

WELCOME

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

In his memorable first inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln eloquently conjured the memory of past wars to avert the looming conflict between north and south. His appeal was in vain. 150 years later, the "mystic chords of memory" recalling America's violent past still fail to inspire the harmonious Union that Lincoln envisioned. Instead, a cacophony of memories, in fact wars over memory, threaten to divide the country even more than before.

Why are 150-year-old symbols of slavery and oppression—confederate flags and monuments—kept alive, even glorified, in the present? American awareness of its racist and violent history has done little to prevent ongoing repercussions; rather, many Americans romanticize the past. The United States is not the only country to face a new surge of racist hatred and yet some countries have been able to advance inclusion, diversity, and tolerance toward immigrants and minorities, even to secure national identity and national integration, by means of persistent efforts to work through and debate national responsibility for racism, violence, and genocide.

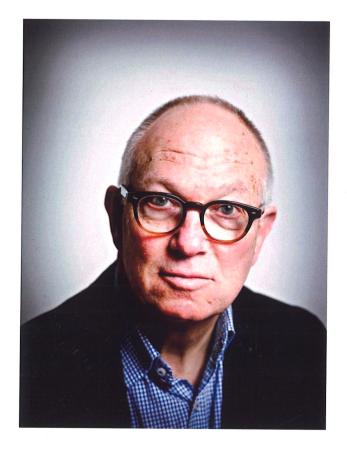
The conference *E Pluribus Unum? Memory Conflicts, Democracy, and Integration* assembles renowned experts to inquire into the tensions between memory conflicts, cultural diversity, and national integration. Comparative perspectives on the memory of racism, slavery, and genocide in the United States and the Holocaust and other Nazi crimes against humanity in Central Europe will be our focus. The Strassler Center is committed to organizing programs that challenge and energize Genocide Studies. Our vision entails the imperative to address slavery, mass violence, and genocide in the Americas. *E Pluribus Unum?* represents a serious step toward integrating new perspectives on the traumatic past and the politics of memory into our academic agenda.

We are grateful to the anonymous donor who sponsored this conference and whose intelligent insights helped to inform its structure. In addition, the Asher Endowed Fund and the Cutler Charitable Foundation supported the opening address. The staff of the Strassler Center, including program manager Robyn Conroy, administrative assistant Alissa Duke, and budget coordinator Kim Vance have worked hard to ensure an excellent conference. We recognize their efforts and meticulous attention to organizational detail.

The subject explored here will demand continued attention in the coming years; we thank the participants for accepting the invitation to reflect on this provocative topic and for helping these areas of inquiry to take root at the Strassler Center and beyond.

Thomas Kühne, Director, Strassler Center, Strassler Professor of Holocaust History Mary Jane Rein, Executive Director, Strassler Center

KEYNOTE SPEAKER



lan Buruma is Paul Williams Professor of Human Rights, Democracy, and Journalism at Bard College. He studied Chinese at Leiden University, the Netherlands and cinema at Nihon University, Tokyo. He has written many books of fiction as well as non-fiction including, most recently, *Their Promised Land: My Grandparents in Love and War* (2016) and *A Tokyo Romance* (2018). Much of his writing has focused on the culture of Asia, particularly that of China and 20th-century Japan. He has been an editor at the *Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, The Spectator, London*, and *The New York Review of Books*. His many honors include the Erasmus Prize, awarded to an individual who has made "an especially important contribution to culture, society or social science in Europe," the Abraham Kuyper Prize for Excellence in Reformed Theology and Public Life, the Los Angeles Times Book Prize, and the PEN/Diamonstein-Spielvogel Award for the Art of the Essay.

PROGRAM

THURSDAY 11 APRIL

Higgins Lounge / Dana Commons

6:00 p.m.

OPENING RECEPTION

7:00 p.m.

KEYNOTE

Bad Memories

Ian Buruma, Bard College

FRIDAY 12 APRIL

Higgins Lounge / Dana Commons

WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

9:00 - 10:00 a.m.

Memory Conflicts and National Identity: Germany and the United States

Thomas Kühne, Clark University

PANEL I

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND MEMORY POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES

10:00 - 10:25 a.m.

Patriotism, Memory, and America's War on Terrorism

John Bodnar, Indiana University

10:25 - 10:40 a.m.

Discussion

COFFEE BREAK

10:50 – 11:15 a.m.

The Dynamic Psychological Resonance between Black History Representations

and Sociocultural Change

Phia S. Salter, Texas A & M University

11:15 - 11:30 a.m.

Discussion

11:30 - 11:55 a.m.

For Better, For Worse—Mock Weddings, Oklahoma Statehood, and Tribal

Sovereignty

Amanda Cobb-Greetham, University of Oklahoma

11:55 – 12:10 p.m.

Discussion

LUNCH (Strassler Center)

PANEL II	GERMAN MEMORIES, AMERICAN MEMORIES
2:00 – 2:25 p.m.	Victim Talk: Comparative Reflections by a US American Who Works on Germany Irene Kacandes, Dartmouth College
2:25 – 2:40 p.m.	Discussion
2:40 – 3:05 p.m.	Facing and Avoiding the Holocaust in the Years of Allied Occupation, in West Germany, and East Germany: An Assessment and Some Comparisons Jeffrey Herf, University of Maryland
3:05 – 3:20 p.m.	Discussion
	COFFEE BREAK
3:30 – 3:55 p.m.	The Fear of "White Genocide" in the US, Germany, and Australia Dirk Moses , University of Sydney
3:55 – 4:10 p.m.	Discussion
4:10 – 4:35 p.m.	Facebook and the Use and Abuse of History in the Digital Public Sphere Jennifer V. Evans , Carleton University
4:35 – 4:50 p.m.	Discussion
	COFFEE BREAK
	SPECIAL PRESENTATION
5:00 – 5:30 p.m.	The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between James E. Young, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
5:30 – 5:45 p.m.	Discussion
	DINNER (Strassler Center)

SATURDAY 13 APRIL

Higgins Lounge / Dana Commons

PANEL III	TRAUMA, IDENTITY, AND RECONCILIATION
9:00 – 9:25 a.m.	Psychological Processes Contributing to Collective Memory Conflicts in the Aftermath of Collective Violence Johanna Ray Vollhardt, Clark University
9:25 – 9:40 a.m.	Discussion
9:40 – 10:05 a.m.	Cultural Trauma, Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity, Revisited Ron Eyerman, Yale University
10:05 – 10:20 a.m.	Discussion
	COFFEE BREAK
10:30 – 10:55 a.m.	"Beyond Recognition, Toward Redress." The State of Truth and Reconciliation Committees 100 years after the Red Summer of 1919: A Critique Ousmane Power-Greene, Clark University
10:55 – 11:10 a.m.	Discussion
11:10– 11:35 a.m.	Truth and Reconciliation in a Post-Truth Age: Confronting Settler Amnesia in Contemporary Canada Pauline Wakeham, Western University
11:35 – 11:50 a.m.	Discussion
	LUNCH (Strassler Center)

PANEL IV	MUSEUMS, MEMORIALS AND NATIONAL IMAGINATION
1:30 – 1:55 p.m.	The Redsonian: Negotiating the Politics of Memory at the Smithsonian's American Indian Museum Paul Chaat Smith, National Museum of the American Indian
1:55 – 2:10 p.m.	Discussion
2:10 – 2:35 p.m.	The Museumification of Memory: Unsettling (Black) History at the Museum Robyn Autry, Wesleyan University
2:35 – 2:50 p.m.	Discussion
	COFFEE BREAK
3:00 – 3:25 p.m.	Designing the Memory of Terror, Negotiating National Memory: The 9/11 Memorial and the National Memorial for Peace and Justice Marita Sturken, New York University
3:25 – 3:40 p.m.	Discussion
3:40 – 4:05 p.m.	Post-Postracial America: Confronting the Afterlife of Slavery at the Legacy Museum and National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama Alison Landsberg , George Mason University
4:05 – 4:20 p.m.	Discussion
	COFFEE BREAK
4:30 – 6:30 p.m.	CONCLUSION AND ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION
	Introductory Remarks:
	Michael Geyer, University of Chicago
	Statements:
	John Bodnar, Irene Kacandes, Phia S. Salter
	DINNER Lock50 Restaurant 50 Water Street

Sponsored by Anonymous, Asher Fund, Cutler Charitable Foundation, and the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies

BIOGRAPHIES



Robyn Autry, chair of the Sociology Department at Wesleyan University, is a cultural sociologist with broad interests in collective identity, memory and trauma, and visual culture. Her work on the politics of representing racial violence at South African and American history museums, memorials, and monuments has been published in edited volumes and several journals, including *Theory & Society; Theory, Culture, and Society; Museum & Society;* and *Social Identities*. Her book *Desegregating the Past: The Public Life of Memory in the US and South Africa* (2017) compares post-apartheid and post-civil rights museum politics. Autry consults museum

archives, conducts interviews with staff, and recounts the public and private battles fought over the creation and content of history museums. Despite vast differences in the development of society in South Africa and the US, Autry finds a common set of ideological, political, economic, and institutional dilemmas arising out of the selective reconstruction of the past. She is currently working on a project about histories of racialized beauty practices.



John Bodnar, Chancellor's Professor and Distinguished Professor of History at Indiana University, is one of the leading scholars in the field of United States history. He has held visiting appointments or fellowships at the European University Institute in Italy, the John F. Kennedy Institute at the Free University of Berlin, and the Center for Advanced Study at Stanford. Bodnar is the recipient of grants from the Guggenheim Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, Spencer Foundation, Lilly Foundation, and the Hearst Foundation, among other learned societies. His

scholarship examines everyday individuals and groups through often-neglected textual resources and quantitative social data; public memory studies, and the use of everyday cultural productions like films to reveal personal, social, and political identity. His monographs include *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth-Century* (1992); *Blue-Collar Hollywood: Liberalism, Democracy, and Working People in American Film* (2003); and *The "Good War" in American Memory* (2010). His current research explores the political and cultural struggle between heroic and traumatic experiences following episodes of state sponsored violence.



Paul Chaat Smith is a Comanche author, essayist, and curator. His books and exhibitions focus on the contemporary landscape of American Indian politics and culture. Smith joined the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in 2001, where he currently serves as Associate Curator. His exhibitions include NMAI's permanent history gallery, James Luna's *Emendatio* at the 2005 Venice Biennial, *Fritz Scholder: Indian/Not Indian* (2008), *Brian Jungen: Strange Comfort* (2009), and *Americans* (2017). Smith has strived to promote the work of many Native American and Aboriginal

Canadian artists. He is the author of *Everything You Know about Indians Is Wrong* (2009), and he co-authored, with Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: the Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (1996), which is an account of American Indian activism.



Amanda Cobb-Greetham, a professor and chair of the Native American Studies Department at the University of Oklahoma, researches tribal history and culture in Indian Territory and Oklahoma. She served the Chickasaw Nation as administrator of the Division of History and Culture (2007-2011) and oversaw the launch of the Chickasaw Cultural Center in Sulphur, OK. Under her guidance, the Chickasaw Press received the Harvard Award for Excellence in Tribal Self-Governance. In *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949* (2000; 2007), she assesses a 19th century case in which a Native community seized control

of its children's formal education. Her essay collection (co-edited with Amy Lonetree), *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations* (2008) focuses on issues of representation and cultural production. Her current project considers Oklahoma's American Indian identity as manifested in popular culture. She serves as vice-chair of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian board of trustees; on the Harvard Honoring Nations project board of governors; and on the Americans for Indian Opportunity board of directors. In 2018, she received the Chickasaw Nation's prestigious Dynamic Woman award.



Jennifer Evans, professor of history at Carleton University, Canada specializes on contemporary German and European histories of love, hate, and sexuality; the longue durée history of authoritarianism, populism, and fascism; and the role of photography and social media as agents of historical meaning. Her books include *Life among the Ruins: Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin* (2011), a cultural history of reconstruction, traces the rebirth of various subcultures in post-war Berlin and *Queer Cities, Queer Cultures: Europe Since 1945* (2013) co-edited with Matt Cook. Her current

work examines social media and Holocaust memory, and the role of erotic photography as a claim to desire, personhood, and sexual freedom in the era before AIDS. The Social Sciences Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Unites States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the German Academic Exchange Service, the German Historical Institute, the Humboldt University of Berlin, the Free University of Berlin, Sciences Po and the Fondation Maison de Sciences de l'Homme have supported her research. She is a member of the Royal Society of Canada's College of New Scholars.



Ronald Eyerman is a professor of Sociology at Yale University. He is the author of several books, including *Is This America?*, *Hurricane Katrina as Cultural Trauma* (2015) and other books on cultural trauma including *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering* (2011), *The Cultural Sociology of Political Assassination* (2011), *The Assassination of Theo van Gogh: From Social Drama to Cultural Trauma* (2008), *Cultural Trauma*, *Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity* (2002). His interests include cultural and social movement theory, critical theory, cultural studies and the sociology of the arts. His current research concerns "The Trauma of Decolonization" and "War Crimes and Perpetrator Trauma." Eyerman co-directs the Yale Center for Cultural Sociology, which incorporates scholars

from diverse backgrounds who share an interest in understanding how culture informs and structures social life and its problems.



Michael Geyer is Samuel N. Harper Professor Emeritus in the Department of History at the University of Chicago where he cofounded the Human Rights Program. He studies twentieth-century German, European and world history with foci on the German military, resistance against the Third Reich, the politics of memory, the culture of death and sacrifice, intellectuals in contemporary Germany, religion and belief, and more. By way of comparison, he has ventured into Japanese, American, and Soviet history. His related scholarly work examines why, at

certain times, human rights matter, while at others they do not, and on the question of how people know that they have rights and, equally important, that strangers have them too. His many publications include *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared*, co-edited with Sheila Fitzpatrick (2009); *A Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories*, with Konrad Jarausch (2002); "Germany, or, the Twentieth Century as History," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 96 (1997); "World History in a Global Age," *American Historical Review* 100 (1995), with Charles Bright.



Jeffrey Herf, Distinguished University Professor in the Department of History at the University of Maryland in College Park, teaches and researches modern Europe, especially modern German history. His recent publications include *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust* (2006); *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (2009); *Undeclared Wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German Far Left, 1967-*

1989 (2016); and with Anthony McElligott, Antisemitism Before and Since the Holocaust (2017). His 1984 study, Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich has been translated into French, Italian, Japanese, Greek, Portuguese and Spanish. He is currently at work on a history of responses by the governments and foreign policy establishments of the United States, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union both in favor of and opposed to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine in 1947-1948. In the past several years, he has published essays on contemporary politics and ideas in The Washington Post, The American Interest, The National Interest, The Jewish Review of Books, Moment Magazine, Commentary and History News Network.



Irene Kacandes holds the Dartmouth Professorship in German Studies and Comparative Literature at Dartmouth College, where she also teaches in Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies, and Jewish Studies. Her interests in German range from Goethe and Kleist to Grass and Christa Wolf; she has also published on Modern Greek literature. Specializing in narrative theory, cultural studies, and life writing, she

publishes widely on orality and literacy, feminist linguistics, trauma and memory studies, the Holocaust and Holocaust memoir, and experimental memoirs. Her recent books include *Talk Fiction: Literature and the Talk Explosion* (2001), *Daddy's War: Greek American Stories. A Paramemoir* (2009), and *Let's Talk About Death (2015); Teaching the Representation of the Holocaust* (co-editor with Marianne Hirsch, 2004). Kacandes has held a number of top positions in international professional organizations, including the presidency of the German Studies Association and of the International Society for the Study of Narrative. She runs the book series, *Interdisciplinary German Cultural Studies* at de Gruyter Verlag, Berlin. Her current research concerns narrative medicine and medical humanities.



Thomas Kühne, Director of the Strassler Center and Strassler Professor of Holocaust History at Clark University, studies the cultural history of war and genocide, with a focus on Holocaust perpetrators and bystanders, on masculinities, and on the construction of collective identity through mass violence. He has received fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, the Center for Contemporary History in Germany, and the

German Research Foundation. He won the German Bundestag Research Prize for his dissertation. His most recent book publications include the monographs *The Rise and Fall of Comradeship: Hitler's Soldiers, Male Bonding and Mass Violence in the 20th Century* (2017), *Belonging and Genocide. Hitler's Community, 1918-1945* (2010). Kühne's current research deals with the constructive side of mass violence in a broader historical and comparative perspective as well as with the relation between historiography and collective memories of genocides.



Alison Landsberg is a professor of History and Cultural Studies at George Mason University. Her research on museums, film, and television, examines the modes of engagement they solicit from individuals and their potential for the production and acquisition of memory, historical knowledge and political subjectivity in the public sphere. Her book, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (2004) considers the ways in which individuals are able to take on memories of events they did not live through and explores the capacity of such memories to produce empathy and to become the grounds for progressive politics. Her book, *Engaging the Past: Mass Culture and the Production of Historical Knowledge* (2015), explores how popular representations of the past

foster historical thinking, forcing a reconsideration of what constitutes history, and how history works in the contemporary mediated public sphere. Her current project, "Post Postracial America," considers the contemporary eruption of discourse about race on both the political left and right, in mass culture.



Dirk Moses is professor of modern history at the University of Sydney, Australia. He previously held the Chair of Global and Colonial History at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. Widely regarded as a leading expert on the history of genocide and ethnic cleansing, and on the history of colonialism, he is credited with coining "the racial century" in reference to the period 1850–1950. Moses is senior editor of the *Journal of Genocide Research* and co-edits the *War and Genocide* series (Berghahn Books). His books include *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (2007); *Empire*,

Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation and Subaltern Resistance in World History (2008, editor); Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies (2010, edited with Donald Bloxham); and Colonial Counterinsurgency and Mass Violence: The Dutch Empire in Indonesia (2014, with Bart Luttikhuis). He recently co-edited the anthologies Postcolonial Conflict and the Question of Genocide: The Nigeria-Biafra Conflict, 1967-1970 (2018) and The Holocaust in Greece (2018). He is finishing a book on the intellectual origins of the genocide concept.



Ousmane Power-Greene is a professor of History at Clark
University. He specializes in African American social and political
movements. His teaching and research center on American
history with a focus on African American internationalism and
comparative social and political movements. His book, Against
Wind and Tide: The African American Struggle against the
Colonization Movement (2014) examines black Americans' efforts
to agitate for equal rights in the North and Midwest in the face
the American Colonization Society's colonization movement,
which hoped to compel free blacks to leave the United States for
Liberia. His current research projects include a study of the

Harlem-based writer and activist Hubert Harrison and the New Negro movement, an examination of white northern colonizationists, and an exploration of African American emigration movements during the nineteenth century. Among other awards and honors, he has held an NEH research fellowship at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (New York, NY) and the Gilder Lehrman Fellowship in American History.



Phia S. Salter is a critical race psychologist in the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences at Texas A&M University. She applies a critical, social, and cultural analytic lens to the psychological study of racism and other forms of oppression. Her primary research agenda investigates the ways in which racism is located in the broader sociocultural context, made up of cultural products that both reflect and promote dynamics of racial inequality and dominant group privilege. In a secondary line of research, she approaches interpersonal and intergroup relationships from a cultural-psychological perspective and considers inequitable access to psychological, material, and

social resources. Her scholarship is interdisciplinary, collaborative, and includes analyses at both individual and collective/societal levels. She utilizes a diverse methodological toolkit—including experimental design, quantitative analyses, and qualitative field research — to integrate basic psychological science with applications to social justice.



Marita Sturken is a professor in the Department of Media, Culture, and Communication at New York University, where she teaches courses in visual culture, cultural memory, and consumerism. Her scholarship focuses on the relationship of cultural memory to national identity and issues of visual culture. She is the author of *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (1997), *Thelma & Louise* (2000), *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* with Lisa Cartwright (third edition, 2018), and coeditor, with Douglas Thomas and Sandra Ball-Rokeach,

of *Technological Visions: The Hopes and Fears that Shape New Technology* (2004) and *Tourists of History: Memory, Consumerism, and Kitsch in American Culture* (2007). Her writings have appeared in a number of journals including *Representations, Public Culture, History and Theory,* and *Afterimage*. She is the former editor of *American Quarterly,* the journal of the American Studies Association.



Johanna Ray Vollhardt is a professor of Psychology at Clark University, where she also directs the PhD program in Social Psychology and co-directs the undergraduate concentration in Peace Studies. She is affiliated with the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies and the Center for Gender, Race, and Area Studies. Her research focuses on social psychological processes linked to collective victimization – for example, how people construe their ingroup's victimization, how collective victim beliefs affect intergroup attitudes and related policies, how people respond to acknowledgment

versus denial of their group's victimization, and psychological factors that shape resistance to violence in contexts of genocide, war, and severe oppression. Her recent research focuses on group-based power. Vollhardt received the Dissertation Award and Erik Erikson Early Career Award from the International Society for Political Psychology, as well as the Gert Sommer Award for Peace Psychology. She co-edits the *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, and serves as Vice President of the International Society for Political Psychology.



Pauline Wakeham is a professor in the Department of English and an affiliate faculty member of the First Nations Studies Program at Western University in Ontario, Canada. She is also a member of the Centre for Transitional Justice and its Interdisciplinary Development Initiative in Applied Indigenous Scholarship. A settler scholar of Indigenous and Canadian literary and cultural studies, she lives and works on the land of the Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee, Leni-Lunaape, and Attawandaron peoples. Within these fields, she has published on a variety of topics, including critiques of ethnographic photography and film and settler state cultures of reconciliation. She is the author of *Taxidermic Signs: Reconstructing Aboriginality*

(2008), which decodes the practice of taxidermy as it was performed in North America from the late nineteenth century to the present, revealing its connection to ecological and racial discourses integral to the maintenance of colonial power, and the co-editor of *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress* (2013). Her current book project is about the Indigenous reparations movements in Canada over the past several decades.



James E. Young is Distinguished University Professor Emeritus of English and Judaic & Near Eastern Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where he has taught since 1988 and served as founding director of the Institute for Holocaust, Genocide, and Memory Studies. He is one of the pioneers in the field of Holocaust memory studies. His books include Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust (1988), The Texture of Memory (1993), which won the National Jewish Book Award in 1994; At Memory's Edge: After-images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture (2000); and The Stages of Memory: Reflections on

Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between (2016). In 1997, the Berlin Senate appointed Young to the five-member Findungskommission for Germany's national "Memorial to Europe's Murdered Jews," which selected Peter Eisenman's design, finished and dedicated in May 2005. He served on the jury for the "National 9/11 Memorial" design competition and is completing an insider's story of the World Trade Center Memorial, Memory at Ground Zero: A Juror's Report on the World Trade Center Site Memorial and Museum.



STRASSLER CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE STUDIES