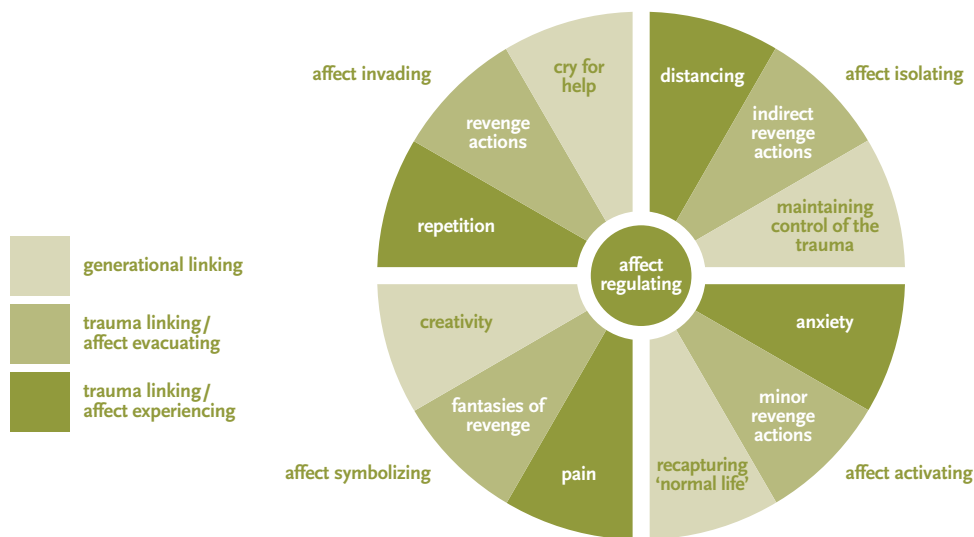
The similarities between Rwandan genocide survivors and Holocaust survivors were markedly more apparent than their differences. I have therefore assumed that extreme traumatization on the occasion of the traumatic, unexpected, abnormal event is *experienced* in similar ways, regardless of culture. Nevertheless, each individual's vulnerability, personal life history, and culture have bearing upon how he or she *regulates anxiety* in connection with the traumatic moment and afterward.

Especially notable in the interviews are phenomena based on sensory perceptions from the partly fragmented descriptions of persecutions and the affects that become visible in the room—such as reverting to one's native language or imitating a perpetrator's voice—at the moment the interviewees talk about these experiences. The similarities concern sudden, invading affects when the theme of separation was actualized—for example, the mother's voice; images of perpetrators' acts at selections in the camps and road blocks, respectively; or memories of efforts to care for parents who were wounded. There were feelings of both shame (for example, one Rwandan boy asked whether Europeans view Rwandans as “strange animals”) and guilt related to the humiliating extreme traumatization. Both Rwandan genocide survivors and Holocaust survivors shared the experience of an intense loneliness right after the genocide. The Rwandan teenagers expressed their pain more openly, with pronounced body movements, crying, and also rage, perhaps because of their youth and because less time had passed since the genocide. One difference was related to expressions of revenge fantasies; these were more common among Rwandan teenagers, who still encountered people in everyday life who had betrayed or murdered their family members. Also, the Holocaust survivors express painful memories of neighbors who had betrayed them in their country of origin; in Rwanda, victims and perpetrators continue to live in the same country.

Certain phenomena have been particularly prominent among child survivors, such as the experience of feeling that one is not one's chronological age, and that thoughts of having children seem to create confusing links between different time dimensions. The theme of reproduction seems, for Holocaust child sur-

vivors, to be like a “focal point,” with links to different traumatic experiences that result in survivors abstaining from giving birth—“*I was a child myself*”—or, to the contrary, choosing to have many children, which I interpret as two sides of the same coin. Traumatic memories may have affected one of the most sensitive points in the life cycle—reproduction. Psychic development may have become complicated, particularly because children were the target of persecution. It is not possible to tell whether problems with reproduction are greater among child survivors than among survivors who were

call “space creating” for children traumatized by war—to create a psychic space for all kinds of thoughts. To work through feelings of revenge may change the victim's self-image and also his attitude to the world around him. To reach a state in which a survivor feels free enough in relation to the past requires that he or she can put words to rage and fantasies of revenge, in order to develop the image of what was experienced and to symbolize the events. Symbolizing is needed to diminish anxiety-driven behavior. We have to be aware that humiliating feelings will be transported from one generation to the next



The 'affect propeller' as an analytical tool for affect regulation within each individual

teenagers or adults during the Holocaust; however, it was a problem for the 40 interviewees in this Holocaust child survivor group. They were forced to become adults precociously and were never actually able to be children or teenagers with access to parental care that they could integrate. Thoughts of pregnancy and an identification with the vulnerable coming child may release *signal anxiety*, which warns of coming into contact with overwhelming affects related to traumatic memories.

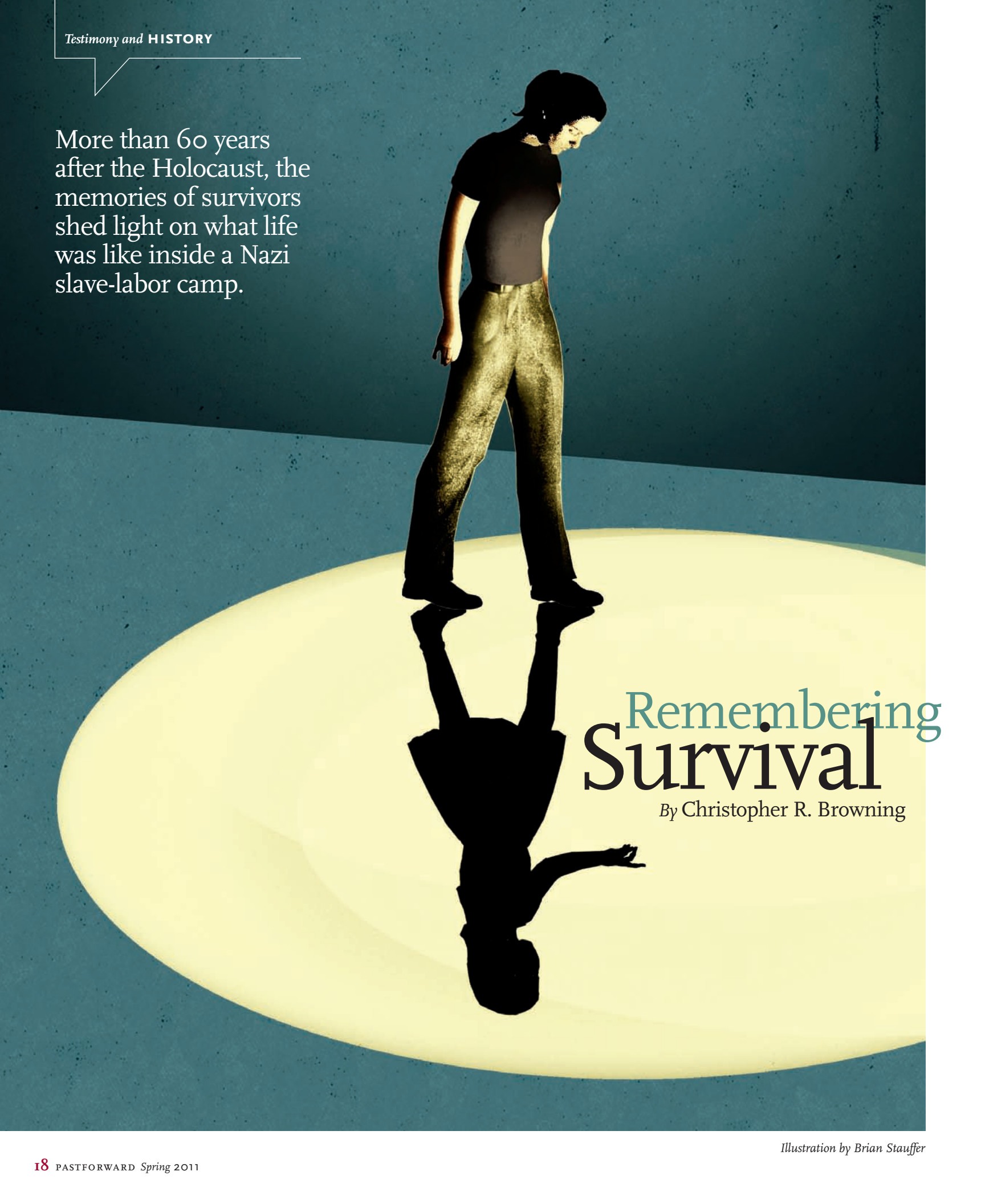
The discovery that child survivors felt very powerful anxiety over giving birth to their own children, with, among other things, sometimes complicated pregnancies as a result, can constitute important knowledge to integrate in mother- and child-care services, considering the increasing number of refugee families from areas of political violence. Those phenomena that the interviewees describe can be assumed to have a general explanatory value for children subjected to massive traumatization of various types today.

I want to underline the importance of what I

The psyche of different populations separated geographically and in time, but firmly joined by the shared experience of being victims of genocide, is being explored.

and aware of what the consequences may be. Oscillation between trauma linking and generational linking may be part of the healing process. Either linking phenomena may be dominant. By picking up on underlying themes associated with generational linking phenomena, and *highlighting them*—even when their presence is subtle—the listener, whether a therapist, witness, friend, or interviewer, demonstrates the individuals' predilection for creativity and life continuity. Hopefully, in the long term, generational linking will dominate trauma linking. An overall conclusion from this study is that past traumatic experiences are recovered not as memories in the usual sense of the word, but as affects invading the present. Accordingly, affects seem to tell the story of the past traumatic experiences. ■

More than 60 years after the Holocaust, the memories of survivors shed light on what life was like inside a Nazi slave-labor camp.



Remembering Survival

By Christopher R. Browning

IN THE SUMMER OF 1987 I went to the Center for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes—located in a former women’s prison in Ludwigsburg (north of Stuttgart)—to review all the indictments and judgments on file there that stemmed from the German occupation of Poland in World War II. Two cases in particular caught my attention. The first was the indictment of members of Reserve Police Battalion 101, which included many unusually vivid and incriminating statements by German witnesses, as well as the vital account of the battalion commander, Major Trapp, offering to excuse from the first killing action all men “who did not feel up to it.” Quickly following this to the more than 30 volumes of testimony from former battalion members in the court records in Hamburg, I wrote my 1992 book, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*.

The second case I encountered at Ludwigsburg that summer that particularly attracted my attention was the verdict of yet another trial in Hamburg. It was the acquittal of Walther Becker for his involvement in clearing the Wierzbnik ghetto—an *Aktion* in which nearly 4,000 Jews were dispatched to Treblinka without a single survivor and some 1,600 Jews were sent to three labor camps in the adjacent small industrial town Starachowice, where Becker reigned as police chief. Because these factory labor camps provided what Bella Guttman has aptly called “a narrow bridge to life,” dozens of labor camp survivors subsequently testified at Becker’s 1972 Hamburg trial to his role. Nonetheless, the judge summarily dismissed all survivor testimony as being unreliable, and acquitted Becker. This egregious summary dismissal of all survivor testimony triggered my resolve to research the history of the Wierzbnik ghetto and Starachowice factory slave-labor camps, which resulted in my book *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave Labor Camp*. Lacking documentation either from the German industrialists who had confiscated the factories, built the camps, and rented their Jewish slave labor from the SS, or from the local SS/police and civil administration, my study was necessarily based upon my collection of the testimonies of 292 survivors, given over a period of more than 60 years. The earliest dated from the summer of 1945, and my last interview with a child survivor took place in the summer of 2006.

This collection of testimonies can be divided by format into four groups. First and most numerous are the testimonies that were taken by

German judicial investigators in the 1960s. They focus on survivor memories of the perpetrators and elicit a wealth of information generally absent from the other groups. They have the disadvantage of not having recorded information deemed irrelevant to the judicial task for which they were being collected. The second group consisted of freeform testimonies (either transcribed or videotaped), in which survivors told their stories without imposed structure or intervention from the interviewer. The third group—the videotaped testimonies of the Visual History Archive—consisted of interviews that were shaped by an interventionist interviewer and sets of standard questions. The fourth group was composed of my personal (audiotaped) interviews with survivors, for almost all of whom I had already read or seen one or more previous testimonies.

Survivors giving very late testimonies in the 1990s were able to broach previously taboo subjects for the first time; I discovered that “late” testimonies given 50 or 60 years after the events could not be summarily dismissed in favor of exclusive reliance on “early” testimonies.

Initially, I thought that the 15 interviews I conducted would form a useful but not essential complement to the other groups. Though the smallest group numerically, these interviews proved to be disproportionately important to me in writing my book. Each of these formats had advantages and disadvantages (there is no perfect method of taking testimony), and it was beneficial to have access to all four.

For the historian, a collection of testimonies of 292 survivors is both a blessing and a challenge. It is perfectly natural that different people, from different backgrounds and vantage points, will experience and remember the same events differently. Presenting these multiple perspectives (preserving “collected memories” and not homogenizing them into one “collective memory” or one historian’s omniscient version) fairly was a conscious goal I set for myself in writing the book. Sometimes, of course, conflicting memories cannot be reconciled, and some accounts (or, more precisely, parts of accounts) must be deemed less accurate (or even totally mistaken) in comparison to others. As the Israeli trial of Ivan Demjanuk and the initial fanfare surrounding Benjamin Wilkomirski’s *Fragments* have demonstrated, uncritical acceptance of survivor testimony does a great disservice to its subsequent use as either historical or

judicial evidence. Uncomfortable as the notion may be to some, as a historian born safely across the ocean and after the events I am studying, I nevertheless must make judgments about the memories and testimonies of others who were actually there and experienced the events they relate. Through immersing myself in the materials, knowing the wider background context, and carefully comparing and crosschecking, I could make reasonable judgments about uncorroborated or conflicting accounts and identify cases of “incorporated” memories (in which survivors unwittingly assimilated information and images to which they had been exposed in the postwar period).

Some critics of oral history insist on the primacy of “early” testimonies taken close to the event and are very skeptical of “late” testimonies given decades after. This was a crucial

issue for me, insofar as I had only 11 “early” testimonies from 1945–48, some 130 testimonies from the 1960s, and everything else from the 1980s and later. In fact, three of my “early” testimonies were quite vivid and detailed and fundamental to my account. But the majority of my early testimonies were quite cursory and of marginal use, and many of the later testimonies did not lack vividness and detail. Nor in the case of multiple testimonies by the same survivor, did I note widely variant accounts. Consistency, not malleability, of memory was my major finding in this regard. Moreover, survivors giving very late testimonies in the 1990s were able to broach previously taboo subjects—such as revenge killings among Jewish prisoners—for the first time; I discovered that “late” testimonies given 50 or 60 years after the events could not be summarily dismissed in favor of exclusive reliance on “early” testimonies.

Thus I found that—despite the inevitable existence of multiple perspectives and factually mistaken testimonies on the one hand, and the large span of time over which the testimonies were given on the other—I could write, as a professional historian, a history on which I was willing to stake my reputation based primarily on survivor testimonies. ■

USC President C.L. Max Nikias

on what the Visual History Archive means to the university

“The Sky’s the Limit”

Interviewed by Stephen D. Smith

“We are talking about the future of the digital library. We have one of the largest and unique repositories of visual content. ...A lot of academic scholarship will be produced in the decades, even centuries to come.”

Smith: President Nikias, why did you think it was so critical for the Shoah Foundation’s Visual History Archive to come to the University of Southern California?

Nikias: The archive came to my attention as soon as I became provost. There had been negotiations between the Shoah Foundation and USC for at least a year. I’m told that Steven Spielberg put a call into my predecessor Steve Sample, who said, “Steven, I have a new provost; I’m going to ask Max to look into this.” The more I looked into the Shoah Foundation, the more I realized what a great gift the Visual History Archive would be for USC. I also began realizing its educational value, let alone that it would be unique for our university.

Smith: How does the presence of the archive impact the culture, the environment of USC?

Nikias: First of all we are talking about the future of the digital library. We have one of the largest and unique repositories of visual content. Then I realized the educational value; a lot of academic scholarship will be produced in the decades, even centuries to come. Then I realized the uniqueness of the technology, the digital archiving and indexing.

It was clear to me that the Visual History Archive was going to have an impact on the education of our students and through outreach programs to build partnerships with other universities around the world; and then developing a curriculum for schools on how to teach tolerance; the sky’s the limit.

I know Steven Spielberg felt very strongly that the Shoah Foundation needed to “graduate” into a university environment because we’re in the business of educating the youth where different ethnicities, different religions coexist.

Smith: I have heard you talk about “timeless truths.” Do you think the archive contains timeless truths?

Nikias: Yes. In terms of timeless values, no matter how far we advance technologically, no matter how our civilization advances, there are certain values that define us as individuals





USC President C.L. Max Nikias (left) talks with Stephen D. Smith about the opportunities he envisions for the Visual History Archive at USC. (Photo by Kim Fox)

and as a society. They are associated with the character of the individual and the ethos of a society or a nation. Those timeless values I was referring to [are also] the core values of the university. The content of the Visual History Archive is priceless material to teach these core values to our students.

Smith: Where does it belong in campus life?

Nikias: One place is by getting undergraduate students to use testimony for projects. I would also love to see testimony integrated into the curricula of more courses, and I would love to see a series of micro-seminars. I would love to see university-wide events based on the archive. And then, of course, there are opportunities to form partnerships with schools and to train the teachers who can use the material.

Smith: It's very interesting to hear the president of a research university talking about school education.

Nikias: Because that is where it all begins. That's where the battle is fought when it comes to building the character of an individual and a

basic education. I feel very strongly that we need to strengthen these partnerships.

Smith: We have both national and international education outreach; is that how you see the university working?

Nikias: Yes, exactly. And Stephen, very soon the university will announce the most ambitious fundraising campaign in its history. However, one of my top priorities as president is that I would like to build an endowment for the USC Shoah Foundation Institute. That way, we can secure the academic excellence of the Institute in perpetuity, and it will become much easier to materialize our dreams—of training teachers and building partnerships internationally.

Smith: I have also heard you talk about supertexts, works that are foundational to our civilization. I want to know if you think the Visual History Archive is a supertext.

Nikias: The term *supertext* was used by Steve Sample in his book, *The Contrarian's Guide to Leadership*, going back 500 years. But given my



“No matter how our civilization advances, there are certain values
The content of the Visual History Archive is priceless material

[Cypriot] background, I go back 2,500 years! When you go back to the writings of the playwrights of antiquity, when you go back to the writings of Cicero, when you go back to the writings of the Renaissance period—those are the texts that survived the course of time, and this is where you get to read a lot about the timeless values.

Smith: The Shoah Foundation Institute’s archive is now 17 years old, nowhere near 500 years old yet!

Nikias: It will become a supertext. There have been many genocides, but never before were we able to document genocide in the form of visual, eyewitness testimony. What the Shoah Foundation did—it was the first time that the human race documented genocide in this format. And now that’s what you’re doing with the genocide in Rwanda, and with other genocides. I think it’s very, very significant.

Smith: It’s interesting that as provost, you made a decision to invest in the digital preservation system. Why did you make that decision?

Nikias: The Institute’s testimonies are visual; they’re not print. Therefore, how do we preserve their authenticity, so that nobody can question, even 100 or 200 or 500 years from now, whether the testimonies are fake, for example? There are a lot of Holocaust deniers, even today. I realized that if USC was going to assume the responsibility of being the home of the Visual History Archive, we would also have to assume the responsibility of preserving the archive properly. That’s why we made the investment that we did, and that’s how we’re going to preserve other visual archives in the future.

Smith: You talk a lot about training “world citizen leaders.” What do you mean by that?

Nikias: We live in the era of globalization. Our students have to be equipped and educated to be citizens of the world, not just citizens of their home nations. Giving them the right education to be citizens of the world is part of our responsibility. To be a citizen of the world means you have to learn to be tolerant; you have to learn to respect other cultures and people. USC has the highest enrollment of international students; we have students from more than 112 nations. Can you imagine all the different religions represented on this campus?

Smith: We have here an archive that is largely about European experiences, so how do we give it global relevance?

Nikias: There are many different strategies that we ought to follow. One is educating students of other nations as part of their residential life experience here. Another way is by building partnerships with universities for research and scholarly creative activities, or by building partnerships with government entities, nonprofits, or corporations. We do all of the above. But for me, the most important way is to be able to get the very best students to compete to receive a USC education.

Smith: So they take those core values back with them?

Nikias: Yes, then build relationships with USC alumni classes in those places. I talked about the Pacific Rim; we also have students from Europe, as you know; from Africa, from the Middle East. But given where we are located geographically, I think we can educate the future Pacific Rim leaders.



that define us as individuals and as a society...
to teach those **core values** to our students.” – C.L. Max Nikias

Smith: You also talk about intellectual rebellion. How does the Shoah Foundation participate in that intellectual rebellion?

Nikias: I wanted to motivate the university community, and especially our faculty and staff, to not be afraid to be bold, to not be afraid to experiment. I learned in science and engineering that 80 or 90 percent of experiments usually fail, and then 10 percent usually work. So you should not be afraid of failure; that’s what I was driving with “intellectual rebellion,” that we should not be afraid to think outside the box.

Smith: You have very tangible outcomes for USC: measurable, clear, and visible. How would the Shoah Foundation Institute contribute to these?

Nikias: The Shoah Foundation Institute could be a pacesetter for a lot of our humanities programs at USC. It could become a magnet for students from around the world: They would like to study at USC because it is the home of the Shoah Foundation Institute. I believe that if we were to introduce a series of programs for the larger community, we’d be able to get our message out more effectively. I believe that we can build a network, with many people from around the world, who would associate with USC because of the Shoah Foundation Institute and the values that it represents.

Smith: Over the next 10 years, we aim to become a center of excellence for academia.

Nikias: That’s why I wanted to locate the Institute in the center of the campus.

Smith: What are your expectations for interdisciplinary research like we are involved in?

Nikias: Where we can really excel at USC is in the interdisciplinary areas. Without disciplinary depth you cannot do interdisciplinary research. But the most exciting academic scholarship will come out from the cross sections of the different areas.

Smith: What is your vision for the Shoah Foundation Institute?

Nikias: My dream is twofold: First, as president, I feel that I have the responsibility to secure the Institute’s academic excellence by building a very large endowment. Second, I want to see the Institute make an impact—that anywhere I go around the world, people know about the Institute, or they have interacted with it, or someone they know has interacted with it.

Smith: If Holocaust survivors whose testimonies are in the Visual History Archive were sitting here with us, what would you say to them?

Nikias: First, I would thank them from the bottom of my heart that they were willing to share their stories. Because by doing so, they allow us to use the material to teach current and future generations of students as part of teaching the core values, or the timeless values, of society. I would tell them that their contribution isn’t just for the Jewish people; it’s for humanity. I would thank them for their strength of character, as character is destiny, and we can all be better humans once we learn tolerance. ■

Setting the Record Straight

Testimonies can save events from oblivion. They can also provide very different perspectives of events known through conventional documentation.

By Omer Bartov

Illustration by Brian Stauffer

THIS ESSAY IS AN ATTEMPT TO make a case for the integration of testimonies into the historical reconstruction of the Holocaust as documents of validity equal to that of other forms of documentation. By *testimonies* I mean all forms of evidence provided by individual protagonists in historical events; these include contemporary accounts, diaries, and postwar interviews; written, oral, audio, and videotaped testimonies; courtroom witness accounts; and memoirs. Such testimonies were given by individuals belonging to all three categories of people we associate with the Holocaust and other genocides, namely, victims, perpetrators, and bystanders; one benefit of using materials of this kind is that they largely do not undermine this categorization.

From the viewpoint of historians, the most important benefit of using testimonies is that they bring into history events that would otherwise remain completely unknown, since they are missing from conventional documentation found in archives—most of which was written

by perpetrators and organizers of genocide. Testimonies can save events from oblivion, but they can also provide very different perspectives of events known through conventional documentation. This additional perspective has certain advantages: First, it may serve as a factual correction of official accounts; second, it provides the historian with a different vantage point, and thereby introduces a richer and more complex reconstruction of an event as a whole. Finally, by virtue of being personal and subjective, testimonies provide insight into the lives and minds of the men, women, and children who experienced an event; thus testimonies, more than any official document, can tell us much about the period's mental landscape, the protagonists' psychology, and others' views and perceptions.

Historians have traditionally been wary of using testimonies as historical evidence. Some have eschewed its use altogether, calling testimonies unreliable due to subjectivity. Others have preferred to use only those given directly after an event and have largely avoided those given decades later. Most historians use testi-

monies only to illustrate the nature of an event whose reconstruction is based on seemingly more reliable documents culled from official archives—a practice that has impoverished our understanding of the Holocaust more than any other historical event. There is no reason to believe that official contemporary documents written by Gestapo, SS, *Wehrmacht*, or German administrative officials would be more accurate or objective—or any less subjective and biased—than accounts given by the survivors they had tried to kill. Moreover, using testimonies only to substantiate other documentation condemns to oblivion events that can only be known through testimonies. Finally, the quest to understand the mentality and motivations of perpetrators, which has already produced a small cottage industry, would benefit a great deal from knowing what their victims said about them and how they described their actions.

As I've noted, some historians have argued that testimonies are more reliable when given in close proximity to the time of an event. Testimonies given decades after the Holocaust are re-



garded as suspect because of the eroding effect of time on memory, and because of the cumulative influence of other forms of representation and commemoration that mold the content and form of an individual's recollection. There is, of course, some truth in this argument; but anyone who has worked with large numbers of testimonies would know that there are two major qualifications to this assertion: First, especially in the case of those who survived as teenagers or children—those most likely to have still been alive six decades later—their experiences in the Holocaust could be recounted in full only after they had reached greater maturity, thanks to the healing effects of time on their traumatized souls, and only long after rebuilding their lives

Holocaust, and despite the fact that its documentation has produced a vast amount of such materials. Clearly, testimonies do not tell a single story; they are full of contradictions, errors, misjudgments, and untruths—though no more than any other document. They should be treated with the same care and suspicion as any piece of evidence pulled out of an archive but also with the respect due every important piece of the puzzle of the past. That testimonies are concerned with traumatic events should not deter us from using them; to the contrary, the nature of those events must indicate to us that we would never be able to fathom them without making full use of witness accounts.

Integrating all these materials into a single

rather than rely on merely a few, though I would argue that even a single testimony that saves an event from historical oblivion should—and must—be used. Second, such testimonies gain immensely from being focused on one locality, on a relatively limited span of time, and with a limited cast of characters. Within such a context, one can more easily crosscheck testimonies that recount the same event from different perspectives, as well as integrate these perspectives into a historical reconstruction that uses all other available kinds of documentation. In the case of the Holocaust, this would especially mean official reports by police, military, and civil administration, as well as documentation from postwar trials and, finally, scholarly secondary literature.

One last issue cannot be avoided: The use of testimonies of trauma is a difficult exercise for the historian. It is difficult psychologically because these accounts reveal aspects of human nature that one would rather not know about. They may also undermine our trust in the historian's craft itself, since it is ultimately based on rationalist, enlightenment values; on the ability to divine the truth of the past, and to identify humanity's progress and improvement. Testimonies also make it difficult to retain the necessary detachment from the material; they may hamper the practice of methods and undermine philosophical assumptions that have come to be associated with good scholarly writing since the birth of the modern historical profession. This is possibly the most profound reason for reluctance to use testimony. Many historians want to protect their own psychology from damage and their profession from the undermining effect of such testimonies. Yet Holocaust witness testimonies are about an event that posed the greatest challenge to the values on which historians still base their work today. They emanate from the very heart of the historical moment, and because they recount a historical event, they are also part of the historical record—perhaps the most crucial part of all.

We cannot escape the implications of the Holocaust—as historians, as individuals, and as members of humankind—simply by leaving witnesses' testimonies to gather dust in crumbling boxes. We need to face the challenge and cope with it as best we can. After all, these were accounts by individuals who were determined to make sure that what they experienced, saw, and remembered would never be forgotten. Historians have largely betrayed these witnesses; by now, the majority of them are dead. But their recorded accounts can and should still be used, not merely to respect those who left their memories behind but to set the historical record straight. ■

Most historians use testimonies only to illustrate the nature of an event whose reconstruction is based on seemingly more reliable documents culled from official archives—a practice that has impoverished our understanding of the Holocaust.

and establishing families. Second, in some but not all cases, testimonies given decades after the Holocaust have all the freshness and vividness of an account one may find in some early postwar testimonies. This can be explained by the very fact that the memory of the event was kept sealed inside the mind and never exposed to the light of day through telling and retelling, let alone being contaminated by the so-called noise in the system of external discourse and representation. These “memory boxes” were finally unlocked and opened due to the advancing age of the witness and their desire to leave a record of events to their own children and grandchildren, or more generally to posterity. Such testimonies may also be strongly motivated by an urge to recall and describe those who were murdered, whose names would be forgotten with the passing of the witness; and, at times, to recall the names and actions of long-forgotten perpetrators, collaborators, and especially rescuers. Such testimonies contain much of the clarity and emotional impact of accounts given immediately in the wake of the Holocaust.

There has been a great deal of writing about testimony as a form of memory, confrontation with trauma, or literary device; as a means to gain insight into the psychology of survivors; even as a third-party tool. I would argue that testimonies also comprise a historical document of invaluable importance, one that has been underused by historians, especially in the case of the

text is clearly a difficult and complex undertaking. Different protagonists saw and remembered the same events quite differently, indeed, from the most elementary optical perspective, because they were standing at different places, and because no two individuals can see the same event with precisely the same eyes. But beyond this optical perspective, variations across testimonies emanate from the fact that each person played a different role in the event, which has shaped the manner in which they remembered and in which they were able or willing to recall it in word or in writing. There is nothing unique in this condition of historical documentation; Herodotus and Thucydides, whose methods of treating their sources still guide us today, were already aware of the conundrum.

The use of testimonies makes it more difficult to say what precisely happened at a given place in time. Testimonies tell us more, perhaps, than we would like to know, and they tell us that different people experienced events—and in some cases, remembered and recorded them—differently. We may decide to deliver a verdict of what actually happened on the basis of our documentation, or we may prefer to say that we are unable to say precisely what occurred and can simply report several versions or points of view. Clearly, there are limits to this kind of documentation.

To my mind, testimonies can be most profitably used under two conditions: First, if possible, one must collect a critical mass of testimonies



Dr. J. Michael Hagopian, 1963

Documenting the Evidence

By Carla Garapedian

My documentation of *human-rights abuses* in Chechnya and Afghanistan was tough. But it was much harder for Michael—he had to find eyewitnesses from 85 YEARS BEFORE.

Dr. Carla Garapedian is a filmmaker and a member of the Board of Directors of the Armenian Film Foundation. For a full biography, see page 2

FILMMAKER J. MICHAEL HAGOPIAN (1913–2010) was a survivor of the Armenian genocide, the first major genocide of the 20th century. For 40 years, Hagopian traveled the world to record survivors' stories on film, dedicating his life to preserving visual evidence of the tragedy; today, the nearly

400 interviews he filmed comprise the world's largest collection of filmed testimony from survivors and other witnesses of the Armenian genocide.

1975. High drama in Hollywood. *The Forgotten Genocide* is about to air on KCET in Los Angeles. The State Department wants KCET to pull the film, claiming it could damage the United States' relations with Turkey. Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley intervenes, telling the feds to butt out. This is America, after all. With that, the first documentary on the Armenian genocide is shown on U.S. television. With that, Michael Hagopian, the film's director, became my new hero.

I was a schoolgirl. To be honest, Michael didn't look like someone who could change history. He worked solo, producing and shooting his own films, lugging cameras around himself, editing out of a converted garage. Baking bread and pickling his own olives, he was the most unglamorous of independent filmmakers.

In 1975, I didn't know what I know now. Michael, at age 62, despite a rich career in educational filmmaking, had just begun a new journey: recording what would become the largest collection of filmed Armenian genocide interviews in the world.

Time was not on Michael's side. The survivors were dying. Born at the beginning of the century, most were children when the genocide started in 1915. They were spread out along five continents—some in old-age homes, faraway villages, living under new names. Many were orphans, who had witnessed the barbaric murders of their parents, sisters and brothers.

Michael filmed their testimonies as if they were legal depositions. He wanted them to be available to a Nuremberg kind of trial, which would one day hold the Turks accountable for their crimes against humanity. He always asked the same question: "What did you see with your own eyes?" A redundant question, but he didn't want hearsay. Despite being a survivor himself, Michael knew truth and justice had to go hand in hand—you can't have one without the other.

Helped by a reference from Michael in 1979, I started my own journey in Britain, first as a student, then as a filmmaker. I saw him again, years later, in London. It was 1988. He had just returned from Syria, where he had interviewed Arab nomads who had helped Armenians escape the killing fields in the Syrian desert during the genocide.

Michael, then a sprightly 75, had eluded the Syrian secret police. "I violated a long-standing rule of mine and checked the cameras in the hold so as to hand-carry the film on board the plane," he recounted. "That's how we got all the Der Zor and Arab interviews out of Syria."

He had filmed survivors who had seen thousands of Armenians thrown from cliffs into the Euphrates. He had filmed survivors who, as small children, had escaped being burned alive in desert caves.

I was impressed. I was beginning to make my own films for British TV. Documenting human-rights abuses in contemporary war zones like Chechnya and Afghanistan was tough. But it was much harder for Michael—he had to find eyewitnesses from 85 years before. No small feat.

In 1998, I started to work with him. I had only worked on video; he was devoted to film. But he was always open to new ideas. In *Germany and the Secret Genocide*, he examined the extent to which Turkey's wartime ally was complicit in the Armenian genocide. The film included a rare interview with Armin Wegner,

the German Red Cross officer who secretly photographed the killing fields. Wegner, whose images of the Armenian genocide are now iconic, would later defy Hitler.

I wondered why Armin Wegner traveled from Germany to Thousand Oaks, California, to meet Michael. Wegner was a “rock star” in the history books, and Michael was a humble filmmaker, quietly editing away in his converted garage. Later, I worked it out. Wegner knew who Michael Hagopian *really* was—the Simon Wiesenthal of the Armenian Genocide.

True, Michael wasn’t hunting Young Turks, in the way Wiesenthal hunted Nazis. But he was doing all he could to undermine their denial, recording the testimony of their victims, corroborating the very history that was already in the diplomatic archives of Europe, America—even Germany, Turkey’s ally.

It was a heavy responsibility. Once Michael started, how could he stop? He couldn’t let these survivors die before filming their testimonies. That would be like ignoring evidence of murder. Because that’s what genocide is—the mass murder of individuals, one at a time.

By 2010, most of the survivors were dead. Michael had interviewed close to 400 survivors and witnesses. Their testimonies would be included in three films, which would cap Michael’s career as the foremost documentary filmmaker on the Armenian genocide.

In May 2010, Michael and Antoinette Hagopian signed an agreement to include Michael’s unique collection in the Shoah Foundation Institute’s Visual History Archive. Michael was proud and, I think, relieved. His genocide testimonials were in safe hands, ready to be shared with universities around the world. Moreover, Michael could now think about his *next* film. Amazingly, at 97, he hadn’t retired.

On December 9, before embarking on a filming trip to India, Michael was due to meet Steven Spielberg at the Ambassadors for Humanity banquet. I was going with him, along with Jerry Papazian, vice chairman of the Armenian Film Foundation and a former USC Trustee, who was instrumental in bringing Michael’s collection to USC. Michael asked me what I was planning to wear. No longer the schoolgirl, I asked him why he wanted to know. He smiled. He wanted to give me a flower to match. Always concerned with detail, always the director.

Hours before the event, he bowed out, blaming a cold. He wanted to be well for India. He died that night. Noble mission completed, legacy intact. Proof that one man can indeed change history—by simply making sure it is told. ■

Resisting the Path to Genocide

By *Wolf Gruner*

Experiences and theoretical approaches from different scientific fields will help us gain a *better understanding* of what RESISTANCE is.

Wolf Gruner is the Shapell-Guerin Chair in Jewish Studies and a professor of history in the USC Dana and David Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences. For a full biography, see page 2.

THREE YEARS AGO, sitting in a German archive and exploring Berlin police records, I was surprised to find a story unlike anything I—as a historian—had come across in 15 years of research on the Holocaust. The event occurred during the war in Berlin, in February 1941, when a judge

evicted 36-year-old Hertha Reis from the small sublet room she shared with her mother and son. Standing in front of a courthouse, Reis, who was a forced laborer, exclaimed: “I got baptized; nevertheless I was an outcast. ... We lost everything. Because of this fucking government we finally lost our home, too. This thug Hitler, this damned government, this damned people. Just because we are Jews, we obtained injustice.”

After eight years of Hitler’s rule, a Jew still had the courage to speak out and protest in the streets of the capital of the Third Reich; if we consider that public opinion and most historians tend to emphasize passivity as the common response of German Jews toward Nazi persecution, this is a truly remarkable act.

After discovering Reis’s story, I started looking for other such incidents. Surprisingly, more and more similar stories emerged about actions that ranged from buying at a bakery during forbidden shopping hours to sabotaging forced labor, even to collecting weapons and forging documents as part of an underground survivor network.

After my arrival at USC, I had to prepare an inaugural lecture for the Shapell-Guerin Chair I was taking over. For this very reason, I started to explore the rich video testimony material housed at the USC Shoah Foundation Institute. Again, after a closer inquiry, these interviews produced surprising evidence of defiance and opposition of German Jews against Nazi oppression—such as the spectacular case of a 16-year-old girl imprisoned in an SA retraining camp, who stabbed one of the SA men with a knife in self-defense when she and other inmates were attacked.

The forgotten existence of a more widespread individual Jewish opposition than we hitherto assumed triggered many thoughts about the range of Jewish response to Nazi oppression, as well as questions about resistance in general. What enabled Jews, who had already experienced years of Nazi persecution, to protest? Broadly speaking, what factors facilitate individual resistance to per-

secution? What enables a person to oppose even mass violence and genocide?

While most research on genocide prevention has attempted to identify the ideological or political causes, the question of resistance has rarely been addressed systematically. When it has been discussed, it has been mostly limited, as in the example of the Holocaust, to organized or armed group resistance by Jews, Poles, or Germans, or, more recently, to rescue efforts. Moreover, almost all of the research has focused on the mass-murder phase of genocides rather than on the pre-genocidal environments.

In fall of 2009, the USC Dana and David Dornsife College of Letters, Arts & Sciences announced a competition to fund three interdisciplinary research clusters that would influence the academic agenda for the next decade. We had no problem assembling a team of faculty (many of whom were experienced in genocide research) from disciplines such as anthropology, political science, psychology, history, religion, literature, and international relations. These colleagues were eager to explore the question of resistance; with Stephen D. Smith of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, we submitted a proposal that was awarded three years of funding.

Our research cluster, “Resisting the Path to Genocides,” will systematically investigate why certain individuals, groups, or societies do not necessarily join persecution and/or mass violence, especially at an early stage of such developments. Experiences and theoretical approaches from different scientific fields will help us to gain a better understanding of what resistance is, to illuminate what conditions and factors influence human behavior, and to identify obstacles that hinder resistance. The interdisciplinary discussion will focus consecutively on societies, groups, and individuals.

Why do some societies avoid tipping into genocide? What kinds of groups or organizations impede or prevent genocidal developments? What enables individuals to oppose a violent mainstream? These are some of the questions we will discuss over the next three years in seminars open to USC faculty and students, as well as in three international workshops. The first workshop, which will take place in May 2011, will focus on societies and states; young historians, political scientists, and sociologists from Europe, the United States, South Africa, and Israel will discuss states as different as Croatia, Rwanda, Guatemala, Bosnia Herzegovina, Sudan, and Indonesia.

One additional aspect of our program is to develop an undergraduate minor in resisting genocide and a graduate certificate in Holo-



Wolf Gruner

caust and genocide studies. The research cluster also provides summer fellowships for USC graduate students and faculty, and short-term visiting fellowships for one PhD candidate per semester. We encourage undergraduate students to develop research projects in connection with the program; funding for projects will depend on their relevance to the research cluster's focus and the extent to which they make use of the unique material resources available at USC. These resources include 52,000 audio-visual testimonies of Holocaust survivors and other witnesses in the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's Visual History Archive; the newly acquired Holocaust collection, with 10,000 primary and secondary sources (including the original transcripts of the Nuremberg War Crimes trials); and the special collection in the Feuchtwanger Memorial Library, containing papers of Jewish emigrants.

The forgotten existence of a more widespread individual Jewish opposition than we hitherto assumed triggered many thoughts about the range of Jewish response to Nazi oppression, as well as questions about resistance in general.

The systematic investigation of what makes people like Hertha Reis willing to oppose persecution will accomplish two distinct tasks. First, it will provide us with insights into one of the most important questions: how to stop processes that induce individuals, groups, and societies to turn genocidal. Secondly, the identification of factors that facilitate opposition will also offer important knowledge about those elements that trigger individual- and group participation in mass violence. ■

Language, Culture & Testimony

By Hannah Pollin-Galay

One of the most challenging questions about my project is:

Is it history? After all, I am not attempting to reconstruct events but am analyzing how *survivors* RECONSTRUCT those events.



The author (left) with survivor Fania Brancovsky

Hannah Pollin-Galay is a PhD candidate in Jewish history at Tel Aviv University and a Yiddish instructor at Ben Gurion University in Be'er Sheva. For a full biography, see page 2

HOW DO YOU SAY Holocaust testimony in Yiddish? If you are a native speaker still living in Eastern Europe, born before 1935—you don't. Of course, Yiddish academics like myself have found suitable expressions like *gvies-eydes fun khurbn*.

But if you called an elderly survivor in Lithuania and used this phrase, he wouldn't know what you were talking about (though if you asked him about the brutal destruction of his family and community, of course, he would certainly have a story to tell). By contrast, any English- or Hebrew-speaking survivor knows exactly what a "Holocaust testimony" ought to be. One can imagine how this simple linguistic difference unfolds into a multiplicity of similar ones, each reflecting and informing how the survivors remember this catastrophe.

These are the kinds of questions I am exploring in my doctorate, "Language, Culture and Testimony: The Test Case of Lithuanian Jewish Holocaust Survivors." Comparing testimonies of Lithuanian Jews given in North America, Israel, and Lithuania, delivered in English, Hebrew, and in Yiddish, I ask how contemporary context shapes Holocaust testimony. One of the most

challenging questions I have been asked about my project is: *Is it history?* After all, I am not attempting to reconstruct the events that unfolded in the Kovno ghetto but am analyzing how *survivors* reconstruct these events. While I certainly make use of literary and linguistic tools of analysis, I do believe my research is historical. The field of history cannot remain limited to an excavation of facts about the past but must expand to include an examination of how people make meaning out of this past. This is precisely what oral testimony allows us to do.

My interest in Holocaust testimony, in general, and in questions of language and place, in particular, developed through personal experience. As a Fulbright grantee in 2004–2005, I searched through local phone books for Jewish names

in order to find and interview more than 50 survivors who, unlike most of their counterparts, decided to stay in Lithuania until their last days. For a 22-year-old American, spending a year sitting in the small, tidy living rooms of aging Lithuanian Jews and asking them, in their native language, to share their memories of catastrophe, was an experience that altered me as a person, as well as a scholar. I was troubled and intrigued by these conversations and by the materials I gathered. How could I translate this morally perplexing encounter into an intellectual project? How was I to honor these victims I had come to know without fetishizing their suffering? What was so different about these testimonies, delivered on the scene of the crime and in the language of prewar Jewish life?

After years of productive confusion, trial and error, I came upon the concept of comparative analysis. The USC Shoah Foundation Institute archive, with its enormous geographical and linguistic reach, enables me to carry out this comparison, offering large numbers of Lithuanian Jewish testimonies from all three of the locations and all three of the languages I am studying. Beyond recording Holocaust memories in these distant locations, I believe that the Shoah Foundation Institute actively shaped the way the Jewish community views the Holocaust in Eastern Europe.

History cannot remain limited to an excavation of facts about the past but must expand to include an examination of how people make meaning out of this past. This is precisely what oral testimony allows us to do.

Since the project was initiated just three years after the fall of the Soviet Union, it was among the first organizations to interview survivors in the region. The Shoah Foundation Institute thus created, and recorded on camera, a cultural encounter between different perceptions of the Holocaust—a new type of memory in the making. Like the testimony I gathered in Lithuania, the Shoah Foundation Institute testimonies demand that we take note of how culture informs the act of witnessing and that we see the creation of the source as a historical event of great consequence. ■

To learn more about the testimonies in the Institute's Visual History Archive of people born in Lithuania, visit libguides.usc.edu/content.php?pid=58585&sid=489656

News & Events

Recent Activities

Czech Republic: In January, a year after gaining access to the Institute's archive, Charles University's Malach Visual History Centre marked the occasion with a 1st Anniversary Conference for educators from across the Czech Republic. The conference included presentations by Prof. Jan Hajič, Mgr. Milan Hes, Mgr. Jakub Mlynář, and P. Mgr. and Mgr. Marek Vácha, PhD, of Charles University; Mgr. Michal Frankl, PhD, of the Jewish Museum of Prague; and Martin Šmok, of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute.

Access the Institute's Czech-language web portal at dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/czech. Visit dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/album/CharlesUniversity2011 to view photos from the conference.

France: The Institute launched a French-language web portal in October (dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/french) and developed *Être Juif en France pendant l'Occupation. Expériences vécues de la persécution: le port de l'étoile jaune* (Being Jewish in France during the Occupation. Experiences of Persecution: Wearing a Yellow Star). A classroom pilot is now being conducted; visit dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/french/etoilejaune to view the lesson.

Hungary: A partner of the Institute, the Holocaust Memorial Center in Budapest, launched a year-long Fellowship Program in Holocaust Education for curriculum developers and teacher trainers; the program was funded by Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research (ITF); the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM); and the Hungarian Ministry of National Resources. The program included a November seminar led by scholars from the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, Columbia University, USHMM, the University of London, and Yad Vashem, as well as experts from Hungary. Attendees received training on how to use the Institute's archive, to which Central European University (CEU) has provided access since 2009.

Access the Institute's Hungarian-language web portal at dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/Hungarian. To view photos from the seminar, visit dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/album/HungarianFellowshipProgram.

Italy: The Institute developed *Piramide dell'odio*, an Italian-language classroom exercise utilizing the Anti-Defamation League's *Pyramid of Hate*. This interactive exercise integrates first-person testimonies in Italian from the Institute's archive. It allows students to explore their own attitudes about, and experiences with, prejudice and bigotry; examine the individual's roles and responsibilities regarding ethnic, racial, and religious bias; and think critically about examples of prejudiced attitudes, acts of prejudice, discrimination, violence, and genocide. The exercise is available on the Institute's web portal (dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/Italian).

Macedonia: The Institute participated in the ITF's International Training Team Project (tinyurl.com/taskforce-project). The project was initiated to promote the commemoration of the International Day of Memory and build key relationships in ITF-affiliated countries. In January, the ITF sent three teams of experts in Holocaust memorialization and education to Macedonia, Portugal, and Slovenia in concurrence with the International Day of Memory.

Stephen D. Smith, the Institute's executive director, joined Mark Weitzman of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and Naama Shik of Yad Vashem as the ITF experts dispatched to Macedonia. In addition to meeting with government ministries, members of the Jewish community, and other stakeholders, the Macedonia team visited *continued on page 32*



ACCESS TO THE TESTIMONIES

The Visual History Archive is now available to the public at **30 sites**, including the first in Austria, Canada, and the United Kingdom.



Eight institutions gained access between 2010 and spring 2011:

- **Jewish Holocaust Centre** (Elsternwick, Victoria, Australia)
- **McMaster University** (Ontario, Canada)
- **New York University** (New York, N.Y.)
- **Northwestern University*** (Chicago, Ill.)
- **Royal Holloway, University*** of London (London, England)
- **Rutgers University** (New Brunswick, N.J.)
- **Universität Salzburg** (Salzburg, Austria)
- **University of Minnesota** Duluth (Duluth, Minn.)

* Sites in process of gaining access as edition goes to print

Visit dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/locator to find the access site nearest you.



TESTIMONIES IN ACADEMIA

Testimony has been incorporated into more than 230 courses at universities around the world. The courses demonstrate the range of topics and themes that the Institute's archive can help illuminate. Below is a small representation of these courses.

- **Graduate reading seminar: *Interpretations of History: Modern Germany***, Brown University
- ***Holocaust, memory, gender***, Central European University
- ***Cultures of Commemoration & European Identity: Italy & Germany Compared***, Freie Universität Berlin
- ***The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide***, Monash University
- ***The Holocaust as Public History***, University of California, San Diego
- ***Topics in Literature and Cultural Theory***, University of Minnesota
- ***Voices of the Holocaust***, University of North Carolina at Greensboro
- ***Communicating Illness, Grief, and Loss: Witnessing Holocaust Survivor Testimonies and Revisioning Stories of Loss***, University of South Florida
- ***French IV: Paris as Seen by Writers, Filmmakers, and Photographers***, University of Southern California

Recent Activities *continued*

the Memorial Centre of the Holocaust in Skopje (under construction) and commemorated International Holocaust Remembrance Day at the Memorial Jewish Cemetery in Bitola.

Ukraine: Drawing upon the more than 700 Ukrainian-language testimonies in the Visual History Archive that address the Great Famine of 1932-1933, the Institute developed a classroom lesson for secondary school educators on this event. (dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/ukrainian/holodomor). Additionally, the Institute conducted a seminar in Kyiv to train and equip teachers with the lesson and prepare them to train additional teachers in their home regions. More than 600 educators nationwide participated; they were chosen for their commitment and participation in the Encountering Memory training program.

The Institute's Ukrainian-language web portal is accessible at dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/ukrainian.

Helping Canada Preserve a National Memory

"For the child taken, for the parent left behind"

STEPHEN D. SMITH, executive director of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, and Kim Simon, managing director, represented the Institute in March at the National Research Centre Forum in Vancouver, British Columbia. They were part of an international body of experts brought together to help the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada preserve a historical record of the residential school system, which separated more than 150,000 Aboriginal children from their families and cultural heritages.

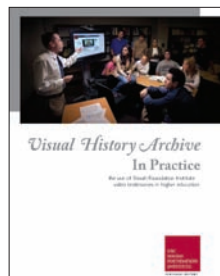
The Canadian government began placing First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children in publicly funded residential schools in the 1870s; the last of these schools closed in 1996.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has a mandate to establish a National Research Centre for scholarship and education about the residential school system and commemoration of former students and their families. The centre will house an archive of individual testimonies and community narratives and intends to collect 15,000 testimonies as part of the national memory of Canada.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission convened the National Research Centre Forum to learn from other major efforts to preserve memory as historical record. Smith delivered a keynote address, and Simon spoke about documenting and memorializing the Holocaust. ■

Visual History Archive in Practice

A new publication for academicians



THE USC SHOAH Foundation Institute has issued its first publication for academicians on the use of the Visual History Archive. Professors, researchers, and librarians from more than 25 institutions participated last year in the first international conference on the academic use of the archive. Based on the findings and recommendations brought to light at the conference, *Visual History Archive in Practice* articulates a framework that will inform the field. "As dynamic and growing communities of users develop around the testimonies, this

document will serve as a snapshot of the Visual History Archive at the beginning of the 21st century," Stephen D. Smith, the Institute's executive director, said.

The conference and manual were made possible through generous funding by the Jim Joseph Foundation. ■

News&Events

Spring 2011



Woman and the Holocaust

United Nations develops new educational resource

THE HOLOCAUST and the United Nations Outreach Programme has released an educational DVD and study guide to help high school students to better understand how the Holocaust affected women.

Women and the Holocaust: Courage and Compassion was produced in partnership with the USC Shoah Foundation Institute and the International School for Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority. This new resource focuses on the experiences of women who heroically struggled to care for their families, maintain a sense of community, and preserve their religious traditions in the face of Nazi persecution.

The DVD features testimony from six women whose life stories are preserved in the Institute's Visual History Archive: Esther Bem, Anna Heilman, Agnes Kun, Anita Lasker-Wallfisch, Julia Lentini, and Vladka Meed.

"The memories these survivors have shared with us are an undying testament not only to their own courage but also to the power and potential of all women," Stephen D. Smith, executive director of the Institute, said.

The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme released *Women and the Holocaust: Courage and Compassion* on January 27, the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust, as part of a weeklong observance at United Nations Headquarters and United Nations Information Centres worldwide.

Visit tinyurl.com/womenandtheholocaust for an online version of *Women and the Holocaust: Courage and Compassion*. ■

PRESERVATION UPDATE

The Institute is closing in on its goal of generating digital master copies of all the testimonies in its Visual History Archive. The new digital copies preserve the picture and sound quality of the original recordings and make it easier to generate additional copies in a variety of commonly used video formats.



Visit dornsife.edu/vhi/preservation to learn more about the preservation effort.

"The archive is actually much greater than the sum of its parts. [Its] many themes are an interdisciplinary treasure trove for researchers and students alike."

– Stephen D. Smith

66%

Amount of the Visual History Archive testimonies that have undergone the preservation process, **33,862 out of 51,694**, as of April 2011



A night to remember The USC Shoah Foundation Institute honored longstanding supporter Jeffrey Katzenberg, CEO of DreamWorks Animation (pictured above with Steven Spielberg), with the Ambassador for Humanity Award—its highest honor—at a gala in December. Visit dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/album/afh2010photoessay to view a photo essay from the event.



Honoring an Ambassador for Humanity

An event celebrating Jeffrey Katzenberg becomes a night to remember.

Photography by Kim Fox

JEFFREY KATZENBERG, CEO of DreamWorks Animation and long-time philanthropist, has received the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's highest honor: the Ambassador for Humanity Award.

Steven Spielberg presented the award to Katzenberg at a gala in Los Angeles on December 9. Craig Ferguson hosted the gala, and Grammy® and Academy Award®-winner Jennifer Hudson was the special musical guest. Turner Network Television (TNT), a long-standing partner of the Ambassadors Humanity event, was the presenting sponsor.

"Jeffrey Katzenberg is an ambassador of many charitable movements, inspiring and leading at the same time," Spielberg said. "When Jeffrey believes in something, his personal commitment is extraordinary, and his time and energy are focused like a laser beam to make sure that funds and awareness are brought to bear immediately. He has been an ardent supporter and friend of the Shoah Foundation since it began, and his determination to make a difference in the world has provided great inspiration to me and to so many others."

The gala was also an occasion to bring awareness to the Institute's current initiatives and educational programs, including IWitness and the Teacher Innovation Network.

"The Shoah Foundation Institute's Visual History Archive is the conscience of a generation of survivors and witnesses who lived to tell and educate and inspire," said Stephen D. Smith, executive director of the Institute. "Jeffrey Katzenberg's leadership, generosity, and diligence light a path for many organizations, including ours. His ongoing, generous commitment has brought us countless steps closer to our goals." ■



Mission-minded In addition to being an occasion to recognize Katzenberg for his tireless work on behalf of the Institute, the Ambassadors for Humanity Gala provided an opportunity to raise awareness of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's current programs, of new initiatives on the horizon, and of recent accomplishments made possible by those who support the Institute's mission.

How you can *make a difference*. One person really can make a difference. If you would like to support the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, here are some of the ways you can help.

Planned Gifts: Planned gifts include wills, charitable remainder trusts, charitable lead trusts, and annuities, and may help you reduce or avoid income, gift, and inheritance taxes.

Cash Donations: Gifts may be made by cash, check, or credit card.

Pledges: Make a gift that is paid over several years, on a payment schedule that is most convenient for you.

Memorial or Tribute Gifts: Honor special occasions such as birthdays, weddings, or births; memorialize a friend or family member; receive a tribute card from the Institute announcing the gift.

In-Kind Gifts: Donate goods or services that fulfill programmatic needs.

For more information, contact: Steven Klappholz, executive director of Development, USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education, University of Southern California, 650 W. 35th Street, Suite 114, Los Angeles, CA 90089-2571, Phone: (213) 740-6001



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Spring 2011

Our Mission

To overcome prejudice, intolerance, and bigotry — and the suffering they cause — through the educational use of the Institute's visual history testimonies

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