

PANEL 1: Holocaust: Ghettos and camps (I)

Sara Bender (University of Haifa, Israel)

Jewish children as victims in forced labor camps in the last stage of the Holocaust, 1942-1944

The lecture would address the fate of children aged six to twelve in forced labor camps in Radom district, Poland, in the years 1942-1944. In late 1942, when the ghettos in the Radom district were being liquidated one by one and their inmates sent to the death camp in Treblinka, Nazi Germany's military campaign against the USSR, in the eastern front, was at its height. To provide the Wehrmacht with much needed and depleted arms and ammunition, the Germans established in the arms and munitions factories dispersed throughout the Radom district labor camps, where they incarcerated thousands of Jews who had passed selection and were found fit for work. Extant sources indicate that in nearly every such camp there were children – some with their families and some alone. The chain of events and the fate of these children in three labor camps – in Kielce, Strachowice and Blizyn - until their arrival in the summer of 1944 to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, will be presented as case studies. This lecture is the outcome of a study of Jews incarcerated in forced labor camps in Radom district, about to be published in book form.

Professor **Sara Bender**, University of Haifa, Department of Jewish History. My studies compare the histories of the Jewish communities in Poland and East Europe during World War II and the Holocaust, focusing on Poland and subjects such as: Jewish resistance, relations with Poles in towns and villages, forced labor camps in the Radom district and Jewish life among partisan units in Lithuania and Belarus. Publications include: *"Mul Mavet Orev", The Jews of Bialystok in World War II (1939-1943)*. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1997, 330 pp. (Hebrew). 1997. The book won Buchman Prize, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. *"The Jews in Bialystok During World War II and the Holocaust"*, Brandeis University Press, University Press of New England, 2008, 372 pp. *"Be-Eretz Oyev", The Jews of Kielce and the Vicinity During World War II - 1939-1946*, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 2012, 387 pp. (Hebrew).

Dalia Ofer (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

Through the lens of children: The family in East European ghettos during the Holocaust

The goal of this paper is to present the voices of children in the Nazi ghetto, particularly the way they saw themselves in the context of their family and its fate. This paper will be based on interviews with children or testimonials that they wrote or responded to through questionnaires in the ghetto and just after the war. The ages of the children range between 6 and 16 years old. The key issue that this paper deals with is the child's understanding of the war and life in the ghetto. This paper will present the experiences of children who were still living within the context of their nuclear family and how they understood and related to the interfamilial relationships and also the experiences of those children who had already endured the breakdown of their family unit as a result of death and deportation. This paper will examine the testimonials of children who before and during the war came from different socio-economic levels of society, and of children who came to ghetto with their families who had been deported. The main issue to be discussed is the transitions of the children's awareness of their changing reality, particularly how if and how their relationships changed within the family unit and the roles they took upon themselves in order to survive. This paper will trace the changes within the family structure and its dynamic in response to the difficult reality of the ghetto. This paper will be based on documentation taken from the Ringleblum archives which includes questionnaires which children responded to as well as compositions that they wrote and reports compiled by

educators. In addition diaries of children during the war and testimonies collected after will also be examined.

Dalia Ofer, is Max and Rita Haber Professor of Holocaust and East European Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (emerita). She was Head of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry (2003–2007) and of the Vidal Sassoon International Research Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism (1995–2002). Her book *Escaping the Holocaust: Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel* (Yad Ben Zvi, 1990; English translation: Oxford University Press, 1998) received the Ben Zvi award and a National Jewish Book Award. Her co-edited volume with Lenore J. Weitzman, *Women in the Holocaust* (Yale University Press, 1999), was also a finalist for two National Jewish Book Awards. She is the academic editor (with Paula Hyman) of *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* (Jerusalem: Shalvi Publishing, 2007; now available on the Jewish Women's Archive site), co-editor with Françoise S. Ouzan and Judy Tydor Baumel-Schwartz of *Holocaust Survivors: Resettlement, Memories, Identities* (Berghahn, 2012), and editor of *Israel in the Eyes of the Survivors* (Hebrew; Yad Vashem, 2014).

Maria Piątkowska (University of Warsaw, Poland)

The lost children of Warsaw Ghetto 1940-1943

Concerning the topic of the fate of children at war one should remember the courageous actions of Polish Underground State during the Second World War. Such persons as Irena Sendler, Zofia Kossak-Szczucka or Janusz Korczak had contributed to the rescue movements of the Jewish children from the Warsaw Ghetto between 1941-1943. Thanks to the establishment of "Żegota" – a secret organization of Polish resistance - the Jewish children were taken from their parents and led out of the ghetto walls through the city canals and transported to the foster families or convents on the outskirts of Warsaw. It was the only solution to help them survive the horrors of war. Most of them never found their parents and relatives. After the war those children were brought up by different and sometimes hostile people or left alone on their own without any help or support. Throughout the whole communism era in Poland it was nearly forbidden to mention the history of Polish war heroes and helping the Jewish survivors find their real families. Since 1990s there exist an Association of the Children of Holocaust in Warsaw that unite the Jewish survivors that were rescued from the ghettos. Some of them found their relatives after many years. All of them share their stories and are no longer afraid of talking about the war. In my paper I would like to present the original diaries and reminiscences of those who had survived the horrors of Warsaw ghetto thanks to the courageous actions of the members of Żegota.

MA **Maria Piątkowska** – a phd student of the Institute of English Studies at the University of Warsaw in Poland. Main interests: Second World War and horror fiction. Since 2013 I've been working as an assistant to Prof. Tilar J. Mazzeo from Colby College, Maine concerning her book project dedicated to the role of women (especially Irena Sendler) during the Second World War in Poland. I was asked to do the research in Warsaw museums and national institutions, translate the original documents survived after the WWII and interview some of the survivors rescued from the Warsaw ghetto.

Lea Prais (Yad Vashem, Israel)

Children and adolescents in Warsaw Ghetto as beggars and smugglers

Nearly 25% of the population of the Warsaw Ghetto was 15 or younger. However, the rapid impoverishment and the disintegration of organized settings, and the family unit, above all, set in motion the phenomenon of "street urchins", homeless, starving youngsters, many of whom came from refugee families. In 1941, many children and youth of refugee origin were orphaned of one or both parents, and left without any means of basic survival, so they "made a living" by begging. In early January 1941, the historian Emmanuel Ringelblum wrote, "They say that 80% of children dressed in rags at the refugee shelters beg in the streets". The relief organizations launched campaigns to stamp out this phenomenon, which had become a social scourge. The main efforts were aimed at the young. However, the institutions established for this population could not reduce the incidence of begging because deprivation and starvation followed the clients into the shelters as well, forcing many to continue in their former ways just to stay alive. Smuggling became one of the most common means of survival and a principal motive for leaving the ghetto. Along with organized smuggling run by "professional" Jewish and Polish traders, the practice of petty smuggling developed. Most smugglers were children and adolescents who had somehow developed the physical and other skills needed to slip out past the ghetto walls and bring back food and other items in order to relieve their family's hunger or to do business.

Dr. **Lea Prais** currently leads two research projects at the International Institute for Holocaust Research of Yad Vashem: "The Untold Stories" – murder sites of Jews in the former Soviet Union and upgrading the on-line Holocaust Resource Center. She was the editor in chief of the Hebrew online version of The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust, and was a member of the staff of historians that developed the exhibition of Yad Vashem's new historical Museum. Her study "DPs at Home" is going to be published by Yad Vashem publication.

PANEL 2: First World War

Stella Hockenhull (University of Wolverhampton, UK)

All work, no play...: Representations of child labour in films of the First World War

Although propaganda cinema of the First World War was dominated by representations of battle scenes and fighting at the front, a number of Home Front films were also produced to encourage patriotism and to advertise the effort required to support the troops. Usually in story form, short films about food shortages were seen as embodying useful morals such as *Save Coal* or *Buy War Loan*, and a number of these represented children. However, unlike their European contemporaries, and equally cinema of the Second World War, the films did not sentimentalise children or represent them as victims. Instead, the films entailed day to day activities in which children were physically seen to help with important tasks as part of the war effort. *Even Children Help* (1917) shows a group of schoolchildren working the land, and *Children Grow Vegetables* shows shots of children gardening to demonstrate the correlation between food and survival. Not only were children used in the Dig for Victory campaign, they also appeared to encourage the purchase of Victory Bonds. In *Children* (1914-18) for example, two infants are shown fundraising by purchasing war bonds. This paper analyses the representation of children in a number of films of the First World War and suggests that, rather than striving for an emotional response, the images were pragmatic, made with the intention of promoting child participation in the war effort.

Dr **Stella Hockenhull** is a Reader in Film and Television Studies at the University of Wolverhampton and Co-Director of the Research Centre for Film, Media, Discourse and Culture. She has published widely in the field of British Cinema, including 'Everybody's Business: Film, Food and Victory in the First World War' (2014), three monographs entitled *Neo-Romantic Landscapes: An Aesthetic Approach to the Films of Powell and Pressburger* (2008), *Aesthetics and Neo-Romanticism in Film* (2013), and *British Women Film Directors in the New Millennium* (2016) and co-edited and contributed a chapter to *Spaces of the Cinematic Home: Behind the Screen Door* (2015).

Fabrice Langrognnet (University of Cambridge, UK)

More agency, less childhood: What the Great War meant for the children of the Plaine - Saint-Denis

A full century after the Great War, only a handful of historical studies attempt to understand the impact of that major conflict on children. This paper contributes to filling that historiographical void by resorting to a micro-historical analysis of the changes that children experienced at the scale of a working-class neighborhood of an industrial suburb of Paris, between 1914 and 1918. In particular, it aims at assessing the extent to which the war influenced their socio-cultural identifications. As far as ethnic, racial and gender categories are concerned, many factors combined to alter the representations and actions of the children in the area, tracing new boundaries which entailed, albeit to various degrees, more social and symbolic agency compared to the anterior situation: to list only a few, the absence of French and Italian fathers and older brothers; the new employment of mothers; the disappearance of German schoolmates, replaced by more Spaniards; the appalling misery of refugee children from Belgium and Northern France; the visibility of minor female prostitutes catering to soldiers and workers from France, Britain, Northern Africa, Indochina and China. On the other hand, local evidence of other trends such as lower school attendance, better compensation of child labour, earlier consumption of alcohol and sex, more precocious access to criminal gangs, as well as the wartime specific phenomenon of minor runaways trying to reach the frontline, suggest a

significant increase of those children's social age at the time, which brings into question their very characterization as children.

Fabrice Langrognet: A second-year Ph.D. candidate in history and Gates scholar at the University of Cambridge, I am looking at the socio-cultural identifications of migrants living in one housing unit in the Plaine-Saint-Denis, a northern suburb of Paris, between 1890 and 1920. My supervisor is Prof. R.P. Tombs. Before studying at Cambridge, I graduated from the École normale supérieure LSH (2006), Sciences-Po (2007), ÉNA (2010) and EHESS (2012). I also served for four years as a judge in the administrative branch of the French judiciary (2010-2014), and worked as a speechwriter for the President of the French Republic (2013-2014).

Assaf Mond (Tel-Aviv University, Israel)

“I wish an airship would come along”: The Zeppelin raids on Britain during the Great War and the entrance of the war into the world of children

“At half past ten on Wednesday night we had a visit from the Zeppelins”, wrote J. Sandell, a boy from Princeton Street School at Bradford Row, after the airships raided London on the night of September 8th 1915. “At a quarter to eleven I heard a great explosion, followed by a man's voice shouting out 'all lights out'. I dressed myself quickly and the man next door to us said 'come in here'. We went in his house, and my mother went to the window and exclaimed 'here it is'. Then I went to the window just in time to see the zeppelin vanish over the roof. I ran down stairs and a man said to me 'it has been hit'. The zeppelin vanished behind a cloud for a little while but it came out after and then I lost sight of it”. While many excellent publications have dealt with the British Home-Front, almost none had tried to examine the day-to-day war experience in London. The war, I would like to argue, was perceived by London residents – children and adults – as an urban event, and not merely an international event which affected life in the big city. Both the real and the imagined changes that the war had brought to the urban space, with their physical presence and mental manifestations, are the subject of my research and my proposed paper. In order to demonstrate it, I will present the story of the zeppelin raid on London during the Great War, as it was perceived by the city's children – and as it was documented by them.

Assaf Mond is a Ph.D. Student at the Zvi Yavetz School of Historical Studies in Tel Aviv University, under the supervision of Prof. Iris Rachamimov. In his research, titled “The Changing Urban Space of Great-War London, 1914-1918”, he examines the way the British capital city was changed because of the war – whether by bombs dropped during Zeppelin raids, public debates regarding the continuation of the professional football league or the internment of civilians of enemy origin.

Kamil Ruzsala (Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland)

Childhood in Galicia during the First World War

Galicia, a province on the outskirts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, became a territory of the military operations in the years of the Great War 1914–1918. The war caused a destabilization of everyday life of all the inhabitants of this region, and, naturally, the children, their life, education, up-growing etc. A part of Galician children had to leave their homes together with the whole family and live as refugees deep in Austria. This often constituted their first journey outside their dwelling place. Their social and economical situation was diverse. That is why some part of the richer families could rent flats in towns and cities of Moravia, Bohemia, Austria or Slovenia. The poorer families, on the other hand, often totally penniless, had to be supported by the State and they were located in barrack camps for refugees. There the children were

provided with access to education, but for all of them their living conditions changed dramatically. This war experience of children is going to be one of the elements of my paper. Numerous other children stayed with their families in Galicia near the front-line (under the Russian invasion, after liberation by the Central Powers or just behind the front line). Their vivid problems are reflected in sources. One can provide numerous examples of war trauma experienced by the younger inhabitants, who often saw the deaths of their family members and became orphans. On the other hand, we are able to find examples of children who came from wealthy families. In this second case, the problems for children or teenagers were very different. Their minds were not set on acquiring food but playing and leisure. Lastly, one can find an ego-document (i.e. a diary written by Jan Mycielski, gathered in Scientific Library Polish Academy of Art and Science in Krakow) written by 14-year-old boy during the war. Relative to his age, his way of thinking about current situation was surprisingly very mature.

Kamil Ruzsala – born in 1990, MA in History, studying in Kraków (Jagiellonian University) and Vienna (Universität Wien). PhD Student at the Institute of History Jagiellonian University in Krakow, advisor: Professor Michał Baczkowski. My research interest are focused on WW1, war remembrance, war graves and cemeteries, experiences of soldiers and societies during the war, refugees during the WW1, cities during the WW1, as well. I am an author of academic articles dedicated to WW1 and a member of editorial board of 5 books, participated in WW1 conferences, and some research projects. I was awarded a scholarship at the University of Vienna in academic year 2013/2014, where I conducted my research in the Austrian National Archive. Also I am a member of a number of NGOs, including The Association for Active Protection of WWI Cemeteries in Galicia “Crux Galiciae” as a member of management. A list of my major publications is accessible here: <https://jagiellonian.academia.edu/KamilRuzsala>. The recent book: *Bitwa pod Gorlicami. Studia z perspektywy stulecia* [*The battle of Gorlice. Centenary perspectives*] published in 2015.

PANEL 3: Post-WW II: Repatriation and reintegration (I)

Ruth Balint (University of New South Wales, Australia)

Children left behind: Postwar migration and its remains

In 1950, a welfare report by the IRO (International Refugee Organisation) in Austria recorded the particulars of Julia Alexenko, a displaced person (DP) and her 6 year old daughter. Julia had been in forced labour when her daughter was born, and the father had disappeared under the Soviets and not heard from since. Now facing the immanent closure of the DP camps, she desperately sought asylum and resettlement in the West. Her efforts to do so were thwarted, however, by the medical condition of her daughter. An IRO medical report indicates that her daughter, born prematurely, had severe physical and mental handicaps. There was, the report noted, “little hope for improvement.” As this paper will discuss, Julia’s daughter was one of hundreds of children who were rejected by the resettlement missions of western governments in postwar Europe. Julia Alexenko’s efforts to emigrate were futile, not because she was considered “unfit” in the tellingly pragmatic terminology of immigration, but because she refused to part from her daughter, who was. In Julia Alexenko’s case, she refused to give in to pressure to relinquish her child, and ended up on the local German economy. However, many other parents did give in, often under considerable pressure from the IRO and with other children’s futures to consider, leaving their disabled children in institutions in Western Europe before emigrating thousands of miles away. This paper considers this hitherto hidden history in the light of recent historiography of humanitarianism and the family in the postwar era, which mostly assumes that keeping the family together was a priority at all costs. While the break-up of families is a relatively well known consequence of Nazi Germany’s policies of forced labour, population transfers and liquidations, there has been less recognition of the influence of immigration and resettlement policies of western governments on DP families in furthering these separations. I also consider this history in terms of a longer history of institutionalising and segregating the “abnormal” from “normal” society. The difference in these cases, however, is that parents had to relinquish total custody of their children, to move to the other side of the world, with little hope often of ever seeing them again.

Ruth Balint is a senior lecturer in History at the University of New South Wales. She teaches and writes on transnational histories of migration, displacement, refugees and family, with a current focus on the Displaced Persons of postwar Europe. Her recent articles include a chapter in the International Tracing Service 2015 *Jahrbuch*, ‘The Use and Abuse of History: displaced persons in the ITS digital archive’ and “‘To reunite the dispersed family’: war, displacement and migration in the tracing files of the Australian Red Cross’ in *History Australia* 2015. Her documentaries most recently include *The Somerton Man: A Mystery in Four Acts*, for ABC radio. Ruth has collaborated with the Australian Red Cross International Tracing Service since 2012, and is a joint curator for the exhibition opened in July 2015 at the Immigration Museum in Melbourne, on 100 years of Red Cross tracing of missing after war and conflict.

Ildiko Barna (Eötvös-Loránd-University Budapest, Hungary)

Hungarian Jewish displaced children in the western zones of occupation

The paper analyses Hungarian Jewish Displaced Children’s fates living in displaced persons’ camps in the Western zones of occupation, combining historical and sociological aspects. The research utilizes primarily the International Tracing Service (ITS) Digital Archive, but also other sources such as the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive (VHA). The ITS Archive was established after WWII by the Allied Powers for the purpose of tracing missing persons. It was closed for nearly sixty years, and contains data on some 17 million victims of Nazi persecution, among on Displaced Children. Hungarian Jewish DPs can be categorized into

groups of those waiting for repatriation after being liberated, those not returning to Hungary, and those leaving Hungary after the end of the war. In the case of Displaced Children it must be also taken into account, whether the child was with his/her parents or other relatives, or he/she had to face this physically, psychologically difficult process of rehabilitation alone. The quantitative analysis of these data embraces the level of society using the digital humanities framework to shed light on the macro statistics of Hungarian Jewish Displaced Children, as well as to explore multidimensional relationships. The qualitative analysis of other, especially oral history sources grasps the level of the individuals, describing personal life stories behind the numbers. The combination of macro and micro level analysis, the use of different sources, as well as the exploitation of interdisciplinary aspects make the reconstruction possible to complete rehabilitation paths of Hungarian Jewish Displaced Children.

Ildiko Barna is an Associate Professor at ELTE University Faculty of Social Sciences Budapest, Department of Social Research Methodology, where she also serves as Department Chair. Currently she is a Visiting Fellow at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC. Her publications include *Political Justice in Budapest after WWII* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2015), "Teaching about and against Hate in a Challenging Environment in Hungary: a Case Study" (*Casopis Za Kritiko Znanosti*), and *Survival Kit to SPSS* (Túlélőkészlet az SPSS-hez. Budapest: Typotex, 2002, with Mária Székelyi), awarded the Karl Polányi Prize of the Hungarian Sociological Society for the best publication of 2002.

Lea Dror-Batalion (University of Haifa, Israel)

Vision of a Holocaust survivor to help other young survivors and DP's in the quest for a New Life and a New Identity

Samuel Milek Batalion, having survived the Holocaust in Russia, began in 1945 working in several DP Camps in American-occupied Germany, and where he became greatly sensitive to the fate of young Jewish boys who had survived like himself. They either had been in concentration camps, with partisans in the woods or in constant flight. He realized these boys, most of whom were 15-25 years old and had come from Poland and Romania, had been largely wandering around aimlessly and without any hope or vision of their future. To make matters worse, they had no formal education or professional training. Feeling these boys' intense despair and sensing that "they were freed but not free," in 1947 Batalion created a vocational school in the middle of the free city Darmstadt. This was established in the spirit of Betar (emphasizing more of an accompanying Zionism instead of religious education). He further provided them with suitable accommodations where they would be able to begin their new life and quietly study. He used the ideology of a Kibbutz, assigning a youth leader or Madrich who would take care of their physical, but also emotional and spiritual needs. Additionally, four young women came to the school. But they chose not to study and rather provided supportive help. The end result was that this school helped transform dozens of young despondent Holocaust-surviving boys into young men with a new identity, self-respect, strength of personality and hope for the future. They were now fully inspired to emigrate to Palestine where they could be gainfully employed, raise a family and could make a contribution to a new Jewish homeland of Eretz Israel. The lecture's main focus will be on the younger students, aged 18 and under, sharing the compelling stories of their life from before and after 1945, plus how the school was a great example of post-war rehabilitation and identity building for these youngsters. The lecture will be accompanied by fascinating photos and documents which were puzzled together in the past years to fill the biographies with faces and facts.

Lea Dror-Batalion, M.Sc.: As managing director of the Bucerius Institute for Research of Contemporary German History and Society, at the University of Haifa, for the past 15 years Lea Dror-Batalion was actively involved in the planning and execution of the Institute's

conferences, workshops, seminars and lectures and research. Her own research focused on the DP Camps and post-Holocaust education, including the activities of the Jewish Vocational School in Darmstadt (1946-47). In conducting this research, she interviewed the school's remaining Holocaust-surviving students and teachers, and based on her findings, created an exhibition which now travels in Israel and Germany. She also has widely lectured on various aspects of this subject at numerous institutions, including Yad Vashem.

Kinga Frojimovics (Yad Vashem, Israel)

The problems of child forced labor survivors concerning reintegration in rural Hungary in 1945

In the summer of 1944, about 15,000 Jewish deportees from four ghettos in Eastern Hungary arrived in the Strasshof distribution camp, near Vienna. These Jewish forced laborers were destined to work in Vienna and its vicinity in the war industry and agriculture, as well as clearing rubble in Vienna, where air raids were frequent. Typically, large families were deported together to Strasshof: mothers with children and grandparents together with young or female cousins, and older aunts and uncles. About a third of the deportees were children under 14 years of age. Military-aged men—fathers and older brothers—were not with the families, as, typically, they had been drafted earlier for forced labor service in the Hungarian army. Typically, the families could stay together and were placed in so-called Wohnlager in Vienna and Judenlager around Vienna, from where they were taken to work every day. Children over 10 years of age had to work either alongside the adults, or in separate Kinderkommandos. The younger children usually stayed in the lagers, where they had to perform various tasks. The survivors of the forced labor in Vienna and its vicinity, returned to Hungary roughly a year later, in the summer of 1945. While relatively many survived Viennese forced labor, the overwhelming majority of the military-aged men of the families did not survive. Therefore, the families after returning to their looted homes typically experienced disintegration. Many of the mothers—who until returning home had been very strong and carried the children through the entire experience—became deeply depressed and collapsed. The former forced laborer youngsters in many cases opted for, or they found themselves in, various Jewish institutions. On the basis of their testimonies, memoirs, and literary memoirs, I aim at assessing the post-war difficulties of the child survivors of Viennese forced labor. The survivors realized that it was not possible to return to their old lives in any way. They understood that their world had changed completely, as, for example, the overwhelming majority of their friends and schoolmates who had been deported to Auschwitz did not survive, their formerly housewife mothers became incapacitated, etc. The manifest cruelty of the world, the inability of their elders to protect them together with the fact that they had survived as forced laborers very much like adults and they had been legitimate targets for others to kill, gave them a new perspective on their own lives, strategies, aims, etc. In my presentation, I will analyze the thoughts and world views of the child survivors of Viennese forced labor as they present themselves in their testimonies and life writings.

Kinga Frojimovics, PhD. Director of the Hungarian Section in Yad Vashem Archives (Jerusalem, Israel). Research associate at Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (Vienna, Austria). Historian and archivist. Since 2007, director of the Hungarian Section in Yad Vashem Archives (Jerusalem, Israel); since 2010 research associate at Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, Brandeis University (Waltham, MA, USA), and since 2014 research associate at Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (Vienna, Austria). Areas of research: the history of the Jews in Hungary in the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries with focus on the history of the Jewish religious trends in Hungary, and on the Holocaust. Co-editor of the MAKOR, the Series of the Hungarian Jewish Archives (Budapest). Published books include:

Kinga Frojimovics – Géza Komoróczy – Viktória Pusztai – Andrea Strbik, Jewish Budapest. Memories, services, history. Edited by Géza Komoróczy. Budapest: Central European UP, 1999. Kinga Frojimovics, I have been a stranger in a strange land: The Hungarian State and Jewish Refugees in Hungary, 1933-1945. Jerusalem: The International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem, 2007. Kinga Frojimovics, Szétszakadt történelem: Zsidó vallási irányzatok Magyarországon, 1868-1950. [History in Pieces: Jewish Religious Trends in Hungary, 1868-1950] Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008 (Hungarian). Kinga Frojimovics – Judit Molnár (eds.), A Világ Igazai Magyarországon a második világháború alatt. [Righteous Among the Nations in Hungary During WW2] Budapest – Jerusalem: Balassi Kiadó – Yad Vashem, 2009 (Hungarian).

PANEL 4: Intergenerational transmission

Cyril Adonis (Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria, South Africa)

Generational victimhood and historical trauma: Perspectives of descendants of victims of Apartheid era gross human rights violations in South Africa

How we define victims in the aftermath of mass violence or repression has been an ongoing debate within the field of transitional justice. The importance of this derives from the implication that it has for issues such as reparations. From a legal perspective, it is widely accepted that the only people that could legitimately lay claim to victimhood would be primary victims of gross human rights violations, for example those who have been tortured, killed, injured, etc. Yet we are also reminded that defining who a political victim is can be problematic because it tends to transverse the conventional legal abstract definition of who is a victim and who is not. Framed within historical trauma theory and the life-course perspective, this paper explores the notion of generational victimhood in post-apartheid Africa. It draws on qualitative interviews conducted with 20 children and grandchildren (females = 10, males = 10) of victims of Apartheid-era human rights violations who had testified at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The interview data were interpretively analysed to uncover underlying meaning. Results highlight the salience of the transgenerational impact that political repression has on the descendants of primary victims of such repression. It also lend support to the notion that who a victim is in post-repressive societies should not only encompass legal considerations, but should be embedded in a broader context to also include socio-political factors, culture, as well as a person's own perception of whether he or she is a victim or not.

Cyril Adonis is a Research Specialist at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Pretoria, South Africa. He is registered as a research psychologist with the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA). He was also a Fulbright Scholar at Nova Southeastern University (NSU) in the United States where he obtained his PhD in Conflict Analysis and Resolution in 2011. His research has focused mainly on issues related to transitional justice.

Linda F. Burghardt (Holocaust Memorial & Tolerance Center, N.Y., USA)

Is trans-generational trauma inherited? The complex genetic legacy of children of Holocaust survivors

The Holocaust did not end with the liberation of the camps, of course, or even the collapse of the Third Reich. We know now that the legacy of loss and suffering experienced by the survivors extended to a group of people who never encountered a Nazi or spent a day in prison or doing forced labor. These unexpected targets, the children of survivors, continue to face enormous challenges in their lives because of the brutality and deprivation endured by their parents. Exactly why this is the case has been vigorously debated, and a multi-layered set of psychological explanations has emerged. However, new research suggests that genetics play a far larger role than originally thought in passing on the effects of trauma to the children of survivors, and it is this new and dynamic theory that this paper will examine. I will present and interpret the significant evidence, showing step by step how Holocaust trauma in the form of biological information became irrevocably lodged within the children of survivors. This primary genetic transmission of stress and trauma, powerful enough to create consistent patterns among children of Holocaust survivors, has far-reaching repercussions, coloring not only their lives and relationships, but their very bodies and thus the genetic legacy that they pass on to their own offspring. These findings constitute a set of universal elements that can cross continents, cultures and generations and be brought to the aid of children of survivors of other genocides, ideally even those that have not yet happened.

Dr. **Linda F. Burghardt** serves as Scholar-in-Residence at the Holocaust Memorial & Tolerance Center, a museum and research center based in New York. She holds a Ph.D. from Long Island University and has written and lectured extensively about the Holocaust and its effects, both regionally and internationally. In addition, she wrote for The New York Times for 15 years and is the author of three books. She has contributed over 250 articles and essays to newspapers and journals around the U.S. and overseas. Her research on the children of Holocaust survivors is enhanced by her own membership in the Second Generation.

Marion Feldman (Paris Descartes University, France)

Transmission: From experience to consciousness – the Jewish children hidden in France and their children

The purpose here is to attempt to decrypt the process by which the very unique situation of having been a Jewish child hidden in France during the occupation was transmitted onto offspring. This analysis is based on the research carried out on Jewish children hidden in France –thirty five people born between 1929 and 1941 in France were interviewed, and also on the therapeutic monitoring the author carried out as part of her professional activity with ex-hidden Jewish children and children of ex-hidden Jewish children. Analyzing these interviews and therapeutic monitoring, allowed to identify a number of features common to the experiences of Jewish children hidden in France during the Second World War as well as those regarding the impact of their traumatic experiences on the next generation. The psychopathology of the hidden Jewish children plays a role in the transmission process. At the same time, transmission of their history as hidden children was also a source of ambivalence, as they, between loss and creation, were too. Their construction seems to have been weakened on three levels: the inter-physical, inter-subjective and collective levels. In light of this, the author was able to identify a specific clinical psychology and psychopathology. As clinical psychologist, this study shows how important it is to consider the complexity of personal histories and the distortion linked to their transmission in treatment and, therefore, to adopt elective approaches to care.

Marion Feldman, PhD, Maître de conférences in clinical psychology – HDR – Paris Descartes University. Clinical psychologist at O.S.E in Paris, researcher at PCPP EA 4056 Paris Cité Sorbonne – Institute of Psychology. She wrote a book in 2009: *Between trauma and protection: what future for Jewish hidden children in France (1940-1944)?* [*Entre trauma et protection: quel devenir pour les enfants juifs cachés en France (1940-1944)?*]Toulouse, Erès.

Jo-Anne Fiske (University of Lethbridge, Canada)

Being the daughter of a World War I veteran: Trans-generational impacts of male tenderness in the trenches and the wards

A survey of recent scholarship on the Great War of 1914 to 1918 exposes how several arch narratives have come to dominate imaginings and memories of the war veteran in the new millennium. Discourses of shell shock and PTSD; the silent veteran, and of post war emotional and social instability in the domestic sphere have to a large extent displaced twentieth century narratives of the soldier hero and the crisis of masculinity. At the same time, in Canada, commemoration of the centenary of the War has reinstated imaginings of the war hero as the creator of the nation state. This paper interrogates both these trends. It arises primarily from my personal experiences of being raised by a World War I veteran and the shared memories I have of this experience within and beyond my kinship ties. Pondering whether my father and his community of friends who shared the battlefield with him were the exceptions that prove the rule or were war figures history has overlooked, I ask: What aspects of war service led these

men to become nurturing male figures who championed peace over conflict? Why did these men, who suffered the horrors of the trenches, speak often of their war memories rather than retain the stereo typified silence associated with service on the war front? I explore these questions through adding a new dimension to extant historical research by exploring the impact of long term hospitalization (prior and subsequent to service in the trenches) on male bonding and reciprocal care. In doing so I move our understandings from the immediacy of male tenderness in the trenches to exploring its trans-generational impact of male tenderness in family and community.

Jo-Anne Fiske, PhD, Chair and Professor, Women and Gender Studies, University of Lethbridge, Canada.

Philipp Mettauer (Institute for Jewish History in Austria, St. Pölten, Austria)

Children of the émigrés: The impact of persecution in family memory

In the 21st century we are heading towards a shift, where the eye witnesses of the Nazi-era are passing away but their children and grandchildren carry on their legacies. My interdisciplinary interest in contemporary research is therefore focused on their descendants. How the past was mediated and inscribed into family-memories is the central question in this regard. Specific consequences and trans-generational long-term-effects in family histories can be detected as psychological and sociological studies in Germany, the US and Israel show. The trauma of the Holocaust and persecution as well as feelings of rootlessness were passed on to the next generation. Approximately 2.300 Jewish Austrians managed to escape the national socialist persecution to Argentina. In my latest research trip to Buenos Aires I conducted several interviews with their offspring, investigating their individual life experiences as second and third generation from émigrés families. It is quite astonishing, that there is still no comprehensive study on the psychological impact and trans-generational long-term consequences for the children of exiled Austrians. The majority of publications so far focuses mainly on descendants of survivors of ghettos and concentration camps, while for the offspring of emigrants, scientific research is largely lacking. Faced with the Shoah, many studies neglect the traumatising consequences of flight and displacement, although their differentiated psychological importance cannot be doubted.

Philipp Mettauer: PhD, Studies in history and political sciences at the Universities of Vienna, Madrid, Salamanca and Basel. „Commemorative service“ at the Fundación Memoria del Holocausto, Museo de la Shoá in Buenos Aires. Scientific Projects and Publications on Austrians in exile 1938–45 in Argentina, Jewish remigration, Psychotherapy in post-war Western Germany, National Socialism and Shoah in family memory. Current Research on the forced displacement of the St. Pölten Jews to collection flats in Vienna 1938–42 and National socialist euthanasia at the psychiatric hospital of Mauer-Öhling in Lower Austria.

PANEL 5: International law and human rights

Sarah M. Field (University College Cork, Ireland)

Intra-Syrian talks, politicking and possibility for the invisible 43%

The self-constituting process of peacemaking is often transformative of human rights. And this begins with the process. However the transformation is also often partial: children, particularly, are likely to be excluded. To date, the Syrian peace process substantiates this: there is no reference to children — 43% of the population — within Geneva Communiqué I, for example. Yet there is an international legal obligation to ensure children's rights in peacemaking, as underwritten by the thematic resolutions of the Security Council on children. Further this obligation may be viewed as an integral part of the law of peace(making). The aim of this paper is twofold, first to apply the findings of research critically and constructively probing peace process from a child-rights perspective to the intra-Syrian talks, and second, introduce guiding principles for ensuring children's rights in peacemaking. This paper is informed by the author's doctoral research and part of a series of blog postings entitled, Syria's invisible 43%.

Sarah M. Field LL.B. Ph.D., has a blend of academic and applied experience supporting the fulfilment of international human rights law through international research and legal advocacy projects. She is presently a National Project Coordinator of the cross-European GENOVATE Project at University College Cork, Ireland and blogs occasionally at rights-streams.com.

Laurène Graziani (Université Paul-Cézanne Aix-Marseille III, France)

Access to justice for war-affected children: Addressing obstacles

Since the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1989, many progresses have been realized in order to protect children in armed conflict situations. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict was appointed in 1996 after the publication of the Machel Report, the Protocol to the CRC on the involvement of children in armed conflict was adopted in 2000 and the Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism on Children and Armed Conflicts was created following the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1612 in 2005. Furthermore, judicial and quasi-judicial bodies (mainly the European and Inter-American Courts of Human Rights, the UN Committees, the European Committee of Social Rights, but also the ICC) have developed an interesting case law on this subject. However, access to justice is still very limited for children. The adoption of a third protocol to the CRC offers a new opportunity for child soldiers and other war-affected children to access justice, as it allows the Committee on the Rights of the Child to examine complaints brought directly by children, or indirectly by their families or representatives. Indeed, children have different options to seek redress. After presenting the main bodies which have examined petitions filed, directly or indirectly, by victims, I will discuss the obstacles that they may face in their quest of justice. Thus, how to address those obstacles and improve access to justice for all children affected by armed conflicts?

Laurène Graziani: I defended my PhD thesis in June 2015. It deals with Children and International Justice, more precisely on child-friendly justice, access to justice for children and their procedural rights. In parallel, I have been teaching law at Aix-Marseille University and I completed a Master of Advanced Studies in Children's Rights in Switzerland. I am particularly interested in the link between theory and practice and participated in a series of field projects, in Comoros, Moldova, Mexico, the Philippines, Belgium, Indonesia and Rwanda, taking part in children's rights advocacy and education projects, but also promoting the protection and participation of children.

Christine McCormick (Save the Children, UK)

Children and conflict: Impact of witnessing and being involved in extreme violence

Children's vulnerability to recruitment and use by parties to conflict is well recognised, and since 1997 increased focus has been placed on trying to address this through a range of legal and normative frameworks and several UN Security Council Resolutions. Whilst progress has been made, child protection and other humanitarian agencies are challenged to adequately address child protection needs, particularly in an environment where the dynamics of conflict are increasingly complex, and where acts of conflict-related violence are increasingly extreme. Challenges include: lack of access; lack of knowledge or commitment to international humanitarian law; inter-generational impact of conflict, embedded social norms around children's rights, and lack of resources to support immediate and longer-term needs of children. There is also concern that evolving national and international policy to address security concerns is being developed with insufficient consideration of binding international humanitarian and child rights legislation which protects the rights and needs of children, including those who are vulnerable to recruitment or who have been recruited by parties to conflict. As such, children's vulnerability to extreme violence within conflict will increase and the impact of this will have lasting effects on them, their communities and the countries they come from. Drawing upon the experience of child protection agencies including Save the Children, relevant legal and normative frameworks and policy, we propose to look at the immediate and long-term impact of conflict and recruitment on children, practical actions taken by humanitarian actors to prevent and respond to recruitment (including reintegration), the challenges they face doing so and the impact of these challenges on children. We will also assess how these actions should be adapted to fit the context of increasing extreme violence and complex conflicts.

Christine McCormick is a Child Protection Advisor for Save the Children. She has extensive experience in children and armed conflict, particularly the recruitment and use of children, having worked in a number of conflict-affected and post-conflict countries around the world. Christine also co-chairs the Paris Principles Steering Group which develops and supports policy and programmatic guidance addressing the recruitment and use of children.

Bede Sheppard (Human Rights Watch, USA)

Realizing a new wrong: Progress towards ending military use of schools

In 2015, the United Nations Security Council encouraged all countries to take concrete measures to deter the military use of schools in contravention of international law. Yet as recently as a decade ago, the issue of government armed forces and non-state armed groups using schools for military purposes such as bases and barracks was almost entirely unrecognized at the international level, although the problem of course existed. This paper will trace the process which increased awareness of the scale and prevalence of the problem of military use of schools. It highlights in particular the role of testimony by students, teachers, and parents, as well as the building of an international coalition of human rights organizations, humanitarian actors, and United Nations agencies.

Bede Sheppard is deputy director for children's rights at Human Rights Watch. He specializes in the issues of attacks on students, teachers, and schools, and the military use of schools. He has conducted research in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Japan, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Ukraine, and Yemen. Previously he worked for the UN's refugee agency in Croatia, and with a US law firm. He holds a bachelors from Harvard, a masters from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and a law degree from

Columbia. He will be a visiting scholar at the Human Rights Centre at Auckland University for the summer term of 2016.

PANEL 6: Literature (I)

Emma Butcher (University of Hull, UK)

The child writer and war in the long nineteenth century

The focus on children and war throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century is integral to our understanding of war's brutalities and its wider cultural impact. Currently, the media's fixation on suffering children in the wake of the recent Syria crisis is central to our engagement with military issues that may not have otherwise affected the British public. Going back, the most famous child writer of the twentieth century, Anne Frank, still remains a significant example of how the world can conceptualise the horrors of war through one child's voice. This paper will expand the field of 'children and war' by focussing on the child writer in the long nineteenth century. A number of British literature's most famous writers, such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the Brontës, wrote war literature in their childhood, recording information and inventing stories that sought to process military events of the contemporary age, which ranged from the Napoleonic Wars up until the Boer War. By introducing scholars to previously overlooked juvenilia, written by canonical authors, I will seek to reintroduce the child writer as a pivotal factor in our interpretation of past militarism and its ramifications on the child psyche.

Emma Butcher, University of Hull. Emma is in the final year of her PhD at the University of Hull, UK. Her AHRC-funded thesis responds to the Brontës as commentators of war, exploring representations of conflict and military masculinity in their juvenilia. Additionally, she represents postgraduate students on the BAVS and NNCN executive committee and has recently co-curated a major exhibition at the Brontë Parsonage to commemorate the bicentenary of the Battle of Waterloo.

Fayah Haussker (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

The Orphans of Dionysus: children and war in Greek tragedy

In ancient Greek civilization, being an orphan of war epitomized a significant characteristic in the historical experience of childhood, as well as being a prominent component within representations of children in diverse discursive areas. The dramatic competitions conducted during the annual Great Dionysia celebrations, a political and religious multiplayer event in classical Athens, constituted a central and representative realm for the war orphans. The tragic plot and performance enacted within the framework of the event defined war orphanhood as one of the central human hardships. The experience of orphanhood was characterized by two key aspects: precocity and accelerated social maturity on the conquering side, and conversely, displacement, enslavement, and death on the conquered side. In this lecture I will delineate key points defining the concept of war orphanhood as a social issue and as a poetic characteristic, and the ways in which these were illustrated and reflected in Attic tragedy, which was the prominent medium of oral and visual communication intended for a wide and inclusive audience. Examination of the interrelationship between the dramatic representations of war orphans and the socio-political reality in which the plays were created will provide a unique testimony to the way classical Athenian society, where war crimes and human rights were not conceptualized, depicted the orphans' compliance with social expectations and expressed through an artistic reflection the intensity of emotions entangled in contemporary perceptions of children as war victims.

Fayah Haussker, Ph.D; Department of Classics and Program for the Master's Degree in Research of Child and Youth Culture, Tel Aviv University. Research interests: Greek Philology; Cultural history and gender relations and perspectives in Archaic and Classical Greece; Children and youth in Greek literature and art. Recent Publications: "The Burial of the

Missing Victims of Maritime Disasters: Fact and Fiction in Euripides' *Helen*", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 28 (2009), pp. 25-41. "Lament", in M. Finkelberg (ed.), *The Homer Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford (2011), pp. 455-456. "Salamis", in S. Stein (ed.), *The Sea in World History: Exploration, Travel, and Trade*, Santa Barbara (2016 forthcoming). "Themistocles", in S. Stein (ed.), *The Sea in World History: Exploration, Travel, and Trade*, Santa Barbara (2016 forthcoming).

Roni Sarig (Tel-Hai College and Bar Ilan University, Israel)

Weaving the past: Japanese and Israeli children's literature about World War II

Telling of the past to children - especially of complicated or problematic past - raises questions of how we should protect children from over-exposure to painful past events. At the same time, children's literature may reflect or express main discourses or other narratives in society, especially due to its often clear and simple messages, and because it is many times a non-official and initial experience for children. In Japan, children's literature about World War II, and especially about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, echoes to a large extent central Japanese discourses of war. Similarly, Israeli children's literature about the Jewish Holocaust is largely influenced by main narratives and changing discourses in society. My presentation examines Japanese and Israeli picture books about World War II, and analyzes the story narratives of both literatures, in regard with the main narratives and discourses in each society, namely, the narratives of victimhood and world peace in Japanese society, and those of "the New Jew" and Zionist ideas in Israeli society. I examine especially how the child – almost always the hero or heroine and main character in the stories – is presented and characterized through the texts, and how these characteristics relate to young children, the readers or listeners of the stories. Furthermore, illustrations in both literatures are investigated. I analyze how, while illustrations in Israeli children's picture books are mainly symbolic, in Japanese picture books they are realistic and detailed. The presentation suggests cultural and political meanings to these literary expressions.

Roni Sarig, PhD from Nagoya University, Japan, is a writer, researcher and lecturer of Japanese culture and East Asian Studies at Bar Ilan University and Tel Hai College, Israel. Her researches deal with memory of the Second World War in Japan, especially in cultural aspects and children's literature. She published two novels (in Hebrew), *All the Silk Paths*, and *Soon the Wind will Blow* (biographical novel based on the life of Israel Levin, a Holocaust survivor), and a children's book, *The Journey that Began in If suddenly*, and translated from Chinese to Hebrew Hong Ying's novel, *Daughter of the River*.

PANEL 7: Israel / Palestine (I): Conscripted childhoods: Facing militarism and moral injury in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories

This panel will use psychological and psycho-political perspectives to explore the loss of moral humanity in a zone of ongoing continuous trauma where families carry a legacy of intractable historical conflict. We will address the question of how family members in Israel and Palestine struggle with their ability to remain compassionate, as they are inducted from a young age into lives of militarism and political violence. The papers approach this issue from the perspective of young warriors who are socialized to dissociate their humanity, from the perspective of adolescents facing the severely damaging impact of moral injuries while still in the throes of development themselves, and from the perspective of parents and children, trying to hold onto their humanity as they live through the impact of brutality as victims and as perpetrators. We come together to explore the social discourse and psychological processes that make it possible to hurt children and to generate some understanding of what it might take to step out of violence. The panel would include a short overview that will introduce the audience to the issues and that will contextualize the questions that each of the papers will address.

Efrat Even-Tzur (Child Psychologist, Israel)

Soldiers and children, soldiers as children: Infantries, infancies, and infantilization

This paper focuses on mechanisms of dissociation, dehumanization and renouncement of responsibility, and their relation to the perpetration of violence against children and their families. Its context is the violence executed regularly by the Israeli military in the West bank, as testified by ex-soldiers' witness accounts. Some ex-soldiers report retroactively on the psychological state that enabled them to take part in such violence, contrary to their own basic values. Their accounts testify to a de-humanization mechanism that leads to perceiving Palestinians as enemies rather than humans. Furthermore, the testimonies suggest how the dehumanizing of children in particular may have a heightened impact on those who apply it. What brings the soldiers, usually normative citizens, to take part in such abuse of children? Based on psychological and educational literature and on personal experience I will claim that the answer lies partly in socialization processes these soldiers are subjected to in younger ages, as part of the Israeli education system. Furthermore, soldiers' testimonies reveal the phenomenon of infantilization of young recruits, as ex-soldiers tend to talk about themselves as "children" who were highly influenced by military routines and hierarchies, which are situational features rather than personality ones. I will suggest a relation between the impaired subject position of the soldiers, the de-humanization mechanism, and the deprivation of subjectivity from Palestinians, and their violent consequences toward children. Ex-Soldiers' testimonial accounts and other forms of ex-Soldiers' activism will be considered as a vehicle for reclaiming subjectivity and responsibility.

Efrat Even-Tzur is a child psychologist in a clinical internship at the Israeli Association for Children at Risk. She is also a Psychology PhD candidate and a fellow of Minerva Humanities Center at Tel-Aviv University. In her research she explores the meeting points between the psychoanalytical, the political and the ethical. Her doctoral work deals with *psychoanalytic perspectives on perpetrators of socially legitimized violence*, with a specific interest in the violence inherent to parenting practices and to soldiering practices, in Israel/Palestine and in general. She is a member of *Psychoactive – Mental Health Professionals for Human Rights*. Website: <https://telaviv.academia.edu/EfratEventzur>

(Even-Tzur, Buksbaum, and Roth are members of **Born Equal**, a taskforce of scholars and practitioners from Israel, Palestine, and the international community working to understand

and amplify the psychological realities of Israeli and Palestinian children and families living under occupation and political violence. <http://born-equal.net>)

Tova Buksbaum (Senior Clinical Psychologist, Israel)

So if we put him in uniform is he no longer an adolescent?

In my paper I shall emphasize a fact that has generally gone unrecognized: The soldiers who maintain the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories are still in the midst of their own adolescent development, while they are required to engage in complex warfare with the Palestinian civilian population. I will discuss how this puts their mental health and moral ideals at risk using the concept of "Moral Injury" (Shay, 1994). I'll discuss the difficulties in talking about soldiers as adolescents at risk for moral trauma in Israeli society, where the military is revered: It may be perceived as a way to weaken the army, endanger the need to believe that one's country is a moral nation, and can arouse guilt and anxiety among parents who are forced to confront a never ending cycle of sacrificing children. I will discuss the difficulties in viewing the soldiers as victims of the Israeli occupation, in particular in the dialogue with the Palestinians, but argue that looking at the soldiers as human beings beyond their uniform, may encourage transformative processes, mutual acknowledgment and reconciliation (Benjamin 2006) I will draw from my role as a facilitator of Israeli-Palestinian dialogue groups and from media coverage. The lecture will be based on psychological and psycho-political conceptualizations.

Tova Buksbaum is a Senior Clinical Psychologist, and Activist, in Israel. She is a member of *Psychoactive – Mental Health Professionals for Human Rights*. Among her activities she gives lectures and takes part in organizing professional conferences with the aim of enhancing awareness to the link between the political and therapeutic aspects in times of war and occupation. She is also a member of the *Palestinian Israeli Bereaved Families for Peace*, where she takes part in activities that promotes reconciliation as an alternative to hatred and revenge. She is one of the moderators' team of Jewish-Arab conflict groups in the *School of Peace Neve Shalom-Wahat al Salam*.

Judy Roth (Clinical Psychologist, New York, USA)

“In this uncontainable night:” Families navigating humanity in Israel and Palestine

This paper addresses the question of how political violence reverberates into the core of family life. Using stories from Palestinian mothers and sons and from Israelis, this paper will explore the induction into a traumatic vortex and the attempt to maintain dignity in the face of dispossession and erasure. It is a view of the abnormality of war— the brutality that infects — the fight for a “real normal,” and the induction into the “new normal,” in which nighttime incursions, mapping of communities, and the arrest of adolescents are almost inevitable rites of passage for both victims and perpetrators. Violence is normalized and disavowed. A fear hovers that it will not be possible to find what one needs to find in order to remain human and humane. The paper asks: Might the voices of these mothers and sons teach us something about what it takes to mobilize psychically, to transcend the penetrating oppression induced by the exposure to continuous trauma? Similarly, might we learn something about the psychological costs of this particular form of political violence? The paper is a plea for a measure of particularity: These stories matter and are essential for accruing knowledge about the harmful impact of this particular occupation and its history as it shapes family and community life and as it reverberates into the future, impacting all sides, most urgently Palestinians, but also Israelis, and in a more distant way, internationals.

Judy Roth is a clinical psychologist who holds a PhD from City University of New York, a postdoctoral fellowship from Cambridge Hospital, and a certificate in psychoanalysis from New York University Postdoctoral Program in Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis. Her work focuses on young adult development, the legacies of war and immigrant trauma, and bearing witness. She is Associate Medical Professor and Supervising Psychologist at City University. Relevant writing includes: "Crows on the cradles: Palestinian mothers at a frontline vortex"; "Presence and Accompaniment in a Zone of Continuous Trauma" (forthcoming). She is on the steering committee of *Psychologists for Social Responsibility*. Website: <https://gc-cuny.academia.edu/JudyRoth>

PANEL 8: Child soldiers (I)

Stacey Hynd (University of Exeter, UK)

Tracing the emergence of the ‘Child Soldier Crisis’: African child combatants, child rights and humanitarianism, c. 1950-2000.

Since the 1990s child soldiers have become a significant concern within contemporary warfare, particularly in Africa. The ‘child soldier’ crisis has been taken as symbolic of the ‘barbarity’ of contemporary warfare and the breakdown of African states and societies. The current literature on child soldiers however fails to historically contextualize the emergence of the phenomenon against changing rights discourses and legal frameworks, their reception within Africa, and evolving constructions of ‘the child’ in 1980-90s. Archival research reveals that child soldiers have fought in nearly all Africa’s 20th wars. This paper analyses how shifting legal frameworks, concepts of war, and rights and humanitarian norms have constructed the African ‘child soldier’, and how the differences between these constructions and the lived realities of children’s wartime experiences limit the efficacy of international intervention. It uses three case studies to highlight such tensions: the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya; INGO [ICRC and Quaker] activism on children in war from c.1972-89, and the UN Machel Report in 1993-6. The empirical foundations for this paper are recently declassified FCO Migrated Archives on Mau Mau in London, UN and ICRC records in Geneva, and Dorothea E. Woods papers in Philadelphia. These will be contextualized against child soldier memoirs and testimonies to highlight issues of child ‘voices’ and the tensions between the ‘right to protection’ and a ‘right to agency’ in campaigns on child soldiering.

Stacey Hynd gained her DPhil in History from the University of Oxford in 2008 with her thesis on capital punishment in British colonial Africa, and lectured at the University of Cambridge. She is now Senior Lecturer in African History at the University of Exeter, where she co-founded the Imperial and Global History Research Network. She has undertaken British Academy/Leverhulme-funded research on child soldiering in Africa, which is the subject of her current book manuscript.

Evelina Kelbecheva (American University in Bulgaria)

“Children-Heroes” in the resistance during World War Two in Bulgaria: Myth and reality

Children became without doubt the most powerful resource for the representation of watershed historical events, not only because they became subject of atrocities, but because they also were participants in them and eyewitnesses of these tragedies. They became both authors and central figures in memoirs, diaries, documental and fictional prose, poetry, films. I believe that the most important reason for the world success of children narratives and images is the empathy that the image of the child evokes among the public. The first part of the this paper briefly explores the image of children in the most notorious tragedies of the European XXth century - the Holocaust and the Gulag system, including the other Communist countries. The center of the analysis delves into the narratives about children that took part in the Resistance (Partisan Movement) in Bulgaria during World War Two. The paper elaborates on the creation and proliferation of the "canon" of these narratives that became mandatory part of the school curriculum and the official propaganda. I am also looking at the rituals (commemorations, rallies, monuments, etc.) that surrounded these narratives of the "immortal fighters against fascism and capitalism" -- especially the " children-heroes". In the concluding part the focal point is on the controversy between reality and myth that have surrounded these narratives, including some notorious falsifications of historical facts.

Evelina Kelbecheva: Professor, Department of History and Civilizations, American University in Bulgaria. M.A. University of Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski", 1981; PH.D. Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1989. Fulbright Scholar 1993-1994, Visiting Lecturer at the University of California, Irvine, 1994-1996. Jean Monnet Title Holder, 2002-2005. Chair of the South East European Academic League, Sofia, Bulgaria, 2000-2002. Member of the Editorial Board of the *Balkanistic Forum*, Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria (since 2014).

Ahsen Utku (Northeastern University, USA)

From heroes to commodities: Child soldiers from the WWI to the 21st Century

Child soldiers have always existed throughout the history, depending on the socio-political and economic context as well the changing nature of the concept of child/adulthood. However, the First World War was the turning point in the history of belligerency in many aspects. Considered as the last war to be fought with traditional methods, the First World War is based on the idea of propaganda that created the mental and emotional background for the discourse of "nation state." Following the Second World War, emerging and extending armed conflicts have led to the escalated use of child soldiers in active positions in different parts of the globe. This paper explores the evolution of the perceptions regarding child soldiers through concepts like "heroism, patriotism and martyrdom" as well as "sacrifice and victimization." The paper will also examine the motivations underlying the recruitment of underage soldiers and will compare the impact of traumatized, violent childhood on post-conflict processes. It will also include a gendered analysis of child soldiers: how did gender norms affect the military roles of the younger generation since the First World War, and how are these gender norms altered in a conflict setting where children exchange their childhood with adult tasks? The paper will argue that there has been a shift from the perception of patriotism and heroism to an economic perception stripped from national elements, defining child soldiers as commodities. In addition, boys and girls have been assigned different tasks in the First World War. This distinction of tasks has disappeared or changed, yet, girl and boy soldiers are still affected in different ways.

Ahsen Utku, PhD candidate at the Northeastern University, holds a dual Master's degree from the Fletcher School, Tufts University and Harvard Divinity School and currently works as the Director of External Relations at Empowerment Through Integration. Her research focuses on ethno-religious conflicts, and post-conflict reconciliation with a special interest in marginalized communities. She is particularly interested in the power of identity, gender and age in conflict and post-conflict settings, as well as transitional justice and humanitarian intervention mechanisms. Prior to her studies in the United States, Ms. Utku worked as a journalist in Istanbul while pursuing her first master's degree in International Relations at Marmara University. She speaks Turkish, English, French, and Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian.

PANEL 9: Humanitarian assistance

Rosaria Franco (Chinese campus of the University of Nottingham, China)

From international humanitarianism to child welfare: The limits of colonial social policy in postwar colonial Hong Kong

This paper is an advanced case study on the development of Hong Kong social policy and child welfare in the aftermath of the end of the Chinese Civil War and the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949). Although Britain had planned to provide its colonies with welfare during the Second World War, the arrival of 1 million Chinese and other non-Chinese refugees into Hong Kong thwarted any major public commitment. Besides, in the immediate postwar period assistance could be provided only with the external support of the United States and other countries. The paper monitors the evolution of selected emergency services, including provisions for mothers and young children, and argues that emergency and colonial relations could only lead to long-term residual and decentralized solutions, even if concurrently the imperial motherland was building a universal, citizenship-based child welfare system at home.

Rosaria Franco (PhD) is Assistant Professor in Modern History in the Chinese campus of the University of Nottingham. She has taught comparative and transnational social policy for a number of years. She researches the relationship between the State and children, children's citizenship, the social impact of migration and forced migration and societal/humanitarian responses. She is currently working on transnational humanitarianism in post-war Hong Kong and the assistance to displaced (Chinese) children. This is part of a bigger project on the formation of child welfare systems in British colonies in Asia (esp. Hong Kong and Singapore) after the Second World War.

Paul Niebrzydowski (The Ohio State University, USA)

Starving children, scientific nutrition, and the American Relief Administration's mission to Central Europe after the Great War, 1918-1923

The study of food scarcity and its relationship to the rise in incidence of endemic disease, as in tuberculosis among children, brings new civilian populations into discussions on the social impact as well as the ecology of war. After the armistice of 11 November, 1918, Herbert Hoover declared that the "curtain was lifted on the greatest famine of all time." Starvation, disease, war, and death continued to ravage Central Europe, but the misery Hoover dreaded was avoided. To assess how the American Relief Administration's European Children's Fund (ARAECF) was able to help stave off the threat of starvation and its handmaiden, disease, I portray the organization as a nexus of international humanitarianism, national interest, and local knowledge. Examining the ARA's work from the perspective of child feeding programs in Poland and Austria, I argue the relief mission was not simply an example of American benevolence or a tool of cultural imperialism; it relied heavily on indigenous wartime efforts to deal with food shortages and public health concerns. Implemented in 1919 by the ARA in Austria and Poland, a nutritional index developed by the Viennese pediatrician, Clemens Pirquet, integrated his wartime pediatric study of malnutrition into a transnational program to feed undernourished and sick children. I argue the use of Pirquet's system in Austria and Poland was indicative of the logic and logistics employed by the ARA; namely, the accurate identification of somatic and political consequences of food scarcity, and the use of knowledge at hand to effectively distribute relief to children and populations most in need.

Paul Niebrzydowski is a PhD candidate at The Ohio State University, specializing in Modern European and Environmental History. In his dissertation, he examines the American Relief Administration's work in Central Europe, 1918-1923, to illustrate the logic and logistics of

humanitarian relief between the ongoing blockade of Germany and the outbreak of the Polish-Soviet War. Joining with indigenous social welfare institutions to cope with the severe public health crisis, the relief mission provided food to millions, especially children, in an effort to stave off starvation and political instability.

Joanna Nowakowska-Malusecka (University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland)

Humanitarian assistance and children affected by war. International law and reality

Catastrophes – natural or caused by man – lead to hundreds and thousands of innocent victims. Armed conflicts are among those situations where children are left vulnerable and in desperate need of humanitarian assistance. In the first instance, food, water, medical supplies and shelters are delivered. Then education is organised, and, for example, programmes on the clearance of mines. Armed conflicts deprive children of their basic material and emotional support. They lose their relatives, homes, health and their lives. Those who survive need help and assistance, but very often they are too weak to fight for it, as in many situations any humanitarian assistance reaches them too late, at the last moment or even not at all. In a world full of negligence, where basic principles and norms are violated, children are protected worst of all. In the last decades of the 20th century, the international community started to develop an interest in the situation of children affected by armed conflicts with more intensity, as they were deprived of their basic rights guaranteed by international treaties of humanitarian and human rights law. In the case of wars, the right to humanitarian assistance is set out in international humanitarian law instruments as the assistance necessary for civilians to survive. That is why the parties to conflicts have an obligation to enable free access to the humanitarian action undertaken for them. Children, as former soldiers, refugees and IDPs, find themselves in an extremely difficult situation, both during an armed conflict and after it, so any help provided to them by humanitarian organisations is vital to survive. However, very often the parties to armed conflicts themselves deny any humanitarian assistance. That problem is also present among issues that the UN Security Council is interested in. In a document prepared in 2009 entitled *The Six Violations Against Children During Armed Conflict. The Legal Foundation*, the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict stressed that one of the fundamental rights of children affected by armed conflicts is to receive humanitarian relief. In addition, in some of its resolutions the Security Council also added that the denial of humanitarian assistance is one of the most serious crimes committed against children. This paper will be devoted to that problem, showing the norms of international law and the real lives of the children who are the victims of armed conflict.

Dr. hab. **Joanna Nowakowska-Malusecka**, Ph.D.: Since 2013 – Associate Professor at the Chair of Public International Law and European Law, Faculty of Law and Administration, University of Silesia, Poland. Fields of a scientific research: international humanitarian law, human rights law and children rights in details and international criminal law, especially on the establishment and work of international criminal tribunals.

Kaete M. O'Connell (Temple University, USA)

Feeding Germany's children: Nutrition, democratization, and the humanitarian impulse

This paper explores the impact of U.S. food relief in occupied Germany following the Second World War, where fears of a future generation of resentful Germans prompted special attention to the plight of the young. Initially advocating for a "hard peace," many Americans proved incapable of standing idly by while innocent children suffered the physical and emotional torment of hunger. As Americans increasingly embraced the humanitarian mission in Germany,

military officials noted that hunger made German children less receptive to reeducation, and thus food became an important element in the rehabilitation of Germany. The moral obligation Americans felt to feed German children reflected the transition from a punitive to rehabilitative occupation policy. Examining food relief in Germany allows one to engage with a complex story that includes the psychological toll of hunger on recipient populations and the power of that hunger to motivate changes in policy. Key to this analysis is a discussion of the imagery Americans associated with defeated Germany and an exploration of the relationship between sentiment and humanitarianism. Food aid reinforced efforts at democratization while providing proper nutrition for a new generation of Germans. American largesse was on display, and feeding the hungry children of the former Reich united images of abundance with democratic ideals.

Kaete M. O'Connell is a Ph.D. candidate at Temple University, specializing in U.S. foreign relations in the 20th century. She earned her B.A. with honors in history from Drew University (2008), and her M.A. in history from Rutgers University-Newark (2011). Her dissertation explores the impact of U.S. food relief in occupied Germany from several perspectives, tracing its development from military necessity to diplomatic tool, while simultaneously exploring the symbolic power of the humanitarian impulse in both countries. She is currently a guest lecturer in the American Studies department at the University of Tübingen.

Lisa Payne Ossian (Des Moines Area Community College, USA)

The Pate Reports: The human rights of hundreds of thousands of children in twenty-five countries after the Second World War, 1946

President Truman invited former President Hoover to the White House near the end of May 1945 because he desperately needed the former president's expertise and experience from the Great War when Hoover's war relief work had saved hundreds of thousands of children's lives. Now thirty years later, Hoover would save the lives of "the children of the children" he had rescued during the first world war. Maurice Pate had been his most invaluable assistant during the Great War and the beginning of the Second World War in Poland. Pate now travelled in 1946 as Hoover's special envoy on this world-wide emergency famine tour to assess starvation, disease, food supplies, medical care, and displacement in twenty-five countries throughout Europe and Asia. As Hoover's special assistant throughout this world famine mission, Pate particularly focused on children's wartime aftermath by visiting hospitals, orphanages, schools, and refugee camps in such countries as France, Germany, England, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Norway, China, India, Korea, and Japan. Pate compiled varied complex statistics, noted calorie levels, counted population demographics, captured emotional photographs, interviewed exhausted caregivers, measured infant mortalities, and held little children's hands. No one knew more, compiled more, wrote more, or literally witnessed more of war's ravages upon the world's children than Maurice Pate. Pate's human rights reports on children emphasized Hoover's final overall message to President Truman, leading to the United Nation's formation in 1947 of UNICEF.

Dr. **Lisa Payne Ossian** is history professor at Des Moines Area Community College. Ossian earned her master's degree (women's studies) at Eastern Michigan University and doctorate at Iowa State University (agricultural history) and serves as president of Women & Gender Historians of the Midwest. Her books-- (1) *The Home Fronts of Iowa, 1939-1945*; (2) *The Forgotten Generation: American Children and WWII*; and (3) *The Depression Dilemmas of Rural Iowa, 1929-1933*--were published by University of Missouri Press, and she is under contract for her fourth, *'The Grimmiest Spectre': The World Famine Emergency, Herbert Hoover's Mission, and the 'Invisible Year,' 1946*.

PANEL 10: Literature (II)

Uliana Baran (Kyiv-Mohyla-University, Ukraine) and Tetjana Kachak (Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ukraine)

Children and war in the Ukrainian children's literature

"Children and war" is one of the most painful problems in the modern Ukrainian society but not new in our history and literature. There are not wars, initiated by Ukrainians. The Famine of Ukrainians in East by Russians and oppressions of Ukrainians by Poles in West, the Second World War, physical genocide of Ukrainian families and their children for the whole century till 1991 saved Pain and Distrust in the generation memory of Ukrainians. The collapse of the Soviet Union, Independence of Ukraine provoked the hope for the future but at the same time also the economic disaster and put the Ukrainians into the survival modus. Maidan was like a scream of big Ukrainian folk that was united independent on language or mentality, past or future. The war caused again from insatiable Russia: orphans, strangers, death, fear and untruth are the real feelings of the Ukrainian children again. A new generation is in disaster. In our presentation we would like to show the literary interpretation of the children's feelings during the history of Ukraine. We introduce the historical and psychological novels written by Victor Blyznetsj, Mykola Vingranovskij, Gryhir Tjutjunnyk, Halyna Pahutjak, Volodymyr Rutkivskij, Zirka Menzatjiuk and other. We would like to view the lost childhood for the generations of Ukrainians that just lived in the foreign wars between the life and death.

Uliana Baran, Associate professor of Philology, doctor at National University "Kyiv-Mohyla-University", President of Ukrainian Research Center of Children and Youth Literature, Coordinator of project "All of Ukraine Reads to Kids"

Tetjana Kachak, Assistant professor of Philology and Methods of Primary Education Department, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Head of Ivano-Frankivsk branch Ukrainian Research Center of Children's and Youth Literature, Ivano-Frankivsk.

Lana Mayer (J. J. Strossmayer University in Osijek, Croatia)

Two wars and worlds apart. Shifting ideologies in Croatian children's literature

Having grown up in a specific ideology the authoress now witnesses her children growing up in another, although somewhat covert, and hence seeks to explore the parallels and differences of those ideologies in the context of children's literature and relevant literary theory. The paper will investigate a selection of texts for children and young adults that were listed as recommended reading assignments in schools in the 1980's and that referred to the Second World War in a sense of idealized heroism and a certain participation and contribution of the young protagonists in war times, comparing these to texts from the 1990's and later referring to the recent so-called „Homeland war“ where the focus shifts to children and families as victims and to the consequences of the violence, persecution and trauma experienced. The shifting role of ideology will become evident in the result of this comparative study showing the shifting roles of children and a changed understanding of childhood exposing at the same time the influence of politics on the production of children's literature with war as a main theme. The paper will furthermore explore whether the selected works are in line with the individual and collective memory that is evident in Croatia at the present and whether the new texts refer to the older ones, and if so in what ways.

Lana Mayer, born in 1979, was educated in Croatia and Germany and graduated English and German language and literature studies at the J. J. Strossmayer University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek. She has been teaching German as a foreign language and periodically Children's literature at the Faculty of Education in Osijek since 2004. In 2015

she received a PhD at the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences defending a thesis on post-war Austrian literature. Her research interests are memory and remembrance, as well as problem-oriented children's literature.

PANEL 11: WW II and Holocaust testimonies (I)

Rebecca Clifford (Swansea University, UK)

Child Holocaust survivors and the multiple meanings of remembering in the early post-war period

At the end of the Second World War, child survivors of the Holocaust with no relatives able or willing to take them in often found themselves in orphanages that were themselves managed and run by Holocaust survivors. These orphanages, effectively communities of survivors, sometimes functioned as vibrant sites of memory, where Holocaust experiences were discussed as part of daily life. There has been some excellent recent work by historians on debates among carers concerning whether or not child survivors should be encouraged to speak of their experiences (see, for example, the work of Tara Zahra and Boaz Cohen, among others), but very little scholarship has flipped this equation around to ask how children themselves felt about sharing their war experiences in the early post-war period, and what purpose they might have imagined such testimony to serve. My latest book project explores the post-war lives of child Holocaust survivors, and the issue of children's agency is a central aspect of my current research. In particular, I am interested in the tension between what carers wanted for child survivors, and what these children wanted, dreamed, and feared for themselves. This paper will focus on a specific orphanage – the Weir Courtnety home for child survivors in Lingfield, Surrey – and will explore the very different ways in which children and staff in the orphanage envisaged the purpose of talking about the Holocaust. Staff at the home, who were either pre-war German refugees or themselves camp survivors, saw speaking about the children's wartime experiences (most of the children were survivors of Terezin or Auschwitz, although a few had survived in hiding) as a therapeutic practice that would help to 'normalize' the children. The children, on the other hand, often had their own subversive aims in remembering – or refusing to remember – the war years: they were guarding their previous identities, and forming their future ones. This tension between the aims of children and the aims of their carers sometimes set the children up for a later confrontation with their pasts, and the paper will argue that these moments of confrontation offer a profound insight into the emotional realities of adopting and accepting the identity of the survivor.

Rebecca Clifford is a historian of the contemporary period who focuses on memory studies in comparative perspective. She completed a DPhil in Modern History at the University of Oxford in 2008. Her book on Holocaust commemorations, *Commemorating the Holocaust: The Dilemmas of Remembrance in France and Italy*, was published by Oxford University Press in 2013. From 2008 to 2012, she worked with a team of fourteen historians on a major international oral history project on activism in the 1960s and 1970s in Europe, based in Oxford University's History Faculty; the team's collectively-authored book, *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt*, was also published by Oxford University Press in 2013. She is now based in the History and Classics department at Swansea University, and is working on a new book project on the post-war lives of child Holocaust survivors.

Boaz Cohen (Western Galilee College, Akko / Shaanan College, Haifa, Israel)

Questioning children: Collecting testimonies from survivor children 1945

The collection of testimonies from child survivors of the Holocaust was a trans-European phenomenon undertaken by historical commissions and by individuals in Poland, Germany the USSR and France. This work has left for today's researchers several big collections of children's testimonies and many small ones. This paper will describe the phenomenon of documenting children after the Holocaust and will analyze a unique document: The questionnaire and guidelines for the collection of testimonies from children developed and

published by the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland in 1945. This document enables us an insight into the sensibilities and mindset of the early child testimony collectors. To their view of the children and their appreciation of the children's Holocaust experiences. It provides us with an appreciation of the highly developed research into children undertaken by East-European Jews and of their pedagogical and historical methodologies. Through it we can understand how much the small number of surviving children meant for the surviving adults. The paper will survey the wide phenomenon of collecting children's testimonies and its confluence with educational work done with the same children after the war. It will describe the different documentation initiatives, the infrastructure built for these projects and the early publications utilizing these testimonies. On this background it will discuss in depth the aforementioned instructions and questionnaire.

Dr. Boaz Cohen, historian, is the chair of the Holocaust Studies program of the Western Galilee College in Akko Israel and a lecturer in Jewish Studies at the Shaanan College in Haifa. His work focuses on the development of Holocaust memory and historiography in their social and cultural context and on Jewish and Israeli post-Holocaust society. He also researches the place of survivor children in post-war society and the adult interest in their testimonies.

Anna Shternshis (University of Toronto, Canada)

I go away from my mother's grave: Soviet Yiddish children's songs of World War II

Beginning in 1939, some Jewish scientists, primarily folklorists and ethnomusicologists, all workers of the Kiev-based Cabinet for Studying of Jewish Proletarian Culture (Greenbaum, 1978), including Yeheskil Dobrushin, Moisei Beregovsky, and Elye Spivak, were acutely aware of importance of documenting the contemporary Yiddish culture, which they understood, was going through a profound crisis. Between 1942 and 1947, they collected and professionally recorded thousands of Yiddish language folk songs, ballads, plays and stories, popular among ghetto residents or evacuees and refugees. The plan was to publish a number of edited volumes, including one on Jewish heroism in the Soviet army, another one on Jewish music and folklore during the war, and yet another one on Jewish work in the Soviet rear. None of these plans came to fruition, because the Cabinet was shut down in 1947, its workers fired or/and jailed, and the materials left unsorted and buried in nameless boxes of the manuscript department of the Ukrainian Vernadsky Library. About 30 of these songs were recorded from children, and almost all others discuss children. The proposed presentation will focus on two aspects of these materials: first it will discuss the images of Jewish children in the early Soviet Holocaust songs – they are portrayed as first victims of the war (as opposed to images of children in non-Yiddish Soviet songs where most of them are shown as scared and in need of protection). Second, we will look at songs recorded from children, usually survivors or escapees of Transnistrian ghettos. These songs, usually recorded in 1944 and 1945, often speak about losing parents, and asking for revenge from the Red Army. In the course of the paper, I will argue that analyzing this rich material, created right during the war, and previously unknown to researchers, contributes significantly to our understanding of Jewish Resistance to Holocaust in the Soviet Union.

Anna Shternshis is Acting Director, Anne Tanenbaum Centre for Jewish Studies, Al and Malka Green Associate Professor in Yiddish Studies at Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures and Centre for Diaspora and Transnational Studies, University of Toronto, Co-editor in Chief, East European Jewish Affairs, author of *Soviet and Kosher: Jewish Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Indiana UP).

Susanne Urban (Association of SchUM-Cities / The Jewish Heritage in Speyer, Worms and Mainz, Germany)

Experiences of persecution, forced labour, loss and survival: Child survivors' narratives in the files created by the Child Search Branch 1945-1952

In 1951, Dorothy Macardle wrote in *Children of Europe*: "The children [...] had witnessed inhuman cruelty and murder, and many of them had been forced to help every day in revolting and barbarous work. [...] How would they react to the gentle and tranquil environment, the programme of studies, social activities and co-operative living which awaited them?" Several, sometimes rivaling, organizations cared for child survivors of Nazi-persecution, the Shoah and Forced Labour after 1945. A central agency which coordinated registration, care, search for relatives, emigration and adoption efforts was the Child Search Branch (CSB). The CSB, set up in 1945 within the UNRRA framework, was in 1946 integrated as an independent branch into the International Tracing Service (ITS). More than 64,000 individual files stored in the ITS Archives hold information about either child survivors or about children searched for by relatives. A central document in the files for children under care is the *Fact Record Sheet*, which contains either an interview with the child, a summary by the Welfare Officer after the interview or even an ego-text by the child. Many texts contain details on ghettos, deportation, forced labour and the children's emotions regarding loss, hope and future plans. The presentation will focus on these testimonies in the contexts of individual memory, trauma and the aim of assistance for child survivors. The question will arise whether the CSB was a role model in caring for children after traumatic experiences in persecution, forced labour and genocide.

Susanne Urban, Ph.D. Since November 2015 Managing Director for the Association of SchUM-Cities / the Jewish Heritage in Speyer, Worms and Mainz. 2009 to 2015 Head of Historical Research and Education, International Tracing Service (ITS) Bad Arolsen, Germany. 2004 Fellow Researcher in Yad Vashem's Research Institute, 2004 to 2009 employed in the Yad Vashem's Educational Department. She is Curator of the ITS' Exhibition on Displaced Persons (shown since 2014 in Memorials and Museums). She has published extensively on topics such as the Bricha, Youth Aliyah, Displaced persons. Her recent research focuses on Children as survivors of Nazi Persecution and Early Testimonies.

PANEL 12: Post-WW II: Repatriation and reintegration (II)

Agata Blaszczyk-Sawyer (Polish University Abroad in London, UK)

The experience of deportation, exile and displacement of the Polish children to post-War Britain

The subject of this paper is the experience of deportation, exile and most importantly displacement of the Polish children to post-War Britain. At the end of the Second World War the British Government offered hospitality to Polish soldiers who had served under British command, and who were unable or unwilling to return to their native country. Wives and dependents were brought to Britain to join the soldiers, bringing the total estimated number to over 250,000. A good deal of this study presents different aspects of the everyday life seen through the lens of the Polish children in the Polish Resettlement Camps, brought into being by the British government at the end of WW2. The account is enhanced by interviews, unpublished family memories, photographs and other documents which helped to restore and in some sense replicate children's and adolescent's experience of forced migration and resettlement. This paper will also explain why the British government attached such importance to the need to integrate the young generation of Poles swiftly into British society. Their integration, and where possible their assimilation, became the government's key aim. As the research demonstrates, education became the paramount tool in this process. In the end, Poles emerged from this experience as honourable, hardworking citizens and a reliable source of manpower in post-war Britain. More importantly, they became one of the most prosperous immigrant groups. Unsurprisingly, it was younger Poles of the second generation who adapted and integrated into the British society most quickly and smoothly. It was adolescents who immediately took an active part in social and cultural activities and interacted with British youth. Naturally, it was this group of Polish immigrants which has been considered one of the most successful group of foreigners in Britain. This paper is based on primary sources (more than 60 collections) located in the National Archives in Kew-Richmond, local record offices in the UK, and the Polish Institute and Sikorski's Museum in London.

Agata Blaszczyk is currently head of Institute of Research into Migration Studies of the Polish University Abroad (PUNO) in London. She is a university teacher in history and sociology with solid experience in the UK and abroad. Her research examines the political implications of the passing of the Polish Resettlement Bill in March 1947 (the first ever mass immigration legislation adopted by the British parliament) and how the original refugees formed much of the Polish community as it exists today. She also carries out research on the Polish Resettlement Camps in the UK after WW2. She is a member of Young Academic Networks Foundation for European Progressive Studies (Brussels). She is currently working on a joint publication: *Belonging in Europe: legal and political perspectives*.

Olga Gnydiuk (European University Institute, Florence, Italy)

Relief and rehabilitation of displaced children of Ukrainian origin in the aftermath of World War II

The Child Branch of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) declared that the search and return of displaced children to the home countries was their priority. However, there were several groups of children whose citizenship, nationality, rehabilitation and the "best interests" caused intense and lengthy discussions. My contribution to the conference study the experience of relief and rehabilitation of one such contested group that is displaced children of Ukrainian or presumably Ukrainian origin, paying particular attention to those originated in the Western Ukraine, the territory that was transferred from Poland to the Soviet Union after 1945. The Soviet Union assumed that these children are Soviet citizens and required their repatriation.

However, the IRO officers, American and British military governments were uncertain about this and reluctant to send Ukrainian children to the Soviet Union. Exploring the archives of the IRO and the International Tracing Service, I analyze the strategies that the relief officers elaborated and applied for clarifying nationality of these children. This provides an interesting glimpse on the differences in understanding of the child's citizenship and belonging that the humanitarian workers, British and American authorities and the Soviet representatives had. Examining tracing, rehabilitation and resettlement plans that were developed for these children, I am discussing the ideas on the settlement and family reunification for the children who, in fact, were considered as being "nationals without governmental representation" and, therefore, de jure did not have country to return to. In this context, I am also questioning the role of the children's voices and of Ukrainian national exile associations in assisting in the task of identifying and rehabilitating displaced children of Ukrainian origin.

Olga Gnydiuk: Currently I am a 3rd-year PhD researcher at the European University Institute, History Department (Florence, Italy), writing a thesis on Ukrainian displaced children in the aftermath of World War II (1945 – late 1950s) in which I explore the children's experiences from the top-down and bottom-up perspective. Prior to this I received an MPhil degree in Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge defending a thesis on the memories of post-World War II childhood in Ukraine and MA degree in History at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Kyiv, Ukraine). I am interested in childhood and social history, memory studies and history of welfare provision.

Katherine Rossy (Queen Mary University of London, UK)

'The greatest detective story in history': Unaccompanied children under French and British occupation in postwar Germany (1945-1949)

On May 16th, 1950, the BBC Home Service aired a broadcast called "The Greatest Detective Story in History", an hour-long special that featured the search for displaced, orphaned and stolen children in Europe after the war. But the broadcast, which generated an overwhelming response from listeners, was hardly news. The crisis of unaccompanied children had been a focal point of the war effort long before German capitulation in May 1945. Children's displacement was, and would continue to be, a constant variable between 1933 and 1945, where children of all backgrounds were moved across borders, some clandestinely to safe havens and places of refuge while others were hoarded onto trains and deported to institutions and camps. This certainly did not change in the aftermath of the war; in fact, it would only intensify. From domestic uprooting to forced evacuations, and from repatriation convoys to resettlement schemes, children were constantly on the move. The size and scope of the unaccompanied child problem posed a serious challenge for the military authorities and international organizations mandated to provide assistance to young people in need during the postwar era. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and the International Refugee Organization (IRO), the two main institutions instructed to carry out children's search and relief programmes in occupied Germany, were saddled with short mandates, limited funds and internal politics. The unprecedented scale of the unaccompanied children problem also posed serious challenges for the French and British occupation authorities, whose divided approaches to child search and tracing engendered irreconcilable policy differences at the zonal and institutional levels and thus resulted in decentralized and uncoordinated children's programmes between 1945 and 1949. It was precisely this lack of a cohesive, centralized effort that allowed the French and British occupation authorities to operate outside international channels and to implement children's policies that were more closely aligned with burgeoning Cold War attitudes. Building upon extensive research from the International Tracing Service (Bad Arolsen), the *Archives Nationales* (Paris), the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes*

(La Courneuve), the National Archives (Kew), the Imperial War Museum (London), the *Bundesarchiv* (Koblenz), the Wiener Library (London), and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington D.C.), this paper will chart the evolution of unaccompanied children's policy in postwar Germany by examining the search and tracing efforts of the agencies, institutions and military authorities in operation in the French and British occupation zones between 1945 and 1949.

Katherine Rossy is a Ph.D candidate in modern European history at the School of History at Queen Mary University of London. She is a recipient of the Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Doctoral Scholarship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Her research interests include the history of children and childhood, war and military occupation, women and war, and refugees and statelessness.

Machteld Venken (University of Vienna, Austria)

War orphans in European border regions

This paper focuses on war orphans in European border regions. It concerns children whose fathers fought in and died for the German Army during either World War I or World War II. The home grounds of the war orphans, however, changed their nation-state affiliation once these wars were over. The regions were lost by Germany after World War I, experienced a second annexation (this time by Germany) in the late 1930s/1940, and a third annexation (when the territories returned to their interwar nation-states) around the mid-1940s. I will highlight two case-studies on the Eupen-St. Vith-Malmedy region and part of the Upper Silesia region that belonged to the interwar Polish state. I will look at the state policies issued towards the war orphans, examine the influence of policy making on the lives of the orphans, and search for similarities and differences with the situation of war orphans in Germany throughout the 20th Century. After the bloodshed of both wars, in all the liberated or newly-founded nation-states, and especially in their (re)gained borderlands, the young became the main object of projections of hope. There was also a belief that they had been hindered in their development and were to be brought up in order to become responsible citizens. Policy makers and practitioners were concerned to offer war orphans favourable conditions, despite their fathers being culturally constructed as eternal enemies. The orphans, however, often speak in negative terms about their childhood. In Germany, the material conditions of war orphans were often worse, but the environment in which they grew up more tolerant of their fathers' pasts.

Machteld Venken holds an MA in Slavic Studies and a PhD in History from the Catholic University in Leuven (KU Leuven), as well as an MA in European Studies from the Jagiellonian University. After holding fellowships at the German Historical Institute in Warsaw and the College of Europe Natolin Campus, she was a Lise Meitner Fellow at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for European History in Vienna. Currently, she is a Senior Postdoctoral Researcher (Elise Richter Fellow) at the University of Vienna. She is the author of a number of publications, including *Straddling the Iron Curtain? Immigrants, Immigrant Organisations, War Memories* (Peter Lang 2011), and editor of the special issue: "Growing up in the Shadow of the Second World War. European Perspectives" in *European Review of History* (2015).

PANEL 13: Israel / Palestine (II)

Hanan Mousa (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

The effect of the Israeli occupation on the Palestinian children's literature during the first Intifada in 1987

This study deals with the effect of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967 and its reflections on the Palestinian children's stories during the first Intifada in 1987. The Israeli forces occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967 and imposed total siege on these areas. They also imposed cultural siege, which led to the disappearance of a cultural civilized atmosphere. At the end of the year 1987, the first Intifada broke out and its effects are reflected in children's stories which have been written since then. The focus of the stories is on the conflict with the Israeli occupier in a direct way in a context that is characterized by violence. Writers poured their thoughts and political attitudes in their stories and many words that are related to the Intifada appear in their stories, e.g. *martyr*, (*shahid*), *occupation*, *arrest*, *resistance* and many other words. The stories emphasize the image of the Israeli as a violent soldier, a man of war, an aggressor, a jailor, or a settler who seizes the lands of the Palestinians by force and destroys their houses. On the other side, the Palestinian citizen is depicted as a victim, a hero and a resistant of occupation. These images are drawn as positive qualities. The concept of patriotism and its implantation in the child's mind is done deliberately as a mission. The study introduces a number of samples from the writings of the Palestinian writer, Jamil al-Salhout, which are images of events and stories whose heroes are children. His stories describe another significant feature of the Palestinian's suffering and its effect on children's life, which is the father's arrest and keeping him away from his children. The writer describes the effect of the fall of a martyr in al-Ram village, which is located in Gaza Strip in these words: "Confrontation is violent today; yesterday a martyr fell in this village. The young men are distributed in every place in the village. Smoke is rising from everywhere. It is the smoke of rubber wheels that the masked young men fire; the gas bombs that the Israel Army fires; the roads are closed." All the chains were dumped in the streets to prevent the army machines from advancing; stones were also thrown everywhere; the masked young men advanced and the army advanced, too; and this is the nature of the clash, like war: attack and retreat!" Researcher Asma' al-Bayyumi, legitimizes writing for children on topics that are characterized by violence drawn from the Palestinian reality. She says that "if the story is about Palestinians, there is no objection to write about topics that have violence in them." She adds that: "If the story is about Palestine, there is no objection that the contents should contain low events, brutality, wild violence against unarmed people, and the inhuman crimes that Zionists committed in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the Intifada of the Stone." If the story tells about events of fanaticism against Africans in South Africa, then there is no objection to using nasty, hated, indecent vulgar words by the white Europeans to show their fanaticism against the Blacks and their hatred to the African, who is the original landowner."

Hanan Mousa, PhD student, Tel Aviv University, thesis on "Representations of the popular culture in Palestinian children's literature since 1967." M.A., Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Tel Aviv University.

Bethany Sharpe (University of Kentucky, USA) Perpetrator or victim?: How perceptions of children's political participation informed the U.S. response to the 1987 Palestinian Intifada

In 1987, the United States refocused attention on the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict with the emergence of the "intifada," or shaking off. U.S. media coverage filmed Israeli tanks rumbling down the streets of Gaza towards their intended target – rock wielding Palestinian

children. Scenes that pitted guns against rocks suggested a gross imbalance of power and played on traditional US understandings of children as innocent and vulnerable. In consequence, US opinion and action swung in favor of the Palestinians. In stark contrast to traditional interpretations of the conflict, for a brief period, US media presented Palestinian children as the bright future of their nation whose prospects were limited only by severe mismanagement from Israeli authorities. Within a very short period this consensus of Palestinians as victims reversed. Reports painted Palestinian children as the destroyers of their own bright future. The political participation of Palestinian children via violence acted as the catalyst for such a dramatic reversal as media revealed that young children and adolescents possessed a specific, political understanding of the struggle. This political agency of children exposed by the intifada disrupted traditional conceptions of children's behavior held by many in the US. This paper explores, first, the ways in which the intifada challenged perceptions of children's political agency and their ensuing actions in both peace and conflict situations. Second, this paper analyzes how the disruption and reconciliation of children's perceived participation in armed conflict had profound consequences for how the US interpreted and delivered aid during the conflict.

Bethany Sharpe is a PhD candidate at the University of Kentucky in the Department of History. Her research interests focus on humanitarianism and US foreign relations. She is currently working on a dissertation that focuses on the evolution of a humanitarian ideology within the United States and how perceptions of children in emergencies informed the values and ideas that have guided this ideology.

Rima Shikhmanter (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

History as politics: Contemporary Israeli children's and young-adults' historical fiction and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

The presentation will focus on contemporary Jewish-Israeli children's and young-adults' historical fiction regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Historical fiction serves as a powerful source for the dissemination of historical images and the determination of collective memory. Its capacity to influence readers' opinions is of particular significance in the context of intractable conflicts. By presenting the historical narrative of the conflict and explaining how it arose, it forms the readers' political views of its current manifestation. Jewish-Israeli children's and young-adults' historical fiction reflects the political map of Israel, affording a way of reading the political struggle regarding the Israel-Palestinian conflict and outlining the boundaries of the consensual Israeli peace discourse. Two political perspectives can be identified within the framework of children's and young-adults' historical fiction published in Israel in recent years. The first is the hegemonic narrative, which embodies the Jewish-Zionist perspective and seeks to instill the values of national pride, emphasizes the Jewish right to the land, and rejects the rights of other peoples to it. The second is an alternative left-wing perspective that seeks the non-simple task of presenting a Jewish-Zionist narrative that does not negate the Palestinian one. The presentation will explore the educational role played by children's and young adults' literature in general, and historical fiction in particular, in situations of political conflict, laying specific emphasis on the diverse ways in which these books function as agents of peace (or war) education.

Rima Shikhmanter (PhD) teaches children's literature and culture at Tel Aviv University, the Open University, and Seminar Hakibbutzim College in Israel. Her areas of interest are Hebrew children's literature, children's periodicals, and the children's book publishing market. She is editor of *Olam Katan*, a Hebrew academic journal for children's literature studies. Her book *Paper Friend: Children's Periodicals in 1950s' Israel* was published in 2015. Her current research focuses on historical fiction for children and young adults in Israel.

PANEL 14: Refugees and displaced persons (I)

Stephanie Altmann (Austrian Cultural Forum, London, UK)

Fragile Situations and their implications for children and young adults: Illustrated by the case study of Kosovo/a

This contribution aims at taking a closer look at the impacts of so called fragile situations on children and young adults by examining the case study of Kosova/o. Laying the foundations for the discussion, the concepts of effective states and fragile situations are juxtaposed in opposition before identifying what specific implications fragile situations can have for children and young adults. It is not only the danger of direct violence faced during an acute conflict, but there are many more problematic aspects and consequences of fragile situations that need to be considered when examining a longer term post-conflict context. Despite more or less regular outbreaks of regional violence, the young national state Kosova/o finds itself in such a post-conflict setting. Therefore, the most severe effects of fragility for children and young adults can be identified mainly in the areas of healthcare, education, the provision of infrastructural services and employment. As the state's institutional apparatus is weak so is its capability to provide functions relating to those sectors sufficiently. Each of the sectors is examined a little further before closing with a concise outlook.

Stephanie Altmann graduated in International Development Studies at the University of Vienna. She focused on peace and conflict research and in 2010 examined the implications of fragile situations on development cooperation during a field study in Kosova/o. In September 2011, she presented the results of her research at the International EADI/DSA Conference in York and in 2012 contributed to an anthology on state building as a form of conflict prevention. Stephanie now lives and works in London, her specific research interest lies in the exploration of alternative state models and their consideration and incorporation into development cooperation.

Joanna Markiewicz-Stanny (University of Zielona Góra, Poland)

The rights of the child seeking international protection: The problem of migration detention

The problem given above will be explored based on the analysis of international refugee law and international human rights law, while also taking account of their legal and practical application in Poland. Preliminary remarks will elaborate on how migration detention impacts on the exercise of the rights of the child, focusing in particular on the deleterious influence this measure exerts on the child's mental well-being. Next, the principle of using child migration detention as a measure of last resort will be analysed in light of international standards. The practical implementation of this principle calls for observing the standards for individual assessment of the particular situation of each immigrant child. This includes treating the minors first and foremost as children, and only then as immigrants. In view of the growing number of so-called mixed migration flows, there is an increasing need for careful identification of children seeking international protection. Another key element is the area of the state's positive obligations. International case law has increasingly called for an absolute obligation to first provide the child or the family with a child with an alternative to the detention measure. This involves the need to establish the necessary infrastructure that would allow for such an alternative solution. Furthermore, in a situation where detention is necessary, it should be exercised while accommodating the needs of families with children. As will be demonstrated, nonfeasance and negligence lead in the most extreme cases to their being recognised as violation of the prohibition of inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Joanna Markiewicz-Stanny: I have worked as a researcher at the University of Zielona Góra since 1999. I first worked at the Institute of Political Science and for the last two years I have been employed at the Institute of Law and Administration. In 2006, I received the degree of Doctor of Law in the field of international public law. My research activities have always revolved around the issue of the international protection of human rights, initially focusing on the problem of the international standards for the freedom of labour. The results of those endeavours are a monograph entitled “Freedom of human labour. A study on human rights” and over a dozen scholarly articles, including one dedicated to the problem of eliminating the worst forms of child labour. I am currently involved in studying the problem of the respect and protection of human rights in the context of European states’ migration policies, with a particular focus on migration detention. For the last several months I have also been actively engaged in providing scholarly support to NGOs that work for reducing the number of children held in Polish detention centres and aim to eliminate child detention in Poland altogether.

Barbara McNeil and Regina Akok (University of Regina, Canada)

Ecologies of mothering and the motherless war child

Conventional war stories/histories have been driven by masculine narratives of military action, and the politics of peacekeeping, dismissing the “private front” or “private sphere” – namely the day-to-day lives that are left under and/or unexplored (Enloe 2004, 2010). This paper explores wartime experiences of the motherless child, those who take on the role of mothering and the broader construct of mothering and children of war (Robertson & Duckett, 2007). It also looks at the multifaceted relations between mothers and children in cases of separation as a result of war and displacement. Additionally, the paper examines how mothers and children of war manage to survive during warfare as each, or both, tries to navigate the world around them without the mother or the child and also how they find balance between their collective/individual and familial relations. Based on black African women’s war and refugee narratives and using critical race theory (Delgado & Stefanie, 2006), feminist and black feminist thought (Collins 2000), our hope is to illuminate ecologies of mothering and the motherless war child and shift them from the margins to the center. Through this focus, our objective is to help expand understanding of issues related to the motherless war child, mothering, displacement and gender, not only in the Sudan or South Sudan, but also in Canada (Takashima, 1992) and on the broader international level as well.

Dr. Barbara McNeil is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education at University of Regina. Her teaching and research focus on the transformational possibilities of language, literacy, literature, and the arts for social justice and equity—especially for vulnerable children and youth. Barbara is particularly concerned about war and its impact on children.

Regina Akok is a Masters student in the Women’s and Gender Studies Program at the University of Regina. She was born in South Sudan. As part of her thesis research, she have travelled back to the Sudan and South Sudan to collect stories of South Sudanese women who were/are dealing in their own ways, with the aftermath of war. Regina holds a Bachelor’s of Arts degree in English Language and Literature from Cairo University and a Bachelor of Journalism from the University of Regina. She cares about issues related to war, displacement, relocation, justice and the situation of refugees in Canada and around the world. Regina was a refugee herself; she was forced to flee her home country to Egypt prior to relocation to Canada in 2000. She is a proud mother of a teenage boy.

PANEL 15: Literature (III)

Daniel Feldman (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

War games: Children's play in conflict literature

Child's play is one of the first casualties of war, yet play is also one of the primary means by which children cope with violent conflict. An astonishing number of young adult texts about the Holocaust, for instance, focus on children's play. Games figure with surprising frequency in these works either as the linchpin for surviving the genocide or for transmitting its memory to future generations. What accounts for this incongruous confluence of conflict and recreation? How can play and genocide cohere? This paper surveys the prevalence of play in young adult literature about the Holocaust by considering what is won, lost, performed, or wagered when we consider historic trauma as a scene of ludic engagement. Focusing on children's play in *Hide and Seek* by Ida Vos, *The Sandgame* by Uri Orlev, and *When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit* by Judith Kerr, this paper seeks to explain the central place of play in how children contend with the Holocaust. Play emerges as an unexpected but crucial sphere for young people to confront the darkest recesses of violent reality. Ultimately, this paper aims to understand how reading literary versions of wartime play may inform our understanding of children's experience of conflict. I argue that these juvenile texts open a space for ludic interpretation in which ambiguities regarding reality and simulacrum, engagement and escapism are openly at play in a model of reading that recasts children's literature as an interpretive game with serious stakes and profound significance for remembering conflict.

Daniel Feldman is an assistant professor of English at Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan, Israel, where he specializes in Holocaust literature and young adult fiction of the Holocaust. He is currently writing a manuscript on the use of play in young adult literature of the Holocaust.

Sarah Minslow (University of North Carolina at Charlotte, USA)

Literary representations of war and genocide in children's literature

This paper will examine how authors broach the subjects of war and genocide when writing specifically for a child audience. Representing war and genocide in children's literature usually requires authorial strategies that do not overwhelm or traumatize child readers. This paper will examine the authorial strategies employed by authors such as Linda Sue Park, Adam Bagdasarian, Jerry Spinelli, Morris Gleitzman, and Cynthia Kadohata in their chapter books, and include a discussion of picture books by Eve Bunting, John Marsden, and Shaun Tan, and a graphic novel by Jean-Philippe Stassen. Three particular authorial strategies will be examined: allegory, silence, and humor with emphasis on how they are employed to support the cognitive and emotional engagement of child readers. Yet authors of books about war and genocide intended for child readers represent, in sometimes graphic detail, the death and destruction that accompanies war and genocide as they encourage child readers to identify and empathize with the child protagonists of their stories. Themes of labeling, fear, absent parents, faith, and hopefulness are repeated in this particular genre of children's fiction. Looking at several examples of fictional texts written for children that present child protagonists during times of war and genocide, this paper will highlight the key characteristics of literature written for children about war and genocide, and explore questions of why authors write books about war and genocide for child audiences.

Sarah Minslow received her PhD in English from the University of Newcastle (Australia) in 2010. Her specialization is children's literature, and her research examines the potential children's literature has to shape children's attitudes towards otherness. Sarah currently teaches courses titled War and Genocide in Children's Literature and Refugees in Literature and Film

at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte as part of the minor in Holocaust, Genocide, and Human Rights Studies, and she is developing a new course about the representation of child soldiers in literature and film.

Hanna K. Ulatowska (University of Texas at Dallas, USA)

Collective memory of child survivor writers produced at different points in life

The investigation deals with literary works produced over the years of three prominent writers who are child survivors of Auschwitz-Birkenau camp and the Warsaw ghetto. The main focus of the study is the analysis of perspective taken by child survivors in representing their war experiences. Three different perspectives are discussed. In one book, the narrative is written from a child perspective, recreating both mental reactions and communicative behavior of children to their experiences. In a book of another survivor, an adult perspective is reflected in a coherent narrative of events with temporal and causative linkages. The third perspective representing late life, gives personal selection of the most important, memorable events with their moral evaluations of life review, characteristic of the late point in life. Similar changes in perspective in Auschwitz adult survivor writers have been observed in my research on their creativity in middle and later years of life. The analysis also includes changes in the writers' form of literary work, i.e. books versus poems. This investigation is motivated by the need to consider how differences in perspective, content, and the form of literary documentation of survivors can be incorporated into collective memory at a time when even the youngest cohort of survivors is rapidly diminishing.

Hanna K. Ulatowska, Ph.D., is Professor in the School of Behavioral and Brain Sciences, University of Texas at Dallas. Her primary area of research is neurolinguistics, more specifically, investigations of discourse in aphasia and aging. The focus of her research is the characterization of communicative competence of these populations and how it relates to preservations and impairments of linguistic and cognitive functioning. She has been actively involved in investigating the representation of camp experiences in narratives of elderly concentration camp survivors in Poland. More recently, she has been involved in investigations of testimonies of WWII American veterans.

Svetlana Ushakova (USC Shoah Foundation, Los-Angeles, USA)

Reading as a method of children's adaption to their Holocaust experience

Reading is an activity that is beyond survival practices. Because of that, it is of particular interest in Holocaust studies. Children kept reading within the different context of their Holocaust experience, e.g. hiding, being in ghetto, fleeing, etc. One of the main sources to study this topic is survivors' testimonies. The archive of the Shoah Foundation has a number of testimonies of interviewees who shared their memories about reading during the Holocaust. Having analyzed the way children managed to read in different conditions, what they read and why, and how reading influenced them at that time, we can conclude that motivation for reading and its role for survival and adaptation greatly depend on a type of their experience. In general, reading helped to survive psychological traumas of the Holocaust and was an important and often the only way of education. When children flee to another country or lived under other religious or national identity, reading helped them to adapt to new culture practices. It filled their excessive free time during hiding or being in ghetto. Sometimes, children kept reading despite the fact that it might jeopardized their life or hindered their adaptation. In this case, it should be considered as a method of moral resistance or as a result of behavioral inertia.

Svetlana Ushakova, PhD is a historian who specializes in interwar and World War II history of the USSR. She has several publications on the history of Soviet ideological campaigns and methods of social mobilization. She studied adaptation methods which were used by peasant families to survive Soviet deportation and exile. Currently, she works as an indexer of a collection of Holocaust/World War II era testimonies at the USC Shoah Foundation (Los-Angeles, USA).

PANEL 16: Child soldiers (II)

César Augusto Cacho Arce (Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí, Mexico)

Children in the army groups “Auto-defenses” from Michoacán, México

On February 24th of 2013 in different municipalities of Michoacan groups of armed persons denominated "Auto-defenses" rose up to fight the drug cartels that economically oppressed and exploited the population. This new phase of violence developed similarly to an armed conflict or unconventional warfare. Within this context of violence children have been affected by participating directly with these Auto-defense groups, some of the main reasons and motives that have prompted to get involved are: revenge for the murder of a family member, linking through the family that is within the armed groups and finally the news that caused the armed movement provoked excitement and fascination in children. So far there is no program or government action aimed to protect children involved in these Auto-defense groups and leave the children out of these armed groups, this puts them in an uncertain situation on their status, as there is no clarity if these children involved will be treated as criminals, as victims, or just ignore the actions committed once the violence ends if this can happen.

César Augusto Cacho Arce. Education: Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí (México), 2015-2017 Master in Latin America Studies, 2006-2011 Graduate in economy; Universidad de Medellín, January 2011-July 2011 Academic Interchange. Work: Geoban Santander (Querétaro). Experience: November 2012-2013 Financyal analist

Francesca Capone (Scuola Superiore Sant’Anna, Pisa, Italy)

Child soldiers: The expanding practice of minors recruited to become foreign fighters

The phenomenon of conscripting, enlisting or using children to take part in hostilities, as combatants or in other capacities, is not new on the international agenda. For centuries children have been involved in military campaigns, however, in recent years this practice has reached its peak, becoming one of the darkest features of many wars, including the ongoing armed conflicts in the Middle East. An unknown number of children have joined parties fighting in Syria and Iraq, e.g. the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and many of them fall within the category of foreign fighters. The presence of children in the foreign fighters’ ranks has also been ascertained by the UN Security Council in Resolution 2178 (2014), which has explicitly called on States to prevent radicalisation to terrorism, address the threat posed by ‘foreign terrorist fighters’, and prevent the recruitment of individuals, including children. Many foreign fighters who go to a war zone are young and ideologically unformed, and the combatant groups see converting them to their worldview as part of their mission: training camps, e.g. the one in Al-Bab (Aleppo), emphasise teaching ‘true’ Islam and the duty of jihad as well as weapons training. This presentation, which builds on the findings enshrined in the forthcoming book “Foreign Fighters Under International Law and Beyond”, edited by the present author together with Professor Andrea de Guttry and Dr Christophe Paulussen, seeks to address the questions stemming from the unique features of the current events, including the effectiveness of the existing international legal framework in preventing and prohibiting the recruitment of children; the unprecedented challenges that the international community has to face in order to counter the present situation; and the importance of social recovery and reintegration within the communities of origin.

Dr Francesca Capone is as research fellow in Public International Law and the didactic coordinator of the Master in Human Rights and Conflict Management at the Scuola Superiore Sant’Anna, in Pisa, Italy. She holds a joint Ph.D. in international law from the Scuola Superiore Sant’Anna and Tilburg University, in The Netherlands. She defended her thesis, on the right to

reparation for child victims of war, in October 2013. In 2012-2013 she worked as a research fellow at the British Institute of International and Comparative Law, where she completed a research project on reparations for education-related violations of international law. She served as author and co-editor of a forthcoming volume entitled "Foreign Fighters Under International Law and Beyond" (Springer, 2015).

Urszula Markowska-Manista (Maria Grzegorzewska University, Poland)

Child soldiers in Central African Republic: From the adaptation to kill to the strategy of survival

The presentation outlines the complex situation of a group of children defined as child soldiers – affected by the burden of armed conflicts, civil wars, coups and massacres in Central African Republic (former French colony of Ubangui and Shari), a country diversified in terms of ethnicity and social structure. These children, whose childhood took place and is taking place in the so called "vulnerable contexts" – in the shadow of armed conflicts, are inscribed in three classic categories: victims, witnesses and perpetrators. In the presentation I would like to draw attention to the extremely complicated situation of children stigmatized with countless traumatic experiences of conflict and war as well processes of education and adaptation to kill. For a part of child soldiers this apparent adaptation and being subjected to educational aberrations of adults (from their cultural circle) becomes the only chance for survival. For the orphaned children, left to their own devices, participation in the organized practices of violence becomes the only proper choice ensuring survival: maintenance and at times power. A demonstration of the fate of children belonging to the aforementioned categories is present in the international and intercultural public and academic discourse. The description of children's experiences in scientific publications, journalism, reports of international organizations and court records is extremely grim, brutal and frequently difficult to accept. It lacks the voice of children which the researcher J. Ennew appealed for as well as thorough analyses done in a specific context based on a range of social factors and cultural background. Moreover, the media demonization of conflicts, the one-sided, stereotypical reproductions and fragmentary media representations of child soldiers presented as bad children, depraved, threatening the social order, contribute to the perpetuation of this detrimental image, to their exclusion and social marginalization in a local and global dimension.

Urszula Markowska-Manista, PhD, Lecturer and Researcher, assistant professor at the Maria Grzegorzewska University, Faculty of Pedagogy Sciences in Chair of Basic Pedagogy, scientific secretary in UNESCO/Janusz Korczak Chair in Interdisciplinary Studies on Child Development and Wellbeing in Warsaw, Poland. Since 2014 has lectured also at the M.A. Childhood Studies and Children's Rights, Department of Education and Psychology, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany. Her academic activity is concentrated on the problem of a marginalized and discriminated child in the context of education and upbringing in culturally diverse backgrounds. She has conducted research among the population of Ba'Aka Pygmies in Central Africa, in refugee camps in the Horn of Africa, among minorities in the South Caucasus as well as migrants and minorities in Poland. An author and co-author as well as co-editor of many publications, among others a book *The bloody shadow of genocide. Interdisciplinary studies* (2011) <http://www.impulsoficyna.com.pl/katalog/krwawy-cien-genocydu,1249.html>. A finalist of POLITYKA Science Awards 2015 in the category of social sciences. She does not limit her work only to academic-research activities, but uses the scientific knowledge in practice – training teachers, pedagogues and psychologists from Central and Eastern Europe within international summer schools organized by the UNESCO Chair, working for Africa and migrants from African country in Poland.

Jonathan Shaw (University of Michigan, USA)

Always *Kadogo*: The mobilization of children in conflict and the legacies of social marginalization in North Kivu, Congo (DRC), 1959-2003

This paper synthesizes key arguments from my dissertation which grapples with the reality that thousands of children are making war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Despite international condemnation combatants under the age of 15 remain vital constituents of Congo's informal armies. Aspirations of groups on all sides, most notably those belonging to a loose affiliation of militias known as Mai-Mai, are borne on the backs of young fighters called *kadogo* (little ones) in Swahili. As these children leave the battlefield and return to their homes urgent questions emerge concerning how best to deal with the consequences of their violence: in their own lives, in their immediate families, and within their home communities. My project historicizes the contemporary role of children in eastern Congo's conflicts. By tracing genealogies, through both kinship and ideology, between the involvement of children in the recent Congo Wars and the Simba Rebellion of 1964—the first postcolonial conflict in Congo to see the heavy recruitment of children—my dissertation aims to help make sense of violence being committed by young warriors in contemporary North Kivu. This project will attempt to locate the discourses of belonging, marginalization, social maturity, and power that were being converted into a vocabulary of violence by child soldiers in both eras. In uncovering this language of power and tracing its violent inscription on individual bodies and in eastern Congolese communities, I seek to link the mobilization of children five decades ago and today in ways that enable policy makers and social scientists to more effectively understand and interpret the meaning of violence committed by militarized children in Africa's Great Lakes region.

Jonathan Shaw is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Michigan focusing on the history and legacies of child soldiering in eastern Congo. He holds an MA in History from the College of William & Mary. His doctoral research has been supported by the Social Science Research Council, the United States Institute for Peace, and the Hertog Global Strategy Initiative at Columbia University. Shaw has been invited to share his research at the University of San Francisco, the University of Chicago, Stanford University and elsewhere.

PANEL 17: WW II and Holocaust testimonies (II)

Anastasia Kostetskaya (University of Hawaii, Manoa, USA)

On the run and from below the ground level: A child-survivor perspective on the battle of Stalingrad

In my talk, I treat oral and written testimonies of elderly Volgograd citizens about their childhood experiences in embattled Stalingrad as a crucial albeit delayed autobiographical source for history. I explore the implications of these narratives for the present day commemoration of Stalingrad battle as they form a body of authentic living memory, which fills in the 'gaps' and 'silences' created by the state control over public memory in the Soviet Union. Ignored for several decades as incompatible with the official history, these testimonies transform Stalingrad from the site of an unprecedented military operation and Soviet triumph into a site of childhood war trauma. Published and made subject of historical and anthropological inquiry nowadays, these memories have extended beyond the private domain of family history and become part of the official WWII and Stalingrad narratives. I specifically focus on those aspects of the testimonies, which transform children from objects of imagery into its makers. Delayed in time, children's voices acquire meaningful expression and their stories shape a complex collective perspective of a child-target - bombed, exploded and aimed at. My goal is to demonstrate that whether on the flight or drawn under ground or under water this child however continues to be a powerful observer and a chronicler, which gives her the narrative power of shaping history.

Born in Volgograd, Russia, **Anastasia Kostetskaya** obtained her PhD in Russian Literature and Culture from the Ohio State University in 2013. She is now working as an Assistant Professor of Russian at the University of Hawaii, Manoa. One of her projects deals with memory of civilian Stalingrad at the intersection of Russian and German cultures: Russian and German cinematic Stalingrad discourse, oral and written narratives of child-survivors and teenage Ostarbeiter and preservation of memory.

Gergely Kunt (University of Miskolc, Hungary)

The psychological coping mechanism during the Holocaust of a Jewish Hungarian teenager, Lilla Ecséry, as reflected in her diary (Jan.1944-March1945)

In my paper I introduce a crisis diary written by Lilla Ecséry (1928-1983), a Jewish Hungarian teenager. Lilla who was just a year older than Anne Frank, but unlike Anne, she started her diary not at thirteen but only at the age of fifteen. Lilla kept her diary from January 1944 to March 1945, that is, from two months before the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944 to the liberation in April 1945. I am going to analyse her psychological coping strategies both with her personal problem as an adolescence and her experience of persecution. Lilla wanted to become an actress and she never stopped trusting in the realization of her purpose even during the war, making this the basis of her psychological self-defence mechanism, so that she even attempted to interpret her suffering during the persecution as only a rehearsal on her way to becoming a perfect actress. As many Jews at this time Lilla's family converted to Christianity in a futile attempt to avoid persecution. Consequently, Lilla was officially, as she put it, 'recently Roman Catholic', but she wanted to identify herself a Buddhist, considering reincarnation to be the most important aspect of Buddhism, which is what allowed her to interpret her life and all her sufferings during the Holocaust as unimportant events.

Gergely Kunt Ph. D. is a social historian and Lecturer at the University of Miskolc, Hungary. Kunt teaches the social history of Hungary and East Central Europe. His dissertation was a comparative analysis of the social ideas and prejudices of Jewish and Christian adolescents

during World War II as reflected in their diaries. Kunt earned his PhD in history at the University of Budapest (ELTE) in 2013. He has been collecting privately-owned diaries and has acquired numerous unpublished diary manuscripts from the period of the Holocaust and the Communist era. He is one of the founding members of the European Diary Archives and Collections (EDAC).

Regina Plasswilm (Heinrich-Heine-University Dusseldorf, Germany)

Children of forced labourers: The diagnosis “bad racial offspring” or “children of good race” was a matter of life and death

The so-called “racial examiners” of the Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA) of the SS were instructed by the Implementation of Regulations of 23.06.1943, “to preserve the offspring which was likely to be of value for the German people and to treat them accordingly”. This measure required that as much pregnant forced labourers as possible were checked racially. Following this logic, it has been decreed that abortions among women expecting offspring of “good race” were not permitted. These children were brought up separated from their mothers in children's homes of the National Socialist People's Welfare or family care centres. In contrast, abortions were performed forcibly against the will of pregnant Eastern labourers and even if this medical intervention was not requested. Children of “bad race” (...) were to be rendered and collected in children's homes where the mortality rate was very high. The systematic killing of newborn infants and young children were executed by auxiliary hospitals. In Kesterbach auxiliary hospital, for instance, 68 children younger than three years were officially announced between 1943 and 1945. Until 1945, children of forced labourers were victims of the elimination of “lives unworthy of life” as part of the so-called “child euthanasia”. Thus, at least 700 sick “Eastern labourers” victims, including many minors, were detected in the euthanasia centre Hadamar in Hessen since 1943. Healthy children of women suffering from tuberculosis who had been transferred to Hadamar from the death and birth camps for foreign forced labourers Pfaffenwald (Bad Hersfeld) were murdered along with their mothers. Also, the contribution will examine the fate of today's adults whose mothers belonged to the group of ethnic Germans. The denied and concealed paternity of the former Eastern labourers is leading to feelings of inferiority and identity crises with the adult children up till today.

Dr **Regina Plasswilm**, PhD, M.A., historian, completed her PhD in 2009 at the History Faculty of the Heinrich-Heine-University Dusseldorf. Her main topic was the memory of the former forced labourers from the Second World War in a comparative perspective. Her research interests include the memory of children and childhood and also female former forced labourers from France and the Netherlands. Since September 2015, she is working as a research associate for gender research at the Faculty of Arts of the Heinrich-Heine University. In addition to her scientific research and teaching in several education facilities, she is working as a cultural manager. In this function, she has been entrusted with the organisation of the Festival of Jewish Culture in NRW in 2011 and the Rhineland in 2015.

Suzanne M. Sinke (Florida State University, USA)

Breaking family ties: A survival story from World War II

How do children cope with the horrors of separation from family, enforced exile, and the problems that occur when familiar faces are absent? Giulia Koritschoner's record provides very detailed information about this experience. At age fourteen Giulia accompanied her mother from their home in Vienna to Switzerland, where she remained under the care of a foster family for the duration of World War II. Giulia's mother sent her other daughter off on an arranged

marriage to Kenya before leaving herself for London and then later for the United States. All attempts to arrange for Giulia to join her failed throughout the war. Giulia's "brief stay" in foster care turned into several years, during which she chronicled her struggle to survive polio without informing her mother and to learn to live in a very different environment. She wrote in a diary, sent and received letters to various family members, and later recounted her experiences in two interviews. The depth of her record, and the multiple versions of her story that went to different audiences at different times chronicled how the relationships to various individuals, particularly her mother and sister, waned over time. Her psychological as well as physical challenges reformed her character in important ways, both in her own eyes and according to her correspondents. Survival depended much less on family ties and more on adjusting to the current surroundings.

Suzanne M. Sinke is the Associate Chair for Graduate Studies in the Department of History at Florida State University. She has earned two Fulbright awards to teach internationally, to the University of Tampere in Finland and the University of Salzburg. Her research and teaching focus on U.S. and comparative migration and gender history. She is the author of *Dutch Immigrant Women in the United States, 1880-1920* (2002) and many articles, and co-editor of three additional books, including *Letters Across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (2006) which showcased her interest in how scholars use letters as sources.

PANEL 18: Jewish refugees / Kindertransport (I)

Petra Hesse (Wheelock College in Boston, USA)

Life after the Kindertransport: Perspectives at 90!

Dr. Ed Klugmann, professor of early childhood education emeritus, came to the US via England, as one of 10,000 Jewish children on the Kindertransport. Ed managed to leave Germany, at almost 14, in August 1939, a week before the beginning of WW II, and arrived in the US in 1940, sponsored by an aunt and his older brother who had left Germany in 1937. Ed's immediate nuclear family was eventually reunited when his parents arrived in the US, but many members of his extended family (including his grandparents) were killed or died during the war. Similar to many Holocaust survivors, Ed tried to move on after the war, and did not tell his story until the city of Nürnberg invited him and other Jewish citizens back to Nürnberg, and the German government invited former Jewish citizens and their children to reassume their German citizenship. Ed first returned to Germany in the 1990s with his late wife, and has since taken his children and grandchildren to live with German families, and to engage in an active process of forgiveness and reconciliation. He has also reclaimed his German citizenship. Ed has been telling his story to 8th grade social studies students, and to college students participating in an international travel course "Learning from the Holocaust." Students feel inspired by Ed's optimism and generosity of spirit in spite of a history of political trauma and discrimination, and often wonder which forces have fueled his resilience. This conference presentation will reconstruct the story of Ed Klugmann's resilience based on his life history (as captured on film in the 1990s and again from 2013 to 2015, in his own writing, and in additional interviews) and the existent literature on personal and cultural resilience. This project is part of the effort to keep the memories of Holocaust survivors alive for future generations.

Petra Hesse, MALD PhD, has been teaching at Wheelock College in Boston since 1988. Trained in developmental and clinical psychology and international relations, she regularly teaches a course on "Children's Political Lives" and an international travel course "Learning from the Holocaust." Her scholarly work has focused on children's fears of nuclear war, on children's enemy images in different cultures, on German adolescents before and after reunification, and on children's reactions to 9/11. She also produced a videotape and wrote about political messages on children's television. More recently, she has become interested in the intergenerational transmission of political trauma and in the impact of international travel courses on students' attitudes.

Patricia Kollander (Florida Atlantic University, USA)

German and Austrian child emigres in the U.S. and the war against Nazism

Of the thousands of Jews who emigrated from Nazi Germany to the United States prior to World War II, many teenaged boys, sent ahead in the hope that they could bring other family members along at a later date; in many cases the outbreak of World War II made this impossible. Once they had attained adulthood, they were eager to join the U.S. army to fight Nazis, even if it meant fighting against childhood friends and acquaintances. They generally had a hard time fitting into the U.S. armed forces because of their foreign backgrounds, but many found a haven at the Military Intelligence Training Center, at Camp Ritchie in Maryland. The camp taught thousands of soldiers how to extract information from captured German soldiers. The training at the camp played to their strengths, and made them important players in the war. When they returned to Germany as members of the U.S. armed forces, they were shattered to discover the fate of the Jews; family members had perished, and their homeland had been changed forever. As they mourned the murder of family members, they were committed to bringing those responsible to justice, and assisted in the prosecution of war criminals. After the war, many embarked on

careers that perpetuated Holocaust awareness and hence played significant role in the memorialization of the Holocaust in the postwar era. This paper will focus on how they were able to survive the traumas they endured before, during and after the war, and their contributions to the fight against Nazism.

Patricia Kollander received her PhD from Brown University, and is a Professor of History at Florida Atlantic University. She specializes in modern German political and diplomatic history. Her publications include *Frederick III: Germany's Liberal Emperor* and *"I Must be a Part of this War": A German-American's Fight against Hitler and Nazism*, along with several scholarly book chapters and articles. Her current research focuses the exploits of recent German and Austrian emigres in the U.S. army during World War II, and the impact of the education they received at the Military Intelligence Training Center in Camp Ritchie, Maryland.

Andrea Strutz (LBI for History of Society and Culture, Austria)

Growing up in exile: Memories of Jewish refugee children in Shanghai

Shanghai/China was the last resort for Jewish refugees from Nazi controlled Central and Eastern Europe. Approximately 16 to 18,000 Jews mostly from Germany and Austria found refuge there; probably ten percent had been children. A stronger research interest in exile experiences in Shanghai emerged in the 1990s, but by this point the majority of adult refugees had already died. Therefore many testimonies originate from those who came as children and youths to Shanghai. However, this aspect has not been thoroughly discussed yet. I would like to add to that desideratum by discussing memories and narratives of "Shanghaiers", who spent their affirmative years in exile. For the analysis of exile experiences from the perspective of a child – besides other material – oral histories will be central. By the example of two Viennese, a girl and a boy who fled at the age of 12 and 17 to Shanghai together with their parents, the following issues shall be explored: How did they as children deal with trauma, uprooting, poverty and the cramped living situation in Shanghai? How did they perceive the new exotic environment, which many adults felt as stressful? Further questions concern education in exile, contributions of children to livelihood, changes of the parent-child relationship and potential gender differences. Another aspect taken into account is, if and how children and teenagers were able to create open spaces over the years in exile in order to satisfy their needs such as to meet with their peers. In this regard I would like to talk about the initiative of one interviewee, who organized dancing parties. After ten years in exile both Viennese – meanwhile young adults – had to leave Shanghai and resettled to Canada that accepted in the course of an international relief operation in 1949 several hundred Jewish refugees; quite a large number of them originated from Austria. In their testimonies, they recalled their affirmative years in China as emotionally and physically stressful but also as a "great adventure" of youth.

Andrea Strutz, senior researcher at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for History of Society and Culture; lecturer at the Universities of Graz and Linz (Austria); co-chair of the Oral History and Life History Network for the bi-annual European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC); postdoctoral habilitation in Contemporary History (University of Graz). Research focus: Historical migration studies (especially to Canada/North America), Jewish displacement, exile studies, memory and migration, National Socialism and restitution matters, biographical studies, gender, methodological questions of oral and video history.

PANEL 19: Children born of war – an international research and training initiative (I): History and Law

This double panel will combine presentations of research on children born of war from historical, legal and psychosocial perspectives with the introduction of a European-Union funded Innovative Training Network in which fifteen doctoral researchers approach topics relating to the experiences of children born of war in a range of historical, geopolitical and cultural context from different disciplinary angles.

Eithne Dowds (Queen's University Belfast, UK)

The law and children born of war: Rape, slavery and consent across enemy lines

Over the last decade, feminist scholars have made significant inroads into the normative content of the international criminal law related to sexual violence in war. While there is a wealth of literature on sexual violence perpetrated in war, it is only in the past few decades that children born of sexual violence in war have become a topic on the international human rights and international criminal law agenda. This paper seeks to contribute to the growing literature on children born of war with a specific focus on accountability and redress. Children born of sexual violence in war are the living proof (and living evidence) of international crimes committed against women in war; as such they may provide the additional evidence, by way of DNA samples, through which redress is possible, be it: prosecutions of international crimes, child support from fathers, military pensions for children, and/or State Responsibility for systematic instance of rape in war. In drawing on the 2006 *United Nations Comprehensive Strategy on Assistance and Support to Victims of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by United Nations Staff and Related Personnel* this paper will explore the controversies around holding or requesting DNA samples from soldiers in order to establish paternity and the possible pitfalls of using such as strategy in terms of identifying a biological father who may seek to enforce his parental rights.

Eithne Dowds is a third year PhD candidate at the School of Law, Queens University Belfast. Her thesis is entitled 'A Comparative Analysis of the Evolution of the Definition of Rape in International Criminal Law'. Her research interests are criminal law (international and domestic), human rights, feminist theory and rape law. She holds a Master Degree in Human Rights and Transitional Justice (Pass with Distinction) from the Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster and a Bachelor Degree in Law and Criminology (First Class Honours) from the University of Ulster.

Allen Kiconco (Kampala, Uganda)

Reintegration and livelihoods: Experiences of former girl abductees in post-conflict Acholi region

Livelihood is another great reintegration priority and challenge for former child soldiers. Save for a few studies, exploring the impact of life in captivity on livelihoods following reinsertion into the communities is still scant. With livelihood strategies undergoing a significant change in post conflict northern Uganda, this presentation will analyse their long term effect(s) on former girl abductees. It will be based on the qualitative research conducted on 57 formerly abducted young women in Acholi. As adolescents, they were abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) to fight in northern Uganda and Sudan. Many returned to their villages with children fathered by the LRA fighters. The war and life in captivity reduced their human capital in form of education and health. Back in their villages, as young adults, this deficit affects their livelihood options and subsequent economic reintegration. The discussion will show that

although most youth in rural areas of Acholi face a livelihood dilemma, it is more challenging for formerly abducted girls and their children born in captivity.

Allen Kiconco holds a bachelor's degree in Economics and MSc in Disaster Management. Allen has this year completed a Ph.D. in African Studies, at the University of Birmingham. Her thesis looked at long-term reintegration experiences of former girl abductees in Acholi sub-region of Uganda. Her research interests include, girls/women and armed conflicts, post-war reintegration, gender and development, NGOs, Aid and development, complex emergencies, among others.

Kanako Kuramitsu (University of Birmingham, UK)

Forgotten Voices of Children Born of War during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and in the Immediate Post-War Period

It is a largely undocumented fact that, while millions of lives were lost during the Second Sino-Japanese War (hereinafter Sino-Japanese War), some children were born of Chinese mothers and Japanese fathers. These children are referred to as Sino-Japanese children born of war (hereinafter Sino-Japanese CBOW). Some of them were born as a result of sexual violence committed by the Imperial Japanese Army, while others were born following consensual intimate relationships. The Sino-Japanese CBOW have received little scholarly attention so far. Their existence has been overshadowed by studies on more numerous war-affected children and youth born to Japanese parents – “stranded war orphans” (chūgoku zanryū koji) and “stranded war women” (chūgoku zanryū fujin) – who fled Manchuria as refugees when the Soviet Union declared war on Japan on 9 August 1945 and who remained in post-war China for various involuntary reasons. The life course of many stranded war orphans and women, as well as the Sino-Japanese CBOW intersected when they could finally visit or migrate to Japan after the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations in 1972. This was because the necessary procedures for them to go to Japan and to acquire Japanese nationality were handled by the same individuals and groups. I therefore embarked on this research by identifying potential informants through these groups that have been offering support to repatriated stranded war orphans and women. So far, I have conducted in-depth interviews with three Sino-Japanese CBOW who were born between 1942 and 1953. This presentation will discuss how Sino-Japanese CBOW are defined in this research project, the sources and methodology as well as the initial findings of these interviews. It will also explore why the existence and voices of Sino-Japanese CBOW have been largely neglected by researchers for more than seventy years after the end of the war.

Kanako Kuramitsu is a PhD student in the Department of History at the University of Birmingham. She is currently exploring life experiences of children born of Chinese mothers and Japanese fathers during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and in the immediate post-war period. Her research project is part of a collective project “Children Born of War – Past, Present and Future,” which is supported by the European Commission.

Sabine Lee (University of Birmingham, UK)

Children born of war: Past, present and future – a Horizon 2020 Innovative Training Network. An introduction of the poster session

The physical and psychosocial impact of armed conflict on children is immense and particularly so, if these children are associated with the enemy. Overwhelming evidence suggests that children born of war (CBOW), i.e. children fathered by foreign soldiers and born to local mothers have been and continue to be a major obstacle to successful integration of both their

mothers and themselves into post-conflict societies. At a global level, previous UN studies have further emphasized the lack of research on children born out of forced pregnancies in armed conflict. The proposed network addresses the described shortcomings by advancing the knowledge base through systematic analysis of lived experiences of CBOW in a variety of 20th century conflict and post-conflict situations. The main research goal is to further our understanding of how (if at all) CBOW in conflict and post-conflict situations are integrated into society; how (if at all) militaries, governments, and nongovernmental policy makers assist this integration process; and how the children's lived experiences reflect broader societal attitudes to memories of war and vice versa. Our vision is to promote scientific excellence by exploiting the specific research expertise and infrastructure of the co-ordinating partner and all participants in order to advance the research competencies and employability of early career researchers. Their enhanced understanding of the challenges of CBOW in volatile societies will inform the normative debates and, ultimately, policies on the reintegration of CBOW into post-conflict societies.

Sabine Lee is Professor of Modern History at the University of Birmingham. She has published widely on 20th century history, including diplomatic, economic, social and political history as well as history of science. She was principal investigator in a network on Children Born of War funded by the UK Arts and Humanities research Council and leads the Horizon2020-funded Innovative Training Network on Children Born of War.

PANEL 20: Israel / Palestine (III)

Gulie Ne'eman Arad (Ben Gurion University, Israel)

Refusing to be victims: Holocaust child survivors who became Israeli combat pilots

In the mid-1950s Israel's Air Force (IAF) numbered 350 combat pilots and navigators; 138 of them survived the Holocaust as children or young teenagers. Since their arrival in Israel after the end of WWII, they "did not have a past," and they "did not want a past." These survivors' foremost aim was to be accepted as native Israelis (Sabra). To be recognized as members of this self-proclaimed elite, did not come easy or cheap. Your best bet was to try out for admission to the very grueling and most exclusive Flight Course of the IAF. Passing the taxing scholastic, physical and psychological entrance exams was by itself considered an achievement. Completing the course and being awarded the AF wings was achieved by few. To this day, being a combat pilot or navigator carries with it prestige second to none. These 138 unlikely candidates came to signify Israelis at their best; dedicated, courageous, and patriotic they were willing to sacrifice their lives for the existence of a Jewish homeland. Yet, it took them some 60 to 70 years to feel confident enough to break the silence about their Holocaust past. The obvious but not simple question is why and with what effects. Two main observations will frame my discussion: the conscious choices of these young survivors to reject a victims' identity as well as the discourse of victimization and the cult of cathartic self-pity; claiming agency on both their past and their future by transforming their survival experience into a sovereign psychology and identity that liberated them to pursue the life they wanted. Today some 35 of them are still alive, ranging in age from the late 70s to the late 80s. They first broke their silence about who they "really" are in 2012. My paper is based on media reports and interviews (in newspapers and on the internet); a 2014 excellent documentary called "There and Here;" and interviews that I have conducted myself.

Gulie Ne'eman Arad, Ph.D., Ben Gurion University, Beer Sheva, Israel. Major research interests: Holocaust Survivors, History and Memory, Historical Methodology. Selected Publications: Gulie Ne'eman, Arad, *America, Its Jews, and the Rise of Nazism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. Gulie Ne'eman, Arad, ed., *Passing into History: Nazism and the Holocaust Beyond Memory*, Indiana University Press, 1997. Gulie Ne'eman Arad, "Israel and the Shoah: A Tale of Multifarious Taboos," *New German Critique*, No. 90 (Fall 2003), 5-26. Gulie Ne'eman Arad, *The American Jewish Bystanders: Rethinking Strategies of Understanding*, *Jahrbuch, Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung, Technische Universität Berlin* (June 2000) 253-296. Gulie Ne'eman Arad, "The Assimilationist Dilemma: Response of the American Jewish Elite to Antisemitism in Weimar Germany," *Moreshet, Journal for the Study of the Holocaust and Antisemitism*, No. 7 (Winter 2009), 239-263. 1990-2001: Co Editor of the international journal *History & Memory: Studies in Representations of the Past*. Published by Indiana University Press.

Ella Ayalon (Tel-Aviv University, Israel)

Orphans, widows and bereaved parents: "Bereaved Families Law" and "Yad La-Banim" in Israel, 1949-1959

IDF orphans were not few in Israel during the 1950s, as Israeli collective memory might suggest. According to contemporary documents of the Rehabilitation Division in the Defense Ministry, there were around 1,400 orphans in the middle of the 1950s. The Rehabilitation Division consistently divided the population of the bereaved in Israel at that period to two groups: bereaved parents in one group, orphans and widows in the other group. There were casualties in the IDF (and other fighting organizations) during this entire period, for different reasons. The main reasons were, naturally, the 1948 Arab-Israeli War which ended at the

beginning of 1949 and the Kadesh Operation (also known as the Suez Crisis) in 1956. “Yad La-Banim” (literally: “Memorial for the Sons” or “Memory of the Sons”). This organization (which still exist today), was established in 1949, and was dedicated to the commemoration of IDF soldiers and to protect social rights of bereaved families. In 1950, the Knesset (the Israeli parliament) passed a law to insure the welfare of families of soldiers killed in wars. There were many debates concerning this law during the 1950’s and two adjustments were made, on 1952, and on 1958. In my paper I intend to elaborate on the definitions of orphanhood and bereavement in relation to the IDF, during the first decade of Israel. A main claim in my paper will be that both “Yad La-Banim” and the “Bereaved Families” law incorporated an inherent distinction (sometimes accompanied by a tension) between needs and interests of war orphans and widows and those of bereaved parents. In other words, although they all shared the pains of bereavement in similar circumstances, these two separate groups met different livelihood conditions and social needs. Furthermore, it seems that Yad La-Banim’s missions – commemoration and welfare for bereaved families – were also separated among both groups, since commemoration was led mostly by bereaved parents. It is evident that the distinction existed among the members of these groups, since there were separate organizations as well, such as the Committee of the IDF Widows (sometimes represented as the Committee of the IDF Widows and Orphans), which was established during the 1950s.

Ella Ayalon: I am a PhD student at the School of Historical Studies in Tel-Aviv University. My PhD dissertation, written under the guidance of Prof. Iris Rachamimov and Prof. Yael Darr, deals with orphanhood in the Jewish Community in Palestine and Israel, 1920-1960. In 2014 I have published an article (based on my MA Thesis), about orphanhood in the Jewish community in Jerusalem during the First World War and its aftermath, in *Historia*, the journal of the Historical Society of Israel.

Meir Chazan (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

Davar for children during the Arab revolt

Davar for Children (Davar Li-Yeladim) newspaper was pivotal for elementary- school Jewish children in Palestine during the second part of the 30’s of the 20th century. This was not only due to quality of the newspaper but also for the prosaic reason that there were almost no competitors from its loyal readers’ point of view. Additionally, the Children’s edition of *Davar* (the daily newspaper of the Labor Jewish organization of workers – Histadrut) was a newspaper of the Israeli Labor Movement, which established its hegemonic status within the *Yishuv* (Jewish society in Palestine) during that decade. *Davar for Children* was one of the honed tools which, directly and indirectly, aided the Labor Movement to become the dominant factor in the life of Jews in Palestine. My paper will outline some of the central nodes in which *Davar for Children* described, praised and sometimes even “sanctified” political, military and economic events and ideological disputes during the Arab revolt in 1936-1939. In those years the journal represented, expressed and distilled the political-ideological path that was crystallized in the Labor movement, in order to deal with the generation’s challenges, more than any other communication media in the Jewish society in Mandatory Palestine.

Prof. **Meir Chazan** is Associate Professor in the Department of Jewish History at Tel Aviv University. He is the head of the Chaim Weizmann Institute for the Study of Zionism and Israel at Tel Aviv University. Between his books: *Moderation: The Moderate view in Ha’poel ha’tzair and Mapai, 1905-1945*, Tel Aviv, Am Oved, 2009; *The Modest Revolution: Women and Defense in Palestine, 1907-1945*, Tel Aviv, Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2015.

Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

In the front or behind-the-lines ? Children's place during war from historical perspective—Israel as a test case

The war that broke out in Israel in July 2014 raised a dilemma for many families in the cities and villages close to the front line: to evacuate the children to a protected place or leave them at home? This is not the first time that this dilemma has arisen. My lecture will examine this subject from a historical perspective, focusing on the dilemma of evacuating children from settlements, which had become part of the front line in the War of Independence of the state of Israel (1948). In my lecture, I will examine the place and role of the child in wartime, and the conflict between the national obligations imposed on the child on the one hand and the desire and need to protect him on the other. The dangerous situation of children in the front in the midst of war placed their physical, ideological and cultural position in the society and family in question. The society viewed the child as a national resource, important and necessary factor in the ongoing struggle. However, the dilemma of evacuating children from the front highlights the ambivalence of their status. On one hand, children were perceived as a resource – keeping them at the front was used for increasing adults' motivation to fight and influencing settlement stability. On the other hand, when the danger increased, children were seen as a burden. The child's place in the family underwent an upheaval as well. Some of the children were separated from their mothers during the evacuation. Some children were returned to the dangerous situation for ideological reasons. The complicated and fundamental question that accompanies the issue of the place of children in national struggle in general and in war in particular, is the limits of children's roles. How do these movements delineate the physical and ideological boundaries of placing children in danger? My examination of the 1948 war shows that unlike the relatively stable notion of children in society during routine days, perceptions of childhood in national struggle shift rapidly, in accordance with national ideology and needs. In 1948, children's needs were considered subservient to the national effort. In 2014 however, in view of the changes that have taken place in Israeli society over the years, the answer is much more complicated.

Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman is a senior lecturer at the land of Israel studies and Archaeology department, Bar-Ilan University, Israel. Lilach is a historian who specializes in the history of Israel in the modern period. Her studies focus on Women and gender in Mandatory Palestine, and deal with range of issues: feminine identity, feminine leadership, the Jewish family, marriage and motherhood and biographies of women in the era of national renaissance. Her recent study is on the topic of reproduction in the mandatory Palestine and the state of Israel, perceptions of births, prevention and abortions.

PANEL 21: Refugees and displaced persons (II)

Sarah Green (University of Melbourne, Australia)

Children as the faces of war: The experiences of Bosnian children in Australia

Throughout the Bosnian war of 1992-1995, there was plenty of attention paid to Bosnian children - particularly by the media and international aid agencies - but little that allowed the world to hear the views of the children themselves. Stories and images of individual children were frequently used to call for international intervention and some of these children became household names, including Zlata Filipović, Irma Hadžimuratović and Natasha Nicholson/Mihaljcic. Far less is known about the children who were not in the international spotlight. In this paper I will present preliminary findings from my PhD research which seeks to capture, through oral history, the experiences of Bosnian child refugees in Australia. I will explore how the memories of my interviewees juxtapose with official narratives about the Bosnian war, then discuss how both of these compare with the 1990s discourse about the rights of children and the impact of armed conflict on children. This research is part of a project at the University of Melbourne on "Child Refugees and Australian Internationalism from 1920 to the present".

Sarah Green is a PhD candidate in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne. Her research interests include histories of childhood, migration and welfare. Her current work examines the experiences of Bosnian child refugees who came to Australia in the 1990s. From this, and her previous work with survivors of child institutions, she is particularly interested in the many ways in which children's voices are heard and silenced. <http://shaps.unimelb.edu.au/research/projects/fitzpatrick-laureate-fellowship>

Monique Alexandra Hill (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa)

Bridging the gap: Designing a drama therapy intervention for refugee learners transitioning between grade six and seven

This paper will focus on MA research answering the question of what drama therapy techniques are appropriate in aiding refugee young people in their transition to grade 7 government schools from a dedicated refugee school in Johannesburg. Initial exploratory interviews were conducted with professionals in the field and along with relevant literature, four areas of focus were found through a grounded theory analysis to be important when working with refugee young people: Program Realities versus Changing Needs, Education, Loss versus Meaning Making, and Story versus Silence. The overarching theme of the research was thus identified as Creating Narrative from Chaos. A further question arising from the analysis was how to incorporate story when working with refugee young people in a way that will ensure that their voices are heard and valued above that of the therapist or researcher. A short pilot intervention was then carried out with ten grade 6 learners over a period of eight weeks. Three areas of interest arose from the pilot study, which was also subjected to a grounded theory analysis: Me within the World, The Role of Drama Therapy, and The Unknown. Although further research is needed which conducts a more long-term intervention, the drama therapy techniques of story and role were found to be useful tools in therapeutic work with refugee young people in this context. The paper will not only detail this ground-breaking research, but also explore the potential use of drama therapy as a tool for refugee integration and psycho-education.

Monique Alexandra Hill is a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, and is completing her Drama Therapy Internship with the Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre. Her work sees her engaging with Rwandan Genocide Survivors as well as creating psycho-educational workshops around issues of the Holocaust, Rwanda, Xenophobia, Human Rights,

and Tolerance. Monique is the South African Coordinator of the Drama for Life Conference *Re/Location:Dis/Location: Migration, Culture, and Public Health*. Monique is an alumnus of the Do School Theatre Project in Hamburg, as well as the recipient of the 2015 Justice Edwin Cameron Theatre for Human Rights Award for her MA research.

Nicholas Ibeawuchi Omenka (Abia State University, Uturu, Nigeria)

The repatriation and rehabilitation of Biafran children after the Nigeria-Biafra war

The Nigeria-Biafra War which lasted from 6 July 1967 to 15 January 1970 brought about the largest ecumenical undertaking in history and an airlift second only to the Berlin airlift. The driving force of that singular humanitarian rescue mission was the spectacle of starving and dying Biafran children, the innocent victims of a ruthless civil war. While millions were saved from certain death inside the enclave, thousands more were evacuated to friendly African countries, notably Ivory Coast, Gabon and the Island of Sao Tomé. Given the underlying antagonisms of the civil war, the repatriation and rehabilitation of these children presented very daunting challenges. In the first instance, the Federal Government, which viewed the evacuation of the children with apathy and disparagement, was non-committal to their repatriation. Secondly, the Biafran territory, the theatre of one of the most brutal civil wars in Africa, was not a conducive place for the resettlement of children after the guns had fallen silent. This paper is a study of the heroic and successful efforts of the German Caritas (Catholic) and the German *Diakonisches Werk* (Protestant) in collaboration with the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria to overcome these overwhelming challenges. The source materials employed in the work were derived from the archives of these humanitarian organizations which have remained largely unutilized.

Nicholas Ibeawuchi Omenka is Professor of Church History at Abia State University, Uturu, Nigeria. He has written extensively on the mission history of Nigeria and in recent times has focused interest on the Nigeria-Biafra war. He is currently the editor of the *Abia Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*.

PANEL 22: Evacuation and migration schemes

Caitlin Harvey (Princeton University, USA)

‘No child in all this careless world/Is ever out of sight’: A comparative study of child migration schemes from Britain to Canada, and within the United States, 1880-1929

Based upon the case records of two hundred ‘Barnardo children’ and two hundred Children’s Aid Society (CAS) youths, this paper aims to bridge the gap between studies of child-rescue rhetoric and investigations of ‘home child’ experiences. A comparative analysis of the Barnardo Homes’ external child migration scheme from Britain to Canada and the CAS’s internal scheme within the United States, from 1880 to 1929, offers scholars a valuable vantage-point from which to assess the significant national and international contexts that shaped child-rescuers’ conceptions of the ‘child-at-risk’. Within both Canada and the United States, child-rescuers’ views of the children they ‘saved’ affected the programmes they developed, and the type of relationship they initiated between the child, the child-rescue organisation, and the receiving family. Thomas Barnardo, confident that colonial employers and pastoral surroundings would redeem poor children, implemented an emigration scheme in Canada that afforded more power to receiving families and child-rescuers than to the child. Charles Loring Brace’s emigration programme, conversely, emphasised working-class children’s inherent redeemable qualities and capacity for self-improvement. American child migrants under this scheme accordingly exercised a greater degree of power and agency in their relationship with child-rescuers and receiving families, allowing them to mitigate poor and potentially abusive circumstances more readily than their Canadian counterparts. By using a comparative method to cast national differences in the conception, reception, and experience of home children in relief, I offer one possible explanation for the greater scholarly and public condemnation of Barnardo’s scheme today.

Caitlin Harvey is a doctoral candidate at Princeton University (US), where she enjoys exploring questions posed by the history of childhood and migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The paper proposal offered here was the subject of Caitlin’s master’s research at The University of Oxford (UK), and a topic that she became interested in while completing her undergraduate at The University of Western Ontario (Canada). Caitlin hopes to broaden the scope of this study to include other comparable child migration schemes as part of her doctoral research.

Ann Nehlin (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Building bridges of trust: Child transports from Finland to Sweden during WWII

70,000 children were moved to Sweden from Finland during WWII with the purpose of giving them a break from the calamities of war. Moving children for this reason was not unique for Finland-Sweden at this time; on the contrary it was a common practice in the Western world during the 20th century. Officially, the motives have always been humanitarian, but political motives have often played an important role – commonly to foster suitable citizens within planned societies. Political goals were important in the move of Finnish children, but in a different way to what was common in other child-removal schemes. In this paper I suggest that the children were used as “commodities of compassion” in a Swedish politics of indemnification.

Ann Nehlin works at the Department of History at Stockholm University as researcher and lecturer. My main research interests are on how NGOs and authorities care for children during war and disasters. What is considered to be in the children’s best interest and what motivates caring for some children but not others has been the focal point in my research. In my

dissertation(*Exporting visions and saving children: the Swedish Save the Children Fund*, 2009) I have explored how the Swedish Save the Children Fund motivated carried out relief-activities towards the background of the Swedish government's politics of neutrality and how this was decisive for how, where and to whom relief was directed. I am currently working on a project concerning the transportation of 70,000 children to from Finland to Sweden during WWII. The project is funded by the Swedish Research Council for Health, Working Life and Welfare.

Catherine E. Rymph (University of Missouri, USA)

When rescue narratives fail: American responses to displaced and dependent children during the Second World War

In the summer of 1940, as Germany's territorial ambitions expanded west, Americans responded with a wave of concern about children who would be affected. When the US Committee for the Care of European Children issued a call for temporary homes for refugee British children, its offices were "besieged" by interested families. A Gallop poll suggested that millions of American families were willing to accept a child for the duration of the war. By December, around 1100 British children had been placed in American homes. USCOM braced for far more. The image of children fleeing the Blitz resonated powerfully with American families. Such generosity had its limits. A year and a half before the evacuation of British children, Americans had been profoundly reluctant to assist a far more imperiled group of young people--Jewish children attempting to flee the Reich after the horrors of Kristallnacht. When Congress proposed admitting 20,000 Jewish children left homeless and fatherless by violence and arrests, two-thirds of Americans reportedly opposed the bill. It never became law. Meanwhile, throughout the war, the United States continued to experience a persistent shortage of foster homes for American children, a shortage that would soon be exacerbated by the war. This paper will examine these three categories of children described as in need of "rescue" from wartime conditions. I will explore the effectiveness of child rescue narratives for framing responses to humanitarian crises and assess the historical circumstances and strategies under which some children have generated sympathy and others have not.

Catherine Rymph is Associate Professor of History at the University of Missouri (US). She is the author of *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006) and *Rearing Government Children: Foster Parenting and the American Welfare State* (under review). Her current research concerns the Wagner-Rogers Child Refugee Bill of 1940. She has also published several articles and book chapters on women and politics and child welfare history. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Iowa in 1998 and was a Fulbright scholar at the Universitaet Greifswald (Germany) from 1998-1999.

Chelsea Sambells (University of Edinburgh, UK)

Beyond the "Biological future of the nation": The evacuation of French and Belgian children to Switzerland, 1940-1945

Between 1940 and 1945, approximately 60,000 French and Belgian children were evacuated to Switzerland for three-month periods. This humanitarian action was initially implemented by a coalition of Swiss charities but because of its growing popularity and increasing scope, the Swiss Red Cross joined the efforts in 1942. Given the massive diplomatic and material challenges during the Second World War, it is surprising that such a large transnational evacuation for vulnerable, foreign children was generally effective. Government intervention during the 20th century to protect vulnerable children in war was often based upon a strong

nationalist agenda to save the “biological future of the nation.” However, one of the most compelling qualities of this evacuation is that, unlike other national wartime evacuations, such as those in Britain and Germany, this evacuation sought to evacuate *foreign* children to a *neutral* host. However, these foreign children would not permanently remain in the reception country, nor adopt its customs and, thereby, become “part of” the nation. Therefore, this unprecedented humanitarian act to save foreign children complicates our understanding of the value of children in war as simply the “biological future of the nation.” Doctoral research undertaken at three national archives has revealed that this child evacuation has largely gone unnoticed by scholars, denoting its originality in historiography. Therefore, this paper will first investigate the impact of each participating governments’ motivations and attitudes towards children, and then explore how this child evacuation pushes the perceptions of children in war by expanding their value beyond national borders.

Chelsea Sambells began in Communication Studies, gaining two degrees at the University of Calgary before transitioning to the field of history. At the University of Edinburgh, Chelsea has undertaken both a MSc and PhD in Second World War history (PhD viva to occur in early 2016). Most recently, her research has investigated the evacuation of 60,000 French and Belgian children to Switzerland (1940-1945), to better understand how governments and humanitarian organizations have historically and culturally protected children in war. Chelsea’s research interests include refugees, children, political, diplomatic, European and transnational history, disaster and humanitarian relief, communications and rhetoric.

PANEL 23: Child soldiers (III)

Rachel Anderson (University of Edinburgh, UK)

Framing the child soldier identity in post-conflict contexts: The long-term effects of child soldier DDR in Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone's post-conflict reconstruction is viewed as a landmark case in the history of international peacebuilding as it represents the first time in which the needs of children who participated in the conflict were acknowledged in the formal peace process. In particular, its DDR process has been hailed as a success story by the international community and used as a model in other peace operations. This paper seeks to examine the long term effects of the child soldier DDR process on the social status of former child soldiers in Sierra Leone. Drawing on empirical research undertaken in Sierra Leone and using sociological theories of identity management, this paper examines how international interventions and local practices have shaped understandings of the 'child soldier identity' in Sierra Leonean Society since the end of the war and how these understandings affect former child soldiers social interactions with other members of their communities. The findings suggest that former child soldiers are left with three options for the long-term management of this identity, namely to conceal, to mitigate or to embrace it. While each identity management strategy offers its own set of social benefits, each strategy also places a specific set of restrictions on the child soldiers to which they must adhere in order to ensure their continued social acceptance.

Dr **Rachel Anderson** is a Research Analyst with the Political Settlements Research Programme at the University of Edinburgh. Prior to taking up her current post, Rachel worked for the UK Department for International Development. She has also recently completed her PhD in Sociology at the University of Aberdeen. Her research interests lie in the practical application of the sociology of family and childhood in Child Soldier Reintegration in West Africa.

Claudia Arici (University of Sydney, Australia)

Through the looking glass: An analysis of the portrayals of child soldiers through the lenses of communities members and key stakeholders

Due to the conflicting nature of child soldiers across the categories of child and adult, civilian and combatant, innocent and perpetrator, child combatants can be labelled in different and contrasting ways. Consequently, child soldiers have been at times portrayed as either helpless victims, dangerous perpetrators, rational agents or redeemed heroes. The aim of my paper is to analyze the factors that influence one portrayal over another and the consequences of these depictions for the children. In particular, I explore the divergence between the heterogeneous self-portrayals of child soldiers and the homogenous way in which key stakeholders depict them. Indeed, there is convergence between external players, such as humanitarian officers and court professionals, on the status of these children: according to these key stakeholders child soldiers are and will always be victims. And this victimhood defines every aspect of their life: their relationship with the courts, their involvement in the community, their ability to define what's best for them, their chances to take control of their own lives. This paper argues that representations of child soldiers are socially constructed, therefore divergence between portrayals of child combatants depends on the context and purpose of representation. At the same time, the paper argues that the convergence on victimhood depends on stereotypes and faulty assumptions, based on externalities.

Claudia Arici is a third year PhD candidate in the Faculty of Law. She received her master's degree in International Relations and her bachelor's degree in International Studies from the University of Milan. Her main academic interest is human rights, in particular children's rights.

Nicholas Davis (Human rights activist, Philippines)

Child soldiers: From recruitment to redemption

In more than a decade since the Liberia's Comprehensive Peace Agreement, numerous programmes have been implemented to consolidate peace in the country. Thousands of children conscripted as child soldiers during the 14 years civil war in Liberia represented some of the worst war-time abused. Their well-being and integration in the society will to a large extent determine sustainability of peace. This paper is based on my personal experience as a child soldier along with hundreds of child soldiers during the civil war in Liberia as well as extensive research. It systematically analyses child soldier experience including conscription, commanders' abuses, frontline experience and the road to integration into society. It examines sources of vulnerability of former child soldiers as adults and identifies factors that need to be taken into account in programmatic response to these challenges. This paper provides argumentation that meeting the needs of children lies at the heart of the reconciliation in Liberia and provides practical suggestion for reintegration programmes.

Nicholas Davis is a human rights activist, once a former child soldier in Liberia. He was one of the founding members of the Veteran Child Soldier Association of Liberia (VACASOL) based at the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana. He was a volunteer with Balay Integrated Rehabilitation Center for total Human Development (BIRTH DEV.) based in the southern Philippines working with war affected youths and former child soldiers.

Ulrich Pallua (University of Innsbruck, Austria)

Struggling the beast: Child soldiers in Uzodinma Iweala's *Beasts of no nation* and Ishmael Beah's *A long way gone: Memoirs of a boy soldier*?

Uzodinma Iweala's *Beasts of No Nation* from 2005 and Ishmael Beah's *A Long Way Gone: Memoirs of a Boy Soldier* from 2007 both deal with war and the traumatizing experience of child soldiers in Sierra Leone and Nigeria respectively. Referring to Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*, Stonebridge claims, "identity begins with a trauma, a wound in the psyche of which we cannot speak, but upon which we nonetheless fixate in our imperfect memories, fictions, repetitions, and compulsions." In the paper I will analyse how war forces Agu in *Beasts of No Nation* and Ishmael Beah in *A Long Way Gone: Memoirs of a Boy Soldier* to leave childhood behind and how violence, killing, and sexual profoundly impact on the boys' rehabilitation process. This process in most cases is a lengthy and challenging struggle to break a vicious circle, that of the bonding with supposed protectors and leaders.

Ulrich Pallua is Senior Lecturer at Innsbruck University, Austria. His work combines postcolonial, critical race, and gender theory. His books include *Africa's Transition from Colonisation to Independence and Decolonisation* (Ibidem 2004), *Eurocentrism, Racism, Colonialism in the Victorian and Edwardian Age* (Winter 2006), *(Re)Figuring Human Enslavement: Images of Power, Violence and Resistance* co---edited with Adrian Knapp and Andreas Exenberger (iup 2009), and *Racism, Slavery, and Literature* co---edited with Wolfgang Zach (Peter Lang 2010). He has published in a wide range of journals and anthologies on topics concerning race identity, the reality of imperial ideology, ethnocentricity, the rhetoric of inferiority of African slaves in 18th---century fiction, poetry, and drama. He is currently working on his new book on images of African characters in selected plays from the British abolition period.

PANEL 24: Holocaust: Children in hiding

Sofie Lene Bak (University of Copenhagen University, Denmark)

Hidden children in Denmark

In 1943 the 8000 Jews in Denmark fled to neutral Sweden when the German occupier attempted to round- up Jews for deportation. The traumas of the flight have been overshadowed by the powerful story of rescue. But not everyone made it to Sweden. A minimum of 150 Jewish children were left behind in Denmark, when their parents made the desperate flight. 150 children may seem a small number in the overwhelming statistics of the Holocaust, yet they constituted 10% of all child victims of persecution in Denmark and 20% of the toddlers between 0 and 5 years of age. The children were placed in children's homes or foster families, where they were integrated in family life under false identities. When the war was over, parents that returned were strangers to their own children. The children felt deserted twice. Abandoned by their biological parents and neglected by the foster families with whom they had formed strong emotional bonds. Yet as the children recollect, to be left behind, was not the hardest. Haunted by survivor guilt and shame and guided by the psychology of that time the families repressed the past and silenced the stories of the children. More than half a century passed before the children hidden in Denmark understood that they were not alone with their experiences and their stories included in collective memory. The paper is based on oral history with child survivors and intensive research into the lives and memory of the hidden children in Denmark.

Sofie Lene Bak, PhD, Assistant Professor in History, The Saxo Institute, Copenhagen University, Denmark. Former Curator and Research Manager at the Danish Jewish Museum. PhD from Copenhagen University in 2003 with a Dissertation on Danish Anti-Semitism 1930-1945. Author of several Articles, Papers and Books on Danish Jewish History, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, most recently *Nothing to speak of. Wartime experiences of the Danish Jews 1943-45* (2012) and *Da krigen var forbi* [When the War was over] (2012) (in Danish only) on the return and restitution of the Danish Jews after the Holocaust.

Dan Leshem (City University of New York, USA)

Without a hand, without a name: Narrative reconstructions of lost childhood

As a Holocaust scholar and child survivor... I am convinced that the crimes committed against children are the most shocking and least understood injustices against humanity (Nechama Tec, xxi). In order to access the impact of childhood trauma as the result of genocide, scholars typically look to contemporaneous documents such as diaries and letters, or recollections written immediately after the war. This approach undervalues the profound interruption of physical, social and emotional development that genocidal trauma imposes on a young child. Israeli writer and child survivor Aharon Appelfeld's experiences speak to this challenge as he describes losing his language while living in hiding from ages 8-12 in then-Romania. During those years, his childhood German language would have exposed his Jewishness – which left him only silence and the Ruthenian dialect spoken by his nanny. This childhood without a stable linguistic frame likely contributes to his inability to speak about his experiences for nearly 20 years. Even then, he finds his voice only through one further act of translation—changing his story's protagonist into a young girl. This paper argues that the period of post-traumatic latency provides child survivors with the tools to reconstruct an anguished childhood. Using recent scholarship on the Holocaust, Rwanda, and Armenia, I will demonstrate the power of childhood narratives delivered many years after the events and thus the paper will hopefully contribute to an understanding of child survivors as impartial witnesses to genocide.

Dan Leshem is the Director of the Kupferberg Holocaust Resource Center and Archives at Queensborough Community College, City University of New York. Dr. Leshem received a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature & Jewish Studies from Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.

His dissertation, *The Language of Suffering: Writing and Reading the Holocaust*, argued for the necessity of ethical approaches to interpreting Holocaust testimony. Between 2010 and 2014, he served as Associate Director for Research of the USC Shoah Foundation, and was appointed Adjunct Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature.

Bat-Ami Zucker (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

The question of identity: Jewish children hidden in convents

Over one and a half million of Jewish children perished during the Holocaust. Only few thousands survived by disguising their Jewish identities or by physically concealing themselves in attics, cellars, barns, sewers, and convents. This paper deals with Jewish children hidden in Catholic convents, focusing on the effect that the exposure to Christianity had on their Jewish identity. Three test cases were chosen, two girls from Poland and one boy from Czechoslovakia. Each case is a story in itself, but all three shared similar experience and went through much the same traumas which had a tremendous impact on their future life. Exposure to Christianity presented a severe trauma, leaving the Jewish children with perplexity, especially for those who were older and remembered their Jewish identity. However, what had gradually eased the pain was the protection they received from Catholic nuns. The convent stood as a high wall protecting them from the evil and death, which prevailed outside. In the words of Miriam Klein, now in her 80s, "*Christianity held the promise of life as against the Jewish faith which was marked by death.*" Doubts and confusion was especially apparent after liberation when they had to choose between the two religions. Acceptance, hostility, ambivalence, resentment, shame and regret, were only some of the emotions these children had. They again faced an identity crisis and an emotional void which for many of them lasted a lifetime.

Prof. **Bat-Ami Zucker**, Ph.D.; L.L.B. Bar-Ilan University, Department of General History/American Studies, Ramat-Gan, Israel. Specializing in American Legal History, American Jewish History, and Holocaust Studies. Publications include: *In Search of Refuge, Jews and US Consuls in Nazi Germany, 1933-1941*. (2001). *Cecilia Razovsky and the American-Jewish Women's Rescue Operations in the Second World War*. (2008). "American Refugee Policy in the 1930s" in *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States*, ed. By Frank Caestecker & Bob Moore (2010), pp. 151-168.

PANEL 25: Sexual violence and abuse

Maria Ciesielska (Regional Medical Chamber in Warsaw, Poland) and Robert Hasselbusch (Pawiak Prison Museum, Warsaw, Poland)

Birth and children in the Gestapo Prison in Warsaw in the period of German occupation (1939-1944)

In the period of German occupation in Poland the Prison so-called Pawiak was organized by the Nazi Gestapo in Warsaw. Two hospitals functioned there: in the male ward and in the female ward. Around 25 babies were delivered there. Usually the birth of a child saved the mother from transport to a concentration camp or even from execution. The amazement was evoked by the Germans' behavior who spared mothers with small children, however, they shot women nine months pregnant without batting an eye. The members of the Polish inmate medical personnel took care also of the children born in the prison but also of those taken to Pawiak with their arrested parents or in a character of hostages in place of their parents. Two cells for mothers functioned in the prison. Mothers with children stayed in Pawiak until the last days of July 1944 when the liquidation started. Most of them were released one day before the Warsaw Uprising but not all of them had so much luck.

Maria Ciesielska: Regional Medical Chamber in Warsaw, Poland. Chairman of the Historical Section. Medical doctor in the field of the history of medicine and family medicine physician. A member of the Historical Section of the Warsaw Medical Society and secretary for the Association of Applied Science Museum of the Ujazdowski Castle and Military Hospital at Ujazdow. I publish articles and books related to the fate of physicians during World War II, with particular emphasis on medical issues related to the Nazi concentration camps, the Gestapo prisons and the hospitals in the Warsaw Ghetto. I cooperate with "Pawiak" Prison Museum, the Museum of the History of Medicine at the Medical University of Warsaw and the Museum of the History of Polish Jews.

Melanie O'Brien (University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia)

Legislative lacunae: Sending states' (in)capabilities of prosecuting peacekeepers for sexual exploitation and abuse of children

A significant element of the changing nature of armed conflict has been the substantial increase since the 1950s in the number of UN peace operations engaging in peacekeeping, peace support and other forms of involvement in armed conflict and post-conflict situations. While there are many positive sides to this engagement, there are also some negative aspects, one of which has been the participation of mission personnel, particularly military personnel, in sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA). Many of the victims of this SEA are children. UN statistics demonstrate a clear and continuing trend of criminal conduct such as sex with minors, rape of under-18s, and sexual assault against under-18s, as well as other behaviour such as transactional sex and exploitative sexual relationships. This paper will briefly examine the actions of the UN to combat SEA, before concentrating on the reality of sending states' capabilities to prosecute their military personnel for SEA of children. Sending states are granted exclusive criminal jurisdiction over their own personnel through the mission Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), but this does not necessarily mean that all states have the legislative ability to prosecute. States need to have appropriate substantive provisions, and it is essential that these provisions are applicable extra-territorially. Examples of states' (in)capacity to leap these two hurdles will be given, appraising the legislation of countries such as Australia and the United States, demonstrating how sending states are not able to fulfil their obligations under a mission MoU of deterring and prosecuting criminal SEA of children.

Dr **Melanie O'Brien** is a Post-doctoral Research Fellow at the TC Beirne Law School at the University of Queensland, Australia. Her research looks at the connection between human rights and the genocide process. Melanie's previous work includes Anti-Slavery Australia (UTS); the ARC Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security (Griffith University); the National Human Rights Institution of Samoa; and the Legal Advisory Section of the Office of the Prosecutor at the International Criminal Court. She is an admitted legal practitioner.

PANEL 26: Children born of war – an international research and training initiative (II): Psychology

Heide Glaesmer (University of Leipzig, Germany)

Germany: Growing up as a Child Born of War from a psychosocial perspective

Whenever there have been wars and armed conflicts with lengthy periods of foreign soldiers in close proximity to local civilian populations, there has been contact between troops and civilians, from the superficial to the intimate; and whenever there have been these contacts, children have been born, fathered by foreign (enemy) soldiers and local women. Few human rights and children's rights topics have been met with a similarly extensive silence as the fate of children born of war (CBOW). Their existence, in their hundreds of thousands, is a widely ignored reality – to the detriment of the individuals and the local societies within which they grow up. Among the children are those conceived in conflict-related sexual violence, but also in intimate relations of more or less consensual nature. Research has shown that children born of war have often been subjected to discrimination and have often experienced difficult developmental or even traumatising experiences. A double stigma of being a 'child of the enemy' and being born out of wedlock adversely affected their childhoods, and the questions over the identity of their fathers have often affected their identity formation. The talk gives an insight into the psychological perspectives on children born of war and conceptualizes a framework to investigate and understand the specific experiences and problems of CBOW in World War II and in recent conflict and post-conflict regions. An insight in the findings of studies in Children Born of WWII in Germany and Austria will be given.

Heide Glaesmer holds a diploma in psychology and is a trained psychotherapist. She is the head of the working group "Psychotraumatology" at the Department of Medical Psychology and Medical Sociology at the University of Leipzig. Her main research focus is the epidemiology of mental disorders and particularly of traumatic experiences and PTSD in the elderly as long-term sequels of World War II (WWII). Her 2012 habilitation thesis in this field was awarded with the "Gerd-Sommer-Award of Peace Psychology" in 2012. Arising out of her work on the WWII consequences she started to investigate the psychological consequences of growing up as a child born of occupation in the post-war period in Germany. She initiated the first study about this topic which commenced in 2013 in Germany. To enlarge the empirical evidence she initiated comparable studies in Austria (Cooperation with Barbara-Stelzl Marx, Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für Kriegsfolgenforschung) and in Norway. The collaborative study about the German "Wehrmachtskinder" (with PD Dr. P. Kuwert and Dr. M. Miertsch (Greifswald) and Prof. I.C. Mochmann (Köln)) was supported by the Günther-Jantschek-Preis of the German College of Psychosomatic Medicine 2014.

Marie Kaiser (University of Leipzig, Germany)

Experiences of public stigma and self-stigma in German and Austrian Children Born of Occupation

Background: So far there has been historical research on „occupation children“ of World War II in Germany (GOC) and Austria (AOC). Nevertheless, studies investigating individual and specific experiences when growing up as child born of occupation from a psychosocial perspective were missing. Experiences of stigmatization and discrimination have been a fundamental and formative part of these children's childhood and adolescence. They carried a double stigma as a "child born out of wedlock" and a "child of the enemy". This fact showed in curses like „Russian brat“ or „Ami bastard“, and in experiences of segregation and discrimination within their social environment. **Methods:** In 2013, both the GOC (N=146) and AOC (N=101) sample were recruited. They completed a comprehensive questionnaire with

open and closed questions about living conditions in childhood and adolescence as well as their current mental health. One part of the questionnaire specifically aimed at investigating experiences of stigmatization in occupation children. For this aim, two established instruments were adapted to the target group, assessing stigmatizing experiences (ISE) and degree of stigma internalization (ISMI). Results: More than half (54.6%) of GOC reported stigma experiences in childhood and adolescence based on the fact of being an occupation child. Reasons stated were „mother having a relationship with a foreign soldier“ (57.1%), „biological background or inherited characteristics in appearance“ (24.7%), „being born out of wedlock“ (11.7%). Further psychometric and qualitative analyses of the GOC study will be introduced, then be compared to results of the AOC study, and put into current conflict context.

Marie Kaiser studied Psychology at Leipzig University and completed her Diploma degree in 2009. Her thesis was on comorbidity of mental disorders in the elderly German population with traumatic experiences and PTSD. She is PhD student and research assistant in the project „Psychosocial Consequences of growing up as an Occupation Child in Germany and Austria after World II“ at the department for Medical Psychology and Medical Sociology at Leipzig University.

Amra Delic (University of Greifswald, Germany)

Individual and societal misconceptions related to war rape: From the perspective of the war rape victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Studies among victims of sexual violence, including rape, indicate that psychopathology in the aftermath of the assault is often worsened by feelings of humiliation, guilt, shame, self-related and societal blame, resulting in protracted silence, poor adjustment and underreporting of the crime. The aim of this study was to explore psychodynamics, and individual and societal misconceptions related to war rape, and their relationship with a long-lasting psychological sequel in women survivors of war rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H). Subject and methods: The sample included 105 women with experience of wartime rape in B&H. The study was carried out from 2011 to 2014. The Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ), the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI), the Meyer and Taylor scale, and a general questionnaire for women constructed for this study were used for data collection. Results: The greatest number of women victims reported on severe symptoms of posttraumatic stress-disorder (PTSD) and depression 22 years after victimizing event. Also, a great number of victimized women reported on their lived experiences unique to women survivors of sexual violence, including the sense of humiliation, shame, broken trust, victim-blaming attitudes, self-blame, stigma, non-acceptance and non-understanding by others. A significantly positive relationship was found between PTSD symptoms and self-blame ($p = 0.001$), and between depression and self-blame ($p < 0.001$). Conclusion: Women with experience of wartime rape showed a prolonged high-intensity symptoms of PTSD and depression, which are likely worsened by individual and societal misconceptions related to war rape. Culturally rooted stereotypes about female sexuality and victim-blaming attitudes reflecting a belief that the victims are personally responsible for the victimizing event are making the victims doubt their own self-worth, and leading to heightened self-blame. These misconceptions inhibit the process of disclosure of rape experience and prevent the victims to ask for help even decades later.

Amra Delic, M.D., M.Sc., is a specialist in neuropsychiatry with CME in psychiatry. A special field of her research interest is psychotraumatology, social trauma, human rights and mental health. Since the outbreak of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, Dr. Delic has been involved in humanitarian and trauma work. She has over 15 years of clinical work experience at the Department for Psychiatry of the University Clinical Center Tuzla and Mental Health Center Tuzla. Currently, Amra is a doctoral researcher at the University of Greifswald as part

of the Horizon2020 Innovative Training Network on Children Born of War (CHIBOW). She won the Gender Equality Award 2014 given by Gender Equality Commission of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H in recognition of her achievements in working with victims of sexual violence.

PANEL 27: Israel / Palestine (IV): Perspectives of Israeli mental health professionals on the psychological effects of occupation and military detention on Palestinian minors in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem

The panel addresses the psychological effects of occupation and military detention on Palestinian minors in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem. Participants in this panel are members of The Child Arrest group in *Psychoactive: Mental Health Professionals for Human Rights*, which promotes the safeguarding of the rights of minors, perceiving this safeguarding as essential to the wellbeing of individuals and their societies. The first presentation discusses the situation on ground, and the interventions of the Child Arrest group. The second presentation discusses the psychological effects of military detention on minors, based on affidavits given by the minors and based on the interventions of the group. The third presentation addresses the dilemmas and conflicts with which the group is struggling, and analyzes its work as a *community of practice*. The fourth presentation discusses the work and dilemmas of a Palestinian psychotherapist working with a group of Palestinian boys from East Jerusalem who have been sexually abusive.

Maya Mukamel (Clinical Psychologist, Israel)

Intervention of mental health workers in military detention of Palestinian minors

According to data from the Israeli Prison Service the IDF and Military Court Watch, between 120-350 Palestinian minors, residents of the West Bank, are detained or imprisoned in military detention at any given time. The issue has been monitored by human rights organizations and studied from a legal perspective, but it is hardly ever addressed in Israel from the perspective of mental health. Interrogation and Arrest of Palestinian minors under military legislation, has far-reaching consequences both at individual and social levels. Israeli law, in accord with international law, assumes that the experiences of arrest, interrogation and imprisonment are affected by the minor's age, and bear consequences for his or her future development. Thus, the requirement of a mental health worker represents a concern for the minor's rehabilitation, as well as for the wellbeing of his or her society. Military legislation, in contrast, does not acknowledge the effects of detention and arrest on minors, and is thus concerned neither with their individual rehabilitation nor with the possible social consequences of their arrest. In this context, the involvement of mental health workers becomes redundant. A group of Israeli mental health workers has set itself the task of promoting the use of a psycho-social assessment as part of the legal defense of detained Palestinian minors. I describe the activity of the group, the assessment tools which it developed. I focus on a case study that demonstrates the effects of military investigation and detention, and their immediate and long-term effects on an adolescent who experiences them. **Co-participants in the intervention:** Abu hak Manal, Baransi Laila, Ben Asher Ruth, Bernstein Dov, Fruchtman Michal, Gordon-Bar Sunny & Shalev Baruch.

Dr. Maya Mukamel is a clinical psychologist in private practice, co-founder of *Psychoactive: Mental Health Professionals for Human Rights* and initiator of The Child Arrest Group. She participates in PCATI's (Public Committee against Torture in Israel) forensic project, in which she was trained to teach the use of Istanbul Protocol. She teaches courses on trauma, psychology and gender at Haifa University and Bar Ilan University. She is part of the steering committee of *Psychoactive's* training program "Politically Sensitive Psychotherapy."

Michal Fruchtman (Senior School Psychologist, Israel)

Detention and interrogation of Palestinian children and youth by Israeli military: A mental health perspective

Although detentions of Palestinian minors have been monitored and studied by human rights organizations, the extent of this phenomenon, and the experiences undergone by these youth in the process, are largely disavowed and unacknowledged by the general Israeli public and by the mental health community. We aimed at achieving and disseminating an understanding of these experiences and of their ramifications from a mental health perspective. Our work, first published in 2013, is based on an intensive study of affidavits given by Palestinian minors, aged 9 to 17, who underwent detention and interrogation. Our understanding continues to evolve as mental health professionals in our group gather more information through interviews with Palestinian children and youth currently undergoing the same processes, through attendance at trials of Palestinian youth, and through reading of soldiers' testimonies. In this paper we trace the detention and interrogation process as it was reported in the affidavits: nighttime arrest followed by stimulant deprivation, threats, battering, deprivation of basic needs such as sleep, food and toilet use, hostile interrogation and abrupt, open-ended separation from familiar environments. We examine the implications of the reported experiences and the emerging pattern of maltreatment, and identify potential psychological damage to the children's development and wellbeing. In addition, we suggest that recurring detention of children and youth may result in severe disruption of the family and communal matrix, which in turn might further compromise the psychological recovery and rehabilitation of the children and youth involved. Co-Authors: Sara Kalai, PhD, Senior Clinical Psychologist, Group Analyst, board member of The Israeli Institute of Group Analysis. Varda Amir, MSW in Mental Health. Dorit Gurney, MSW, Psychotherapist. Sharona Komem, PhD, Senior Clinical Psychologist. Elana Lakh, Art Therapist and Jungian Psychotherapist. Tali Lernau, Psychotherapist, Clinical Psychologist.

Michal Fruchtman is a senior school psychologist, psychotherapist and family therapist, member of IPA (Israeli Psychological Association).

Sunny Gordon Bar (Clinical Psychologist, Israel)

Community of practice as psycho-political activism: Psycho-social reports on Palestinian minors detained in custody while awaiting trial

"Humiliation, especially if it is perpetrated persistently, represents a higher risk to mental health than what have been considered the more acute forms of political violence. (Dr. Brian Barber)

What is the benefit in writing a psycho-sociological report for minors suspected of throwing stones? What would be considered a danger for their environment? What is the role of mental health professionals with clear political views against the occupation, in writing such reports? The "psycho-social reports group" is a joint project of "Psychoactive" and "Ossim Shalom" (Social Workers for Peace and Social Welfare) - organizations made up of socially active mental health professionals. "Psychoactive" - *Mental Health Professionals for Human Rights*, is an informal Community of Practice (CoP) in which health professionals operate voluntarily in order to expand their knowledge and practical learning, and construct a group identity as an ongoing process (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The **objectives** of these reports the group wrote were: (1) To provide the lawyer with a document to be used in defense of the child's rights. (2) To humanize and personalize the minor during the discourse in the military court. (3) To bring to the Court's knowledge the boy's age, social conditions, emotional needs and the family's capacity to protect and to take responsibility for him. (4) To use our interviews to effect a change in policy. By all this to enable the Palestinian children get their rights as Israeli children and as is accepted across the world according to the Charter of Children's Rights, to

which Israel is a signatory (Kalay et.al., 2013). In establishing our project we were guided by several principles: (1) We seek to ensure basic conditions in which the interview is conducted, which generate some sense of safety and control for the arrested youth. These include: privacy, no handcuffs and an unmediated and respecting relationship. (2) We seek to minimize re-traumatization when discussing the arrest and interrogation. (3) Our interview teams are always comprised of two health professionals – a Hebrew and Arabic speaker – for translation and support. (4) Our steering committee assists the team, and is constantly on call. The group uses insights that link the psychological with the political and develops insights with regard to psycho-political activism. The widespread tendency in politically sensitive situations is to see possibilities as opposing and impossible to bridge - a tendency that accompanies our actions and with which we have to deal. For example, the view of "professionals" that contradicts the "political" and using professional knowledge in benefit of a political view is abuse of the profession. The group wrote 16 reports, most of them were released. As more knowledge is accumulated, the greater the number of questions that arise with regard to the effects of our activities. Activisms in areas of conflict force us to take decisions and accept compromises that rise conflicts within a group we have to deal with them. The way of seeking and connecting through the sameness before trying to deal and contain with differences by functional subgrouping can help to solve conflicts (Agazarian, 2006; Benjamin, 2011).

Dr. Sunny Gordon Bar is a Senior Clinical Psychologist in private practice and Activist in Israel. She is a member of Psychoactive – Mental Health Professionals for Human Rights. Co-leader of "Psycho-Social Reports Group". She teaches courses on "Professional Development: Ethics and Supervision" occupational therapist at Haifa University. She is part of the steering committee of Psychoactive training program "Politically Sensitive Psychotherapy". Sunny is a certified coach, MCC, trainer and mentor for coaches in "Systems Coaching Model".

Manal Abu Haq (Social Worker and Psychotherapist, Israel)

From the clinical journal of an Arab psychotherapist: Group therapy with sexually abusive adolescent Palestinian boys in East Jerusalem

In this paper I present some illustrations of a group therapy from my own perspective and experience as a psychotherapist conducting group therapy with sexually abusive adolescent Palestinian boys in East Jerusalem. Each such description comes to illustrate another identity conflict with which I was confronted: as a woman facing a group of males; as a Palestinian Arab citizen of Israel facing Palestinian young men with resident status; and as a psychotherapist whose professional identity was in conflict with the requirements of the employment structure. The group therapy was conducted for a period of a year and a half. It was attended by male adolescents aged 17-20, referred to group therapy as a result of their sexually abusive behavior. This behavior ranged from verbal sexual harassment to physical sexual abuse including indecent acts and assaults. All participants but one had attacked non-Arab girls or women. The group coordinators were a woman and a man. The general approach to work was to ignore any political aspects emerging with regard to both the group and the boys' lives. This clashed with my approach which considers therapy as occurring in a field which is also social and political, and reference to these dimensions as integral to the therapy.

Manal Abu Haq is a social worker and psychotherapist working with children, adolescents and adults. She is employed in a number of public organizations and works in private practice.

All authors are active members in the Child Arrest Group of *Psychoactive: Mental Health Professionals for Human Rights*.

PANEL 28: Shimon's returns / Journey to the Past

Shimon's Returns (Directed by Slawomir Grünberg and Katka Reszke; 53 min, 2014)

This documentary has been filmed in Ukraine, Poland and Israel. It tells the story of Shimon Redlich, Israeli historian and child survivor. He returns to the sites of loss and survival in Western Ukraine, where he was saved by Poles and Ukrainians, and to places where he lived in postwar Poland. His happy prewar childhood and the fact that he was rescued and not denounced by his neighbors, affected his lifetime attitudes and perceptions. A collector of memories and a seeker of good will, Shimon leads the viewers on a journey across Ukraine and Poland, uncovering brighter sides of the darkest of times.

Journey to the past: A interview between Shimon Redlich (Ben-Gurion University, Israel) and Gabriel Finder (University of Virginia, USA)

Gabriel Finder will interview Shimon Redlich about surviving the Holocaust in Poland, now Ukraine, as a child and about the 2014 documentary film, *Shimon's Returns*, which portrays Redlich's journeys to Ukraine and Poland in search of the places that figured in his life during and immediately after the Holocaust and his reunion with the members of the Ukrainian peasant family that saved him.

Shimon Redlich was born in 1935 in Lwow, Poland. He lived in nearby Brzezany. He survived the Holocaust in the Brzezany ghetto and in the nearby village of Raj. He settled with his family in Lodz in 1945 and immigrated to Israel in 1950. B.A. in History and Literature, Hebrew University, 1960. M.A. in Russian Studies, Harvard University, 1964. Ph.D. in Jewish History, New York University, 1968. Redlich taught at Ben-Gurion University from 1970 to 2003, when he retired as Professor Emeritus in Modern Jewish History. He also lectured at Whitman College, Hunter College, Bar-Ilan University, Hebrew University, and the University of Pittsburgh. He has published books and articles on the history of the Jews in Russia, Poland and in the Soviet Union. Among his books are *War, Holocaust and Stalinism: A Documented History of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR* (Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995); *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews and Ukrainians, 1919-1945* (Indiana University Press, 2002; translated into Polish, Ukrainian, and Hebrew); *Life in Transit: Jews in Postwar Lodz, 1945-1950* (Academic Studies Press, 2010).

Gabriel Finder is the Ida and Nathan Kolodiz Director of Jewish Studies and an associate professor of Germanic Language and Literatures at the Department of Virginia. His research focuses on the Holocaust, the rebuilding of Jewish life in its aftermath, and post-Holocaust trials. He is coeditor of *Jewish Honor Courts: Revenge, Retribution, and Reconciliation in Europe and Israel after the Holocaust* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2015).

PANEL 29: Genocides (I)

Panayiotis Diamadis (University of Technology, Sydney, Australia)

Children and memorialisation of Genocide in the Australian context

As the representatives of the next generation of society, children –legally, individuals under eighteen years of age – are integral parts of the commemoration of war and genocide. This study compares how five groups in Australia view the roles of children in the commemoration of genocide. The last living links to the Genocides of the Hellenes, Armenians and Assyrians are almost gone. The Jewish community has begun addressing the prospect of museums, commemorations and education programs without survivors. The indigenous Australian population is emerging from the shadows of society and public memory with members of the Stolen Generations ('mixed race' children forcibly removed from their families by the state). In each case, children and teenagers are integral aspects of commemorations, be they for the community or for broader Australian society to attend. Initially, this participation by children involves donning traditional dress, perhaps reciting poems or singing songs in the languages of their survivor parents and grandparents. As the survivors have aged and passed away, their grandchildren have increasingly taken the central roles, organising and presenting the experiences of their ancestors. This includes advocating for parliamentary recognition by Australian legislatures of their ancestors' experiences as genocide. In the Jewish case, the focus has shifted to protecting the *Shoah* from denial, particularly through education and intercultural programs. Images of children and artefacts associated with children also tend to feature prominently in physical memorials, be they monumental sculptures or exhibitions, allowing for cultural sensitivities. Children are the keepers of memory of war and genocide.

Dr **Panayiotis Diamadis** lectures in Genocide Studies at the University of Technology, Sydney. His research covers the genocides of the Hellenic, Armenian and Assyrian peoples and European Jewry. His latest publication is 'Controversies Around Governmental and Parliamentary Recognition of the Armenian, Hellenic and Assyrian Genocides' (Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review, Volume 11, 2016)

Katharina von Hammerstein (University of Connecticut, USA)

Children of Germany's "other" genocide: Bearing witness to the German-Herero colonial war in German Southwest Africa, 1904-1908

As late as 2015, the German Foreign Office acknowledged the German-Herero-Nama Colonial War of 1904-1908 as a "war crime and genocide" (recognized as such in the UN Whitaker Report, 1985). In the former colony of German Southwest Africa, today's Namibia, tens of thousands of Herero men, women and children fleeing from the German *Schutztruppe* were shot to death or forced to perished in the Omaheke Desert; survivors suffered – along with other ethnic groups – from disastrous conditions and mistreatment (including little girls' rape) in concentration camps. Rare archival sources represent children's experience of this war: descriptions by adult witnesses, interviews with surviving and displaced child victims in the 1970s, and descendants' 2007 trans-generational testimony to their forebears' traumatic war experience. Not as a German or Namibian historian, but as a U.S.-based scholar of German literature, I will compare underresearched Herero oral history (songs; interviews) with equally underresearched eyewitness accounts by white German women settlers (Sonnenberg, Falkenhausen, Eckenbrecher). Against the interdisciplinary theoretical backdrop of political scientist Christine Sylvester's concept of "war as experience of ordinary people" including children, anthropologist and physician Didier Fassin's genealogy of witnesses, and philosopher Judith Butler's critique of wartime differentiation between lives worth protecting and lives that can be destroyed with impunity, I will pursue questions of: the particular precariousness

(Butler) attributed, or not, to black and white noncombatant and often unaccompanied children in this war; the processing of race-related human rights violations through the witness accounts; and the agency Herero child eyewitnesses and descendants of victims have gained through statements about their own, their parents' and their grandparents' collective trauma and how such accounts of individual and collective memory have impacted today's views on and dialog about the Namibian genocide.

Katharina von Hammerstein is Full Professor of German Studies at the University of Connecticut, USA. Foci of her publications include literature and war, human rights and genocide; postcolonial approaches to representations of Blacks in German-language literature around 1900; gender in literary, social and political discourses from the late 1700s to early 1900s, female happiness discourse. The most recent of her eleven book publications are *Frieda von Bülow. Reiseskizzen und Tagebuchblätter aus Deutsch-Ostafrika, 1889* (ed. 2012); *Sich Mit Sprache erschreiben: Selbstzeugnisse als politische Praxis schreibender Frauen, Deutschland 1840-1919* (2013). She is currently co-editing a volume on *Women Writing War* (2015/2016).

PANEL 30: Literature (IV): Experiences of war in Russian and Eastern European children's literature from WWII until the present

Olga Voronina (Bard College, USA)

Sons and daughters of the regiment: The representation of WWII child hero in the Soviet media and children's literature of the 1940s

The image of the child hero as an emblem of the Soviet people's unfailing dedication to the communist case began to dominate the Soviet media discourse years before the beginning of WWII. After the war between the Soviet Union and the German Reich commenced with the June 22, 1941, invasion of the USSR by the Axis Powers, reports on acts of children's heroism continued to proliferate on the pages of *Pravda* and *Izvestiia* – the country's two leading newspapers of the time. Up until the very last months of the war, when Stalin's propaganda apparatus proceeded to use journalistic accounts of spoils of war for the justification of the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe, these representations prevailed over the media portrayal of child victims of the military conflict. Overall, the newspapers depicted the Soviet child hero as politically conscious, mature, courageous, resourceful, and ready for self-sacrifice. Soviet Children's literature of the 1940s adopted central rhetorical tropes of the media discourse in portraying children as heroes of the war, rather than its victims. And yet, fictional accounts of the Soviet youths' participation in combat, life in the guerilla regiments, and survival during the mass exodus from the city under the threat of military occupation included a more nuanced presentation of a deeply traumatized, psychologically vulnerable, and often bereaved child. Paying a particular attention to such children's novels as *The Son of the Regiment* by Valentin Kataev (1944), *Vasyok Trubachev and His Comrades* by Valentina Oseeva (1947-1951), and *The Street of the Youngest Son* by Lev Kassil' (1949), this paper will explore the similarities and divergences in the media and literary presentation of Soviet children at war.

Olga Voronina is Assistant Professor of Russian at Bard College, USA. She received a PhD from Harvard University. A former Deputy Director of the Nabokov Museum in St. Petersburg, she has co-edited and co-translated, with Brian Boyd, Vladimir Nabokov's *Letters to Vera* (Penguin Classics, 2014; Knopf, 2015), as well as published papers and articles on Soviet literature of the Cold War, Post-Soviet transformation of Russian literary canon, Soviet children's literature, and Nabokov's art and metaphysics. Dr. Voronina is currently editing *The Brill Companion to Soviet Children's Literature and Film* (forthcoming in 2016).

Dorota Michulka (University of Wroclaw, Poland)

Heterotopia and the structure of time in Marcin Szczygielski's fantasy novel, *Arka czasu, czyli wielka ucieczka Rafała od kiedyś przez wtedy do teraz i wstecz* (trans. The time ark – or Rafal's great escape from then to now and back again)

Marcin Szczygielski's novel, *The Time Ark* (2013), occupies a special place in the large body of Holocaust literature for children published in the last twenty years. It is unique in its combination of fantasy poetics, factual reality, and adventure fiction. Inspired by Janusz Korczak's *Diary from Ghetto* and Stefania (Ney) Grodzieńska's collection of poems, *Children of the Ghetto*, (1949), *The Time Ark* tells a true story of the Jewish boy who tries to escape from the Warsaw Ghetto. The theme of the Holocaust appears in the context of space (heterotopia – space of "otherness," as formulated by Michel Foucault) of the Warsaw ghetto, where everyday life is filled with a horrific struggle for survival and dreams of the "great escape." Heterotopia is visible in the phantasmagorical representation of the Warsaw zoo, where people are hiding and animals wandering around freely. Interestingly, the zoo director in Szczygielski's novel is based on a real character, Antonina Żabińska, who— together with her husband saved over three hundred Jews during the war. The couple's villa was playfully and metaphorically called

Noah's Ark. The novel's fictional Ark, which is being built by Jewish children, directly refers to the Bible and symbolizes a dream for freedom and belief in human solidarity. *The Time Ark* is a manifestation of the "culture of memory" (collective and individual) that creates images of the past and juxtaposes them with the carefree and affluent world of today.

Dorota Michulka is Associate Professor at the University of Wrocław, Poland. She is a children's literature scholar specializing in history of Polish children's literature, comparative children's literature, and literacy education. She has taught Polish literature and culture at the University of Tampere, Finland (2000-2005). Her scholarly publications include six books and more than 100 articles in Polish and international journals. She is co-editor of international journal of children's literature, *Filoteknos*. Her most recent book is *Ad usum Delphini. On School Literary Education — Then and Now* (2013).

Larissa Rudova (Pomona College, Claremont, CA, USA)

"I didn't understand that war had begun": WWII childhood in Albert Likhanov's *Russian Boys*

In her seminal essay, "Storying War: A Capsule Overview," Mitzi Myers writes that war stories, like no other genre, "embody techniques of 'cross-writing'" that erase the boundaries between "fiction" and "history" as well as between children and adult audiences. War stories also address the effect of trauma on the formation of identity of the child-character and expand the definition of childhood. The settings of war, regardless of the place (e.g., war zone, home front, orphanage, ghetto, or concentration camp), make authors create situations in which the opposition of child and adult, as well as the adult moral authority and values, are constantly questioned. In this paper, I examine the role of "cross-writing" in Albert Likhanov's novel, *Russian Boys* (Russkie mal'chiki, 1960s-1990s), in which the author recasts his WWII childhood in autofictional form. As it frequently is in autobiographical war fiction, the novel redefines the boundaries of childhood by calling attention to two narrative perspectives: the child's perception of the surrounding uncanny world and the adult narrator's perception of the states of abjection and trauma to which his young heroes are subjected. Likhanov's novel is deeply personal and moving, yet it also challenges—although subtly—the myth of protected Soviet childhood. In my analysis, I demonstrate how "cross-writing" helps the author not only to bring specific historical circumstances into the picture, but also to draw attention to the conditions of abjection and marginalization of Soviet children during the war. Ultimately, in *Russian Boys*, Likhanov shapes a narrative of hope and extraordinary personal psychological and moral growth "outside of the history of the experienced trauma."

Dr. Larissa Rudova is Yale B. and Lucille D. Griffith Professor in Modern Languages, Professor of Russian, and chair of the Department of German and Russian at Pomona College, Claremont, California. She is a co-editor of *Russian Children's Literature and Culture* (2008, 2011), with Marina Balina, and the author of two monographs on Boris Pasternak. Her research interests and numerous publications focus on modern Russian literature and culture; Russian cinema; gender studies; Soviet and post-Soviet children's and YA literature and film.

PANEL 31: Refugees and displaced persons (III)

Nihan Bozok (Beykent University, Turkey) and Mehmet Bozok (Maltepe University, Turkey)

Enforced adulthood after post-war migration: Unaccompanied male Afghan child asylum seekers in Karasu neighborhood, Istanbul

The still-ongoing war and conflicts in Afghanistan after 1978, created an atmosphere of prevalent insecurity, precarity, violence and poverty; and in consequence of these excruciating processes, numerous citizens of this country felt the necessity to leave their homes and become migrants. Many victims of this migration were children, who participated this process as unaccompanied migrants. One of the major directions of this forced migration was Istanbul, Turkey, where male Afghan children came as unaccompanied migrants, to participate to labor force in earlier ages, in order to continue their survival. In consequence of this severe migration, the children lose their childhood, while enforcedly becoming male breadwinners, usually working at construction sector as informal and precarious child laborers in their puberty as asylum seekers who have no official recognition. In the absence of their families and in an alien country, the male Afghan children in Istanbul struggle to oppress every emotion which might make them as fragile actors in order to continue their survival in harsh capitalist working conditions. They strive for survival in homosocial environments of solidarity with other male Afghan male migrant child workers, usually with no hope for a better future. This study focuses on how forced migration transforms the lives of the unaccompanied young male migrant Afghan children, grounding on grounding on a qualitative field study, conducted in 2015 with 28 young male Afghan child asylum seekers in Karasu, a shantytown located in Istanbul, Turkey.

Nihan Bozok: Born in 1982, Nihan Bozok is a sociologist who studied on postmodern medicine by focusing on the organ transplantation case, in her Doctorate study which she completed in 2015, at Sociology Department at Middle East Technical University, Ankara. She has studies on sociology of health and aging, gender and literature, and disadvantaged children in Turkey. She conducted a longitudinal field research, from 2009 to 2012, on orphanages in Turkey. Recently, she began studying forced migration, conducting fieldworks with Syrian and young Afghan asylum seekers in Turkey. Nihan Bozok now works as an Assistant Professor at Beykent University, Istanbul.

Mehmet Bozok: Born in Istanbul, 1979, Mehmet Bozok is a sociologist who is specialized on masculinities, and forced migration. Bozok obtained his bachelor's degree from Philosophy Department at Hacettepe University, Ankara. He began studying the social construction of men and masculinities during his Master's studies at Anthropology Department at Hacettepe University in the early 2000's; and continued in his Doctorate studies, focusing on the local dynamics of the social construction of masculinities in Trabzon, at Sociology Department at Middle East Technical University, Ankara. Afterwards, he began studying forced migration, conducting fieldworks with Syrian and Afghan asylum seekers in Turkey. He now works as an Assistant Professor at Maltepe University, Istanbul.

Doga Ulas Eralp (American University, Washington, USA)

Syrian war refugee children as a challenge to Europe's humanitarian narrative

Images of the children suffering on the long and difficult path to Europe running away from the Syrian civil war have made their experiences a visible reality for many. This paper explores the ways in which images contributed to the change of public opinion across different societies of Europe. The paper first starts with an overview on the role of empathy in generating positive

public opinion for social change. Children are one universal category that evokes empathy across different political and social fault lines. Images of children suffering have long become a call for international action since the Ethiopian famine of 1984 that has resulted in the Live Aid campaign. Similarly during the long breakup of Yugoslavia in the nineties it was again the images of children stuck in cross fire that finally led the international community to act. Contemporary images of Syrian refugee children caught in barbed wires, of helpless little bodies washed on empty beaches, of toddlers begging for food on the street corners of Europe's historic city squares challenge Europe to once again question its humanitarian identity. The European narrative of civility is put on trial as Syrian refugee children continue to flock across the borders. The paper concludes with a discussion on whether the varying responses by different European governments watching the Syrian children are representative of the public opinion and whether these responses led to a fragmentation in the European narrative of humanitarianism.

Dr. **Doga Ulas Eralp** is a professorial lecturer at the International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program at American University's School of International Service (SIS) in Washington, DC. He received his Ph.D. from the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University. Prof. Eralp has published widely on issues around democratization, international human rights, and conflict transformation in Western Balkans, Middle East, European Union and Turkey.

Chona R. Echavez (Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit) and Leah Wilfreda RE Pilongo (University of Bohol, Philippines)

Unaccompanied Afghan children on the move to Europe and other industrialised countries: Motivations from the perspective of children, families and residents of sending communities in Afghanistan

Afghanistan figures prominently among countries sending unaccompanied minors, particularly in the last years. At present, Afghans comprise one of the largest groups of unaccompanied children who are traveling to Europe and are applying for asylum there. The overall purpose of the paper is to gain further knowledge on the specific circumstances and motivations leading Afghan children to travel to Europe and other industrialized countries, which would inform future policy and strategic planning on this issue. A qualitative approach was employed in gathering data, both high-sending and low-sending areas with Pashtun and Hazara-majority on the circumstances of unaccompanied children on the move in Afghanistan particularly in the provinces of Kabul, Bamyan, Nangarhar and Paktya. Findings from the four study areas revealed that children who engaged in unaccompanied travel were within the age range of 13-17 years for a "better life" arose from the majority of interviews. Furthermore, conflict and insecurity are featured in the decision of many unaccompanied children to travel, such as immediate threats that they faced made the risks of unaccompanied child travel worth taking. As the number of UACMs grows, the increase in the concern about their condition is understandable. The research outcomes are also intended to inform future migration information campaigns to Afghan children and their families and communities in the country of departure (Afghanistan, Iran or Pakistan), which could be carried out in partnership with other organisations.

Chona R. Echavez is the Deputy Director for Research at the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU). Before joining AREU in January 2010, Chona served as a consultant to various international organisations and as an Asia Fellow in Cambodia at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, during which she looked into healing, dreams, aspirations and concepts of peace among Cambodian youth. She also worked as Senior Research Associate at the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture where she managed a research portfolio that included:

population, health, peace and livelihood programmes, considering gender as a cross-cutting issue. She has more than 20 years of research experience in both conflict and non-conflict areas. She has worked in the Pacific Island Countries and in Cambodia. She has a Ph.D. in Demography from the Australian National University in Canberra. Her dissertation was on Women and Factory Work in Cagayan de Oro City, Philippines.

Leah Wilfreda RE Pilongo is currently the Research Dean of the University of Bohol, Philippines. Before taking her current post, she served as Area Coordinator for the Social Sciences at the same university. Her undergraduate degree is in Psychology, and she completed a Master of Arts degree in Teaching Social Science. She is a holder of a Certificate of Special Education. She combines her background in psychology with that of being an educator and researcher. Her areas of specialisation are as follows: Facilitation of Learning, Teaching, Education, Curriculum Development, Instructional Development. Her research involvement covers such areas as youth and risky behaviour, migration, moving out of poverty with participation in processing and analysis, and formulation of modules and session plans for five Pacific Island Countries. A number of her research studies are conducted in conflict and post-conflict situations.

Nasrin Mosaffa (University of Tehran, Iran)

Refugees right to education: The case of Afghan children in Iran

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent conflict, coupled with rise of Taliban in its aftermath, has led to significant influx of Afghan refugees to neighbouring countries, mainly Iran. Despite the eight year war between Iraq and Iran in 1980s, Iran hosted about 3 million Afghan refugees in past thirty years. Alongside the typical challenges and issues facing refugees and also the host country, the issue of Education for Child refugees was and still is amongst the most important ones. This article discusses how a conflict (with tragic consequences) affected a generation of Afghan children taking refuge in Iran, especially their education, who later on resided in Iran and formed their own families. A review of the history of Afghan refugees in Iran shows how alongside some governmental efforts, non-governmental organisations and individuals assumed the leading role in education and supporting Afghan children in Iran, highlighting the role of NGOs and the society vis-a-vis refugees escaping war and conflict. Informed by personal stories and experiences, the article outlines the situation of education of Afghan Children in Iran shaping their formative experience and perceptions of the world and the host country. The article also takes into consideration the recent decision of Islamic Republic of Iran permitting schooling for hundreds of thousands of Afghan children regardless of their residency or documentation status.

Nasrin Mosaffa is a Professor of International Relations at Faculty of Law and Political Science of University of Tehran. Alongside extensive publications on children and women rights, her main research interests are international organisations and international human rights. In recent years, Mosaffa's focus is short-term and long-term impacts of war on woman and children, especially the Iraq-Iran War. Currently, she is the Vice Dean of Faculty of Law and Political Science (University of Tehran) and President of Iranian Association for UN Studies.

PANEL 32: Child soldiers (IV): Ethical tensions between witnessing and artistic expressions in literature, film and theatre on/by African child soldiers

Stephen Bishop (University of New Mexico, USA)

Reclaiming a sense of humanity through creativity

The child-soldier narrative in Africa has become ubiquitous, whether fictional (*Allah n'est pas obligé* – Kourouma + *Beasts of No Nation* - Iweala) or non-fictional (*Souvenez-vous de moi* – Amisi + *War Child* - Jal). Similarly, cinematic representations have begun to match the literary output (*Ezra*, *Rebelle*, and the aforementioned *Beasts of No Nation* and *War Child*). Critics comment on the utility of former child soldiers' opportunity to creatively express their experiences through storytelling and drawing or works of literature and cinema. Such creative production serves the dual purpose of helping the former child-soldier work through the trauma and loss of a sense of humanity while also encouraging awareness and empathy in others who have not experienced such problems and may even be ignorant of their existence. Such projects are successful in several ways, from employing former child soldiers in the production of *Ezra* to Ishmael Beah's status as a global spokesperson to world-wide fund-raising. Putting aside the issue of helping individuals through facilitating their bearing witness, this paper examines how the goal of engaging others can be counterproductive. Some readers are put off by the presentation of violence and lawlessness and see in such narratives reasons to distrust and punish the authors of such deeds. Nonetheless, such non-empathetic readers can be engaged through participating in the same creative process that the original authors undertook, reclaiming a sense of humanity for the Other just as the perceived Others reclaimed their own sense of humanity, whether it be narratives (*Bite of the Mango* – Kamara) or simple projects in a classroom setting.

Stephen Bishop is an Associate Professor of French and Africana Studies at the University of New Mexico. His primary area of specialization is African literature and the intersection of law and literature, exemplified in his book, *Legal Oppositional Narrative: A Case Study in Cameroon*. He publishes and teaches courses on topics such as justice and social order, child soldiers, Otherness, FGM, African folktales, and identity.

Susanne Gehrmann (Humboldt University Berlin, Germany)

The Kadogo as an artist. Serge Amisi's multimedial working through war trauma

In this paper I will look at Serge Amisi's creative output as a writer, actor and sculptor. A former *kadogo* (small soldier) of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, ten years after he served at the front between 1997-2001, Amisi published the testimonial text *Souvenez-vous de moi, l'enfant de demain* (2011) which he originally wrote in Lingala. Recently, he transformed this text into a theatre play that was directed by Arnaud Churin in France as *L'enfant de demain* (2015) and staged with Amisi as one of the main actors. Serge Amisi has started to play theatre and to create sculptures at Espace Masolo, a cultural centre in Kinshasa that works with street children and former child soldiers. He is now living in France where he participated in the dance theatre production *Congo my Body* (2011). The multifaceted, multimedial creative output of Amisi, which is closely linked to his experience of violence as a child soldier, challenges a number of questions. If the different forms of expression are attempts to work through trauma, which are the possibilities and limits of each form, genre, medium? Does the accumulation of versatile and varied artistic expressions stand in for the underlying inspeakability of traumatic violence? Today, Amisi claims recognition as an artist beyond the paradigm of the child soldier victim, yet his art(s) are closely linked to his erstwhile experience as a war child. How could this paradox be transcended in both the process of production and reception?

Susanne Gehrmann is professor of African Literatures and Cultures at Humboldt-Universität Berlin and project leader of the DFG funded research project „Afrikanische KindersoldatInnen in Literatur und Film. Repräsentation, Diskurs, Ästhetik“. Her publications include the short monograph *Geschichtsbewältigung und Sprachexperimente. Small Soldiers in afrikanischen Literaturen*. Forschungsabteilung der HU, Berlin 2011 and the following articles: "The Child Soldier's Soliloquy. Voices of a New Archetype in African Writing", in: *Études littéraires africaines* 2 /2011, 31-45; "Re-Writing War in Contemporary Nigerian Fiction. From Biafra to Present Times", in: Jana Gohrisch/Ellen Grünkemeier (eds.): *Listening to Africa. Anglophone African Literatures and Cultures*. Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg 2012, 213-242; "Fiktionale Zeugnisse von Kindersoldaten in der frankophonen Literatur", in: Claudia Nickel/Alexandra Ortiz Wallner (eds.): *Zeugenschaft. Perspektiven auf ein kulturelles Phänomen*. Winter, Heidelberg 2014, 77-88.

George MacLeod (University of Pennsylvania, USA)

Small soldiers, big screens: Temporality, violence, and ethics in child soldier films

The release of American director Cary Fukunaga's film *Beasts of No Nation* (2015) (based on Nigerian writer Uzodinma Iweala's book of the same name) is the latest in a steady output of films which center on the figure of the child soldier. The most prominent examples include *Ezra* (2007), *Johnny Chien Méchant* (2008), and *Rebelle* (2012) while child soldiering is a significant subplot in *Blood Diamond* (2006). These films can be incorporated into a larger history of cinematic representations of violence on the African continent which have contributed to essentializing discourse of Africa as a place of lawlessness and perpetual violence. Filmmakers representing child soldiers are thus placed in a double-bind, negotiating both a desire to bear witness to an urgent, real-world phenomenon at the risk of reinforcing "afropessimist" visions. This dilemma is particularly acute in the visual medium as media images of Africa are one of the principle ways in which Westerners learn about the continent. This paper will discuss how directors of child soldier films grapple with this question of ethics and representation with particular attention to temporality and the use of the "hors champs" or "off-screen." I will focus on the films' chronologies, asking what portion of the film is devoted to the "afterwards" of the child soldier's traumatic experience, and whether linear narratives risk obscuring the complex iterations of traumatic memory. I will also attempt to trace an aesthetics of representation for child soldier films, asking what violent acts are most often left "off-screen," and the political and ethical implications of selectively showing atrocities committed by the films' fictional protagonists.

George MacLeod is a doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania specializing in representations of violence and trauma in Francophone African literature and film. His work uses trauma theory to reread child soldier novels, Rwandan genocide survivor narratives, and Francophone African war films, exploring the problematics and ethics of representing violence from Africa. His article on Rwandan survivor testimony recently appeared in the fall 2015 issue of *Études Littéraires Africaines*.

Charlott Schönwetter (Humboldt University Berlin, Germany)

Bearing witness: Autobiographical and fictional testimonial texts by/on African child soldiers

Since 2000 a rapidly growing corpus of former African child soldiers' autobiographies—some of them co-authored—has been published. These include *Child Soldier: Fighting For My Life* by China Keitetsi (2002), *A Long Way Gone: Memoirs of a Boy Soldier* by Ishmael Beah (2007)

and *Warchild: A Boy Soldier's Story* by Emmanuel Jal (2009). These books are marketed, mostly to European and North American audiences, as "authentic", historically accurate testimonials. Consequently, some of the texts have become targets of investigation in a bid to test their reliability as evident in Rupert Murdoch's inquiries into the background of *A Long Way Gone*. This paper sets out to go beyond the mere question of factuality and questions what it actually means to bear witness to child soldiers' experience(s) through writing. It will discuss the (im)possibilities of testimonies with regards to the representation of experienced violence and how this is aesthetically reflected in the autobiographical texts. Furthermore I will examine in how far fictional texts as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006), Delia Jarrett-Macauley's *Moses, Citizen & Me* (2005) or Ahmadou Kourouma's *Allah n'est pas obligé* (2000) also embody testimonial elements and which specific possibilities are available to negotiate violence and war experiences that do not only contrast, but also go beyond the autobiographies.

Charlott Schönwetter is a research assistant in the DFG funded research project „Afrikanische KindersoldatInnen in Literatur und Film. Repräsentation, Diskurs, Ästhetik“ at Humboldt University in Berlin. She writes her doctoral thesis on child soldier narratives and how questions of testimony are interlinked with categories like gender, age and race.

PANEL 33: WW II and Holocaust testimonies (III)

Karin Hofmeisterová (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

It was beautiful life before the war came. It left a mark on all of us: The Greek Civil War in memories of child refugees in Czechoslovakia

In proposed paper I examine interconnections and interpenetrations between individual and collective memory of children war refugees in the case of remembering the Greek Civil War and its consequences among members of Greek community in Czechoslovakia. I try to put experiences of individuals into broader historical context of the conflict that led to subsequent exodus of nearly hundred thousand Greek citizens to the Soviet bloc countries. By the use of oral history methods I identify dominant oral narratives revealed in more than 50 eyewitness accounts focusing mainly on personal experiences and private strategies of the first generation of Greek refugees (mostly children refugees) who arrived to Czechoslovakia in the late 1940s and stayed until nowadays. I try to assess how children refugees coped with forced emigration, to what extent they integrated themselves into Czechoslovak society or accept Czechoslovakia as their new home. Finally I analyze which memories they kept about the Civil War, Greece and beginnings in the hosting country. It is argued that the process of remembering events associated with the Greek Civil War and its consequences has been shaped by selective memory and child's perception of the world as well as by ideologically tinged education and dominant narratives at the community level.

Karin Hofmeisterová is PhD student at the Institute of International Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. She earned Master degree in Area Studies (Balkan, Eurasian and Central European Studies) at the same Institute in 2014. Also she studied at the University College London and University of Belgrade. Her main research interests are contemporary history and current political and social development in the Western Balkans with a special focus on Serbia and the Serbian Orthodox Church. She is co-author of various publications concerning history of the Balkans and author of chapter "It Was a Beautiful Life Before the War Came. It Left a Mark on Us: Greece in Memories of Refugees" in the book *Vyschly nám slzy... Řečtí uprchlíci v Československu [We Have No Tears Left to Cry... Greek Refugees in Czechoslovakia]*, eds. Kateřina Králová and Kostas Tsivos, Prague: Dokořán, 2012.

Rita Horvath (Yad Vashem, Israel)

"The little slave girl": Child forced laborers

I propose to analyze testimonies of child forced laborers, which they gave still as children in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust. In addition, I will compare those early testimonies to later ones, which they gave as adults to later testimony-collecting projects. I will analyze both literary and non-literary testimonies. I am especially interested in how "forced labor" features in early and late testimonies as a theme and what can historians learn from that. Furthermore, I will investigate how the theme of "forced labor" interconnects and interacts with other central topics of the testimonial narratives. I will focus on such questions as "How do survivors characterize 'work,' how they differentiate between various types of work, and how the survivors' characterization change over time?" I will also investigate the complex meanings of the two most frequent ways of viewing working: 1) as a positive, life-saving force or 2) as a way to kill inmates."

Dr. **Rita Horvath**: I am a literary scholar and a historian. I received my Ph.D. from Bar-Ilan University (Ramat Gan, Israel) in 2003. In the spring semester of 2009/2010 academic year, I was a scholar-in-residence at Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, Brandeis University (Waltham, MA,

USA). Since then, I am a Research Associate at the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute. At present, I am a research fellow at the International Institute for Holocaust Research in Yad Vashem. My fields of research are the history of the Holocaust in Hungary, Holocaust literature, trauma and literary theory. I have published numerous studies, articles and conference papers in these fields. My book, entitled *The History of the National Relief Committee for Deportees, 1944-1952* was published in 1997 in Budapest by the Hungarian Jewish Archives. My second book entitled *“Never Asking Why Build—Only Asking Which Tools”: Confessional Poetry and the Construction of the Self* was published by Akadémiai Kiadó in 2005. My latest book is: Rita Horváth, Anna Szalai, Gábor Balázs: *Previously Unexplored Sources on the Holocaust in Hungary*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007. At present, I participate in the “Children’s Holocaust Testimony Project” together with Prof. Joel Walters (Bar-Ilan University) and Dr. Boaz Cohen at Bar-Ilan University. From 2004, I have taught in the Holocaust Studies Program at Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest, Hungary) and from 2005, I have given English literature courses at Bar-Ilan University.

Kateřina Králová (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

Righteous foster family? The case of Ester Franco

In the 20th century, Greece was hit not only by the World Wars but also the Balkan Wars, the Greco-Turkish war, and the Greek Civil War. Throughout these conflicts, many children lost their parents. In such cases, members of the children’s extended families replaced them. This was, however, nearly impossible in the case of child Holocaust survivors, given that family networks were largely destroyed. Despite the low survival rate of the Jews from Greece, the number of Greeks rewarded as Righteous Among the Nations is rather high. Many of them were honored for saving Greek Jewish children. My presentation is a close analysis of a case study about Ester Franco, who is a child Holocaust survivor from Thessaloniki. I examine both Franco’s own experiences within a Greek foster family as well as her attitude towards the revelation of her Jewish identity. Who was Ester Franco? What happened to her parents and to the extended family members? Who was her foster family, were they the rightful guardians of Ester Franco, and should they have been declared Righteous Among the Nations? Based on archival sources, ITS records, oral testimonies, and a recently published memoir of Ester Franco I will try to magnify the “picture” of a Jewish child survivor in the context of identity, loyalty, and the story’s transformation throughout the decades.

Kateřina Králová is an Assistant Professor at the Charles University in Prague. In her research she focuses on reconciliation with the Nazi past, post-conflict societies, memory and oral history as regards the Holocaust, Greek Civil War and post-war reconstruction particularly in Greece. She completed her master studies in Marburg, Germany (2002) and Ph.D. in Prague (2010) with a thesis on Greek-German relations published in Czech Republic and in Greece. A German translation of her thesis is in progress. During her academic career she obtained several scholarships including the IKY at the UOM (Greece), the DAAD at the Heinrich Heine University (Germany), the Fulbright Fellowship at Yale University (USA) and a USHMM Fellowship for 2015.

Jacob J. Podber (Southern Illinois University, USA) **Children of Holocaust survivors: 60 years later**

My presentation is based on a 3-minute oral history documentary I recently completed entitled *“Vishneva, Belarus—Soviet Union Poland.”* “Vishneva” is grounded in the oral history testimony of a Holocaust survivor and has been deconstructed by the interviewee’s son. Unlike most oral histories that focus on the words of the interviewee, my work uses silent images from

the interview superimposed with typed memories that describe the unspoken pain borne by father and son through more than half a century. My piece purposefully violates some documentary methodological conventions by directing attention more towards the interviewer's interpretation than the interviewee's spoken words. I feel it is essential to "deconstruct" the interview in this fashion given the painful nature of the subject. This process seems critical in coming to terms with the "reality" of the survivor's testimony. The use of virtually no sound, other than a brief voice clip of the interviewee followed by the simple clicking of a typewriter forces the audience to witness the visual anguish in the subject's face. The visual approach to this difficult topic stresses the visual over the audial. This work examines how oral history documentaries can combine the emotional, intellectual, and personal all at the same time, merging questions of "process" and historiography, while striving to maintain a personal and humane approach.

Dr. Jacob J. Podber is Associate Professor of Media Studies at Southern Illinois University. His book, *"The Electronic Front Porch: An Oral History of the Arrival of Modern Media in Rural Appalachia and the Melungeon Community,"* was the recipient of the Ray and Pat Browne Book of the Year Award. Dr. Podber's research has appeared in many leading media books and journals and has been recognized with numerous awards including the Oral History Association Article of the Year Award – Honorable Mention for "Television's Arrival in the Appalachian Mountains of the USA: An Oral History." He is the recipient of an *Appalachian Music Fellowship* from Berea College and the writer and producer of the radio documentary *"Turn Your Radio On: Imaginative Ways Appalachians Joined the Electronic Media Revolution"* and the video documentary *"Vishneva, Belarus Soviet Union Poland."*

PANEL 34: Film (I)

Eleanor Andrews (University of Wolverhampton, UK)

Heaven, hell and humanity: Children in Agnieszka Holland's *In Darkness* (2011)

Towards the end of Agnieszka Holland's *In Darkness* (2011), the camera ascends vertically, from a scene in the sewers of Lvov, passing as if through the earth, to show the space above: a first Holy Communion Mass in the cathedral. The bright ecclesiastical interior contrasts with the dark space of the tunnels: the heavenly cathedral and the hellish sewers. One group of children in their radiant white clothes is receiving the host for the first time; the other children, streaked with filth and ordure, are hiding in the passageways directly below. This film is based on the true story of Leopold Socha (Robert Wieckiewicz), a Polish sewage worker who risks his own life to hide Jews in the sewers of Lvov in Nazi-occupied Poland. After initially taking money for his help, Socha gradually changes his attitude toward the Jews, largely through his relationship with the children he is hiding, Krystyna (Milla Bankowicz) and Pawel Chiger (Oliver Stanczak), and he becomes their guardian and saviour. Children, and what they represent about the hope and future of the human race, are at the heart of this film. This paper aims to demonstrate how Holland acknowledges the differences between the lives of the children in their particular forms of heaven and hell, but ultimately how, like Socha, she discovers the similarities in their humanity.

Eleanor Andrews is Senior Lecturer in Italian and Course Leader for Film Studies at the University of Wolverhampton, UK, where she teaches European Cinema. She specializes in French Cinema from the Golden Age of the 1930s to the present day, and Italian Cinema, especially Neo-Realism, the Spaghetti Western and the work of the director Nanni Moretti. Her book on Moretti's use of narrative space (*Place, Setting, Perspective*) was published in 2014. She is co-editor of *Spaces of the Cinematic Home: Behind the Screen Door* (2015). Her research interests also include the Holocaust in film as well as film, myth and the fairy tale.

Nicole Freeman (Ohio State University, USA)

Reconstructing childhood after genocide: Jewish children in JDC and CKŻP children's homes, 1945-1950

After the Second World War, Polish Jews who survived the Holocaust had two difficult choices before them: emigrate and start a new life abroad or remain in Poland. My project places Poland's 1948 last-produced Yiddish film, *Unzere Kinder* (Our Children), into its historical context. Filmed on location at the American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee (JDC)-sponsored Helenówek Colony in Łódź, this comedy documents Jewish children's wartime experiences and traumatic memories. I contribute to the existing studies of children in wartime, displacement, and postwar reconstruction by studying orphanages, like the one featured in *Unzere Kinder*, and thus I shed light on the nature of care, rehabilitation, and reintegration of Jewish child survivors into Polish society. These orphanages were established by the Department of Education within the Central Committee of Jews in Poland, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (CKŻP). From 1944 to 1950, the CKŻP was partially financed by the JDC and aimed to provide immediate assistance to Holocaust survivors with the ultimate goal of rebuilding Jewish life in Poland. I explore how the JDC and CKŻP worked together on behalf of Jewish children. Therefore by focusing on the educational programs and ideological activities within these orphanages, I argue that these processes represent just one part of a greater effort to reconstruct Jewish life in the aftermath of genocide.

Nicole Freeman is a third year History PhD student at the Ohio State University. She received her BA in History and Secondary Education from Salem State University in 2012 and MA in

History from the Ohio State University in 2015. Prior to starting graduate school, she interned at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Currently, she is developing her dissertation on the education, care, and rehabilitation of Jewish displaced persons and child Holocaust survivors in Germany and Poland after the Second World War.

Liat Steir-Livny (The Open University / Sapir Academic College, Israel)

Humor as a defense mechanism of a child Holocaust survivor: *Pizza in Auschwitz*, an Israeli documentary film

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is an extremely common mental disturbance among people who have experienced traumatic incidents; its sufferers continue to experience the traumatic event(s) for years afterwards. Clinical research addresses Holocaust survivors as people who suffer from PTSD. Humor, which helps avoid or reduce emotional suffering and grief, was seen by Freud as a pivotal defense mechanism for the traumatized individual. Later studies addressed humor as a defense mechanism that helps post-traumatic individuals maintain emotional distance from the trauma. In the last decades, research has dealt with the importance of black humor and self-disparagement for Jews under the Nazi regime in their attempts to survive or, at the least, to preserve a semblance of normality and humanity during the Holocaust. This talk analyzes the representations of black humor as a defense mechanism for a child Holocaust survivor in the Israeli documentary film, ***Pizza in Auschwitz*** (Moshe Zimmerman, 2008). The film describes Holocaust survivor Dani Hanoch in his adulthood who travels with his children, Miri and Sagi, back to Poland and Lithuania. Dani was eight years old when WWII began. He was one of the 131 Kovno Ghetto children, his family was murdered and only he and his brother survived the concentration camps and the death marches. My talk will analyze Dani's behavior, his jokes, his lack of ability to cry, and the emotional distance he creates between himself and the trauma, through black humor theories.

Dr. **Liat Steir-Livny** is a senior lecturer at the Department of Culture, at Sapir Academic College, Israel. She serves as a tutor and course coordinator for the MA program in Cultural Studies and in the Department of Literature, Language and the Arts at the Open University, Israel. Her research focuses on the changing memory of the Holocaust. Her first book, *Two faces in the mirror* (Eshkolot-Magness, 2009), analyzes the representation of Holocaust survivors in Israeli cinema. Her second book, *Let the memorial hill remember* (Resling, 2014), focuses on the changing memory of the Holocaust in contemporary Israeli popular culture.

PANEL 35: WW II: USSR

Natalie Belsky (Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Russia)

The travails of survival: Soviet children in evacuation

The Second World War was a period of great displacement, disruption and violence for families across Europe. Community and family networks were ruptured and children often left to fend for themselves. My research examines the experiences of evacuees in the Soviet Union during the Second World War. In the wake of the Nazi invasion, millions of Soviet citizens from Ukraine, Belarus and the western regions of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic were evacuated or simply forced to flee to the East to escape the occupation regime. As a result, millions of evacuees spent the war years in Central Asia, the Volga region, the Urals and Siberia, where they came into contact with peoples, cultures, and lifestyles wholly unfamiliar to them and were forced to adapt to new circumstances. Due to wartime recruitment and the evacuation priorities of the Soviet regime, women and children predominated among the evacuee population. While children among the evacuee population may not have lived through Nazi occupation, their experiences during the war years often proved to be traumatic and affected them for decades to come. As archival documents, personal testimonies, and memoirs reveal, children had to mature quickly and found themselves taking on new roles and responsibilities within their families and communities at sites of resettlement. Children and youths also looked for ways to participate in and contribute to the Soviet war effort. At the same time, they had to adapt to a new social landscape in which they were perceived as outsiders. In particular, young Jewish evacuees were often taunted and picked on by the local children and by non-Jewish evacuees because of their appearance and accent. For many Soviet Jewish evacuees, their experiences in evacuation shaped their understanding of their own ethnic identity and their belonging within Soviet society. My paper will argue that children's experiences in evacuation represented a formative moment that had long-lasting consequences for the postwar generation of Soviet citizens and, especially, for Soviet Jewish survivors.

Natalie Belsky is a historian focusing on Soviet history, with a particular interest in Soviet Jewish history and the history of the Second World War. She has held a lectureship in European history at Saint Xavier University and will hold a position as postdoctoral fellow at the International Center for the History and Sociology of World War II and its Consequences at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Russia. She received her Bachelor's degree from New York University and her doctorate from the University of Chicago in 2014. Her research focuses on wartime internal population displacement in the Soviet Union and encounters between evacuees and local residents.

Anne-Lise Bobeldijk (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

Forced evacuation to an extreme: The children of Ozarichi

In March 1944, the Wehrmacht created near the village of Ozarichi in Belarus three camps where they imprisoned around 40.0000 people. The prisoners were ordinary civilians with a common ground; they were not able to work and therefore regarded by the withdrawing Nazi army as "unnütze Esser", useless mouths to feed. The people who were seen as not fit to work were elderly, ill and disabled people and mothers with small children or more than two children under ten. The purpose of the camps was to handle the refugee crisis near the eastern front line, caused by evacuation for forced labour or other forms of displacement. In late 1943, early 1944 the group of refugees became for the Nazis too large to handle that they decided to leave those unfit for work behind. A part of these people ended up in the Ozarichi camps. The conditions in the camps and during the journey towards the camps have strong similarities with the death marches at the end of the war; people had to walk for days under harsh conditions, being

exposed to the bad weather and the aggression of the guards. Here, the biggest difference is that children had to endure this as well. This paper will focus on the treatment of the children who ended up in the Ozarichi camps as a result of the forced evacuations. My research is based on about 100 written and recorded testimonies of the survivors of the camps. I will argue that in the case of Ozarichi the Wehrmacht and the Einsatzgruppen did not treat children different than any other prisoner of the camps.

Anne-Lise Bobeldijk: I hold a Bachelor degree in European Studies and a Master degree in Eastern European Studies from the University of Amsterdam. Currently, I am in the process of finishing the Master German Studies, for which I write my thesis on the Ozarichi camps. My research interests concern *Rückzugverbrechen* and national socialist concentration camps on the territory of the former Soviet Union and the *Reich*. I worked as a research assistant at the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust- and genocide Studies. Currently I work as a volunteer for the Dutch project of *Namen statt Nummern* on former KZ Dachau prisoners and I am part of the organising team for the '21st Workshop on the History and Memory on National Socialist Camps and Extermination Sites', that will take place in May 2016.

Christine Sochocky (Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center in Toronto, Canada)

War propaganda directed at children and youth

The use of forced labour of men, women and children from countries they had occupied was a major element in the Nazi war effort. As their war industry and the loss of manpower grew, they methodically developed plans of bringing in the masses of people available to them. Child workers, as well as adults were important to them for the production of things where their size and the size of their hands was often an asset. Children were also of great interest to them as possible candidates for Germanization. The Nazis counted on the conquered lands to the east. The original presumption that these labourers would come willingly proved false and it was replaced by enforcement and brutality. This paper will examine the propaganda used by the Nazis when, at first, they tried to convince workers to come to Germany voluntarily and the appeals of the Soviet government aimed at their youth. Both powers used indoctrination effectively in various formats but perhaps the most striking were the cheap and clear posters. The Nazis tried to entice the potential workers; the Soviets tried to vilify the enemy and to avenge German aggression. Messages such as: "Germany calls you!", "Go to beautiful Germany!" were met with the Soviet "Revenge, and help defend our country!" My focus on the content of such propaganda should yield a study of the confrontation of attitudes. The messages and slogans should constitute another aspect of the conflict and should contribute to the general narrative of the war.

Christine Sochocky: My academic credentials are a Licence es Lettres from the Université de Montréal, an M.A. and a Ph.D. in Library Sciences from the University of Pittsburgh. I have taught French language and literature for fifteen years. Now I am pursuing my interest in the history of WWII as a volunteer at the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center in Toronto. In our archives we have collected more than one hundred personal interviews with former Ostarbeiters.

PANEL 36: Holocaust: Ghettos and camps (II)

Catherine Greer (University of Tennessee, USA)

Flourishing in captivity: Remembering childhood in Theresienstadt

Theresienstadt (Terezín), a former concentration camp located 60 kilometers north of Prague, held approximately 15,000 children during World War II. Children figured prominently into the camp's role as a *Presentierlager* (show camp), and were exploited in multiple Nazi propaganda schemes. The 1944 Nazi-orchestrated film *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (*The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*) employed children of all ages, and performances of *Brundibár*, a children's opera presented at least 55 times in the camp, were ultimately co-opted by Nazi authorities. Following a *Stadtverschönerung* (city beautification) campaign, the opera was presented to International Red Cross delegates to depict Theresienstadt's ostensibly "thriving" cultural community. Children played a key role in the Nazis' co-option of creative activity in the camp, and some scholars overlook this aspect of Theresienstadt and instead perpetuate unsophisticated narratives of redemption, sustaining ethnomusicologist Shirli Gilbert's concept of "consoling stories." The ubiquitous claims of spiritual resistance routinely ascribed to creative activity in the camp ultimately overshadow individual experiences. Approximately 100 children survived Theresienstadt, and their memoirs and extant diaries challenge these generalized notions routinely presented in Holocaust representation. Drawing upon these sources and archival research, my paper presents a more nuanced understanding of childhood in Theresienstadt and challenges the manufactured redemptive narratives found throughout Holocaust scholarship and representation.

Catherine Greer is a PhD candidate at the University of Tennessee (Knoxville). She holds graduate degrees in Music and German, and specializes in the music of Theresienstadt. She has held Fellowships with the Leo Baeck Institute, Center for Jewish History (NYC), and the Rafael Schächter Institute for Arts and Humanities. Also a recipient of the Baden-Württemberg Landesstipendium, she completed graduate coursework at the Universität Stuttgart. She has presented her research at regional and international conferences in the fields of Musicology, German Studies, and Holocaust Studies. She was most recently chosen to attend the Digital Humanities Institute held at the University of Trier in October 2015.

Diana Mara Henry (Photographer / Independent Researcher, USA)

Child victims, survivors, and observers of Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp/KLNa

From the young boy prying his father's gold inlays out of his teeth in the bunks on the night of his death, to the commandant's children taken for walks along the top ledge of the camp, to the political prisoners including Arne Brun Lie, a "Nacht und Nebel" prisoner from Norway although in his only action he had been too scared to distribute the political fliers he had been entrusted with and had thrown them all in a trash can, to Wendelgard von Staden, growing up as a child of privilege on an estate abutting the infamous Vaihingen sub-camp of Natzweiler whose mother "employed" the prisoners to "work" their garden, these children - whether remembered in the memoirs of survivors or in their own testimony years later- give insights into the elemental, ironic, and still innocent experience of the youngest of those non-Jews whom the vicious Nazi concentration camp policies swept, like so many millions of non-Holocaust victims, into its maw. Roger Monty and Jean Léger, like Arne Brun Lie, had begun their careers in the resistance before age 18 and will be included. A powerpoint can illustrate the paper, a format also used with some success by the presenter at the Holocaust and the Churches conference in 2010 and at Monash University in 2011.

Harvard B.A. 1969, Ferguson History Prize, 1967, **Diana Henry** since 1985 has translated and researched the memoirs, assembled a pioneering bibliography, photographed the KLNa/Natzweiler-Struthof and corresponded with its survivors. Collections in her name/assembled by her about the camp have been established at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Du Bois Library, UMass, Amherst. In 2006 she created www.natzweiler-struthof.com and www.callmeandre.com She has been published in the *Journal for Ecumenical Studies*, Fall, 2011, wrote a review of Cooke and Shepherd's *Resistance in the Second World War* for the *Journal of Military History*, April, 2015, and presents internationally about the KLNa.

Yvonne Kozlovsky Golan (University of Haifa, Israel)

Mother's corner, Jadu concentration camp and slave labor camp

The paper will focus on Mother's Corner, Jadu Concentration Camp and Slave Labor Camp, by Nava T. Barazani. Barazani, an Israeli artist from a Libyan Jewish family, discovered her mother's history only in recent years. Her story had been silenced, lacking the place and time to bring it up, the story of a family from an Arab country who shared the disastrous fate of North African Jewry during World War II, a fate which was never talked about or properly researched until recent years. Barazani's mother Julia Yael Mesika, a survivor of the Jadu concentration camp in Libya (1942), was only 5 years old when her entire family was expelled to the Jadu forced labor camp. Barazani collected her mother's memories for her art exhibition Mother's Corner, Jadu, in which she displayed collages in an attempt to recreate her story, offering interpretations of what young Julia saw in the camp: rape, abuse and slave labor. The lecture presents the artist's artwork, and a discussion of the intergenerational connections between mother and daughter, the intergenerational transfer of "Proustian memory" as reflected in the artworks and the artist's role in the chain of memory in the collective memory.

Dr. **Yvonne Kozlovsky-Golan**, Chair and founder of the graduate program for Culture and Film Studies, Humanities Faculty, University of Haifa. Yvonne researches the connection between history and film - the cinematic representation of the wars of the 20th Century and the traumatic events of the century. Her research examines the cinema's influence on the viewers' historical knowledge and the cultural and social discussion following the representation of history in cinema. Her publications include: • The Shaping of the Holocaust Visual Image by the Nuremberg Trials – The Impact of the Movie Nazi Concentration Camps, Search and Research: Lectures and Papers No. 9, (Yad Vashem Publications. Jerusalem 2006). • "God have mercy on your soul": The Death Penalty in the USA: History law Cinema (Tel Aviv: Resling 2010) • "The Death Penalty in American Cinema: Criminality and Retribution in Hollywood Film". (London-New York: Tauris 2014).

Waclaw Wierzbieniec (University of Rzeszow, Poland)

Jewish children in Lviv during the Holocaust

World War II was a great tragedy for children in general and for Jewish children in particular. Like all Jews, they were doomed to annihilation. In my presentation I shall attempt to show examples of fates, attitudes and experiences of Jewish children in the multiethnic city of Lviv, the site of one of the largest Jewish communities in prewar Poland. My study results from an analysis of more than fifty accounts of Jewish children who survived the Holocaust. These children had no previous life experience which could match their wartime trauma. Nonetheless, when they found themselves in extreme circumstances, they displayed unusual resilience, a strong will to survive and great adaptability. The fates, attitudes and experiences of Jewish

children in Lviv during the Holocaust have been analyzed in reference to the following issues: increasing threats and acts of terror committed against the Jews prior to their isolation in the Lviv Ghetto in September 1942; mistreatment and executions of the ghetto inhabitants; the Janowska Street camp as a site of extermination; life on the Aryan side; acts of aid and humanity on the part of Gentiles; manifestations of Anti-Semitism on the part of local Poles and Ukrainians; the perception of blackmailers by the children. The analysis of pertinent documents presents these wartime Jewish children as honest speakers of the hard facts of life. Their accounts testify to the barbarity of the Germans, the humanity of some Poles and Ukrainians, as well as to the manifestation of Anti-Semitism among the Gentile population.

Waclaw Wierzbieniec: Full Professor, History Department and Head of the Unit of History and Culture of the Jews at the U. of Rzeszow. Author of numerous publications on the History of the Jews in Poland.

PANEL 37: Colombia

Ximena Pachón Castrillon (National University of Colombia, Columbia)

In search of child soldiers at the time of The Violence in Colombia

Through 1946 and 1965 a civil war took place in Colombia between the Conservative and the Liberal Parties, whose respective supporters fought most of their battles in the countryside. Known as *La Violencia*, the war cost the lives of at least 200,000 people, most of them illiterate peasants who fanatically followed local political leaders. This civil war was a period characterized by irregular armed confrontations, inflicting terror and violence of unprecedented proportions nationwide. This conflict, which swept away with many small and medium-size landowners, wound up strengthening the power of the old and new landlords of the country. The result was a wide-spread popular dissatisfaction resulting in a peasant uprising, which formed the basis of the first Colombian guerrilla groups in the second half of the twentieth century. Just as in the previous and later civil wars that characterized the history of Colombia in the twentieth century, in this period, the child failed to escape the political and military events in which he was immersed, and there we find him caught in the framework of the conflict as an active element of the process. Their tracks can be found in some of the books and articles that have been written about the subject, in documentary sources and a few fragments can be still found vivid in the memory of elderly men who as children experienced the confrontation. This paper seeks to reveal the presence of children in this armed conflict that shook Colombia in the middle of the twentieth century.

Ximena Pachón Castrillon: Anthropologist, professor and researcher at the Anthropology Department, National University of Colombia. Researcher on the history of childhood in Colombia has published several books and articles on the subject, including: 2015 “Los niños y la Antropología colombiana”. En Estudios antropológicos sobre la diversidad de la infancia y la educación. Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá.- 2012 “The children on the war. The Colombian Case”. Congress of Americanist. Viena. - “¿Dónde están los niños?. Rastreado la antropología de la infancia”. Revista Maguaré, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad Nacional, Bogotá. - 2010-2010 “La delincuencia infantil a principios del siglo XX”. 15 Congreso de Historia. Bogotá. - 2008 “Los niños soldados en Colombia. Una aproximación histórica”. Georgetown University, Center for Latin American Studies. Working Paper Series No. 15. Washington, Agosto 2000. - 2002 Requiem por los Niños Muertos. Bogotá siglo XX CEREC-Club Michín, Bogotá. - 1996 La aventura infantil a mediados de siglo. Bogotá 1930 -1959. Editorial Planeta. - 1991 Infancia en el Siglo XX. Bogotá, 1900 - 1929. Editorial Planeta. Bogotá

Johanna Higgs (La Trobe University Melbourne, Australia)

Transitions from childhood: Child combatants of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC)

Despite the wide range of literature on war, there has been limited research that examines the experiences of child soldiers and how they understand war. There has been even less research about how children experience movement during wartime, be it physical forced migration due to displacement, a change in their life due to structural conditions or less tangible factors that bring about a change in identity. How do children understand their experience when war forces them to migrate between places and how do children make these transitions between the different worlds in which they are forced to live, be it a civilian world or a militarized world? Taking a phenomenological approach and using ‘life worlds’ as a theoretical construct I seek to understand how the world of a child is structured by their political, economic, social and cultural environment and how children themselves understand their worlds in both a civilian

context and a militarized context. I seek to understand the cultural aspects of each 'world' and how the transition process from civilian to soldier occurs when transitioning, forced or otherwise, from home life into life with an armed group. How does a child 'become' a soldier from civilian and then 'become' a civilian again once the war is over. Such understandings may shed light on how children are able to kill and commit crimes against others, the particular meanings that children formerly involved in war may attach to those conditions, and finally the tactics and strategies young people adopt in those circumstances. Through such understandings we can work towards creating safer environments for children.

Johanna Higgs was born in Mt Isa in the desert of Australia but grew up in Perth, Western Australia. Johanna has a undergraduate degree in Anthropology and Politics and wrote her honor's thesis about the child soldiers of the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. She has a Masters degree in International Development and is currently working on her PhD in Anthropology about the child combatants of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) in Colombia. She has travelled through many parts of the world including the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, North America, Asia, the Pacific Islands and Europe. She has a passion for women's rights and founded the organization Project Monma which advocates for women's rights around the world.

Alexandra Mária Kiss (University of York, UK)

The question of agency and the reintegration of former child soldiers into the civilian society: A case study of Colombia

"These are personal decisions that one makes and no one else has to know why" (Former Colombian child soldier)

Children have taken part in armed conflicts all around the world since the beginning of the history of warfare. However, since the 1990s the extent to which they are used in armed groups has become more intensified and their participation is now more visible. In the mainstream narrative adopted by those designing prevention and reintegration programmes for children and demobilised child soldiers living in countries affected by conflict, children's recruitment into the armed group is attributed entirely to them being forced into this choice due to unfavourable social and economic circumstances. However, this narrative, by downplaying the agency of children and overemphasizing the importance of environmental factors, does not only clash with the experiences of the children themselves and the local understanding of childhood and child soldiering adopted by the community and the society at large, but it also hinders transitional justice processes, and prevents the sustainability of prevention and reintegration programmes designed for this population. Without considering agency, the reality of the child soldier phenomenon cannot be understood and addressed. This presentation is based on the findings of the research I have been conducting on the issue, particularly focusing on Colombia, where the number of children involved in the ranks of guerrilla groups, criminal organisations and drug cartels exceeds 14.000.

Alexandra Mária Kiss. I am currently in the process of completing the writing-up year of my PhD in Post-War Recovery Studies at the Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit (Department of Politics, University of York, UK). I undertook a three-month fieldwork in Colombia at the beginning of 2014, collecting data for my research and conducting interviews with former child soldiers, government officials and NGO personnel. After graduating, my plan is to work in the NGO sector, on the issue of child soldiering and other problems related to children living in war-affected countries.

Niousha Roshani (University College London, UK)

The recognized combatants of Colombia: Child soldiers as a privileged category

The concern over the scourge of child soldiering has attracted in recent years a growing body of child rights advocacies, research, and the adoption of new protocols and laws. Although it is not a new phenomenon and children have been serving as combatants in all wars in Colombia, the contemporary discourse of child soldiers appeal completely different sentiments and use of language (Rosen, 2005) creating the sensation of an alarming new phenomenon. This paper examines the many ways children formally recognized as child soldiers benefit from an overgrowing attention both in Colombia as well as at the international level and are granted privileges negated to other categories of children involved in the armed conflict. While I am not denying or undermining the horrific circumstances experienced by these recognized combatants or suggesting by any means that they lead a fortunate life, I attempt to bring light to the politicization of the issue of child soldiers and the consequences that entails. Most studies on children engaged in war directly or indirectly centred if not solely, in majority on the category of child soldiers. As Jason Hart (2006) and Lorraine MacMillan (2009) questioned, why should child soldiering attract so much attention when far larger numbers of children suffer and die from other causes? I elaborate on the consequences of the overt attention granted to child soldiers as a category as well focus on their benefits once they are captured in relation to other children facing extreme adversities in the context of the Colombian war.

NioushaRoshani is an anthropologist and research fellow at the Berkman Center at Harvard University researching Afro---descendent youth in Colombia and Brazil. She completed her Ph.D. candidate at the UCL Institute of Education specializing in childhood and youth in conflict-affected regions of Colombia. She is also the founder of the Nukanti Foundation, a non-profit organization dedicated to engaging, educating, and empowering youth to address the social impacts of long-standing conflict, poverty, and human rights violations.

PANEL 38: Jewish refugees / Kindertransport (II)

Jennifer Craig-Norton (University of Southampton, UK)

Twice a refugee: From the Polenaktion to the Kindertransport

This paper deals with the experiences of child victims of the *Polenaktion* - the forced deportation of Jews of Polish heritage from Germany on October 28/29 1938 – who were subsequently brought to the UK under the terms of the *Kindertransport* programme inaugurated by Britain after *Kristallnacht*. Using correspondence from the previously unknown case files of the Polish Jewish Refugee Fund, which sponsored the children, and interviews, testimonies and memoirs of many of the children whose files have been discovered, the lives of these German-born and German speaking double refugees will be examined. Using specific case studies, the children's deportation from Germany, refugee lives in Poland, and subsequent experiences as unaccompanied child refugees in Great Britain will focus upon attempts to establish agency, identity conflicts in exile, gendered and paternalistic interactions with welfare organisations, relationships with caregivers, challenges to religious heritage, and loss of parents and family. Within this investigation, memory and archive interrogate one another, as recorded memories are juxtaposed with the records of the children in care, including their own correspondence as child refugees. This collocation of testimony and documentation finds that recollections both accord and conflict with archival records, the latter requiring a critical examination of memory; and that memory records often afford crucial evidence that compel new interpretations of contemporary sources. Although the experiences of the *Polenaktion* children are in many respects unique, their lives as the victims of the first mass deportations by the Nazi regime and their experiences as unaccompanied child refugees also shed light upon the broader experiences of expellees and *Kindertransportees* in the period 1938-1945.

Dr **Jennifer Craig-Norton**, British Academy Post-doctoral Fellow, Parkes Institute, University of Southampton, UK. Education: PhD in History from the University of Southampton, UK 2014. PhD Thesis supervised by Professor Tony Kushner. Title: *Contesting Memory: New Perspectives on the Kindertransport*. MA (with Distinction) from California State University Sacramento 2010. MA thesis: *The Kindertransport: History and Memory*. BA(Hons) in History from the Australian National University. Awards and Fellowships: British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow 2015-2018 University of Southampton. Research Project 'The right kind of refugee': Jewish domestics and nurses in the UK 1933-1948. Saul Kagan Claims Conference Fellow in Advanced Shoah Studies 2013-2014. Fulbright Teaching Fellow, Gdansk, Poland 2009-2010.

Richard A. Hawkins (University of Wolverhampton, UK)

“Children in flight”: The British public's reception of Jewish refugee children: The Kindertransports 1938-39

During the 1930s Jews sought to escape abroad from persecution in the German Reich. Britain was one of the countries that they sought refuge in. However, although the British government provided refuge to a significant number of Jewish refugees it denied entry to many more. One of the justifications it used was a fear that a more liberal policy would cause an upsurge in anti-Semitism and lead to civil unrest. Undoubtedly the government was influenced by the very active anti-refugee campaign of the British Union of Fascists (BUF), notwithstanding the fact this political party never achieved electoral success. This paper uses the Kindertransports as a case study to assess the extent to which there was latent anti-Semitism amongst the British population at large using the British national, regional and local press as evidence. The Kindertransports were a private British initiative to rescue the Jewish children of the German Reich in response to the German pogrom of 9-10 November 1938. The government agreed to

relax immigration restrictions with the understanding that the initiative would be privately funded and require no government funding. This paper will use British national, regional and local press reports to assess the response to the Lord Baldwin Fund, a charitable appeal which raised funds to help finance the Kindertransports. The paper will argue that the evidence provided by the press suggests that the response to charitable appeal by the British public was overwhelmingly positive and that the BUF's anti-refugee campaign was unrepresentative of public opinion. Indeed the scale of the response to the charitable appeal was probably unprecedented. This might suggest that the British government's fears of upsurge in anti-Semitism and civil unrest were greatly exaggerated.

Richard A. Hawkins is Reader in History at the University of Wolverhampton. He works in the area of American and European Jewish history and is researching a biography of the Wall Street lawyer, Samuel Untermyer (1858-1940), who was the principal leader of the anti-Nazi boycott in the United States during the 1930s. More recently he has also been researching the history of the Lord Baldwin Fund and the Kindertransports.

Miriam Keesing (Dutch Institute for War Documentation, Netherlands)

Jewish refugee children from the Third Reich in the Netherlands: Migration, settlement and survival

This study focuses on Jewish refugee children who fled the Third Reich after the Kristallnacht in November 1938 either using the so-called "Kindertransports" or by crossing the border illegally. Many parents being desperate after the Kristallnacht sent their children abroad alone. About 1,800 arrived in the Netherlands. While for some the Netherlands was an intermediate station, many stayed. A wealth of information on those children was collected through archival and literature research and interviews. This study presents qualitative findings on the children's arrival and stay in the Netherlands and quantitative findings on their risk to be deported and killed. Initially many were placed in homes for refugee children, Aliyah facilities or with foster parents. After the Nazi-occupation many were moved to orphanages, while some others managed to live with family-members. Whereas the overall survival rate among those children staying in the Netherlands was 42%, differences in migration and settlement trajectories resulted in different risks of deportation and survival. Gathering information into a database allowed us to estimate the impact of region of origin, living situation and living place in the Netherlands, and date of arrival in transit-camp Westerbork using Cox regression. Preliminary results show that children living in orphanages had lower risk to be deported than those living with family. Living outside Amsterdam and arriving after 1942 in Westerbork also reduced the risk of being deported. Furthermore, children being deported after 1942 and being deported to camps such as Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt instead of Auschwitz reduced the risk of death.

Miriam Keesing is an associated researcher at the Dutch Institute for War Documentation writing a PhD-thesis on Jewish refugee children in the Netherlands.

Pnina Rosenberg (Technion, Haifa and Jezreel Valley Academic College, Israel)

Private memories in public space: *Kindertransport* memorials

Despite the "boom" in Holocaust memorials, the poignant (hi)story of the *Kindertransport*, an operation that took place over several months until the outbreak of WWII, during which 10,000 children, were evacuated from Eastern and Central Europe countries to Britain, has begun being commemorated only in the last two decades. The belated commemoration could be explained by the fact that the story was silenced by the *Kinder* themselves, mainly due to their guilt

feelings for being, in many cases, sole survivors in their families. It was only after their first reunion (1989) that their story became publicly known and was interwoven in the History of the Holocaust. The artist Frank Meisler, who was rescued from Danzig (Gdansk), created bronze memorials in Gdansk, Berlin, Rotterdam and London, depicting a group of departing-arriving children, thus not only following the footsteps of his personal odyssey but also narrating a collective history of the uprooted youngsters. Flor Kent, in her *Für das Kind* project, erected memorials in Prague's, Vienna's and London's railway stations, which served the children on their journey, using the *Kinder's* grandchildren as models, who were the same age as their relatives, when leaving their homes. The paper will present both artists' memorials, and will analyze their complex discourses that move between the wish to efface past traumas as opposed to the desire to pay homage to the greatness of ordinary people during extraordinary times, and the need to transmit their story into the future.

Dr. Pnina Rosenberg is an art historian specializing in the art/legacy of the Holocaust. She lectures on those subjects in the Technion, Haifa and Jezreel Valley Academic College. She has presented papers at international conferences and published books and articles on various aspects of art/memory of the Holocaust including "Mice, Mickey, *Maus* in Nazi Iconography" (2015), "Language of Memory: Symbols and Metaphors in German Holocaust Memorials" (2014) and "Reshaping Haunted Nuremberg: From the City of Nazi Party Rallies to the Street of Human Rights" (2014). Dr. Rosenberg is art editor of *Prism: Journal for Holocaust Educators*, Yeshiva University, NY.

PANEL 39: Ireland and Northern Ireland

Elham Atashi (Georgetown University, USA)

Zones of violence in the lands of peace

Northern Ireland is often considered as a successful model of a peace process ending three decades of sectarian violence. Despite the negotiated political peace, Northern Ireland continues to grapple in dealing with the legacy of past violence and coming up with ways to move society towards a reconciled future. Children and youth hold much promise for the future as many born in the post-conflict period have known nothing but peace. Yet, it has been surprising to see youth increasingly involved as actors of violence resulting from tensions surrounding contentious issues of political and sectarian identity. This may not be an unfamiliar characteristic of many post-conflict societies but such tensions are experienced more intensely in Northern Ireland as the impact of peace has been uneven, demographically. In some zones, children continue to live under the shadow of sectarian tensions and violence while others live relatively free from it. Much analysis has focused on examining children in war and conflict rather than in the context of peace after war. Post-conflict societies do not experience peace at an inclusive scale. Peace is marginalized with certain zones isolated and left out in benefiting from dividends with the transition of violence from collective and political to low level sporadic crime. These zones of violence have a specific locality and are exclusive to neighborhoods which have traditionally been at the forefront of conflict between communities. Vulnerable from socio economic deprivation and lack of opportunity has placed these areas susceptible to continued paramilitary and criminal violence. Perceptions of insecurity and enmity persist leading to increased indoctrination of children to sectarian divides at an early age. Children and youth are often at the forefront of bearing the burden as victims and as actors perpetuating violence. This paper, explores the connection between youth in zones of violence in societies which have transitioned to political peace. It examines the transition in the narrative of political violence to crime and impact in the persistence of violence which has become normalized.

Elham Atashi is an Assistant Professor in the Program on Justice and Peace Studies at Georgetown University. She has published on issues relating to transitional justice, collective memory, community peacebuilding, and reconciliation processes. Dr. Atashi works extensively as a practitioner providing peace education to children and youth from conflict zones, and as a dialogue facilitator in transitional justice and peacebuilding workshops focusing on Northern Ireland, Rwanda, the Middle East and Afghanistan.

Caroline Dutka (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)

“You just knew there was something, but what I didn’t know”: Postmemory in the absence of narrative in Northern Ireland after 1972

This paper analyzes oral history interviews I conducted with three generations of a nationalist-identifying family from Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland, the patriarch of which is a well-known survivor of Bloody Sunday (30 January 1972). The work explores how and why the father-survivor controlled the narrative of Bloody Sunday to his family (by withholding it), and what effect this withholding had on the development of his son’s political identity. Ultimately, the son’s ardent republican identity was realized only when he learned of his father’s complete narrative of Bloody Sunday through testimony given by his father to the Bloody Sunday Inquiry in 2010. The essay explores two main themes. Firstly, how the (constructed) role of the father as protector of the family takes precedence over the urgent nationalist (and personal) motivation to enlist in the IRA. Secondly, it recognizes that the discourse surrounding postmemory notably lacks a discussion of its political potential, largely due to the fact that it has centred overwhelmingly on Holocaust survivors and their descendants. In this context, postmemory is

a process that occurs only after conflict. By observing how postmemory functions in an ongoing conflict that transcends generational divides (such as the Troubles), we may realize how postmemory behaves as a factor in the ideological perpetuation of conflict itself.

Caroline Dutka is a first-year PhD candidate of twentieth-century Northern Irish history at the Centre for Contemporary Irish History at Trinity College Dublin. She completed her MA in History at the University of Toronto, and her BA (Honours) in History at McGill University, Montreal. Her work focusses on the politics of memory, and in particular, how the disclosure of personal narratives through parental storytelling incites the transfer of group ideologies from one generation to the next. Her research seeks to reconsider the 'domestic sphere' as a fundamentally political space where group identity is born. This poses a challenge to the popular (and gendered) association of the 'public sphere' as the formative space that initiates an individual's political awakening and connection with social memory.

Dieter Reinisch (European University Institute, Florence, Italy)

Boys and girls in paramilitary youth organisations: A comparative study on Ireland in the 1970s & the 2010s

In August 2015, the Irish Republican youth organisation Na Fianna Éireann made headlines following a VICE documentary, viewed by 100.000 users on YouTube within the first week. In this documentary one sees children as young as ten marching in paramilitary uniforms through a forest in the Republic of Ireland. Na Fianna Éireann, originally formed in 1909, is currently perceiving an upsurge in membership throughout Ireland. To be sure, the organisation is widely considered as the youth organisation of the Irish Republican paramilitary organisation Continuity IRA, one of those armed groups opposed to the Northern Irish Peace Process. Both, Na Fianna Éireann, the Continuity IRA, as well as the Republican women's organisation Cumann na mBan are listed as "Foreign Terrorist Organisations" by the British government. In this paper, I will examine the personal reasons and dynamics that lead boys between eight years of age and 16 into this youth organisation. In other words, based on biographical interviews with members of this youth organisation, I will examine the backgrounds of these activists as well as why and how these boys radicalised and consequently joined Na Fianna Éireann. Additionally, I will compare these findings with interview data collected with former activists of the Irish Republican girls' organisation Cumann na gCailíní, the youth wing of Cumann na mBan. The research is based on biographical interviews with current members of Na Fianna Éireann and former members of Cumann na gCailíní, active in the 1970s. In conclusion, the paper will examine the biographies of members of paramilitary youth movements during the Northern Ireland conflict, as well as comparing this data with the biographies of members of paramilitary youth movements in contemporary post-conflict Ireland. Hence, this paper will compare and provide insight into the radicalisation of youth in Western Europe during the 1960s/70s and today.

Dieter Reinisch is Researcher at the Department of History & Civilization, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, researching political imprisonment in Ireland since 1970. He previously lectured History and Linguistics at the University of Vienna, Austria. His research focus is on contemporary Irish and British History, Terrorism Studies, and Oral History.

PANEL 40: Twentieth-century youth-serving agencies in war and peace

The panel addresses the conference theme of children and war by examining how their extracurricular educational institutions and charities have been mobilized alternately for nationalist and military purposes as well as for reconstruction and rehabilitation. The panel examines the way children in the past have been understood as victims and as agents in militarized contexts. It pays careful attention to the voices of children and their own understandings of their roles as well as to the ways adults have responded to children's emotional needs.

Susan A. Miller (Rutgers University, Camden, New Jersey, USA)

Drawing sustenance: Children's art in the aftermath of war

In this paper I analyze how adults have used child-produced art in an effort to gain access to youth's varied feelings about war. First, I sketch out a brief history of what adults believed they were looking at when they examined children's drawings, particularly drawings that were made in response to trauma. I approach this from a childhood studies perspective, integrating works in the history of art, child psychology, and art education. In the second part of essay I concentrate on a case study involving German children who were the recipients of American relief programs in the early 1920s. The source material for this paper comes from the archives of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in Philadelphia, where box after overflowing box contains art produced by children from Germany, France, Spain, China and Japan in the Interwar years, and from Honduras, Gaza, and Iraq in 1980s and 1990s. But why have adults commissioned, collected, and published this art? To what political purpose is it disseminated? Almost thirty years after art therapists and child psychologists came to agree that there is little to be learned by simply looking at the artwork of children who have suffered from violence, we largely continue to believe that this art contains universal, decodable messages.

Susan A. Miller is Associate Professor of Childhood Studies at Rutgers University, Camden, New Jersey. She is the author of *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls Organizations in America*. Her most recent scholarship has appeared in anthologies including *Rendering Nature: Animals, Bodies, Places, Politics* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) and *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* (Palgrave, 2015).

Björn Lundberg (Lund University, Sweden)

"Promoting peace in a time of war": Wartime summer camps and the Swedish Scout movement 1939–45

"Be Prepared!" The motto of the Scout movement seemed fitting when the Second World War broke out in 1939. Sweden maintained a state of neutrality during the entire conflict but this period, known generally as the "Time of Preparedness" (*beredskapstiden*), affected all parts of society. While the diplomatic and political events of these years have been thoroughly covered in Swedish historiography, the experiences and contributions of children have largely been overlooked. This paper examines how summer camps for Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts were organized and performed as parts of the wartime effort. These organizations had always considered camping to be an integral part of citizenship training, but new ingredients were now added to these camp designs. During the war, thousands of Swedish boys and girls participated in special "utility camps", where hard agricultural and forestry work replaced the common Scout games and exercises. Altogether, Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts in Sweden contributed with well over 100.000 hours of work on Swedish farms during the war. I argue that narratives

from these camps not only highlight the contributions of children to wartime society, but also offer important insights to children's thoughts of feelings of war and duty, as well as how these obligations were gendered.

Björn Lundberg is a Ph.D. Candidate in the History Department at Lund University, Sweden. His doctoral thesis examines citizenship training and outdoor culture in two Swedish youth movements from 1930 to 1960: the Scout movement and Unga Örnar (tied to the Social Democratic party). With a background in journalism, Lundberg has also produced the academic podcast *Lite Passé* and written articles for numerous Swedish history magazines.

Sian Edwards (University of Sussex, UK)

“Defend your liberty”: Pacifism, citizenship and the Woodcraft Folk during the Second World War

On the onset of the Second World War in 1939, many British youth organisations' enthusiastically declared themselves an important form of national service for young citizens. Movements including the, Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides, encouraged members to take part in the war effort by undertaking numerous activities ranging from land cultivation to military service and suggested that by doing so members were fulfilling their duty as citizens of the nation. However, for the left-wing Woodcraft Folk, rather than being an opportunity, the war presented a challenge to the movement's pacifist ethos. This paper will explore the activities of the Folk during the Second World War. It will ask how the organisation understood and articulated its pacifist ideals and what implications this had for understandings of national service. In doing so this paper will consider the ways in which youth training in the Folk constructed alternative ideals of citizenship for young people in wartime.

Sian Edwards is an Associate Tutor at the University of Sussex. She completed her Ph.D., which she is currently developing into a monograph, in May 2013. The thesis, entitled 'Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside, 1930-1960', explored the central position of the countryside in the citizenship training of youth organisations. More broadly, she is interested in youth, gender and rurality in twentieth century Britain.

Jennifer Helgren (University of the Pacific, Stockton, California, USA)

Peace through strength: The militarization of U.S. youth organizations during the Cold War

This paper examines how U.S. youth organizations such as the Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., YWCA Y-Teens, and the Boy Scouts of America negotiated the dual emphasis in their programs for patriotic Cold War preparation and international brotherhood. During the 1950s the Eisenhower Administration adopted the policy of achieving “Peace through Strength,” a strategy which committed the administration to the arms race and civil defense. Youth organizations, however, had revised their programs after World War II to include international friendship programs as the best hope for peace in the atomic age. Girls and boys became ambassadors of goodwill, sending CARE packages, pen pal letters, and other symbols of global friendship around the world as the U.S. and Soviet Union competed for moral authority around the world. This paper examines how the idealistic notions of youth leaders and youth themselves, who often spoke in pacifistic terms, were turned to serve the Cold War's race to arms and strength. I argue that a split occurred among boys' and girls' groups with girls' organizations becoming reservoirs for the language of peace and world citizenship whereas boys' organizations became more closely wedded to the nation state and military service.

Jennifer Helgren is associate professor of history at the University of the Pacific in Stockton, California. She is the co-editor of *Girlhood: A Global History* (2010) and is the author of several articles on U.S. girlhood including “Native American and White Camp Fire Girls Enact Modern Girlhood, 1910–39” in the *American Quarterly* (2014). Her most recent book *Peace, Girlhood, and Global Responsibility in the United States: 1945-1960* is due out from Rutgers University Press in fall of 2016.

PANEL 41: Genocides (II)

Anna Aleksanyan (Clark University, USA)

“Neutral home” and the issue of identity of Armenian child survivors

During World War I, the Ottoman government forced thousands of Armenian women, young girls, and children to convert from Christianity and integrate into Muslim families; this was a one of the parts of the genocidal program. The occupation by the Allies’ armies of the east of the Ottoman Empire and Constantinople at war’s end opened an opportunity to rescue and liberate women and children in captivity. A number of Armenian and international organizations set to work to find and save these survivors. The Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople joined the rescue operations. He rented a building to house, and organization he established called “Neutral Home”. It is there that a committee took up the task of determining the survivors’ original nationality and identity. Zaruhi was the Armenian on the committee. This work was complicated, because many Armenian orphans did not want to reveal their nationality, and some Turkish newspapers accused Zaruhi of converting Turkish children into Armenians. This paper elucidates the process of the “liberation” and re-Armenization of Armenian children after World War I through the case study of Neutral Home. Using Zaruhi’s work in the “Neutral Home” initiative, and grounded in Zaruhi’s private archive and other contemporary documents, this paper will show how effective the perpetrators’ plan was for the non-physical destruction of Armenian children, and how difficult it was for Armenians to struggle against it after the war.

Anna Aleksanyan holds her BA & MA in history and is a doctoral student working on her thesis “Experiences of Armenian Women and Children during the Years of Genocide”. She worked at the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute as a scientific researcher for seven years. Now she is a PhD student at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University. She has participated in a great number of seminars, conferences including international ones. She has published widely both in academic journals and in non-academic publications in Armenian, Russian, French, Turkish, and English.

Asya Darbinyan (Clark University, USA)

Saving their souls: The orphans of the Armenian genocide

While after World War I the representatives of the Great Powers in Paris drew up a roadmap for the future development of and long-lasting peace in Europe, hundreds of thousands of children - Armenian orphans - spread all over the vast territories of dissolving Ottoman Empire went through physiological trauma and faced identity crisis in addition to tremendous physical hardships. In my paper, I reflect on the condition of Armenian orphans in the aftermath of the genocide and on the efforts of the American Near East Relief organization to “save their souls.” The Near East Relief (NER), launched as a temporary committee in September 1915, became a large organization that established hundreds of shelters, orphanages, schools, and workshops for Armenian children scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire, as well as in Syria, Lebanon, Greece, and Russian Armenia. Not only did the NER provide emergency relief and care for orphans, but it sought to save or preserve the Armenian identity of those children and to ensure their future as independent and self-supporting individuals. Ray Ogden of the Young Men’s Christian Association who worked with the NER members in the Middle East wrote, “Keeping life in children’s bodies was no more important than saving their souls alive.” These relief workers believed in the importance of personal contact with and individual care for the children who survived genocide, in the necessity of spiritual inspiration for those destitute remnants of the Armenian nation after a catastrophe.

Asya Darbinyan is a third-year doctoral student at Clark University's Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. Her research interest focuses on international humanitarian assistance. Directed by Prof. Taner Akçam, her dissertation explores Russian humanitarian response to the Armenian Genocide. Previously, as the deputy director of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Yerevan (2008-2013) she was a European Holocaust Research Infrastructure Fellow at Shoah Memorial, Paris (2013) working on a comparative study of humanitarian assistance to Armenian refugees during the Genocide and European Jewry during the Holocaust, and a Carnegie Research Fellow at UCLA (2011-12) conducting research on the Near East Relief's fundraising campaign for Armenian orphans.

Edita Gzoyan (Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Armenia)

Forced transfer of the Armenian children during the Armenian genocide: Path towards criminalization

Forcible child transfer is one of five genocidal acts in the Genocide Convention listed co-equally with acts of killing and forced sterilization, among others. A vast number of Armenian children were forcibly turkified during the Armenian Genocide: taken to state orphanages, harems, converted to Islam, etc. The number of children affected by this practice was unprecedented. According to Treaty of Sevres Article 142 conversions to Islam were widespread during "the massacres perpetrated in Turkey during the war" and called the League of Nations to appoint a mixed commission for reclamation. 1921 League's final report was one of the first and most comprehensive reckonings of the forced child transfer during the Armenian Genocide. According to the report, 30,000 Armenians were still being held in Upper Mesopotamia; about 58,500 in Constantinople and other state orphanages. Among the most important sources for understanding the nature of child transfer during the Armenian Genocide are found amongst the records of the LN Aleppo and Constantinople Rescue Homes. They contain nearly 1850 individual intake surveys of the Armenians rescued from Muslim captivity with a photograph and data about parent's name, place of origin, age, and a short life-story about 1915 events and captivity. The aim of this paper is to study the role of forced transfer of the Armenian children in conceptualizing the 5th element of crime in the Genocide Convention and demonstrate that the Armenian Genocide prima facie satisfies the elements of Genocide Convention Article 2 (e) to bring claims of genocidal forcible child transfer.

Dr. **Edita Gzoyan** is a senior researcher at the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute. She has held a PhD in History/International Relations and LLM. She is an author of nearly 30 scientific articles and a book; the second one being in preparation. Dr. Gzoyan is a country editor (Armenia) of the international peer-reviewed journal Central and Eastern European Review. She has several grants for the research on the legal aspects of the genocide. The current work is also being implemented within the framework of ANSEF grant.

Shushan Khachatryan (Yerevan State University, Armenia)

The young Turks' orphanages for the Armenian children-survivors of the Armenian genocide

Article II of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide includes the definition of Genocide as "forcibly transferring children of one group to another group." This happened to the Armenian children in the governmental orphanages of the Young Turks. The historical documents confirm that Islamization of the youngest Armenian children was a part of genocidal ideology and was prepared by implementing special strategic, educational and methodological plans. The Armenian children were taken to Muslim

orphanages: the Antoura orphanage (Lebanon) was main center of Islamization. Their Armenian names were replaced with Muslim names, the boys were circumcised, it was forbidden to speak Armenian for those who remembered it, and they had to speak Turkish instead. This research is intended to reveal some peculiarities of the Young Turk treatment of the Armenian children from the beginning of the 1915 until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the dissolution of Young Turk Government. This study is constructed with the following scheme:

- The evacuation of the Armenian children to the orphanages
- The Young Turks' orphanages for the Armenian children: ideological, educational and methodological backgrounds
- The Islamization of the children at orphanages
- Conclusive observances

A special attention is paid to two appointees of the Young Turk Government to bring to life the plan of Islamization of the Armenian children: the Naval Minister **Jemal Pasha** (1872-1922) and feminist writer, educator Hlide Edip Adivar (1884-1964).

Shushan Khachatryan, born in Yerevan, Armenia. Since 2011 I am a PhD student at Yerevan State University, Faculty of Theology. Since March 2013 I am working as a researcher at the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute. From September 2013 to July 2014 I did research as an Erasmus PhD student at the University Ca' Foscari of Venice, Italy. Since January 2015 I am a member of International Association of Genocide Scholars. The theme of my PhD thesis is "The Issues of Religious Studies of the Armenian Genocide".

PANEL 42: Children born of war – an international research and training initiative (III): History and Memory

Lukas Schretter (Ludwig Boltzmann-Institute for Research into Consequences of War in Graz, Austria)

Remembering children of occupation: Collective and individual memories of children fathered by British soldiers during the post-war occupation of Austria and Germany

Children of Occupation – “*Besatzungskinder*” – have not played an important role in collective memory of the Allied occupation period, in both Germany and Austria respectively. Regarded as an offspring of the “enemy”, these children, whose fathers were members of the Allied forces and whose mothers were locals, faced discrimination and social exclusion for decades. Only in recent years, the topic “Children of Occupation” has evolved from a taboo topic to one being more openly discussed in society. The proposed presentation focuses, first, on collective memory of children fathered by British soldiers during the post-war occupation of Austria and Germany. Based on official documents, reports, and newspaper articles, it explores society’s perceptions of British Children of Occupation and the multi-dimensional processes of discrimination which these children and their mothers had to endure. The exclusion of these children from the public’s interest and memory was also reflected in the neglect of German and Austrian academia to conduct research on this important issue. Second, the proposed presentation focuses on individual memories of Children of Occupation. Letters, diaries, memoirs, and interviews with children of British soldiers allow to gain insight into how the children themselves interpreted their experiences and their family histories during the occupation period. Furthermore, they represent how such self-reflection changed over the years following the immediate post-war and occupation years. Finally, the increasing attention which is bestowed upon Children of Occupation today is being discussed. Rising interest has encouraged many of them to share their personal memories in public. In return, their narratives have had an impact on how collective memory of Children of Occupation has been constructed, shared, and passed on.

Lukas Schretter studied *Volkskunde* in Vienna and Berlin as well as Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam. From 2012 to 2014 he worked as a Research Trainee and from 2014 to 2015 as a Researcher at the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site. Since November 2015 he has been an Early Stage Researcher at the Ludwig Boltzmann-Institute for Research into Consequences of War in Graz. As such, he is currently writing his dissertation on children fathered by British soldiers during the post-war occupations of Austria and Germany within the EU-funded Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions Innovative Training Network *Children Born of War – Past Present Future*.

Philipp Rohrbach (Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, Austria)

Coming to terms with social stigmatisation and racist discrimination in narratives of children of African American GIs and Austrian women

The children of African American GIs and Austrian women or Displaced Persons born between the years 1945 and 1956 were subjected to repeated discrimination for decades in post-war Austria. Regarded by large parts of the Austrian population as children of the enemy, they were stigmatised and defamed not only because of their fathers’ service in the US military, but also because they were often born out of wedlock. Moreover, they were often discriminated against racially because of the colour of their skin. Their experiences and their life stories were for a long time repressed and tabooed in Austrian society. Even in their own families, their fate was not spoken about. Only in recent years has a framework been established in Austria, through initiatives of those affected and through scholarly research projects, in which the fate and the

life stories of the children of the occupation in general and of the black children of the occupation in particular found resonance. On the basis of the interviews conducted in recent years in the project "Lost in Administration", this paper will examine how the children of African American GIs and Austrian women describe their experiences of discrimination in their narratives, and to what they ascribe these experiences. Do they draw a distinction in their narratives between social and racist forms of ostracism and discrimination? If so: were social and racist experiences of discrimination limited to specific periods in life or do both constitute a constant in their life stories? Finally, this paper will explore the strategies that were employed in these narratives to come to terms with social and racist discrimination.

Philipp Rohrbach completed a BA in History and an MA in Contemporary History at the University of Vienna. He has worked on numerous research and exhibition projects and has since 2010 been a research assistant at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI). Since 2013 he has been researching the life stories of children of African American GIs and Austrian women together with a team of historians in the framework of the project "Lost in Administration" at the Centre for Jewish Cultural History in the University of Salzburg.

Barbara Stelzl-Marx (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research into Consequences of War (BIK), Graz – Vienna – Raabs, Austria)

"My father – the enemy": Interviewing soviet children of occupation in Austria

Soviet children of occupation were born between late 1945 and mid-1956 in Austria; some following voluntary sexual relations between local women and Red Army soldiers, others as a result of rape. They were considered by many to be "children of the enemy", and encountered various forms of discrimination and stigmatisation. The "Russians" had always been the bogeyman in the Nazi era and their conduct during the last stage of the War was still fresh in the memory. This negative attitude was further reinforced by the Cold War and the growing East-West divide. Soviet occupation children were largely a "fatherless" generation. By the time of their birth even fathers who wanted to stay in touch had generally been either sent home or transferred to another barracks in line with the Kremlin's view that intimate relations between Soviet soldiers and Austrians were politically and ideologically reprehensible. Military personnel were not allowed to marry or to remain in the West; nor could their foreign partners follow them to the Soviet Union. Even after the signing of the Austrian State Treaty and the end of the occupation in 1955, the political situation largely ruled out further contact. This situation was exacerbated by the onset of the Cold War. In many cases, the children involved were hemmed in by a wall of silence that in some cases persists to this day. This has led to widespread questions about personal identity and searches for their "roots". Against this background, the proposed paper analyses how Soviet children of occupation describe their biographies and experiences in oral history interviews. Were they confronted with discrimination and stigmatisation in the different periods of their lives? If yes, how is this depicted and what strategies of resilience – if any – are mentioned in the interviews? Finally, this paper will discuss methodological questions concerning interviewing this particular group of children of war.

Doz. Dr. **Barbara Stelzl-Marx**, born in Graz, Austria, in 1971, deputy director of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research into Consequences of War (BIK), Graz – Vienna – Raabs, Austria, and vice-president of the Austrian UNESCO Commission, Vienna. She studied history, Russian and English/American studies in Graz, Oxford, Volgograd and the Stanford University, CA. In 2010 she finished her prize-winning habilitation in contemporary history. She is director of research of the EU-funded Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions Innovative Training Network Children Born of War – Past Present Future. Numerous has published numerous publications, among them the monography *Stalins Soldaten in Österreich. Die Innensicht der sowjetischen*

Besatzung (Böhlau 2012) and *Besatzungskinder. Die Nachkommen alliierter Soldaten in Österreich und Deutschland* (Böhlau 2015), that she edited together with Silke Satjukow.

PANEL 43: WW II: Germany and Scandinavia

Baard Herman Borge (Harstad University College, Norway)

Wehrmachtskinder

War-babies in South Varanger: a testimony to widespread contact between Norwegians and Germans. In the period 1941–46, around 200 children of Norwegian mothers and German fathers were born in the Finnmark municipality of Sør-Varanger. Given that the population of the municipality was 8,000, this is a strikingly high number, and probably higher than in any other place in Norway. The article discusses the reasons why Sør-Varanger seems to be exceptional. The analysis presupposes a clear relationship between the number of war babies in an area and the total degree of informal contact between German soldiers and the local Norwegian population. The German military was spread over the whole of Norway, but the at least 10,000 war babies were not distributed equally across the country. The five most northerly counties are markedly overrepresented in the statistics. How can the regional distribution of war babies and the exceptional situation in Sør-Varanger be explained?

Dr. **Baard Herman Borge** is an Associate Professor at Harstad University College in Norway. Borge holds a PhD in Comparative Politics from the University of Bergen. He published a number of articles, book chapters and essays in Norwegian, English and German. Most of his work relates to the history of the Norwegian collaborators (quislings), both during and after WWII – and to Fascism more generally. He also presented numerous research papers at national and international conferences.

Lisbeth Matzer (University of Graz, Austria)

Austrian youth and “total war“. The Hitler-Youth’s wartime deployment in Austria, 1939-1945

The national socialist regime in Germany and Austria aimed at the complete indoctrination of the future generations of “German” citizens. Children and Youth were subject to multiple attempts of indoctrination – foremost in the Hitler Youth. Adolescents were radicalized and volunteered to join the fight at the front. Those staying behind sooner or later were also dragged into “total war” as their workforce was needed for the “Endsieg”. This paper examines the development and exertion of the Hitler Youth’s wartime deployment conducted in Austria from 1939 to 1945 including the enforced military training of the young substitute soldiers in the late phases of the war. What role did the Hitler Youth play in the “fight at home”? What tasks did it take over? What kind of changes did the ongoing war bring to the Hitler Youth service in Austria? What means were employed to forge dedicated youth soldiers? These questions will be answered by a combined analysis of regional Hitler Youth documents and newspaper reports on its wartime deployment in Austria. By focusing on the activities conducted in the seven districts of the “Ostmark”, this paper not only provides a bottom-up analysis of the actual Hitler Youth work but also contributes to form a more differentiated view of “the” Hitler Youth organization.

Lisbeth Matzer studied history and educational science in Graz and is currently preparing her PhD in History about the Hitler Youth Organization in Austria for which she secured a grant of the OeAD. Since 2014 she holds a research position at the University of Graz, department of economic and social history, and runs an educational program at the adult education facility Retzhof. Her main research interests are: history of education, invention and proliferation of collective identities, narratives and memory, European fascism. Lisbeth Matzer is currently vice-president of the International Students of History Association based in Zurich and Berlin.

Michelle Mouton (University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, USA)

Interrupted families: *Kinderlandverschickung* and familial relationships

During the Second World War, German families were torn apart as men were conscripted into the war; women were called to perform war-related work at home, and children were evacuated from German cities. These physical separations were compounded by the different experiences they entailed and by the intensified National Socialist ideology that often accompanied children's evacuation (*Kinderlandverschickung*, KLV). For some children evacuation provided adventure and excitement and deepened their ties to National Socialism. Other children found it traumatic to be separated from their families, disliked the competitive nature of KLV activities, and lived with a constant fear of the war. The memories of this time and the letters children wrote home reflect their different experiences in the KLV. As the war drew to a close, and the battlefield encroached on evacuation homes, children were again evacuated. The paper I propose will use interviews I conducted with Germans, who were evacuated by the Nazis as children, and letters children sent home from the KLV to explore how the evacuation and the return journey affected familial bonds. It will ask when wartime trauma helped children stay connected and when it caused families bonds to weaken. How did children's gender and age affect whether families stayed connected? Finally, it will investigate how the KLV evacuation is recorded in letters and remembered today.

Michelle Mouton is Associate Professor of History of Modern European History and Women's History at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh. She is author of *From Nurturing the Nation to Purifying the Volk: German Family Policy 1918-1945* (Cambridge University Press 2007). More recently she has been interviewing Germans who experienced the Second World War as children for a new project entitled *Kriegskinder: German children from War to Cold War 1944-1955*. From this project she recently published an article in *Central European History Journal* entitled: "Lost, Missing and Displaced Children: The Great Struggle to Provide for the War's Youngest Children."

PANEL 44: Israel / Palestine (V)

Bernadette Edtmaier and Alexandra Preitschopf (University of Salzburg, Austria)

Images of children used in pro-Palestinian activism

As a result of the Israeli-Gaza conflict in summer 2014, large pro-Palestinian demonstrations took place in Europe. In this context also many child-related slogans and images were used: Participants accused Israel of murdering Palestinian children chanting “child murderer Israel” or showing pictures of badly injured or dead children. Sometimes, dolls or even real children in pure white robes, stained with “blood”, were spotted at the demonstrations. Besides, images of children who suffer or even die because of Israeli military actions are part of other contemporary pro-Palestinian manifestations as well, especially in the field of popular culture: be it in the form of caricatures, in lyrics of rap songs or even in films and television series which are quite widespread and therefore important “carriers” of ideas and stereotypes. This is also relevant with regard to (the charge of) anti-Semitism: Since (and especially in) the Medieval Europe, Jews have been accused of killing non-Jewish children to use their blood for religious rituals. Hence, people who currently accuse Israel of intendedly killing Palestinian children, are often supposed to refer to this blood libel and consequently to be anti-Semitic. On this basis, the present paper aims to analyse (the function of) current manifestations of “child-murderer-Israel”-accusations as well as debates about charges of antisemitism, focussing on the following questions: What does the symbol of a child stand for and how do images of wounded children effect people? Why and since when are images of children used particularly often in pro-Palestinian activism? In which various ways are these images used? Which manifestations might refer to the blood libel and why?

Bernadette Edtmaier studied History and Fine Arts and is currently a PhD student at the University of Salzburg. Her doctoral thesis is on antisemitism among Austrian youth and adolescents. Together with Alexandra Preitschopf, she is currently working on a project about pro-Palestinian demonstrations, which took place in Austria in summer 2014.

Alexandra Preitschopf studied French and History at the University of Salzburg. Currently, she is a PhD student in History at the University of Salzburg and works as a university assistant at the Institute of Contemporary History at the University of Linz. Her doctoral thesis deals with the question of antisemitism among Muslims in contemporary France and puts special emphasis on discourse and media analyses.

Charles W. Greenbaum (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel) and Muhammad M. Haj-Yahia (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel)

Exposure of Palestinian adolescents to prolonged and cumulative military violence: A study of its mental health consequences and resiliency factors

In spite of much previous research there is a need for studying the consequences of the exposure of Palestinian children and adolescents to chronic, cumulative, and prolonged military violence including intergenerational consequences buffering effects of protective and resiliency factors. Self-administered questionnaires were administered to a random systematic cluster sample of 2,934 Palestinian adolescents aged 14-19 and their parents from the West Bank and East Jerusalem, who lived under conditions of prolonged and chronic EMV. The study measured EMV using the Haj-Yahia (2009) Exposure to Political Violence Scale, and investigated state of mental health (MH) and the contribution of protective and resilience factors among both parents and their adolescent offspring. We found a correlation between extent of EMV among Palestinian adolescents and state of MH, including withdrawal, somatization, anxiety and depression, attention problems, thought problems, social problems, delinquent behavior,

aggressive behavior, and PTSD. Independently of the above, there were effects of the protective factors of gender, self-esteem, parents' loving and intimate parenting styles or rejecting and hostile parenting styles, parents' self-efficacy, positive family environment, and parents' perceptions of their social capital. Parents' EMV significantly related to their MH state. We found positive relationships between MH state of parents on the measures cited above and the mental health state of their offspring. Palestinian adolescents' EMV has very serious long-term mental health consequences. Since EMV also had detrimental effects on resilience and protective factors their mitigating effects on mental health consequences were weak.

Prof. **Charles W. Greenbaum**, is James Marshall Professor Emeritus of Psychology, the Department of Psychology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and was the founding Director of the Levin Center for Child Development and of the Irving Harris Center for Training in Early Child Development. He has researched parenting, child development and exposure to risk, including medical risk and exposure to violence, has co-edited books on the topic of children at risk, and has organized two international conferences on political violence and children.

Prof. **Muhammad M. Haj-Yahia**, is Gordon Brown Professor of Social Work at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem is Chairperson of the Doctoral Program and has done extensive research on violence in different contexts, including domestic, school and community violence. He is currently engaged in a large-scale study on the effects of political violence to children and adolescents in the Palestinian – Israeli conflict.

PANEL 45: Film (II)

Sabine Frühstück (University of California at Santa Barbara, USA)

Visualizing children at war in 20th century Japan

The frequency with which children have appeared in close proximity to soldiers is perhaps one of the most striking features of the visualization and textualization of war in the twentieth century. Such pictures and narratives become almost insignificant in their mass visibility at certain moments throughout the twentieth century. Around the world, such textual and visual configurations seem to iterate a pronounced intimacy, similarity, and natural connection between children and soldiers, innocence and war making. Whether Japanese Imperial Army soldiers are shown handing out caramels to Chinese children in the territories they had just conquered in the 1940s or U.S. soldiers appear chatting and laughing with Iraqi and Afghani children in the early 2000s, such depictions, I argue in this paper, feed into the modern ideology of the inevitability, humanity, and naturalization of war. Adopting John Hutnyk's term "trinketization" by which he means that children are turned into decorative trinkets, I will suggest that pictures and stories of children with soldiers work to evoke pity and sympathy, romanticize children, and trinketize childhood. They are collectively utilized to transmute war into an aesthetic and rhetoric of rescue, peace, and (comforting) order. The context of war is manipulated. The exact nature of the relationship between soldiers of one nation and the children of another as well as the circumstances of their encounters are concealed. There is always a grateful, smiling child on hand to gaze up at a soldier, creating a fiction of facts that will form the basis of my analysis in this paper.

Sabine Frühstück is a professor of Modern Japanese Cultural Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She is mostly concerned with the history and ethnography of modern and contemporary Japanese culture and its relations to the rest of the world. Her current book project examines the various relations between childhood and militarism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Frühstück is the author of *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (2003) and *Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army* (2007). Most recently, she has co-edited *Recreating Japanese Men* (2011) and published essays on "Sexuality and Nation States" in *Global History of Sexuality* (Blackwell 2014) and on "Sexual History of World War II" in *The Cambridge History of World War II - Vol. III: Total War: Economy, Society, Culture at War* (Cambridge UP 2015).

Alexandra Lloyd (University of Oxford, UK)

Beginning again: War children in contemporary German film

A number of German-language films have been produced in the last decade which focus on the experiences of some of the last eye-witnesses to the Second World War, the war children born in the 1920s and 1930s. This paper examines two recent films which thematize children's encounter with the brutal effects of war: *Lore* (2012, dir. by Cate Shortland) and *Wolfskinder* (2013, dir. by Rick Ostermann). From the children's perspective, we witness a fight for survival, and the aftermath of war, as the young protagonists attempt to fend for themselves and come to terms with the legacy of warfare and Nazism. Both films utilize standard cinematic tropes of childhood – fairy-tale allusions and the Romantic association of childhood with nature – which in themselves embody the close conceptual associations between childhood and a specifically 'German' cultural heritage. This paper examines the way in which children's first-hand experience of war is portrayed, and the significance of film in the context of cultural memories of World War II in Germany. This paper considers the different ways in which these two films explore and comment on German identity and ideas about Germany as an emerging nation, both in the immediate post-war period – when the films are set – and as a re-unified state after 1990

– the context in which the films were made and distributed. I read the films as part of a wider discourse on the legacy of Nazism in the Berlin Republic, particularly in the context of recent debates about German wartime suffering and victimhood.

Dr **Alexandra Lloyd** is Lecturer in German at St Edmund Hall and Magdalen College, University of Oxford. Her main research interests lie in representations of youth, memories of war and dictatorship, and the material culture of childhood. Her doctoral thesis (University of Oxford, 2012) examined post-1990 representations of childhood and youth under Nazism in literature, film, and museum exhibitions. She has published articles on German and Austrian cultural memories of the Third Reich, and recently co-edited a special issue of *Oxford German Studies* on childhood in German film after 1989. Forthcoming articles explore child figures in Austrian director Michael Haneke's cinematic oeuvre, and representations of war children in the occupation period.

Fran Pheasant-Kelly (University of Wolverhampton, UK)

Ethics and the figure of the child in images of war and displacement

A documentary photograph taken by *Life* photographer, George Rodger, *Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp, April 1945* frames a young boy strolling down a road past a verge strewn with bodies, the carefully framed shot offering, one might argue, an image of hope in an image of total desolation. *Accidental Napalm Attack* taken by Nick Ut in 1972 centrally frames a young girl in long shot as a victim of war. In 2015, an image of a single Syrian refugee child washed up on the beach mobilised worldwide reaction in a way that reports of thousands of displaced adults had not. Each of these child images marshal powerful emotions and, as film scholar, Karen Lury suggests, 'one child's experience or more accurately their presence as a small emotive figure can be used to stand in for many deaths' (2010: 107). In a related vein, the framing of a child figure in Kathryn Bigelow's 2008 film, *The Hurt Locker*, seems designed to provoke strong reaction in the spectator. Previously befriended by Sergeant James, the young boy, known as 'Beckham' has been surgically implanted with explosives and James is the first to discover his body. A close-up discloses the boy's bloody torso, crudely stitched together, and encasing a bomb. Extreme close ups of 'Beckham's' face cut to close-ups of James's face to convey his physical, moral and mental revulsion and though James first plans to attach further explosives to the boy's body, he then decides to cut it open to defuse the internal bomb (in order to return 'Beckham' to his family). The use of extreme and ultra close-ups thereafter accentuates the repellent act of child murder and provides a contrast to the documentary images framed in long shot described earlier. The real images appear carefully composed, whilst the fictional image places the spectator in extreme proximity to the dead child. One might question first, the ethics of formulating an aesthetic composition from real war situations and second, the morality of presenting the dead body of a child, albeit fictionalised, as spectacle. Indeed, one might question the ethics of displaying suffering in any scenario. As Bernstein contends, 'ethical reflection on media mediated images of pain inevitably becomes an ethical reflection on that vulnerability of the human to be harmed and imaged; vulnerability to bodily harm and the 'eyes' of diverse media are two aspects of the same vulnerability' (2012: xii). Bernstein's argument is clearly justified for images of real atrocity, but becomes less relevant in a fictional context. Nonetheless, *The Hurt Locker*, along with other films examined here, does make reference to historical tragedy, and therefore invites contemplation of the ethical responsibilities of filmmakers. Engaging with the work of Lury (2010) and ethics theorists, this paper debates the signification and ethics of mediating the child figure in images of war.

Fran Pheasant-Kelly is MA Course Leader and Reader in Film and Television Studies at the University of Wolverhampton, UK where she is also co-director of the Centre for Film, Media, Discourse and Culture. Her research centres on fantasy, 9/11, abjection, and space, which form

the basis for a co-edited collection *Spaces of the Cinematic Home: Behind the Screen Door* (Routledge, 2015) and two monographs, *Abject Spaces in American Cinema: Institutions, Identity and Psychoanalysis in Film* (Tauris, 2013) and *Fantasy Film Post 9/11* (Palgrave, 2013).