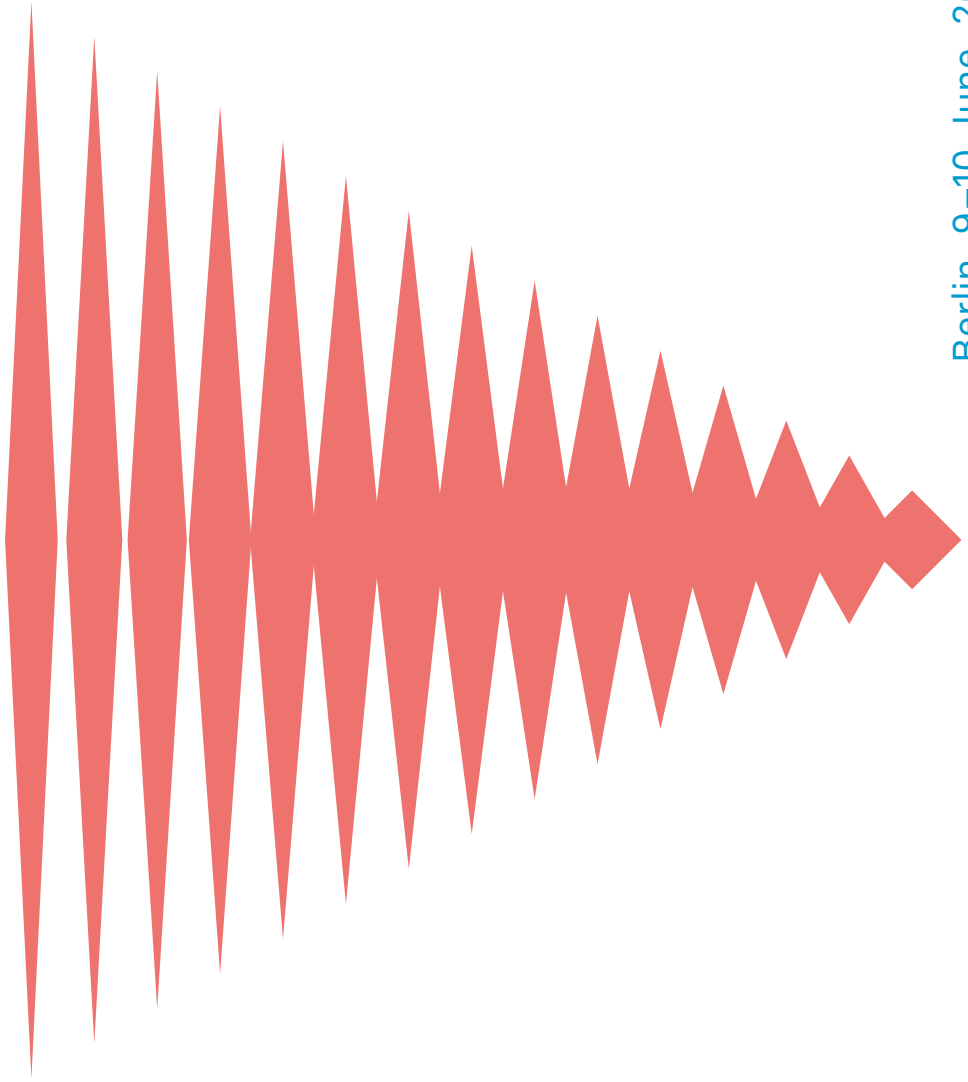


REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST IN THE COLD WAR EASTERN BLOC: *the Early Decades*

Berlin, 9–10 June, 2023



ORGANIZED BY:

Freie Universität
Kunsthistorisches Institut



KEMKI
Central European
Research Institute
for Art History

SUPPORTED BY:

ALFRED LANDECKER
FOUNDATION



REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST IN THE COLD WAR EASTERN BLOC: *the Early Decades*

Programme & abstracts

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DAY 1

FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 2023

location: FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN

Harnack-Haus, Ihnestr. 16–20, 14195 Berlin
U3, stop Freie Universität

<https://www.harnackhaus-berlin.mpg.de/en>

9.30–9.45

Registration

9.45–10.00

Introduction

Agata Pietrasik (Freie Universität Berlin)

Daniel Véri (Central European Research Institute for Art History, Budapest)

10.00–11.30**PANEL I: EXHIBITING THE HOLOCAUST**

chair: Katarzyna Bojarska

Agata Pietrasik (Freie Universität, Berlin)

[Between Representation and Erasure: First Exhibitions of the Holocaust in Poland](#)

Piotr Słodkowski (Academy of Fine Arts, Warsaw)

[Living Memory in Images: Commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in the 1940s and 1950s](#)

Daniel Véri (Central European Research Institute for Art History, Budapest)

[Forgotten Remembrance, Reconstructed: The 1960s Hungarian Exhibitions in Auschwitz](#)

11.30–12.00

Coffee break

12.00–13.30**PANEL II: CIRCULATION**

chair: Agata Pietrasik

Glenn Sujo (artist, writer, educator, London)

[East-West: Art, Rhetoric and Indexicality after 1945 \(with Raised Arm and Fist\)](#)

Alexander Walther (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

[Antifascism and Holocaust Art: Lea Grundig's Drawings in the Soviet Occupation Zone and Early GDR](#)

Oliver Benjamin Hemmerle (University of Education, Ludwigsburg)

[The Holocaust as a Subsidiary of \(Communist\) Resistance in the Concentration Camps? Representations in Postal Stamps in the Eastern Bloc \(1945–70\)](#)

13.30–14.30

Lunch break

14.30–16.00

PANEL III: ART AND WITNESSING

chair: Agata Pietrasik

Katharina Langolf (University of Potsdam)

[Mark Zhitnitski and Iosif Kuzkovski: Shoah Memory Activism in the Soviet Union](#)

Katarzyna Bojarska

(SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Warsaw)

[Female Photographic Gaze: Julia Pirotte Looking at the Kielce Pogrom](#)

Zsófia Farkas (Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest)

[The Nature of Narration: Depiction of the Holocaust on the Works of Eyewitnesses](#)

16.00–16.30

Coffee break

16.30–17.30

Film screening with an introductory lecture

Stanisław Welbel (Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw)

[Echoes of the Holocaust in Short Movies by Edward Etler](#)

19.00

Dinner for the participants

DAY 2

SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 2023

10.00–11.30**PANEL IV: ANTIFASCISM AND THE GDR**

chair: Stanisław Welbel

Sophie Thorak (Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg)

[Identity Politics and Memory: Representations of the Holocaust and the Auschwitz Trials at the 1965 Intergrafik](#)

Katrín Schmidt (Federal Art Administration, Potsdam)

["O Buchenwald, ich kann dich nicht vergessen": Herbert Sandberg and his Artistic Contribution to Holocaust Remembrance in the GDR](#)

Barbora Bartunkova (Yale University, New Haven)

[Challenging the Nazi Past: The Holocaust and the Memory Politics of East German Cinema](#)**11.30–12.00**

Coffee break

12.00–13.30**PANEL V: MEMORIALS**

chair: Daniel Véri

Eva Janáčková (Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague)

[Only the Names? The Pinkas Synagogue in Prague](#)

Borbála Kriza (independent researcher, Budapest)

["Martyrs and Peace March." Ideological Instrumentalization of Holocaust Remembrance in Communist Hungary: The Case of the Balf Monument](#)

Samuel D. Gruber

(Syracuse University / International Survey of Jewish Monuments, Syracuse)

[Naming Names: The Early History of Memorials That List the Names of Victims](#)**13.30**

Closing remarks

13.45

Lunch

Barbora Bartunkova

YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN

Challenging the Nazi Past: The Holocaust and the Memory Politics of East German Cinema

■ It was only in 1990 that East Germany's parliament admitted its "joint responsibility" for the "humiliation, expulsion, and murder of Jewish women, men, and children." Yet the memory of the Holocaust had a longer and more complex history within East Germany's state-sponsored film industry, which played a key role in the German Democratic Republic's self-fashioning as an antifascist state during the Cold War.

■ This paper examines two East German films released in 1961, a pivotal year marked by escalating tensions between the Eastern and Western Blocs, which culminated in the erection of the Berlin Wall—also described in the GDR as an "antifascist protection wall." This study argues that Konrad Wolf's *Professor Mamlock* and Gerhard Klein's *Der Fall Gleiwitz* offered new cinematic models for confronting the Nazi past. In contrast to DEFA's earlier antifascist films, which relied on realist aesthetics, political transparency, and redemptive optimism, *Professor Mamlock* and *Der Fall Gleiwitz* deploy a highly stylized visual language to emphasize the constructed and fraught nature of memory, history, and representation.

■ By analyzing the films' formal strategies, which drew heavily on interwar avant-garde aesthetics, and examining how they addressed different notions of victimhood—including the tension between representations of Jewish victims and political victims of Nazi oppression—this paper shows how the cinematic medium played a central role in shaping the memory of the Holocaust in East Germany.

Barbora Bartunkova

■ is a PhD candidate in the History of Art at Yale University. She specializes in modern and contemporary European art, photography, and film, with a particular focus on interwar and Cold War visual cultures. Her research interests include the intersection of aesthetics and politics, representations of women and gender, and the relationship between art and ecology.

■ She is currently completing her dissertation, *Sites of Resistance: Antifascism and the Czechoslovak Avant-Garde* as the 2022–23 Chester Dale Fellow at the National Gallery of Art's Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. She has held curatorial and museum positions at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Royal Academy in London, the Lobkowitz Collections in Prague, and the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague. She holds an M.A. in History of Art and a B.A. in French with Film Studies from University College London (UCL).

Katarzyna Bojarska

SWPS UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES, WARSAW

Female Photographic Gaze: Julia Pirotte Looking at the Kielce Pogrom

■ Inspired by the work of Carol Mavor, especially her *Black and Blue: The Bruising Passion of Camera Lucida, La Jete, Sans soleil, and Hiroshima mon amour* (2012), and the most recent work by Eduardo Cadava, titled *Paper Graveyards* (2021), as well as his writing on Susan Meiselas and Nancy Spero, the author returns to the discussion on the "bruising power" of photography, its traumatic emergence and effects. Her focus, however, is on what she theorises as female traumatic gaze in photography of the Holocaust, based on the study of the body of work documenting the aftermath of the Kielce pogrom (1946) by Julia Pirotte, photojournalist known for her documentation of the French Resistance in Marseille.

■ Her photographic account of excessive violence will provide a basis for the discussion of nonofficial, scandalous ways of seeing, Pirotte's perspective of a survivor, Jewish witness to postwar violence against Jews. The pogrom would have remained invisible, or rather unseen if not for her photographic intervention. This close study will surely bring up a lot of complexities related to the questions of gender, genre, memory, and politics of postwar Poland.

Katarzyna Bojarska, PhD

■ is an assistant professor in the Department of Culture and Media at the SWPS University in Warsaw, co-founder and editor of the journal *View. Theories and Practices of Visual Culture* (www.pismowidok.org). She is the author of the book *Event after Event: Białoszewski, Richter, Spiegelman* (2012); editor and translator of Ernst van Alphen's book *Criticism as Intervention. Art, Memory, Affect* (2019). She is the author of numerous articles on the intricate relationship between literature, visual arts, and memory/trauma.

■ She is the translator (into Polish) of works by Michael Rothberg (*Multidirectional Memory*), Cathy Caruth (*Fragments of Unclaimed Experience*), Dominick LaCapra (*History in Transition*), Susan Buck-Morss (*Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*), Achille Mbembe (*Necropolitics*) and many others.

■ She was the head of Work Package devoted to art and culture within the *Horizon2020* project *RePAST. Revisiting the Past, Anticipating the Future* (<https://www.repast.eu/>) and she is currently involved in her individual research project devoted to women's ways of seeing past violence in visual arts.

Zsófia Farkas

HUNGARIAN JEWISH MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES, BUDAPEST

The Nature of Narration: Depiction of the Holocaust on the Works of Eyewitnesses

■ A large part of the graphic art collection of the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives consists of graphic series and paintings of various techniques, depicting everyday life in the concentration camps and the Budapest ghetto or during the forced labour work. Almost all of them were made between 1945 and 1948. Due to the conscious collection of these artworks, we can get a comprehensive picture of the early visual memory of the Holocaust in Hungary.

■ These art pieces were created by the survivors returning home, based on their own experiences, often departing from their own artistic style. This is a clear act of strong commitment of the artists: they documented their personal experiences for posterity, putting their individual artistic ambitions aside, fulfilling their responsibility as witnesses, with the intention of testimony, almost as war correspondents, or as unobtrusive drawers at a crime trial. It is important to note that these "early" works — in their style and tone — are very different from the Holocaust memorial works created during the socialist Kádár era (1956–89) or after the regime change which can be interpreted as a kind of reflection rather than a documentation of the experience.

■ Within the collection, there is a separate group of artist's books (printed volumes or one-of-a-kind objects) which depict the events in narrative form (works by Miklós Adler, Péter Áldor, Edit Bán Kiss, Tibor Jankay, Ágnes Lukács, Ferenc Reichental, Shraga Weil). In addition to the presentation of the collection, I would like to focus on the nature of narration: the mixture of fictional and personal events, the reduced, comic-like representation of the characters, the importance of the act of re-enactment, the significance of the narrative mode of trauma processing.

Zsófia Farkas

■ is an art historian and curator based in Budapest. She received her master's degree at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in Budapest, where she is currently pursuing her doctoral studies. She was working as a curator for MODEM Modern and Contemporary Arts Centre in Debrecen and in several Jewish institutions (Holocaust Memorial Center, Budapest; Centropa, Budapest; Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam). Currently, she is the chief curator of the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives. As the founder of Síp12 Gallery and Community Space her exhibitions presented the institution's collection together with its connection to contemporary art.

■ Her field of research is Hungarian art after 1945, primarily the memory of the Holocaust in the oeuvres of female artists. Her previous topic was the mask-like depiction of faces on women's self-portraits in connection to the trauma of the Holocaust. Currently, she researches the narrative graphic representations of the Holocaust made between 1945–48 in the aspects of temporality, fiction, and reality, tools of trauma processing.

Samuel D. Gruber

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY / INTERNATIONAL SURVEY OF JEWISH MONUMENTS,
SYRACUSE

Naming Names: The Early History of Memorials That List the Names of Victims

■ In 1949, a massive memorial that lists tens of thousands of victims' names was built at Budapest's Kozma utca Jewish Cemetery. Designed by architect Alfréd Hajós, as a project of the Budapest Jewish community, it followed a memorial listing 12,000 victims' names installed outside the suburban Újpest synagogue in 1948. The walls of names drew on a rich Jewish memorial tradition commemorating dates of death of deceased relatives (Yitzchor), including listing names in memory books and on synagogue walls. It also recalled many memorials from the First World War.

■ In 1950 the Czechoslovak Communist state nationalized the Prague Jewish Museum. The Pinkas Synagogue was part of the museum. Museum director Hana Volavková turned the synagogue interior into a memorial for Czech Jewish Holocaust victims. Sitting next to Prague's Old Jewish cemetery, the new memorial with more than 78,000 names is a surrogate gravestone for those murdered but never buried. Painters Jiří John (1923–72) and Václav Bošтік (1913–2005), were commissioned for the work, which was completed in 1959.

■ The Pinkas memorial was widely noted. Though it was closed in the late 1960s, it had a tremendous influence on subsequent thinking and design of other Holocaust memorials, and memorials to victims of many types of disasters. This paper investigates the commemorative and artistic aspects of the Budapest and Prague memorials as well as many other early memorials that list names in Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Croatia, and Bosnia within broad commemorative and modern art contexts.

Samuel D. Gruber, PhD

■ earned his doctorate at Columbia University. He has been a leader in the documentation, protection, and preservation of historic Jewish sites worldwide for more than thirty years. Since 1994 he has taught at Syracuse University (and elsewhere) on Jewish art and architecture, including the course "The Holocaust, Memory, and the Visual Arts." He is President of the International Survey of Jewish Monuments, for which he is co-director of the new Holocaust Memorial Monument Database project in partnership with the Center for Jewish Art (Hebrew University) and the University of Miami.

■ Gruber has written several books and scores of reports, chapters, and articles about Jewish art and architecture, and since 2008, the blog "Samuel Gruber's Jewish Art and Monuments." During the pandemic, Gruber has curated two online exhibitions: *Romaniote Memories* for Queens College, and *Synagogues of the South* for the College of Charleston, for which he previously curated *Life of the Synagogue*.

Oliver Benjamin Hemmerle

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, LUDWIGSBURG

The Holocaust as a Subsidiary of (Communist) Resistance in the Concentration Camps? Representations in Postal Stamps in the Eastern Bloc (1945–70)

■ In my paper I address the representation/non-representation of the Holocaust in one of the most popularised art forms with enormous distribution to the general public: postal stamps. Most of the Eastern Bloc countries (including the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany and the GDR) published a lot of stamps commemorating mostly Communist heroes and martyrs of the fight against Nazi Germany. Their tragic deaths and the inauguration of concentration camp memorial sites (especially in the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia) were occasions for issuing postal stamps in these countries.

■ In my presentation I will analyse the relevant stamps of all Eastern Bloc countries between 1945 and 1970 (25th anniversary of the 8th/9th of May 1945). As some of the relevant countries (especially the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Poland) had waves of Communist-sponsored antisemitism during this period, the Holocaust as such was no obvious motive for the stamp production in these countries during this period.

■ My main focus will be therefore to explore, if and how the Holocaust as a (side-) topic entered stamp issues honouring Communist anti-Nazi heroes and the inauguration of concentration camp memorial sites. At the end of this period (official) resistance organisations in Eastern Bloc countries started to use the stamp production concerning this topic for educational and propagandistic purposes (for example in a book showing and discussing these stamps, the historical background, and the artistic aspect of this representation). I will have a look at this publication, too.

Oliver Benjamin Hemmerle, PhD

■ earned his doctorate at Mannheim University in 2000, held academic positions at Mannheim University (Germany), Masaryk University Brno (Czech Republic), Université Grenoble Alpes (France), and currently at the University of Education Ludwigsburg (Germany). He was a research fellow at the International Institute for Holocaust Research Yad Vashem in 2002/03.

■ Recent publications: *Traeume, Utopien, Visionen und Territorien: Annotationen zur Napoleonischen Ikonographie 1814–1941/44*, <https://journals.openedition.org/ilcea/4526>; *Okkupation, Kultur, Propaganda und Napoleon [...] im 20. Jahrhundert*, in *Faire l'Europe par la culture*, Reims, 2021, 229–49; *Was lernen Staat und Politik über Pandemie(-bekämpfung) aus der Geschichte?*, in: *Corona und die anderen Wissenschaften*, Wiesbaden, 2022, 15–28. Related to the presented topic: *Runen um Heinrich Heine: Komplikationen der bundesrepublikanischen Heine-Briefmarke 1997*, Mannheim, 2000; *Bundesrepublikanische Briefmarken und Politik: Annotationen zu politisch motivierten "Fälschungen" [... und] Briefmarken mit NS-Symbolik*, Mannheim 2001; *Deutsche Hochschulen und Erinnerung/Gedenken*, in: Bayer/Sparing/Woelk (ed.), *Universitäten und Hochschulen im Nationalsozialismus und in der frühen Nachkriegszeit*, Stuttgart, 2004, 271–85.

Eva Janáčková

INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, CZECH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, PRAGUE

Only the Names? The Pinkas Synagogue in Prague

■ The memorial to the Bohemian and Moravian victims of the Shoah located in the Pinkas Synagogue in Prague is one of the most important Holocaust memorials in the Czech Republic today, after Terezín. Its creation came about thanks to the director of the Jewish Museum in Prague, Hana Volavková, who became the creator of its concept. In choosing the right design for the monument, she was inspired by similar works at home and abroad. The artistic decoration was undertaken by the painters Jiří John and Václav Boštík. Their original designs for the inscriptions on the synagogue walls were inspired by the shape of a traditional Jewish tombstone.

■ They inscribed nearly 78,000 names of Czech Jewish victims on the synagogue walls in a graphically sophisticated manner. The names were arranged according to the municipalities in which the people originally lived. Five years later, in 1959, the memorial was completed, but it remained open for only eight years. From then until after the Velvet Revolution it was officially closed for technical reasons, to which international political reasons were added.

■ The lecture aims to explore the historical circumstances of the creation of this unique Holocaust memorial, as well as to analyse in detail its artistic decoration and symbolism, which connects modern and traditional art in an original way.

Eva Janáčková, PhD

■ is an art historian working at the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. She focuses on research into Jewish art of the 19th and 20th centuries, on artistic manifestations of Zionism, and on artworks by Israeli artists of Czech origin.

■ From 2018 to 2021, she was the principal researcher of the grant project *The Image of the Enemy. Visual Manifestations of Antisemitism in the Czech Lands from the Middle Ages to the Present*. She is the co-editor and editor of several publications, such as *Images of Malice. Visual Representations of Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in the Bohemian Lands*. Since 2023, she has been the principal researcher of the grant project *Preserving Memory. Post-war Reflection on the Holocaust in Monuments and Fine*. She is also a lecturer at Charles University in Prague.

Borbala Kriza

INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER, BUDAPEST

“Martyrs and Peace March.” Ideological Instrumentalization of Holocaust Remembrance in Communist Hungary: The Case of the Balf Monument

■ In 1944–45 around 40,000 Hungarian Jewish forced labourers participated in building the “Südostwall”—a grandiose but futile fortification system on the Eastern border of the Nazi Reich—and most of them were killed because of brutal treatment, torture, and acts of mass murder. This paper is based on a recent project of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) on local memory about the fate of these Jewish slave labourers in villages at the Austrian-Hungarian border. In the immediate post-war period only one village in the region, the village of Balf received a commemorative monument built by Jewish survivors and Jewish organisations. In 1968 a larger-sized monument was erected depicting a marching column of forced labourers.

■ In this paper, I will investigate the context of the genesis and the role of this monument in the local and national memorialization of the crimes committed against the Jews in Western Hungary. In order to understand the political, social, historical, and cultural complexity of this form of post-war Holocaust remembrance I will give an introduction to the controversies of the local recent past including Nazi collaboration in this specific region, the post-war expulsion of the Balf Germans in 1946 and the influx of “newcomers/settlers” to the village.

■ To show how Holocaust memory was instrumentalized by the mainstream communist ideology I will analyse the monument as an ideological tool and the relevant media coverage focusing on the discursive tropes of “martyrs” and “marches”, deconstructing the political messages on the (national and international) events in the late 1960s. I will also provide a description and analysis of the realisation of the artistic project based on my fieldwork and an interview with the artist, a politically engaged primary school art teacher.

Borbala Kriza

■ is a sociologist, oral history researcher, and documentary filmmaker. Since 2011 she has been the researcher and coordinator of a documentation project for the USHMM collecting Holocaust testimonies in Europe. She pursued postgraduate studies at CEU and Sciences Po, Paris. Since 2005 she has been a visiting lecturer at ELTE, CEU, and the Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design (MOME), Budapest. She was a junior fellow at Collegium Budapest and Marshall Memorial Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the US.

■ Her volume *Identities, Ideologies, and Representations in Post-Transition Hungary* was published in 2012 (co-editor: Mária Heller). She contributed to several award-winning documentary films, including *Once They Were Neighbors* (2005) on Holocaust memory, and was the director of the internationally acclaimed documentary *Rocking the Nation* (2007) on the far-right youth subculture in Hungary. In 2020 the Hungarian Raoul Wallenberg Association awarded her the Mária Ember Prize “for lifetime achievement and for Holocaust research”.

Katharina Langolf

UNIVERSITY OF POTSDAM

Mark Zhitnitski and Iosif Kuzkovski: Shoah Memory Activism in the Soviet Union

■ Iosif Kuzkovski (1902–70) and Mark Zhitnitski (1903–93), both born in the city of Mogilev in the former Russian Empire and present-day Belarus, were Soviet-Israeli artists who processed Jewish themes and the Shoah in their works. Both began painting and drawing about the extermination of Jews by the Nazis already during World War II. However, they differed primarily in the relationship that the Soviet state had toward them. While Mark Zhitnitski was imprisoned in the Gulag for 10 years, where he began drawing about the Shoah in 1943, and was sent into exile again in 1949, Iosif Kuzkovski was an artist consistently supported and celebrated by the state.

■ In the 1960s, both had a highly productive artistic phase, in which Jewish themes and the Shoah played a major role. Iosif Kuzkovski's artistic treatment of the Shoah is directly linked to Zionist and memory activism. Together with other activists he campaigned, for example, against the Soviet commemorative policy in which Jewish suffering during World War II had no place, for a monument to be erected in the Rumbula forest where 25,000 Jews were murdered in 1941. Kuzkovski also made his apartment in Riga available as a meeting place for Zionist activists in the 1960s. Mark Zhitnitski, who was rehabilitated in 1956, remained committed to his theme— the Shoah—despite state and social anti-Semitism, and exhibited his works in the 1960s in Minsk, Vilnius, and Moscow. Both artists eventually immigrated to Israel in 1969 and 1971.

■ In this paper, I would like to juxtapose the works of the two artists and place them in the context of memory activism and Zionism. I would also like to explore the extent to which global political events, especially in Israel, have had an impact on their works.

Katharina Langolf

■ is a graduate student of Eastern European Cultural Studies at the University of Potsdam with a focus on the culture and history of Eastern European Jewry. This focus came about after a summer school in Mykolaiv and Odesa on the Jewish history of Southern Ukraine in 2017. She finished her bachelor studies in Slavic Studies at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena in 2018 with a bachelor thesis on Soviet Russian Shoah poetry.

■ Before beginning her master's studies, she completed an internship at the Galicia Jewish Museum in Krakow. In her master's thesis she is focusing on the life and work of the Soviet-Israeli artist Mark Zhitnitski. In 2022, she participated at the conference *Art of the Holocaust until 1989: Beyond an East/West Divide* in Budapest with the presentation *Mark Zhitnitski in the Gulag: Drawing the Shoah in 'a Remote Corner of the Country'*.

Agata Pietrasik

FREIE UNIVERSITÄT, BERLIN

Between Representation and Erasure: First Exhibitions of the Holocaust in Poland

■ Exhibitions were already a popular medium for telling the story of the Holocaust in the early postwar period. From 1945 onwards numerous displays were organised by formal and informal groups of survivors in DP camps, liberated concentration camps, and cultural institutions across Europe. Since there was no paradigm for representing such historical events, the exhibitions drew on different traditions of display, such as world and trade fairs, as well as ethnographic and art museums. Thus, their modes of display simultaneously engaged opposing registers of visual communication: scientific and folkloristic, elitist and popular.

■ These early exhibitions created heterogeneous spaces not only due to their multifarious displays but also because of the variety of objects they mobilised to tell the story of the Holocaust. Official documents were shown alongside photographs, drawings, sculptures, and textiles, as well as historical Jewish artifacts that survived the war. Furthermore, the exhibitions included objects from ghettos and concentration camps, dioramas rendering important sites, models, and hand-drawn maps. Oftentimes the exhibitions displayed human remains, such as ashes in urns, in ways that combined the function of an exhibition with that of a monument.

■ In this paper, I will discuss the exhibition in the Jewish Pavilion of the Majdanek Museum (1946), and the exhibitions *Martyrology and Fight* (Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, 1948), as well as the traveling exhibition of Zinovii Tolkahev (Warsaw, Krakow, Lublin, 1945–47). I will focus particularly on the role of objects in constructing these exhibitions' narratives and the modes of their display. Finally, I will consider the exhibitions themselves and their multifaceted forms having long remained obscure due to their aesthetic difference from contemporary museum paradigms of Holocaust mediation.

Agata Pietrasik, PhD

■ is an art historian, Alfred Landecker Lecturer at the Freie Universität in Berlin. She is the author of a book titled *Art in a Disrupted World: Poland 1939–1949* (2021). She has received fellowships from the German Academic Exchange DAAD, the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, the German Forum for Art History in Paris, the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris, and the Getty/ACLS Postdoctoral Fellowship in the History of Art. She is currently working on the project *How Exhibitions Rebuilt Europe: Exhibiting War Crimes and the Holocaust in the 1940s*.

Katrin Schmidt

FEDERAL ART ADMINISTRATION, POTSDAM

“O Buchenwald, ich kann dich nicht vergessen“: Herbert Sandberg and his Artistic Contribution to Holocaust Remembrance in the GDR

■ Herbert Sandberg was a German artist and caricaturist. During National Socialism, he was persecuted as both a Jew and a communist. From 1938 until 1945 he was imprisoned at Buchenwald concentration camp. After the end of the war Sandberg moved to East Berlin. As an artist, publicist, professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Leipzig and editor-in-chief of the magazine *Bildende Kunst*, Sandberg was a respected figure in the GDR with a large artistic and political outreach.

■ Sandberg mainly created graphic works, that dealt with recent German history. Already during his imprisonment, he was able to make drawings that depicted life in the concentration camp. As an early evidence of the Nazi crimes these drawings were published under the title *Eine Freundschaft* [A Friendship] by the East Berlin Aufbau-Verlag in 1949. Another biographical graphic cycle by the artist was published under the title *Der Weg* [The Path] on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the liberation from Fascism by the Verlag der Kunst in Dresden in 1965. In the same year, the cycle was also exhibited at the Berlin State Museums in East Berlin.

■ The lecture will focus the motifs and aspects Sandberg particularly emphasised in his artistic examination of the Holocaust and which role Jewish victims plays in his works. It aims to explore if Sandberg's art can be considered representative of the general memory culture in the GDR and whether it was used by state organs for political purposes.

Katrin Schmidt

■ is an art historian and provenance researcher based in Potsdam, Germany. She studied Art History and Media and Communication Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin. In 2014, she spent a year working as a provenance researcher in London. Afterwards, she started her graduate studies in Comparative Literature and Art at the Universität Potsdam. She gained a Master of Arts in 2017 with a thesis on performance art and intermedia in the GDR.

■ Since 2018, she works as a provenance researcher at the Federal Art Administration with a research focus on "cultural assets from former Reich property". She participated at the international conference *Art and the Holocaust: Reflections for the Common Future* by the Universität Rostock and the Museum Jews in Latvia in Riga with a presentation on *Images of the Holocaust in East German Art (1949–1989)* in 2019.

Piotr Słodkowski

ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, WARSAW

Living Memory in Images: Commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in the 1940s and 1950s

■ Just after the war, when Warsaw was in ruins, the Communists were consolidating power, pogroms and anti-Semitism were rampant in the country, the Central Committee of Polish Jews organised the first commemorations of anniversaries of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. A great success for the Jewish community was the unveiling of the *Monument to the Ghetto Fighters* by Natan Rapaport (1948), which took place on April 19, 1948. However, the forms of keeping the memory of the uprising alive were much more varied and did not come down to Rapaport's famous statue.

■ This talk will focus on the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising through art from 1945 to 1954, and I will point out three moments. First, the first artworks that were created in Poland. These are mainly spontaneous works and dictated by grassroots need to commemorate the victims, undertaken by non-Jewish and Jewish artists. Second, works showing the uprising as seen from afar by Jewish artists who lived outside the Nazi-occupied territories during the war. I will show that the first representations of the uprising encompassed different aesthetics and moods, from subdued to expressive and even alarmist. Third, a moment of unification of memory in the form of Socialist Realism. In 1953, the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw organised an exhibition to mark the round 10th anniversary of the uprising. In this context, I will show how Socialist Realist ideologization of the past re-used Nazi photographs which were then circulating in the press.

■ The talk will be a form of presentation of the research carried out in the course of work on the exhibition for the 80th anniversary of the ghetto uprising under the title *Monuments to Resistance* (Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, April–September, 2023).

Piotr Słodkowski, PhD

■ is an assistant professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw. Author of the book *Modernizm żydowsko-polski. Henryk Streng/Marek Włodarski a historia sztuki* (Jewish-Polish Modernism. Henryk Streng/Marek Włodarski and Art History, 2019). His research focuses on Polish interwar art as well as art after 1939, especially on methodological approaches toward alternative modernisms and complex relations between the Holocaust, modernism, 'engaged' art, and socialist realism.

Glenn Sujo

ARTIST, WRITER, EDUCATOR, LONDON

East-West: Art, Rhetoric and Indexicality after 1945 (with Raised Arm and Fist)

■ In harrowing images of atrocity—with flailing arms, raised and clenched fists, ensnaring hands—we recognise and all too readily recoil from the familiar visual tropes associated with the art of the Holocaust and the dystopian world of the camps. Drawing on borrowed motifs, swathed in rhetoric, empowering symbols of change or catalysts of social dissent and unrest, these images reveal a contrasting lineage, a difficult if not problematical indexicality.

■ Their effectiveness and enduring viability as images rests as much on the strength and currency of their political messages as on their power to challenge authority. But, in Pablo Picasso's *Le Charnier* (1945), within weeks of the Liberation of Paris and the French Communist Party's broad endorsement of Stalinist policies, an entangled figure lying prostrate, with raised arms bound at the wrist, carries other implications: tied to a post, dislocated at the shoulder, he is the victim of an execution at close range. Is this Spain, again (after *Guernica*), or Belsen, as some have suggested?

■ Gnarled hands barely conceal the hollowed figure in Zinovii Tolkatchev's emblematic work made with blunted tool, *Without Words* (1945); the printed letterhead above forestalls the need for explanation: *Kommandantur Konzentrations-lager Auschwitz*. One year later, in *Auschwitz* (1946), Stefan Wegner invokes modernism's autonomy of line, and does so, with raised arm and fist. Reproduced in Sybil Milton and Janet Blatter's persuasive *Art of the Holocaust*, alongside Boris Taslitzky's emphatically realist *The Death of Danielle Casanova* (1950), their contrasting lineages signal a problematical indexicality. Elsewhere, the knotted and shaven heads and arms of Nandor Glid's *Dachau Memorial* (1959–68), like the shards, thorns and splinters of David Palombo's *Knesset Gates* (1965–66), invoke both a Hebrew martyrology and Christological *denouement*.

Glenn Sujo, PhD

■ is an artist, writer, and educator. Steeped in the recovery of drawing language and its polemics, his research into the visual imagination in extremis has resulted in books and exhibitions including *Artists Witness the Shoah*, Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield (1995) and *Legacies of Silence: The Visual Arts and Holocaust Memory*, Imperial War Museum, London (2001). Essays appeared in *Last Expressions: Art from Auschwitz* (Northwestern University, Chicago, 2002); *Concentrationary Memories* (London, 2012); *Jankel Adler und die Avantgarde* (Wuppertal, 2018); *The Cold Shower of a New Life: The Post-War Diaries of Yehuda Bacon* (Jerusalem, 2019); *Cambridge History of the Holocaust*, Vol. 4 (Cambridge, 2024). *Song of the Ghetto*, an exhibition, book, and film, observing Jewish communal responses to the Occupation in Europe is due in 2025.

Sophie Thorak

BRANDENBURG UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY COTTBUS-SENFTENBERG

Identity Politics and Memory: Representations of the Holocaust and the Auschwitz Trials at the 1965 *Intergrafik*

■ Holocaust remembrance had an identity-forming significance in the GDR which was also reflected in the visual arts. The GDR's profile as an anti-fascist state was accompanied by a deliberate demarcation from the Federal Republic of Germany, which it accused of insufficient denazification and failure to confront the crimes of National Socialism. The broad media reporting on the West German debate on the statute of limitations and the Auschwitz trials that ended in 1965 have to be seen in this context.

■ In the same year, 1965, the first *Intergrafik* took place in East Berlin, intended as an international triennial for graphic arts and organised by the GDR's central artist's association on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the "liberation from Fascism". Contributions were made by socialist countries and "progressive" artists from capitalist and non-aligned countries. The *Intergrafik* was heavily politicised, being dedicated to "the struggle against imperialism and militarism, against fascism and war, for peace, friendship between peoples and social progress" (Horst Weiß, SAPMO-BArch, DR 30/85263, p. 32).

■ A number of works from different countries were dedicated to Holocaust remembrance and the condemnation of the Second World War. What is striking about the East German contributions, is that several works deal more or less explicitly and critically with the Auschwitz trials and the limitations debate. The spectrum here ranges from admonishing remembrance (Otto Paetz, *Buchenwald mahnt*) to clearly agitational means (Gerhard Klampäcker, *Freispruch trotz Mordes*). In my presentation, I plan to analyse some of these artworks, also in relation to the contributions by other Eastern Bloc countries, and situate them within the East German memory politics as a means of identity building and its striving for legitimisation as a sovereign German state.

Sophie Thorak

■ is a PhD student at BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, where she also teaches in the field of museum studies. After studying art history and classical archaeology in Leipzig, Berlin and Paris, she worked at the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg where she assisted with exhibition organisation and the editing of the accompanying catalogues. In Cottbus, she initiated the Cottbus Workshops on Art and Architecture of the GDR together with Sylvia Claus in 2021.

■ Her main research interest is the influence of global conflicts and events of contemporary history on East German art and their role in its internationalisation and the building of transnational networks. For her doctoral project, she is laying a focus on the late 1960s, especially the Vietnam War. In 2022, she contributed to the conferences *The Global GDR – A Transcultural History of Art and Revolutionary Romances: Into the Cold – Alternative Artistic Trajectories into (Post-)Communist Europe* at Albertinum, Dresden.

Daniel Véri

CENTRAL EUROPEAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR ART HISTORY (KEMKI), BUDAPEST

Forgotten Remembrance, Reconstructed: The 1960s Hungarian Exhibitions in Auschwitz

■ This lecture introduces a research project, which culminates in an exhibition in 2023 at the Blinken Open Society Archives (OSA) in Budapest and in a book that is planned to be published in 2024 by the CEU Press. The research started from two directions: by following an accidental footnote and the systematic exploration of museum storages in search of Holocaust-related artworks. The project presents a completely forgotten yet exceptional and monumental fine arts collection commissioned for the 1965 permanent Hungarian exhibition in Auschwitz. In addition, it also analyses the works exhibited at the short-lived, modest exhibition inaugurated there in 1960, including a piece inspired by Simon Wiesenthal's 1946 KZ *Mauthausen*.

■ Both the 1960 and the 1965 exhibitions were among the first national exhibitions set up in Auschwitz. In the Hungarian context, these exhibitions were—besides the Hungarian memorial in Mauthausen (1955–64) and the *Hungarian Artists Against Fascism* exhibition, organised in 1965 at the Hungarian National Gallery—the earliest projects of official memory politics. Both represented Hungary within an international context abroad, while externalising the memory of the Holocaust. The exhibition at OSA will also present the earliest Hungarian artworks dealing with the Roma Holocaust, dating back to 1974, thereby highlighting the absence of the issue from the 1960s shows.

■ This lecture argues that although the presented works, commissioned for Auschwitz, were originally conceived as illustrations of anti-fascist memory politics, the works, as well as their critical reception contributed substantially to the emergence and formation of the memory of the Holocaust in Hungary.

Daniel Véri, PhD

■ is an art and cultural historian, researcher at the Central European Research Institute for Art History (KEMKI, at the Museum of Fine Arts) in Budapest. Former CEU Jewish Studies postdoctoral fellow (2021–22) and member of the "Confrontations: Sessions in East European Art History" research group (UCL, 2019–22). He studied at ELTE (history of art: MA, 2009; PhD, 2016), and at CEU (history, 2010). His research interests include Central European art from the 1945–89 period, especially the artistic reception of Jewish identity and the Holocaust, as well as cultural diplomacy and the cultural history of blood libels.

■ Author of *"Leading the Dead" – The World of János Major* (2013), co-author of *The Great Book Theft. French Book Exhibition Behind the Iron Curtain* (2020). Curator of numerous research-based exhibitions, most recently co-curator of *The Modern Idol: Henry Moore in the Eastern Bloc* (Bucharest, 2021–22). His most recent exhibition and book project is *Commissioned Memory: Hungarian Exhibitions in Auschwitz, 1960/1965*.

Alexander Walther

FRIEDRICH SCHILLER UNIVERSITY JENA

Antifascism and Holocaust Art: Lea Grundig's Drawings in the Soviet Occupation Zone and Early GDR

■ In her influential and ground-breaking study *Depiction and Interpretation. The Influence of the Holocaust on the Visual Arts*, Ziva Amishai-Maisels rightly stressed that the works of German-Jewish artist Lea Grundig were among the first to depict the Holocaust. For some thirty years now, Grundig's early works on the mass murder of European Jewry that she drew in her time in exile in Mandate Palestine have been studied by various scholars which led to a rediscovery of the artist's oeuvre as a whole. However, while Grundig's hesitation to return to Germany has been stressed by scholars, the reception of her works and activities in the late years of the Soviet Occupation Zone and the early GDR have hardly been addressed so far.

■ In this paper, I attempt to shed light on how Grundig's drawings were circulated across the beginning of Cold War bloc borders, and how her works were perceived in the immediate postwar years in East Germany and abroad, especially in Poland. Drawing on letters, pictures, and other archival documents, I will argue that Grundig's attempts to exhibit and publish her works were in line with the efforts of other Jewish antifascist artists and intellectuals returning to Germany after the war. Contrary to studies on Holocaust remembrance in the GDR, however, I will argue that Grundig kept returning to these issues by attempting to amalgamate antifascism and Holocaust remembrance.

Alexander Walther

■ is a PhD candidate at Friedrich Schiller University Jena (Germany) and a research assistant and project coordinator at the research group *Diktaturerfahrung und Transformation* at Erfurt University.

■ His dissertation *Die Shoah und die DDR. Aneignungen und Initiativen im Antifaschismus*, which focused on how Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals, artists, journalists, writers, and singers dealt with the Shoah in East German antifascist cultural life, was submitted at Jena University in December 2022. He studied history and English in a teacher's training programme at Jena University, and has published on East German memory culture, Holocaust remembrance, and memoirs of Yugoslavian refugees.

Stanisław Welbel

INSTITUTE OF ART OF THE POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WARSAW

Echoes of the Holocaust in Short Movies by Edward Etler

■ My presentation will focus on selected short movies by Polish film director Edward Etler. Edward Etler was born in Warsaw in 1931, he survived Nazi occupation in the Warsaw Ghetto, as well as in hiding outside the ghetto. He finished Film School in Łódź and soon after that started to work for WFO (Education Film Production Studio) in Łódź. He worked for Polish film industry until March 1968, when he was forced to leave the country. He settled in Israel where after a short time he started to work for the local film industry and television.

■ In 2019 I organised and curated two retrospectives of his films, in Warsaw and Łódź, from that time I am in touch with the director who was present at these events. I am researching his films both in Poland and Israel and editing his autobiography. For the presentation I will choose three short films, *Wesołe Miasteczko* (Funfair), 1956, realised at school, *Cmentarz Remu* (Cemetery of Rem), 1961 and *Judaica*, 1968. These three films are the only ones in his early career which directly refer to the Holocaust and also the personal experience and memory of the director. *Cmentarz Remu* was awarded at the International Film Festival in Locarno in 1962 and opened career opportunities for the director, while *Judaica* realised in 1968 became a pretext for an antisemitic attack on the director, after the antisemitic events of March 1968 in Poland. It was his last film made in Poland until the 1990s.

■ The selected films are based on the director's own experience, but also show different ways of remembering, he clashes archival images with footage filmed in postwar Poland, concrete places connected with Jewish history and abstract ones, emphasising empty landscape, mourning and loss.

Stanisław Welbel

■ is a curator and art historian, based in Warsaw. He currently works at the Austrian Cultural Forum in Warsaw as a visual art curator. In the years 2009–19 he was working in Zachęta – National Gallery of Art in Warsaw. Presently, he is finishing his PhD thesis at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He took part in curatorial and art residencies in France, Ireland, Israel, Romania and curated several exhibitions both in Poland and internationally. He collaborates with CPR | Curatorial Program for Research in the US and contributes for art and design magazines. Since 2018 he is a member of the Polish section of AICA International Association of Art Critics.

Researching the Art of the Holocaust

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/artoftheshoah>

This group brings together researchers interested in the reception of the Holocaust in fine arts. It is a platform to share news about research, articles, books as well as CFP-s, CFAs, funding and networking opportunities.

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