

MEMORY & ACTION

UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM MAGAZINE | FALL 2014

ФАШИЗМУ-
- НЕТ!

“Fascism – No!”

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM



SOME WERE NEIGHBORS

COLLABORATION & COMPLICITY IN THE HOLOCAUST

**“This exhibition transforms
how I teach the Holocaust.”**

—Tosha Tillotson, middle school social studies teacher

What choices did ordinary people make during the Holocaust?

This special exhibition showcases new discoveries about why the Holocaust happened—why some people participated and why others chose to help their fellow human beings.

Visit this free exhibition open daily on the Museum’s Lower Level.

100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW
Washington, DC 20024
202.488.0400

Metro: Smithsonian

[somewereneighbors.ushmm.org](https://www.somewereneighbors.ushmm.org)

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM

This special exhibition was underwritten in part by grants from The David Berg Foundation; The Blanche and Irving Laurie Foundation; the Benjamin and Seema Pulier Foundation; the Lester Robbins and Sheila Johnson Robbins Traveling and Special Exhibitions Fund, established in 1990; and Sy and Laurie Sternberg.

CONTENTS

Vol. 3, No. 1 FALL 2014

FEATURES

10

Ukraine

The Role Holocaust History
Can Play in the Future

16

Learning from Rwanda
20 Years Later

DEPARTMENTS

2

Message from the Museum

Antisemitism Past and Present

4

What You Do Matters

Helping Religious Leaders
Confront Antisemitism

6

Rescuing the Evidence

Spotlight on Morocco

8

Impact

The *St. Louis* in the News

21

Events & Exhibitions

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Magazine

Chairman
Tom A. Bernstein

Vice Chairman
Joshua B. Bolten

Director
Sara J. Bloomfield

Chief Marketing Officer
Lorna Miles

Communications Director
Andrew Hollinger

Creative Services Director
Amy Donovan

Editorial Director
Anne Merrill

Magazine Editor
Barbara E. Martinez

Art Director
Pam del Canto

Photo Editor
Miriam Lomaskin

Photographer
Joel Mason-Gaines

Production Manager
David Fitzgerald

A publication of the
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW
Washington, DC 20024-2126
ushmm.org

Send inquiries to magazine@ushmm.org.

Copyright 2014



Sara Bloomfield took this photo of Museum historian Vadim Altskan during their trip to Ukraine in June 2014. *US Holocaust Memorial Museum*

from the Director

WE WORKED ON THIS ISSUE DURING A TUMULTUOUS SUMMER.

In Ukraine, which I visited earlier this year to meet with colleagues and officials, the crisis escalated. As the Syrian conflict continued in all its horror, a regime defector visited the Museum and gave us 50,000 images of torture that he had smuggled out of the country. A leader of the Iraqi Christian community also came and shared the plight of this and other minority groups trying to survive ISIS, as the world once again confronts evil. And I met with government officials from the United States, Germany, and France to discuss the alarming rise of antisemitism—including Holocaust glorification—in the very lands where the Holocaust happened.

Much of the turmoil in the world today resonates so deeply precisely because of the lessons of the Holocaust—lessons about group-targeted hate, the durability and danger of antisemitism, the power of ideological extremism, and the threat of genocide. The topics in this issue—antisemitism, Rwanda, Ukraine, and the legacy of the *St. Louis*—are reminders of how much the past can help us understand the present and make more informed decisions about the future.

History matters. The Museum has a lot to say about our world today and can help people think differently about the many challenges in our rapidly changing times.

Cover: On April 7, 2014, a masked man stands atop a barricade with a poster reading "Fascism—No!" at the regional administration building in Donetsk, Ukraine. *Alexander Ermochenko/AP*

Antisemitism

Past and Present

Much has been written about the alarming rise of antisemitism. The attention is important; so is historical context. Antisemitism is often called the longest hatred. It is the most adaptable and resilient—always there to fill a vacuum, provide a scapegoat, and offer simple answers to complex questions. Its durability speaks to its distinctiveness.

Antisemitism has existed in connection with monotheistic religions and in other traditions as well. It has existed on the right and the left; in democratic and autocratic societies; in good economic times and bad; among all social classes; under globalization and in more isolated societies; with and without a Jewish homeland; and, perhaps most tellingly, with and without Jews.

As Christianity came to define Western civilization, antisemitism grew as it served both political and theological goals. In 1492, Spain threatened its Jews with extermination if they did not convert or leave. The Enlightenment's vision of universal rights seemed promising, but secular society too found ways to hate Jews, resulting in social and economic exclusion. The Dreyfus Affair in France in 1894 rallied antisemites of all types. Darwinism spawned a range of theories about human genetics, such as the eugenics movement that was later distorted by Nazi scientists who defined Jews as a "race" capable of "infecting" superior races. For most of history, antisemitism has been a phenomenon of the right, as it tried to hold on to social and religious traditions or protect its economic status during rapidly changing times. But industrialization led to Jews being blamed for both the ills of capitalism and its ideological challenge—communism.

In recent years, new forms have emerged: anti-Zionism and Holocaust denial or, more insidiously, Holocaust minimization. And we see Holocaust glorification, as demonstrators throughout Western Europe shout slogans such as "Jews to the gas."



An office of *Lausitzer Rundschau*, a local newspaper in Brandenburg, Germany, was vandalized on September 5, 2014. *Lausitzer Rundschau/picture-alliance/dpa/AP Images*

But we would be foolish to focus solely on the recent spate of alarming acts. There is an equally worrisome problem. In Hungary and Greece, political parties with antisemitic agendas—Jobbik and Golden Dawn, respectively—have won seats in their parliaments. As a 2014 Human Rights First report stated, [these parties have] “put down deep roots that will be difficult to eradicate,” and their impact “now threaten[s] to erode European democracy from within.”

Seventy years ago Allied armies first encountered the horror of the camps—the ultimate manifestation of unchecked antisemitism. Today is not 1944 or 1894 or 1492, but today must be seen through a historical lens.

This is not a new problem, but Europe’s enduring one—and ours.

Helping Religious Leaders Confront Antisemitism



IN ADDITION TO DEVELOPING NEW PROGRAMS in light of rising global antisemitism, the Museum has long supported efforts to fight it by enlisting help from one of many Americans' most trusted sources: the pulpit of their local church. Indeed, the complex role churches played during the Holocaust continues to reverberate through Christian-Jewish relations. Many clergy welcomed the rise of the

Nazis; very few engaged in protest, rescue, or resistance.

At the annual Seminar for Seminary Faculty held by the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, professors of religion explore the profound theological questions raised by the failure of Christians to help the Jews. Dr. Amy Plantinga Pauw, a professor at the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary, attended the 2013 seminar, focusing on changes in Catholic teaching related to the Jews since Vatican II.

The participants reflected a variety of backgrounds but "we shared a commitment to teaching that history well," Pauw said. Pauw teaches a course on Dietrich Bonhoeffer—one of the few church leaders who openly opposed the Nazis and a Protestant theologian with a complex legacy.

"Bonhoeffer was one of the earliest opponents of the Nazi regime, but in 1933 his theology wasn't completely free of the casual antisemitism harbored by most Christians of his generation. He believed, for instance, that Jews would eventually need to convert to Christianity," said the Museum's Victoria Barnett, director of the Programs on Ethics, Religion, and the Holocaust. "But he was horrified by his church's silence about the Nazi measures and his general revulsion to Nazi atrocities led him to become active in the resistance, for which he was executed."

"Bonhoeffer's actions seem like they were ahead of his theology," said

Pauw. Her students will benefit from this awareness of history's complexity when they themselves become leaders of religious communities. They will face ingrained attitudes among their parishioners and will struggle with Biblical texts that reflect animosity toward Jews. "Holy Week, for example, is dangerous for Christian leaders in terms of Christian-Jewish relations. The texts reflect tension and animosity," Pauw said. "We're committed to helping our students move beyond that."

Pauw's students eventually will be leading parishes far and wide as trusted interpreters of global events, including rising contemporary antisemitism. In addition to their in-depth examinations of Bonhoeffer's theology and actions, Pauw gave her students the practical task of organizing a Days of Remembrance ceremony for the campus—something they could later use as a tool to raise their parishioners' awareness of Holocaust history.

"We're part of a tradition that has a strained relationship with Jews," Pauw said. She believes that by interpreting history for their parishioners, her students can help bring about a new tradition of interfaith understanding. ■

The Museum's Committee on Ethics, Religion, and the Holocaust (originally called the Committee on Church Relations) was established in 1989 to engage religious communities in Holocaust education and commemoration. The annual Seminar for Seminary Faculty of the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies is supported by the Hoffberger Family Fund and Joseph A. and Janeal Cannon and Family.



Top right: Dr. Amy Plantinga Pauw, *Jonathan Roberts*
Above: Dietrich Bonhoeffer (second from right) spent two years in prison for opposing the Nazi regime before he was hanged in April 1945. *US Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*

Securing the Future

The Museum is grateful for its dedicated **CORPORATE PARTNERS**, who support our extensive national and international programs. Thank you for committing to our vision of a world where people confront hatred, prevent genocide, and promote human dignity.



THE
CAMPAIGN
FOR THE
UNITED
STATES
HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM

Corporate Executive Circle \$100,000 and above



Corporate Leaders \$50,000-\$99,999



Corporate Sustainers \$25,000-\$49,999

Bank of America Merrill Lynch
Clark Construction Group, LLC
CME Group Inc.
DLA Piper LLP (US)
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver
& Jacobson LLP
Goldman Sachs
HBO
Latham & Watkins LLP
Mesirow Financial Holdings, Inc.
New York Mets
New York Life Insurance Company
State Street Corporation

Corporate Supporters \$10,000-\$24,999

Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP
Bloomberg L.P.
Booz Allen Hamilton Inc.
BTIG, LLC
Capital One
Chicago Tribune
Citadel Group Foundation
Citigroup Inc.
CortJet
Credit Suisse Group
EagleBank
Fifth Third Bank
First Bank of Highland Park
FTI Consulting, Inc.

Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP
Google Inc.
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Holland & Knight LLP
Jones Day
JPMorgan Chase & Co.
The Meltzer Group
Morgan Stanley
Morrison & Foerster LLP
University Hospitals
Wiley Rein LLP
Wintrust Commercial Banking
Zuckerman Spaeder LLP

Annual contributions from the Corporate Partners support the Museum's educational and outreach programs and its global impact. Corporate Partners giving levels range from \$10,000 to \$100,000 and above, offering rewarding benefits in recognition of valuable annual commitments. Benefits include priority access to the Museum, national recognition at signature Museum events, online, and in select publications, and invitations to premier events in Washington, DC, and across the country. For more information, contact Cara Sodos at 202.488.6143 or csodos@ushmm.org.

rescuing the evidence

THE HÉLÈNE CAZES-BENATAR COLLECTION

Dr. Susan Gilson Miller, while conducting research in the Museum's library, shows a document with a photograph of Hélène Cazes-Benatar from the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People. *US Holocaust Memorial Museum*



Spotlight on Morocco

Documenting the Holocaust in North Africa

THE MUSEUM'S GROWING BODY OF

international archival material is drawing attention to the geographic reach of the Holocaust and attracting new scholars to the field. Susan Gilson Miller, for one, has spent her career writing and teaching the history of North Africa at Brandeis, Harvard, and now University of California, Davis. The Holocaust was not her focus—until she came across an irresistible figure while conducting research in Morocco's state archives. Her discovery led her to the Museum and the collections it has rescued that document the Holocaust's reach into North Africa.

Hélène Cazes-Benatar, born in Tangier in 1898, was the first female lawyer in Morocco. Then the Holocaust reached the Vichy-controlled territory via discriminatory laws and a flood of refugees from Europe. As a Jew, Cazes-Benatar was disbarred, so she turned her energy toward helping Jews who were stuck in Morocco as they tried to secure passage to countries where they would be safe and free.

Cazes-Benatar, sometimes working with Vichy authorities, "helped hundreds, perhaps thousands, of refugees directly and by connecting them to refugee agencies," Miller said. "She was a nexus." After Morocco was liberated in 1942, Cazes-Benatar did a survey of its forced labor camps and started a job placement bureau for refugees.

The story of the Holocaust in North Africa documented in Cazes-Benatar's papers has not been told, Miller said. "Accounts of that period tend to be military and from the American perspective. There is very little on how Moroccans experienced the war." As she learned more about Cazes-Benatar, Miller discovered that the Museum offered the best archival resources for the book she plans to write.

The Museum holds a complete copy of Cazes-Benatar's papers. They were acquired from the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Israel under the auspices of the Jewish Source Study Initiative, an effort by the Museum's Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies to preserve Holocaust-related archives created by Jewish organizations and individuals. The papers are among a growing collection of Holocaust records from outside of Europe.

"We want people to understand that the Holocaust was not just a European phenomenon," said Michael Grunberger, director of the Office of Collections. "Our role is to create the collection of record on the Holocaust, and that includes documenting its long reach."

In 2008, the Museum became the first institution of its kind to establish an archival agreement with an Arab country. The National Library of Morocco agreed to microfilm and share

with the Museum its documents that relate to the wartime life experiences of Morocco's Jewish population. In addition, the Museum has collections documenting the Holocaust in Tunisia and Algeria, as well as by Zionist emissaries from the British Mandate in Palestine who were posted to the Jewish communities of North Africa.

Miller, who spent spring 2014 conducting research at the Mandel Center, said the Museum's rigorous standards would preserve these papers for all time in a condition that scholars can use them. "Some, not all, archives are not kept scrupulously. That's why the archive here becomes the collection of record." Soon, the Museum's collection will be housed in the new, state-of-the-art David and Fela Shapell Family Collections and Conservation Center.

The Museum's efforts to preserve evidence of the Holocaust as a global phenomenon are drawing scholars like Miller, the Mandel Center's 2013–14 Norman Raab Foundation Fellow. The difference in the quantity and quality of the Museum's North Africa collections between Miller's first visit three years ago and now is "striking," she said, and they continue to grow. "More people need to know about the incredible resources at the Museum for studying the history of the Holocaust and World War II in the Middle East, North Africa, and other parts of the non-Western world." ■

The *St. Louis* in the News

“THE ST. LOUIS IS FAMOUS NOW AS A failure of compassion that haunts American history,” wrote Christine Wicker in the *Dallas Morning News*. “It is difficult to imagine an America that would be so cruel and insensible to the terror of others.”

As tens of thousands of unaccompanied children from Central America arrived at the southern US border last spring and summer, Wicker and others, including CNN analyst David Gergen and Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick, turned to Holocaust history to make their case.

“As America grapples with a crisis of children on its southern border, another image from another time seems inescapable: that ship full of Jewish refugees off our shores as World War II approached,” wrote Gergen and Daniel Katz. “While certainly no Nazi Germany,

the growing humanitarian crisis in [the children’s] home countries is glaring as rising murder rates for youths are a driving force behind the mass exodus.”

The implied comparison speaks to strong moral concerns, but historical distinctions are also important. The situation today is very different from the Holocaust. Seventy-five years ago, the *St. Louis* carried 937 passengers, most of them Jews fleeing Nazi Germany. By the time the ship docked in Havana, many on board had learned that their Cuban entry documents were invalid. Upon departure from Cuba, the ship sailed to the Florida coast, passing close enough to see the lights of Miami. Passengers and others appealed to the United States to grant the remaining passengers sanctuary. US media covered their plight extensively, but the government declined to make

an exception to immigration quotas on their behalf. In contrast, four European nations agreed to admit the remaining 907 passengers, enabling most of them to survive. In the end, 254 of the *St. Louis* passengers died in the Holocaust.

“The *St. Louis* is a touchstone whenever there are people in need attempting to enter the United States and other countries,” said the Museum’s Sarah Ogilvie, co-author of *Refuge Denied: The St. Louis Passengers and the Holocaust*, which detailed the Museum’s successful effort to document the fate of every passenger on the *St. Louis*.

Few people are aware that in 1939 those fleeing political persecution could not claim asylum. In response to the failure of the United States and other countries to admit more refugees prior to the Holocaust, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed that everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum from persecution. In 1951, the United Nations Convention on Refugees laid the foundation for the basic international obligation not to return people to countries where their life or freedom would be threatened, an obligation the United States accepted in 1968.

It remains to be seen what will happen to the youths who crossed the US border this year and whether they will ultimately be considered illegal immigrants or granted asylum. By documenting stories such as that of the *St. Louis* and highlighting the changes that came about because of the Holocaust, the Museum provides a historical perspective—but no easy answers—to some of the challenging issues of our own times. ■

Jewish children on board the *St. Louis* ocean liner. In the front row, left, the brothers Herbert and Walter Karliner traveled with their parents and two sisters. After the ship returned to Europe, the Karliner family was granted refuge in France. Herbert and Walter survived the war living in various children’s homes and other locations. Their parents and sisters were deported to Auschwitz and killed. *US Holocaust Memorial Museum*





TRAVEL with **Purpose**

April 18–26, 2015

JOIN A MUSEUM DELEGATION TO LEARN ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST IN HUNGARY and what is being done to address

the current rise of antisemitism there. This trip will include tours of beautiful cities and Jewish sites, as well as meetings with community leaders, survivors, and experts who are struggling to rescue Holocaust evidence, ensure accurate Holocaust education, and defend history against distortion by today's Hungarian government.

For more information, contact Nadia Ficara at nficara@ushmm.org.

ALL PHOTOS: US HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM



This special program is open to members who have made a minimum \$5,000 annual gift to the Museum since January 1, 2014. Qualifying gifts may be made along with trip registration.

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM

UKRAINE

THE ROLE HOLOCAUST HISTORY CAN PLAY IN THE FUTURE

In Ukraine and Russia, World War II is not history. Many of the Russian-backed separatists who spearheaded the fighting in the eastern part of Ukraine are convinced they are carrying on a conflict that began 73 years ago when Germany invaded the Soviet Union. To achieve their political ends, they have tried to define the Ukrainian government and its supporters as “fascist” political descendants of the Ukrainians who cooperated with the Nazi occupiers who brought so much suffering upon their region. More than a million Ukrainian Jews were murdered during the Holocaust, and millions of non-Jewish Ukrainians were either killed or deported from the country to forced and slave labor camps.





“It is still very much a living memory,” said Elana Jakel, who is developing programs on the Holocaust in Ukraine for the Museum’s Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies. “Children and grandchildren of the World War II generation are invested in that history in a way that is quite different from our experience in the United States.” With major funding provided by The Piotr and Basheva Polsky Memorial Fund for the Study of Ukrainian Jewry, the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter Initiative, and the Jones Day Foundation, the Mandel Center’s newly launched initiatives on Ukrainian Jewry and the Holocaust in the Soviet Union will

bring greater focus to the history and relevance of the Holocaust in this part of the world—a region that has given little scholarly attention to the subject.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukrainians have focused considerable attention on an even earlier event—the 1932–33 famine caused by economic changes and forced Soviet collectivization of farms that resulted in the deaths of millions of Ukrainian men, women, and children. The event, known in Ukrainian as the Holodomor (“to kill by hunger”) and fully deserving of attention that was not possible in Soviet times, has cast a long shadow over

Ukrainian Jewish photographer Yevgeny Khaldei took this photo of civilians in Kerch, a city in then-Soviet Crimea, looking at photographs of German atrocities in February 1942. *Russian Union of Art Photographers*



“If we accept each other’s tragic history, then we can move forward.”

—Museum Historian Vadim Altskan

Ukrainians’ views of Soviet history and Russia.

Yale scholar Timothy Snyder has labeled as “Bloodlands” the territories between Germany and the Soviet Union that were occupied and re-occupied by these two dictatorships between 1933 and 1945. He has calculated that 14 million people were killed in these regions, including Ukraine, during those years. In these lands, greater study and remembrance of the Holocaust is needed and would lead to better understanding of the events taking place in Ukraine today. The Museum is working to make a shared understanding of Ukrainian history during the Holocaust a reality.

COMPETITION OF SUFFERING

The Holocaust in Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union had distinct characteristics. The majority of Ukrainian Jews were not deported to concentration camps and killing centers—they were killed by shooting squads, near their homes, and often by people who knew them. Few victims survived, and those who did lived behind the Iron Curtain, where there was no official recognition that Jews had been uniquely targeted as a group for mass murder.

Vadim Altskan’s parents survived World War II by fleeing to the interior of the Soviet Union. When he was growing up in Ukraine, he learned in school that terrible things had happened during the war, but not specifically to Jews. The ubiquitous memorials in Ukrainian towns commemorated the deaths of “peaceful Soviet citizens.” He and other young Jews learned about the Holocaust from parents and grandparents, asking questions when they looked at family photo albums and saw faces they did not recognize. “There was no word ‘Holocaust,’” said Altskan, a historian who oversees the Museum’s archival work in the former Soviet Union.

Now the subject is discussed openly there, he said, but is used as a political tool. For example, if someone mentions that Ukrainians were perpetrators of the Holocaust, someone else will allege that Jewish administrators played a role during the famine. This competition of suffering prevents Ukrainians from forging a united identity, Altskan said. “You have to take their pain into account or they will not understand your pain and sorrow. If we accept each other’s tragic history, then we can move forward.”



Scholars Elana Jakel (right) and Daniel Newman run the Museum’s Initiative on the Holocaust in the Former Soviet Union. *US Holocaust Memorial Museum*

16 МАРТА МЫ ВЫБИРАЕМ



ИЛИ

UNCOVERING UKRAINE'S HISTORY

While Ukrainian officials are focused on establishing the government's control in all parts of the country, the Museum is using its long experience in the region to lay the groundwork for a frank appraisal of the country's Holocaust history. During a June trip to Kyiv and Dnipropetrovsk, Altskan and Museum Director Sara Bloomfield met with government officials, intellectuals, archivists, and leaders of the Jewish community. They discussed the role the Museum could play in a national conversation about Ukraine's Holocaust history, a process that proved successful in Romania. After the Museum led an international outcry over claims that there had been no Holocaust there, the Romanian president appointed an international commission, chaired by Museum Founding Chairman Elie Wiesel, to produce a definitive history of Romania's role during the Holocaust.

The resulting report relied on documents in the Museum's archives. Similarly, the approximately 10 million pages of Ukrainian documents in the Museum's collection can be an invaluable resource for a new generation of Ukrainians ready to face the truth.

"The leaders we met with see the crisis in eastern Ukraine as a turning point. In contrast to the desire to exploit the past for present-day propaganda, Ukrainian leaders seem ready to confront the country's painful past as a way to build a stronger future," Bloomfield said. "They look to the Museum as a partner in this historic undertaking."

During the years between the fall of the Soviet Union and the beginning of the Ukrainian conflict last winter, the Museum focused on opening and copying previously inaccessible archives to make them available to researchers. Altskan described the lengthy process: First, Museum staff members would meet with

A billboard in Sevastopol, Ukraine, reads "On March 16 we will choose" and shows a map of Crimea with a swastika next to a map of Crimea with the colors of the Russian flag. It refers to Crimea's March 16 referendum on whether to join Russia or remain part of Ukraine. *Viktor Drachev/AFP/Getty Images*

A UKRAINIAN LENS ON WORLD WAR II



The life story of Yevgeny Khaldei exemplifies the complexity of Ukrainian history.

Khaldei was born to Jewish parents in 1917 in what is now Donetsk, Ukraine. His mother died shielding him during a pogrom when he was one year old. During the Ukrainian famine, he was forced to leave school to help feed his family. Khaldei took up photography as a hobby—building his first camera out of a cardboard box—and published pictures celebrating factory workers and agricultural laborers on collective farms. While he was taking some of the Soviet Union’s iconic photographs of World War II, German forces overran his hometown and killed his family.

Khaldei’s photographs recall images of the war Westerners are familiar with, but from an Eastern perspective. The destroyed villages are in the Soviet Union, not France. The scenes of liberation are from Budapest and Vienna, not Paris or Amsterdam. Soldiers take down swastikas and raise flags featuring the hammer and sickle. These photographs and additional artifacts related to Khaldei are part of the Museum’s collection.

Khaldei, who covered the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg after the war, lost his position as a photographer in 1948 when Josef Stalin targeted prominent Jews. After Stalin’s death, Khaldei was able to resume his career—until he was forced out in a new wave of antisemitism in the 1970s. He finally began achieving recognition for his wartime photography after the fall of the Soviet Union. Khaldei died in 1997.[‡]

Left: Soviet troops trample a Nazi flag as they walk through the outskirts of Vienna. According to Alexander and Alice Nakhimovsky,[‡] Khaldei said, “People often ask me if I put the flag there. I did not. What I did do was set fire to the building,” which belonged to the commandant of a concentration camp. **Right:** Inspired by the photograph of Americans raising their flag at Iwo Jima, Khaldei took this photograph of a Soviet soldier raising their flag over the Reichstag in Berlin. **Below:** Yevgeny Khaldei on a rooftop in Budapest. *Russian Union of Art Photographers*



[‡]Alexander and Alice Nakhimovsky, eds., *Witness to History: The Photographs of Yevgeny Khaldei* (New York: Aperture, 1997) 4–13.

“It’s an important moment in Ukrainian history, and we’re poised to play a role.”

—Museum Director Sara Bloomfield

directors of archives to explain the program and hire a local historian to survey the archives’ contents. After negotiating an agreement with the archive, relevant documents would be copied and brought to the Museum to be preserved. He said the deliberately low-profile project has existed for more than a decade, successfully bringing numerous collections to the Museum.

Archival collections from Ukraine and other countries formerly behind the Iron Curtain will help Jakel and her Mandel Center colleagues attract scholars from Ukraine, Russia, and other countries working on topics that previously would have been impossible to study. This upcoming January, for example, the Mandel Center will hold a seminar for students titled “A Research Introduction to the Holocaust in the Soviet Union.”

“We’re trying to reach them before they’ve committed to a dissertation topic or field,” said Jakel, who wrote her dissertation on the experiences of Jews in Ukraine after the Holocaust. “We hope they will be inspired and pursue their own research.”

New scholarship can help de-politicize discussions of history in Ukraine, especially when based on documentary evidence. “It’s important for people who are not heavily invested in either side to look at the issues calmly,” Jakel said. “That’s something we want to instill in younger scholars through the seminar.”

Altskan hopes increased academic scholarship will lead to books and films that can draw popular attention to the history of the Holocaust in Ukraine. “The more primary sources you bring in, the better the chance that information will reach a general audience,” he said. By facilitating research and encouraging scholarly interest in Ukraine, the Museum is participating in the long process of spreading global awareness of this history.

Within Ukraine, the Museum will have ample



opportunities to promote a transparent narrative of Holocaust history once the situation has stabilized. The Museum hopes to work with the government to establish Holocaust studies programs in Ukrainian universities, for example. Local museums will have access to assistance from the Museum to better preserve and contextualize artifacts. The Museum’s training programs for civil society professionals may find an eager audience in Ukraine.

Bloomfield believes that it is impossible to understand the Holocaust without understanding what happened in Ukraine. But it is impossible to fully understand what happened in Ukraine without Ukrainians themselves contributing to that discovery, which makes the resolution of the current conflict an opportunity. “It’s an important moment in Ukrainian history,” Bloomfield said, “and we’re poised to play a role.” ■

Tents shelter people from around Ukraine who came to Kyiv to participate in protests. Sara Bloomfield took this photo during her June visit. *US Holocaust Memorial Museum*

Learning from Rwanda



20 Years Later

Holocaust survivor Margit Meissner stood on a balcony overlooking an open-air prison courtyard. Her 92-year-old frame seemed frail in contrast to the hundreds of men gathered below, standing or sitting in the shade cast by the prison wall. Many wore pink or orange uniforms: pink for those awaiting sentencing, orange for those already sentenced for their roles in humanity's most abhorrent crime—genocide.

The prison warden handed her a microphone and she spoke to the men in French. “I said, ‘I know many of you will return to your families and communities after your time at the prison is over, and I hope that you will be a positive force and help with the process of healing and reconciliation,’” Meissner recalled.

Meissner visited the prison in southern Rwanda as part of a delegation from the Museum's Center for the Prevention of Genocide (CPG) to the official commemoration last April of the 20th anniversary of the 1994 genocide. The delegation, chaired by US Holocaust Memorial Council Chairman Tom Bernstein and Committee on Conscience member Strive Masiyiwa, met with the Rwandan president and other officials, as well as genocide survivors and those who helped them. On April 7, the anniversary of the start of the genocide, the delegation joined UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, US Permanent Representative to the United Nations Samantha Power, Tony Blair, and other leaders from Europe and Africa, along with thousands of Rwandans at Amahoro stadium in Kigali for the commemoration ceremony. The Museum also hosted a private dinner for Ambassador Power, the US government delegation to the commemoration, and representatives from the Shoah Foundation.

The delegation traveled to sites of some of the largest massacres, including a church where victims had sought

shelter and where their clothing remains as a memorial. Face-to-face meetings with victims, rescuers, and perpetrators challenged the group to imagine how neighbors living peaceably could turn on one another and become killers, and how they could dwell side by side and govern together afterward.

FAILURE TO PREVENT

Beginning in April 1994 and lasting for nearly 100 days, up to one million Rwandans, predominantly Tutsis, were massacred when a Hutu extremist-led government launched a plan to wipe out the country's entire Tutsi minority and any others who opposed their policies. Although the killings were covered by the international media and acknowledged by the United Nations and its member states, including the United States, the international community largely ignored the Rwandan genocide while it was happening.

“The work of the Museum is animated in part by the failure of the United States during the Holocaust,” said CPG Director Cameron Hudson. “Its founders envisioned an institution that could help sound the alarm and alert the conscience of the American people in the face of future genocide. Our failure to respond to the genocide in Rwanda raises many of the same questions.”

Inset: Holocaust survivor and Museum volunteer Margit Meissner speaks to inmates at Nyanza Prison in Rwanda on April 3, 2014. Left: Clothing of people killed during the Rwandan genocide is on display at the Ntarama Memorial Church, where thousands sought shelter and were murdered. Laura E. Pobl/US Holocaust Memorial Museum



Margit Meissner speaks with Jean Baptiste Munyankor, a survivor of the Rwandan genocide, inside the Ntarama Memorial Church in Rwanda on April 1, 2014. “I as a survivor feel very much connected to the survivors I meet here because of their reactions to me,” Meissner said. *Laura E. Pobl/US Holocaust Memorial Museum*

To better understand when and how genocide in Rwanda could have been prevented, the Museum spearheaded efforts to examine the international decision making that preceded it. These efforts included collecting, studying, and publicly disseminating documents related to how the United Nations and its member states responded to the lead up to and start of genocide. Also, the Museum convened, for the first time, many of the officials who were in power at the time of the genocide to discuss how and why they made the decisions they did.

In partnership with the National Security Archive at the George Washington University, the Museum made available some 25,000 pages of newly declassified documents that provide insights into closed UN Security Council sessions

in the days and weeks leading up to the genocide. They reveal how much was known about events taking place on the ground, how those events were interpreted at the time, and their level of urgency. They allow reconstruction of the decisions that led to just a small peacekeeping force being left on the ground—which ultimately proved ineffective.

LESSONS LEARNED

The gathering of Rwanda decision makers and eyewitnesses took place at a conference in the Netherlands, co-sponsored by The Hague Institute for Global Justice. Participants included those who negotiated peace agreements before the genocide; those responsible for implementing those agreements, such as the Canadian head of the UN

“No other institution is doing this, taking a concerted, systematic look at the commonalities and differences in three cases of genocide since the Holocaust . . .”

—Cameron Hudson, Director, Center for the Prevention of Genocide



Cameron Hudson, director of the Center for the Prevention of Genocide, speaks to members of the Museum delegation that visited Rwanda for the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the genocide. *Laura E. Pobl/US Holocaust Memorial Museum*

peacekeeping force Lieutenant-General Roméo Dallaire, Ret.; former senior officials from the United Nations, Africa, the United States, and Europe; and former diplomats, human rights activists, academics, and journalists present in Kigali before and during the genocide. The conference was made possible in part by the generous support of the Sudikoff Family Foundation, which funds the Museum’s Sudikoff Annual Interdisciplinary Seminar on Genocide Prevention.

By cross-referencing documents from the period, the discussion revealed that the timeline and resources provided to implement the peace agreement prior to the genocide were unworkable, said CPG Fellow Michael Dobbs, who oversaw the conference. “It took 20 years and the Holocaust

Museum and our partners to look at what happened in Rwanda from multiple perspectives at the same time,” he said. He is writing a case study of “lessons learned” based on the conference with the goal of improving responses to future genocidal threats.

In the coming years, the Museum will sustain its focus on decision making related to genocide by examining the international and US responses to two additional cases: Srebrenica in 1995 and Darfur in 2003–2005.

“No other institution is doing this, taking a concerted, systematic look at the commonalities and differences in three cases of genocide since the Holocaust, with the goal of understanding how and why the US government and the international community responded the way they did



“Your story is a call to action, your commitment is an inspiration, and your courage is unmatched.”

—Samantha Power, US Permanent Representative to the United Nations, speaking to Lt. Gen. Roméo Dallaire, Ret.

and developing structures to improve those responses in the future,” said Hudson.

“ONE PERSON OF INTEGRITY. . .”

Among the participants at The Hague conference was retired Canadian Lieutenant-General Roméo Dallaire, who led the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda during the genocide. In the months before it began, he repeatedly warned his superiors about the potential for large-scale violence. His requests to use force to protect civilians and crack down on extremist militia groups were ignored or rejected, and he was left with a small number of ill-equipped troops after the Security Council decided to reduce the peacekeeping mission. He nevertheless managed to save thousands of lives.

In recognition of his exceptional courage in the face of

indifference and even opposition from the rest of the world, the Museum honored Dallaire with its highest honor—the Elie Wiesel Award—at the National Tribute Dinner in April.

Ambassador Power presented Dallaire with the award, saying, “You, General, have stood between the killers and their prey. You have heard the piercing screams of victims, and the deafening silence of a world unable to muster the will to act . . . Your story is a call to action, your commitment is an inspiration, and your courage is unmatched.”

Dallaire will remain a historic and inspirational figure to all who care about the future of humanity. By helping to shift the international community from response to prevention, the Museum seeks to ensure that in the future warnings like Dallaire’s do not go unheeded. That is the meaning of “Never Again.” ■

Left: Lt. Gen. Roméo Dallaire, Ret., is flanked by Ami Mpungwe of Tanzania (left) and Patrick Mazimhaka of Rwanda (right) at *Failure to Prevent: International Decision Making in the Age of Genocide*, a conference co-sponsored by the Museum and The Hague Institute for Global Justice in the Hague in June 2014. *Loes Schleedoorn* Right: Museum Chairman Tom Bernstein, Lt. Gen. Roméo Dallaire, Ret., Ambassador Samantha Power, Holocaust survivor Nesse Godin, and Rwandan genocide survivor Yvette Rugasaguhunga at the 2014 National Tribute Dinner in Washington, DC. *Carl Cox/US Holocaust Memorial Museum*

EVENTS

The Museum offers a rich, nationwide program of events designed to stimulate conversation around critical questions raised by the Holocaust. One of the upcoming programs, **RESCUING THE EVIDENCE: THREE MINUTES IN POLAND**, features Glenn Kurtz, who five years ago donated to the Museum 15 minutes of brittle, deteriorating film made in 1938.

During a six-week vacation in Europe, Kurtz's grandparents filmed a community in Poland that was on the brink of destruction—unbeknownst to the happy people vying to stand in front of the camera. Working with the Museum to preserve the film and learn more about its subjects, Kurtz embarked on an international search for survivors. He eventually found seven, including one who recognized himself as a 13-year-old boy in the film. During a national tour, a Museum curator will interview Kurtz and discuss how powerful evidence—and the stories connected to it—can ensure Holocaust memory is passed to future generations.

See *Rescuing the Evidence: Three Minutes in Poland* at one of the following locations. Visit ushmm.org/events to register to attend or learn about other public programs around the nation.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Beth El Congregation
November 10

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

The Temple Emanu-El Skirball Center
November 12

MERION STATION, PENNSYLVANIA

Adath Israel
November 13

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

The Jewish Community Library
in San Francisco
November 17

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Wilshire Boulevard Temple,
Irmis Campus
November 19

BOCA RATON, FLORIDA

Polo Club Boca Raton
December 2

AVENTURA, FLORIDA

Aventura Turnberry Jewish Center
December 4



Leslie Swift, film researcher, and Glenn Kurtz inspect the film Kurtz donated to the Museum. *US Holocaust Memorial Museum*

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Mayer Brown
December 9

NORTHBROOK, ILLINOIS

Congregation Beth Shalom
December 9

WASHINGTON, DC

Sixth & I Historic Synagogue
December 11

For a complete schedule of traveling exhibitions, visit ushmm.org/traveling-exhibition. Visit ushmm.org/events to learn about and register for upcoming programs.

EXHIBITIONS

**DEADLY MEDICINE:
CREATING THE MASTER RACE**

READING, PENNSYLVANIA
Reading Public Museum
September 14, 2014–January 4, 2015

SARASOTA, FLORIDA

Ringling College of Art and Design
January 14–March 29, 2015

**FIGHTING THE FIRES OF HATE:
AMERICA AND THE NAZI BOOK
BURNINGS**

MISSOULA, MONTANA
University of Montana Mansfield Library
October 26–December 17, 2014

**STATE OF DECEPTION:
THE POWER OF NAZI PROPAGANDA**

BEACHWOOD, OHIO
Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage
November 13, 2014–March 15, 2015

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Missouri History Museum
April 11–September 7, 2015

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum exhibitions program is supported in part by the Lester Robbins* and Sheila Johnson Robbins Traveling and Special Exhibitions Fund established in 1990.

*Deceased

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM

100 Raoul Wallenberg Place SW
Washington, DC 20024-2126

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT #185
WASHINGTON, DC



ushmm.org/connect

WHO WILL TELL THEIR STORIES?

WITH YOUR SUPPORT, WE WILL.



US HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM COURTESY OF SHRAGA WANNER. PHOTO BY GEORGE LADISH

**NEVER
AGAIN**
WHAT YOU DO MATTERS

THE
CAMPAIGN
FOR THE
UNITED
STATES
HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM

LEARN MORE at ushmm.org/campaign.

**NATIONAL
CAMPAIGN
COMMITTEE**

As of September 30, 2014

HONORARY CHAIR

Elie Wiesel

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRS

Tom A. Bernstein, NY
Lester Crown, IL
Howard L. Ganek, FL
William S. Levine, AZ
Jay Stein, FL
Howard Unger, NY

REGIONAL CO-CHAIRS

Elisa Spungen Bildner, NJ
Howard Friend, IL
Joseph Gutman, IL
J. David Heller, OH
Allan M. Holt, DC

Howard Konar, NY
Douglas R. Korn, NY
Susan E. Lowenberg, CA
Richard S. Price, IL
Bradley D. Wine, DC