



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

26 - 27 January 2015

## ABSTRACTS AND SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES

**TRANSNATIONAL HOLOCAUST MEMORY**  
CONFERENCE EXHIBITION PERFORMANCE

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS 26-27 JANUARY 2015

PLENARY SPEAKERS: MARIANNE HIRSCH LEO SPITZER  
EVA HOFFMAN PUMLA GOBODO-MADIKIZELA STEF CRAPS  
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## PLENARY 1: Introduction

26 January, 11.00-12.00pm, Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre 21

**Chair: Matthew Boswell** (University of Leeds)

**Matthew Boswell** is a Research Fellow at the University of Leeds. His research focuses on Holocaust representation across a variety of media and artistic forms, including literature, film, documentary, comedy, the graphic novel, popular music and digital performance. In his monograph *Holocaust Impiety in Literature, Popular Music and Film* (2012) he discusses provocative responses to the Holocaust by non-victims, arguing that while such works are often shocking, the value of shock should not be lightly dismissed in the context of the Holocaust. He has developing research interests in transnational Holocaust memory and digital forms of Holocaust representation.

**Stef Craps** (Ghent University)

### **‘But what about all the Dachaus / in the United States?’ Comparative Perspectives on the Holocaust in the Work of Sherman Alexie**

My paper explores the ways in which the Native American writer Sherman Alexie negotiates various comparative perspectives on the Holocaust in “The Game between the Jews and the Indians Is Tied Going into the Bottom of the Ninth Inning” (1993), a sonnet-length poem that considers Jews and Native Americans as similarly oppressed ethnic minorities, and “Inside Dachau” (1996), a long, meditative poem that describes a Native American’s reflections on visiting a Nazi concentration camp. It analyses Alexie’s engagement with the Holocaust against the background of recent efforts to theorize the interrelatedness of the Nazi genocide of the European Jews and other histories of victimization by scholars seeking either to broaden the focus of the field of memory studies from the national to the transnational or global level, or to bridge a disciplinary divide between Jewish and postcolonial studies preventing the Holocaust and histories of slavery and colonial domination from being considered in a common frame. The paper highlights the pitfalls as well as the possibilities of bringing different atrocities into contact, a challenging and often controversial endeavour that holds both perils and promises.

**Stef Craps** is a research professor in English and American literature and culture at Ghent University, where he directs the Cultural Memory Studies Initiative. Stef is the author of *Postcolonial Witnessing: Trauma Out of Bounds* (2013) and *Trauma and Ethics in the Novels of Graham Swift: No Short-Cuts to Salvation* (2005).



**Victoria Nesfield** (University of Leeds) and **Michal Singer** (Cape Town Holocaust Centre)

**A Public Exhibition: *Germany's Confrontation with the Holocaust in a Global Context***

This travelling exhibition is the product of a year-long AHRC-supported project led by Professor Stuart Taberner. Drawing on the findings of the AHRC major research project 'From Victims to Perpetrators? Discourses of German Wartime Suffering' (2005-2008), the exhibition investigates how Germany has come to terms with its past, and encourages visitors to ask themselves questions such as how can we square historical justice with reconciliation? How are the experiences of different groups to be narrated without relativisation? The exhibition has been developed with the National Holocaust Centre (UK) and the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation, and will prompt visiting school groups and the public in South Africa, particularly, to rethink their South African context and the transition from a difficult past to democracy.

**Victoria Nesfield** is an early career researcher with a background in English literature and education. Her main research interest is Holocaust studies, particularly representation of the Holocaust in writing. She has taken groups of students to Auschwitz-Birkenau as a freelance educator with the Holocaust Educational Trust and has recently worked in the area of peace and reconciliation issues within the field of religion in society, with a particular focus on the Korean Peninsula and Israel and Palestine. Her work at the University of Leeds is on the AHRC-funded project on post-Holocaust memory in Germany.

**Michal Singer** is an historian based at the Cape Town Holocaust Centre, where she works both as an archivist and an educator. She received a Research MA in History at Wits University, with a focus on South African environmental history. She was awarded the Africa Thesis Award in 2010 by the African Studies Centre in Leiden, the Netherlands. Having worked in the South African heritage sector for the past five years, she is particularly interested in exploring the interface between history and human rights education.

## PLENARY 2

26 January, 5.30-7.00pm, Rupert Beckett Lecture Theatre, Michael Saddler Building

Chair: **Matthew Boswell** (University of Leeds)

**Marianne Hirsch** (Columbia University) and **Leo Spitzer** (Columbia University)

### **School Photos in Liquid Time: Reframing Difference**

Photographs of school classes appear very early in the history of photography. Pervasive throughout the world in family albums, they are commonly displayed as memorial images at reunions, on websites, and often reproduced in communal histories. Strictly conventional and uniform, their surfaces seem opaque, their meanings obvious. And yet, despite, or perhaps because of, their pervasiveness, these ordinary photographic images have attracted virtually no critical attention. Our book, *School Photos in Liquid Time*, is the first critical volume to analyze this vernacular photographic genre as a telling document of the textures of social life at shifting historical moments. It explores the historical, memorial, and aesthetic dimensions of school photographs from a connective perspective, and analyzes class images in several distinct cultural contexts over the course of almost two centuries. It focuses both on archival images and on the work of contemporary artists who reframe class photos exposing their ideological functions as well as their affective resonances.

**Marianne Hirsch** is the William Peterfield Trent Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University and Professor in the Institute for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality. Her books include *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (2012), *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*, co-authored with Leo Spitzer (2010), *Rites of Return: Diaspora, Poetics and the Politics of Memory*, co-edited with Nancy K. Miller (2011) and *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (1997).

**Leo Spitzer** is the Vernon Professor of History Emeritus at Dartmouth College. Along with *Ghosts of Home*, he is also the author of *Hotel Bolivia: The Culture of Memory in a Refuge from Nazism* (1999); *Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil and West Africa* (1990); *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism* (1975); and co-editor, with Mieke Bal and Jonathan Crewe, of *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (1998). He is currently working on *The Americanization of Poldi*, a memoir about Jewish refugee immigration in New York in the decade of the 1950s.



**Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela** (University of the Free State, Bloemfontein)

## **Second Generation Dialogue with Internal Others: 'Memory' of Pasts and the Possibility of Repair**

The lens of dialogue in debates about how individuals and groups face the past and wrestle with its painful legacies is crucial in countries where victims/survivors live together in the same country with perpetrators. In the aftermath of genocides, political trauma and wars of the 20th and 21st centuries, exploring the deeper significance of dialogue in post-genocide and post-conflict contexts brings a critical research perspective to bear on some of the most troubling realities about the aftermath of mass trauma and violence across multiple generations. More importantly, engaging with dialogue contributes insights on how the intergenerational repercussions of both traumatic memory and the burden of shame and guilt might be interrupted. Introducing the discussion with illustrative examples from Rwanda and South Africa, this presentation will show how dialogue opens up transformative possibilities that point to a more general horizon and debates in civil society about a kind of “ethical remembering” than has been suggested in studies of Holocaust memory. I will then draw insights from an example of a post-Holocaust second generation dialogue to argue that engaging in dialogue with the past requires confronting the ‘memory’ of the past, which is embodied as internal Others from this past, and ‘making reparations’ with these internal others. The discussion will show how the overlapping of a matrix of emotions and memories, the exchange of identifications that play out in the intense moments of dialogue about the Holocaust past and its repercussions in the present create an extraordinary context pregnant with a range of unique and unexpected outcomes, including the unfolding of an ethics of care and responsibility for the Other in the context of ‘dealing with the past.’

**Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela** is a clinical psychologist and senior research professor at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein. Her books include *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness: Perspectives on the Unfinished Journeys of the Past* (2009, co-editor with Chris van der Merwe), *Narrating Our Healing: Perspectives on Working through Trauma* (2008, co-author with Chris van der Merwe) and the award-winning *A Human Being Died that Night: A South African Story of Forgiveness* (2003). Pumla served on South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission and is a patron of the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation.

**Eva Hoffman** is the acclaimed author of *Illuminations: A Novel* (2008), *The Secret: A Novel* (2002) and numerous works of non-fiction including *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (2004); *Shtetl: The Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Polish Jews* (1997); *Exit into History: A Journey Through the New Eastern Europe* (1993); and *Lost in Translation: Life in a New Language* (1989). Eva has taught at various academic institutions, including Columbia University, the University of Minnesota, and the University of California, and has worked as a writer and editor at the *New York Times*.



## PLENARY 3

27 January, 2.00-3.45pm, Roger Stevens Lecture Theatre 20

**Chair: Simon Swift** (University of Leeds)

**Robert Eaglestone** (Royal Holloway, University of London)

### **Hannah Arendt's 'Personal Responsibility Under Dictatorship' and Holocaust Memory**

Hannah Arendt's essay 'Personal Responsibility Under Dictatorship' was broadcast just over fifty years ago this year and has only recently been available in its full form. It is many things: a reflection on the controversy over *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, a meditation on what happened in Germany in the 30s ('what disturbed us was the behaviour of not our enemies but our friends') and on the nature of evil and guilt, and an account of judgement and its role in philosophy and politics. This dense and demanding essay has much to teach: centrally about perpetrators, about those implicated in terrible events despite themselves, about bystanders and about those who come after.

The aim of my lecture is twofold: first, to explore how far the insights that Arendt offers in this essay illuminate recent Holocaust fiction about perpetrators by Jonathan Littell, Martin Amis, Laurent Binet and David Albahari, among others. Second, and following recent work about the colonial nature of mass murder by historians like Dirk Moses and Dan Stone, to explore how, if at all, the ideas that Arendt discusses might apply to our understandings of the logic of genocide and its aftermath in a wider post-colonial and global environment.

**Robert Eaglestone** is Professor of Contemporary Literature and Thought at Royal Holloway, University of London. He works on contemporary literature and literary theory, contemporary philosophy and on Holocaust and Genocide studies. He is Deputy Director of the Holocaust Research Centre at Royal Holloway. He is the author of five books, including *Ethical Criticism: Reading after Levinas* (1997), *Postmodernism and Holocaust Denial* (2001), *The Holocaust and the Postmodern* (2004) and *Contemporary Fiction* (2013) and the editor or co-editor of seven more, including *Derrida's Legacies* (2008) and *The Future of Trauma Theory* (2013).

**Lyndsey Stonebridge** (University of East Anglia)

### ***Sands of Sorrow: Rights, Refugees and the Impasse of Empathy***

Returning to the immediate postwar years, and the work of journalists such Martha Gellhorn and Dorothy Thompson, in this paper I argue that moments when memories of the Holocaust fail to move are as an important part of the story of modern human rights as more celebratory accounts of the power of the past to create new moral, legal and political norms. What is missing from these accounts is a sense of the more intractable and unmanageable politics of sovereignty that are as much a legacy of the Holocaust as its cosmopolitan memories. As I show in relation to the first



humanitarian documentary on the Palestinian refugee communities, *Sands of Sorrow* (1950) this politics too has an imaginary: there are ways of seeing, and of not seeing, statelessness, just as there are ways of encountering – or trying to avoid – human suffering.

**Lyndsey Stonebridge** is Professor of Literature and Critical Theory at the University of East Anglia, where she co-directs The Writing and Rights Project. She is author, most recently, of *The Judicial Imagination: Writing after Nuremberg* (2011; paperback and e-book, 2014) and has also recently edited, with Rachel Potter, a special issue of *Critical Quarterly* on 'Writing and Rights' (December 2014). Other publications include: *The Destructive Element* (1998), *The Writing of Anxiety* (2007), and the co-edited collections, *Reading Melanie Klein*, with John Phillips (1998) and *British Fiction after Modernism*, with Marina MacKay (2007). She is currently completing a new book, *Placeless People: Rights, Writing and Refugees*.

**Sue Vice** (University of Sheffield)

### **Knowing about Genocide: Claude Lanzmann's *The Karski Report* (2010) and *The Last of the Unjust* (2013)**

The most recent separate releases from the outtakes of *Shoah* are *The Karski Report* (2010), about the eponymous Polish envoy's efforts to communicate what was happening in occupied Poland to President Roosevelt; and *The Last of the Unjust* (2013), a record of Lanzmann's encounter in the early 1970s with Benjamin Murmelstein, a former inmate of Terezin and the last surviving leader of the Jewish Councils. Murmelstein's self-designation titles the film, in acknowledgement of the accusations of collaboration levelled against such wartime figures.

Both films take a self-consciously 21st-century view of the wartime genocide, since the release of each was prompted by contemporary cultural debates about the legacy of the Holocaust. *The Karski Report* is a riposte to Yannick Haenel's prize-winning 2009 novel *Jan Karski*, which both relies upon and takes issue with *Shoah*, while the impetus to make *The Last of the Unjust* came from Lanzmann's presence at an unauthorized screening in Vienna of some of the outtake material from Murmelstein's interview.

Yet the two films, although apparently devoted to reasserting Lanzmann's auteurist authority over the footage he shot during the twelve years of *Shoah*'s construction, are in fact philosophical meditations, undertaken in very different filmic styles, on the nature of the knowledge and understanding of mass murder. We witness a reprise of Karski's efforts to convey the reality of genocide to Roosevelt and his confidant, Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter, while Murmelstein energetically reflects upon his critics' views of his actions. These two new works constitute Lanzmann's reflection on his central filmic and historical questions about what post-Holocaust generations can see and know of those events.

**Sue Vice** is a Professor of Contemporary Literature at the University of Sheffield. Her publications in the field of literary theory include *Psychoanalytic Criticism: A Reader* (1996) and *Introducing Bakhtin* (1997). In relation to the Holocaust, she has written about such subjects as novels, in *Holocaust*



*Fiction* (2000), children's perspectives, *Children Writing the Holocaust* (2004), Claude Lanzmann's classic film *Shoah* (a BFI Modern Film Classics volume in 2011), and, with Jenni Adams, has edited a volume entitled *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film* (2013). Her most recent book, *Textual Deceptions* (2014), is on the topic of false memoirs and literary hoaxes. She is currently at work with her colleague David Forrest on a new project focusing on the novelist and screenwriter Barry Hines.



## GUEST LECTURE: PETER KURER

27 January, 1.00-1.45pm, Workshop Theatre

Chair: **Matthew Boswell** (University of Leeds)

### Peter Kurer

#### The Missing Chapter: What the Quakers Did for the Jews of Nazi Europe

My family of 9 were saved from Nazi Vienna in 1938, by the Quakers giving the Government 'guarantees' that I would not be a financial drain on the Government.

I and my brother were offered two free years at Quaker Boarding Schools by the Quakers, after two years my father could afford to leave us there and we had all our school education at Quaker Boarding Schools.

I had heard of friends getting out of Nazi Europe on *Kindertransport*, I wanted to know: What was that and what happened to the parents of those children? Were the Quakers involved?

I had an Aunt who got to the UK by becoming a 'maid' soon she was back to being a school teacher. Not the Quakers again surely?

In 2002 on one of my 3 visits per annum to Israel I went to see what Yad Vashem had on the Quakers – they had NOTHING.

How come????

My talks answer many questions on surviving the Holocaust, which everyone should know and pass on to others. Also what else did the Quaker Boarding School do for me?

**Peter Kurer** came to England as a boy of seven in 1938 with his parents and brother. All his School days were at Quaker Boarding Schools. Peter worked on a thesis, “‘The Missing Chapter’: What the Quakers did for Jews of Nazi Europe’ and managed to have Yad Vashem accept this at the end of seven years’ hard work. He has been giving talks on this topic since 2003. He is the father of four children and has thirteen grandchildren.

## **PANEL A: Legacies of 'Race' After the Holocaust: Culture and Politics in the Anglophone World, 1945 to the Present**

26 January, 1.00-2.45pm, Workshop Theatre

**Chair: Shirli Gilbert** (University of Southampton)

Since 1945, Nazism and the Holocaust have shaped non-western political and intellectual discourse in manifold ways, and have powerfully affected the ways in which the postcolonial world has both understood itself and promoted its causes in the international arena. We are only beginning to map the scope and nature of that impact, and to address the question of how the Holocaust has informed the articulation of and engagement with concepts of race and racism—a question that has clearly, but far from exclusively, affected post-colonial societies broadly defined.

This seems a curious lacuna. The Holocaust has become the universal benchmark for talking about human rights abuses from slavery and colonialism to genocide, particularly in the developing world, and it implicitly underlies the rights culture that governs international relations today. Western educators and politicians infer 'obvious' lessons of tolerance and anti-racism from the Nazi past, and assume that Holocaust education will expose the dangers of racial prejudice and promote peaceful coexistence. Beyond these simplistic assumptions, however, we in fact know very little about the intersection of the Holocaust, race, and racism since 1945. The encounter with the Nazi past in racialised societies has been complex, fluid, and unpredictable, and while the connection has often been politicized, politics is far from the only terrain where this thorny engagement has played out.

This panel will broach these questions with specific reference to three postcolonial contexts: Britain and two of its former colonies, South Africa and Australia. To what extent was the Holocaust present in post-war public discourse about colonialism and decolonization in both colony and metropole? To what extent did it inform all three societies' engagement with questions of race and racism after the war, and the ways in which racist and anti-racist politics were articulated? And how was it represented across a broad variety of cultural and commemorative strategies that sought to harness both its substantive and emotive power?

### Panellists

- **Avril Alba** (*University of Sydney*)
- **Shirli Gilbert** (*University of Southampton*)
- **Tony Kushner** (*University of Southampton*)

**Avril Alba** is the Roth Lecturer in Holocaust Studies and Jewish Civilisation in the Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney. She teaches and researches in the broad areas of Holocaust and modern Jewish history with a focus on Jewish and Holocaust museums. Her monograph *The Holocaust Memorial Museum: Secular Sacred Space* exploring the largely unexamined topic of museums as sacred spaces will be published by Palgrave MacMillan in 2015. From 2002-2011 Avril was the Education Director at the Sydney Jewish Museum where she



also served as the Project Director/Curator for the permanent exhibition *Culture and Continuity* in 2008-09. She continues to serve as the consulting lead curator for the museum's permanent Holocaust exhibition. Avril's other research interests include Australian Holocaust memory, the 'activist' museum, onsite Holocaust education and pre-war Jewish museums and exhibitions.

**Shirli Gilbert** is Associate Professor in History at the University of Southampton. She obtained her D.Phil. in Modern History from the University of Oxford and was a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Michigan Society of Fellows. Her book *Music in the Holocaust* (2005) was a finalist for the National Jewish Book Award, and has been translated into Spanish and Japanese. She is currently completing a book about a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany who fled to South Africa in 1936.

**Tony Kushner** is Professor of Jewish/non-Jewish relations in the Parkes Institute and History Department at the University of Southampton. He is the author of eight monographs, including *Remembering Refugees: Then and Now* (Manchester University Press, 2006) and *Anglo-Jewry since 1066: Place, Locality and Memory* (Manchester University Press, 2009). His most recent book is *The Battle of Britishness: Migrant Journeys since 1685* published by Manchester University Press in 2012. He is currently working on a study of the construction of ethnicity in the British armed forces and two books relating to Holocaust journeys.

## PANEL B: World Literature

26 January, 1.00-2.45pm, Alumni Room

**Chair: Helen Finch** (University of Leeds)

**Catalina Botez** (University of Constance)

### Liquefaction, Liquid Trauma and Transnational Holocaust Memory

My talk advances the concepts of *liquefaction* and *liquid trauma* in relation to Canadian writer Anne Michaels's work, thereby suggesting that there is a connection between psychological, transgenerational trauma and large-scale environmental catastrophes (like floods and hurricanes) across time and place, and across international, national and domestic spaces. Through liquefaction, I show how psychological post-traumatic healing in Holocaust survivors, on the one hand, and geologic post-traumatic healing of landscape, on the other, operate in tandem in Anne Michaels's fiction, more precisely how the figurative unearthing and working through of traumatic memory across generations parallels the literal unearthing and re-situating of archaeological artefacts across geologic time. The interconnectedness of psychological wounds with geological wounds demonstrates the ethics of nature – a kind of co-healing of persons and places across generations and landscapes (both transgenerational and transhistorical).

While previous theoretic work on traumatic memory focuses primarily on its (fragmented) *solidity*, my talk will centre on trauma as a *fluid*, morphing process characteristic of liquid modernity (Zygmunt Bauman), which I dub *liquid trauma*. Applied specifically to Anne Michaels' novel *Fugitive Pieces*, this thematic leitmotiv defines Holocaust trauma as a generationally transmissible, highly mobile phenomenon, which changes shape according to the stimuli of liquid modernity and the diasporic flux, thereby being impossible to contain. It transcends space, time and individual, local memory, manifesting itself as an inherently transnational, light, yet unbearably heavy occurrence. The main question addressed here will be whether liquid trauma, experienced transnationally, leads to healing or to deeper trauma.

**Catalina Botez** is currently completing a doctoral thesis in Comparative Literature at the University of Constance in Germany, in which she explores transnational topographies of trauma in contemporary Post-Holocaust fiction, and the way post-Holocaust Jewish identity is molded by exposure to diasporic environments in Canada, Europe and Australia. She has studied and pursued research at Yale University, the University of Sydney, Australia and the University of Iasi, Romania. Her work focuses on Trauma and Identity Studies, Holocaust (Post-)Memory, Transnationalism, Transculturalism and Migration, particularly as reflected in recent Post-Holocaust fiction. She has published critical essays on works by Primo Levi, W.G. Sebald, Anne Michaels, Raymond Federman and Lily Brett, and edited a transdisciplinary essay collection on *Pluralism, Inclusion and Citizenship*.



**Hannah Copley** (University of Leeds)

### **'Archaeological layers of the speechless': The Transnational Eco-poetry of Jon Silkin**

In his poem 'White Balloon', Dannie Abse (1923-2014) addressed the effect of the Holocaust upon the formation of his Welsh-Jewish identity. Speaking to his anonymous 'love', the speaker reveals that 'Auschwitz made me/ more of a Jew than Moses did', and in doing so expresses what was felt by many of his British contemporaries, including Abse's friend and fellow poet Jon Silkin (1930-97). The question of what 'made' a Jew in the years following 1945 – both in relation to Britishness and a wider, transnational identity - occupied the writing of both men, leading to very different conclusions. Despite feeling equally 'made' by Auschwitz for example, Silkin's 'hyphenated' identity, which was defined both by his connection to the dead and his sense of being spared by the accident of geography, meant that his poetic witness was shaped by a profound guilt over what he labelled as his 'unredeemed Jewishness'. Considering first the implication of this idea, this paper will explore how Silkin drew upon the natural world – as metaphor, archive, and witness – as a means of formulating a transnational and transhistorical response to this problem. I wish to suggest that in Silkin's writing we find a form of eco-poetry that excavates beneath the soil, in order to unearth the roots that link the Holocaust to a borderless history of violence. Creating a topography that connected Treblinka, a Leeds garden, tenth century York, Iowa, and Auschwitz, the earth became a way for Silkin to 'redeem' himself, however problematic that process might have been.

**Hannah Copley** is in the final stages of a PhD in the School of English at Leeds. Her project looks at the poetry and archives of Geoffrey Hill, Tony Harrison, and Jon Silkin, focussing on how each bear witness to the Holocaust and how this shapes both their published work, and the creative process itself. Alongside her studies Hannah works as an editorial assistant at *Stand International Quarterly*, a publication founded by Jon Silkin, and co-edits *Poetry and Audience* magazine.

**Ingvild Hagen Kjørholt** (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

### **A Transnational Discourse of Empathy? The Problem of Individualizing Political Atrocities**

Benjamin Wilkomirski's autobiography *Bruchstücke* (1995, *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*, 1996) tells the horrific and touching story of an orphan's childhood spent in Nazi concentration camps. It soon became an international phenomenon, critics in Europe and the US hailed it as a masterpiece and it received numerous prestigious awards. A few years after its publication, *Bruchstücke* was however revealed as a fraud: the author was neither Jewish nor a concentration camp victim. A pathological identification with Holocaust survivors had led him to adopt their history as his own. Due to the peculiar history of the book's production as well as reception, the 'Wilkomirski affair' has later become a well-known illustration of some challenging consequences of the public attention paid to Holocaust victims worldwide.

Using the Wilkomirski affair as a point of departure, the paper sets out to reflect upon one of the effects of the paradigmatic turn from history to memory; namely what I would call a 'transnational discourse of empathy' that characterizes not only Holocaust memory in particular, but various



representations of political atrocities in the post-2nd world war period. 'Discourse of empathy' refers to the ideal of establishing an emotional relationship between the represented victim and the recipients. The aim of the paper is to discuss the problematic consequences of the tendency to represent individual civilians as the main center of attention in contemporary memorials and museums, and to suggest how the discourse of empathy should be understood in the light of the history of Holocaust literature.

**Ingvild Hagen Kjørholt** is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Falstad Centre in the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

**Anja Henebury** (University of the Free State, Bloemfontein)

### **Jáchym Topol's *The Devil's Workshop* as a Satirical Commentary on Globalized Memory Culture**

As Michael Rothberg reminds us, collective memory is not a finite resource and can potentially accommodate plural histories of victimisation. There is, however, a competitive dimension to the international memory tourism, where being a site of the Holocaust will provide a particular country or region with a commercial advantage. Czech author Jáchym Topol explores these issues from an Eastern European vantage point in his grotesque satire *The Devil's Workshop*. The novel revisits two sites of World War II massacre and genocide, the Czech Republic and Belarus, examining the repercussions of a heritage tourism that is to an ever-increasing degree shaped by consumer culture. Against the background of the epochal threshold when the communicative memory of first-hand experience is gradually transformed into cultural memory, the inhabitants of Terezín, amongst them survivors of the Holocaust and their descendants, turn their crumbling home town into a heritage site in order to prevent it from being bulldozed. Their alternative, experience-driven therapy centre satisfies the thirst for authenticity among the 'bunk-seekers', the third-generation Western memory tourists, where official memory culture fails. When the Czech authorities finally intervene, the protagonist flees to Belarus, where locals hope that his expertise will put their country on the map of Eastern European heritage tourism. Their ghoulish project of a 'Jurassic Park of Totalitarianism' puts into sharp relief the sentimentalised notions of authenticity and witnessing that drive much of contemporary dark tourism.

**Anja Henebury** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of the Free State, South Africa, in the Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice. Her research interests include universalisation of Holocaust memory, strategic aspects of trauma culture, and the politics of victimhood.

**Hsu-Ming Teo** (Macquarie University)

### **Romancing the Holocaust? Romance Novels and the Persecution of Jews**

The turn of the twenty-first century has seen the rise of a rather peculiar phenomenon in popular literature: the transnational Holocaust romance novel focusing on Jewish heroines who develop



romantic relationships with either Allied or Nazi men. The genre of romance fiction seems an ill and even sacrilegious fit for Holocaust stories, yet beginning with award-winning English romance writer Eva Ibbotson's novel *The Morning Gift* (1993), the Holocaust romance novel has proliferated in the twenty-first century with books such as Pam Jenoff's *The Kommandant's Girl* (2007), Charles Weinblatt's *Jacob's Courage: A Holocaust Love Story* (2009), Alyson Richman's *The Lost Wife* (2011), Eoin Dempsey's *Finding Rebecca: A Novel of Love and the Holocaust* (2012), Alexandria Constantinova Szeman's *The Kommandant's Mistress* (2012), and Jodi Picoult's international bestseller *The Storyteller* (2013).

Much has been written about the representation of the Holocaust in literature, but these works of scholarship have focused on 'high' literature or children's literature rather than popular genre fiction. The extant scholarship – whether focusing on issues of Holocaust ineffability, Holocaust etiquette or Matthew Boswell's (2012) iconoclastic readings of 'Holocaust impiety' – privileges avant-garde experimental aesthetics over bland and banal formulaic fiction. Holocaust romance certainly falls into the category of what critics would consider 'bad' Holocaust fiction, characterized by sentimental, saccharine narratives of redemption. This is an inevitable form of the romance genre, defined by Pamela Regis (2003) as 'a work of prose fiction that tells the story of the courtship and betrothal of one or more heroine' (14) which requires the narrative structure to move from 'the point of ritual death' to the betrothal and remaking of society (30-39).

The romance genre raises troubling questions about how the Holocaust is represented and remembered by readers: Why is the Holocaust being increasingly used as a backdrop to a romantic love story? What do romance readers learn about the Holocaust from these novels? Does the generic form of the romance necessarily contribute to a redemptive, 'Americanized' version of the Holocaust (Flanzbaum 1999, Novick 1999) that is transmitted to a worldwide audience because of the massive transnational reach of the romance industry – a \$1 billion a year industry reaching at least 130 million readers worldwide and over 50 million in North America alone? This paper: (i) explores the kinds of Holocaust historiography that are produced in these works, (ii) considers the extent to which the history and transnational memory of the Holocaust, as well as the generic form of the romance novel itself, is distorted by Holocaust love stories, and (iii) analyses how the global Anglophone publishing industry is producing highly problematic genre-shaped transnational memories of the Holocaust as exotic bourgeois romance.

**Hsu-Ming Teo** is a cultural historian and novelist working in the area of twentieth-century European history, British imperial culture, Orientalism, travel and tourism, and popular literature. She is the author of *Desert Passions: Orientalism and Romance Novels* (University of Texas Press 2012) and co-editor of *Cultural History in Australia* (UNSW Press 2003). She is an editorial board member of the *Journal of Australian Studies*, the *Australasian Journal of Popular Culture*, and the *Journal of Popular Romance Studies*. In 1999 she won The Australian/Vogel Literary Award for her first novel *Love and Vertigo*, which was also short-listed for the inaugural Tasmania Pacific Region Literary Prize and the Dobbie Award for women's fiction. Her second novel, *Behind the Moon*, was published in 2005 and short-listed for one of the 2006 NSW Premier's Literary Awards.

## **PANEL C: Postmemory, Trauma and the New Generations in Latin American Southern Cone**

*26 January, 1.00-2.45pm, LHRI*

**Chair: Jordana Blejmar** (*University of Liverpool*)

In the aftermath of diverse experiences of mass suffering, scholars have argued that the effects of trauma can be 'paralysing' for the descendants of such traumatic pasts. Marianne Hirsch crafted the specific term 'postmemory' to acknowledge the ways in which new generations connect with past experiences that they have not lived through themselves. In contrast to direct witnesses, Hirsch states that, for the descendants, the past is 'not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection and creation' (Hirsch 2008).

In the wake of the brutal dictatorships of the Latin American Southern Cone there has been concern over whether Hirsch's meditations on postmemory can be transported from the context of the Holocaust's descendants to that of the new generations in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. In particular, local scholars, activists and artists have strongly resisted this framework as the hermeneutical model for approaching Latin American idiosyncrasies such as the experiences and memories of the orphans of disappeared parents or of 'appropriated' children. At the same time, other scholars have found Hirsch's theoretical approach useful when looking at local resonances of trauma and exploring the way in which the post-dictatorship generations can generate new forms of engagement among audiences, which have not been directly affected by loss.

Remembering the need to 'bring memory back home' (Radstone, 2012), this panel will look at different experiences of postmemorial generations in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. While discussing the usefulness and pertinence of using an imported concept to analyse local experiences of trauma, these papers will show the precise mechanisms through which postmemorial inscriptions can be explored in Latin America.

**Jordana Blejmar** (*University of Liverpool*)

### **Macabre Games: The Playground as a Site of Mourning in Marcelo Brodsky's Photographs**

This paper will look at Marcelo Brodsky's photographs, taken shortly before or during the last Argentine dictatorship (1976-1983), in which young people pretend that they are being executed. In one photograph two teenage boys and a girl line up against a wall, their eyes blindfolded, as if they were about to be shot by a firing squad; in another, Brodsky stages a self-portrait in which he is being shot to death in a Barcelona square where Franco's forces executed their enemies. This picture was taken in 1979, the same year that his brother, Fernando, was disappeared in Argentina. The paper focuses in particular on the way these images link play and performance to the violence of the Argentine dictatorship. Refuting the common view that there are some things that are best not played with, I argue that playgrounds have considerable affective potential as sites of mourning, and



that play can sometimes overcome the passivity of trauma to master experiences of loss and disappearance.

**Jordana Blejmar** is a researcher at the University of Liverpool and a member of the steering committee of the Centre for the Study of Cultural Memory. She was formerly Lecturer in Hispanic Studies at the Institute of Modern Languages Research, University of London. She is an editor of the *Journal of Romance Studies*. She was awarded an MPhil and a PhD (as a Gates Scholar) at Cambridge University with a thesis on contemporary Argentine autofictions. She is the co-editor (with Natalia Fortuny and Luis Ignacio Garcia) of *Instantáneas de la memoria: Fotografía y dictadura en Argentina y América Latina* (2013), the co-editor (with Natalia Fortuny) of the special issue 'Revisiting Postmemory: The Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma in Post-dictatorship Latin American Culture', *Journal of Romance Studies* (2013) and the co-editor (with Ben Bollig) of the special issue 'New Reading, New Writings: Argentine Poetry Today', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* (forthcoming). She has published articles in Spanish, French and English in specialised journals and books.

**Cara Levey** (University College Cork)

### **Of HIJOS and Niños: Revisiting Postmemory in Post-Dictatorship Uruguay**

Focusing on the case of post-dictatorship Uruguay, this paper reconsiders the term 'postmemory' as coined by Marianne Hirsch to describe the transmission of memory from Holocaust survivors to their children about events that preceded their birth (Hirsch 2008, 2012). Interrogating the applicability of 'postmemory' beyond the Holocaust and beyond the generation that came 'after' traumatic events. I examine two postdictatorship organisations: HIJOS (Sons and Daughters), formed in 1996, is comprised of individuals united by their status as sons and daughters of the dictatorship's victims. The group provides a compelling contrast with another group of sons and daughters of victims: Niños en Cautiverio Político (Children in Political Captivity), founded in 2007, the members of which were incarcerated with their mothers whilst babies or toddlers – a number were even born in captivity. Analysis of HIJOS and Niños and the diverse ways in which memory and identity are articulated collectively by these actors (more appropriately viewed as what Susan Suleiman calls 'the 1.5 Generation') reveals that treatment of the past varies significantly amongst second generation actors themselves. Moreover, such a discussion reestablishes postmemory's complexity, elucidating the broad spectrum of experiences it encompasses and the role of external factors in the construction of memory.

**Cara Levey** is a Lecturer in Latin American Studies at University College Cork and holds an MA from the University of London and a PhD from the University of Leeds. She is currently completing her monograph, entitled *Commemoration and Contestation in Post-dictatorship Argentina and Uruguay: Fragile Memory, Shifting Impunity* (forthcoming 2015) and has published in *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *History and Memory* and a number of edited books. She is also co-editor (with Daniel Ozarow and Christopher Wylde) of *Argentina since the 2001 Crisis: Recovering the Past, Reclaiming the Future* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2014), which examines social, political and cultural responses to crisis.



**Margarita Saona** (University of Illinois at Chicago)

### **The Holocaust "Nunca más": Postmemory and Survival in the Southern Cone's Dirty War**

In *The Letters that Never Came* Mauricio Rosencof imagines his father's sister writing letters from a concentration camp. She writes: "Silence is the real crime against humanity." This statement might seem disproportionate as she is also describing bodies turned into ashes or soap. But the testimonial imperative is what gives Rosencof, a survivor of imprisonment and torture in Uruguay, a path to the recuperation of his humanity.

My presentation will examine Rosencof's fictional memoir as an example of the ways in which the memory of the Holocaust has provided a language and framing devices to deal with atrocities across the globe, especially in the Southern Cone and the rest of Latin American countries emerging from dictatorial pasts. The extreme horrors of the Holocaust and the cultural responses that call to "Never forget" become the language that societies in distress go back to when they try to articulate their own trauma. Argentina's "Nunca más" and Peru's "Para que no se repita" are tragic reminders that societies around the world still dehumanize sectors of their population and annihilate thousands, if not millions, of men and women.

A Uruguayan militant of the Tupamaro movement, Rosencof spent years in solitary confinement under cruel conditions. 'Las cartas que no llegaron' recuperates his diasporic heritage as the narrator imagines his aunt being able to write about her experiences in the concentration camp. This mediation, which for some betrays Rosencof's own distancing from the political militancy of his youth, actually reveals the need to appeal to a cross-cultural defense of human dignity. As we do write poetry after Auschwitz, the aesthetic experience provides a bridge between the individual, the ethical, and the political.

**Margarita Saona** is Associate Professor of Latin American literatures and cultures at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Her book *Memory Matters in Transitional Peru* (2014) examines the Peruvian context as an example of the way cultural and artistic production foster collective memory. She is also the author of *Novelas Familiares: Figuraciones de la nación en la novela latinoamericana contemporánea* (2004) and numerous articles on national and gender identity, memory, trauma, and visual cultures. Her most recent article, 'Plain Things and Space: Metonymy and Aura in Memorials

of Social Trauma,' was published in a special issue of *Hispanic Issues Online* entitled *Layers of Memory and the Discourse of Human Rights*.

## PANEL D: Concentrationary Memory: The Politics of Representation

26 January, 3.00-4.45pm, Workshop Theatre

**Chairs: Griselda Pollock** and **Max Silverman** (University of Leeds)

### Panellists

**Benjamin Hannavy-Cousen** (*independent scholar*)

**Matthew John** (*University of Leeds*)

**Griselda Pollock** (*University of Leeds*)

**Max Silverman** (*University of Leeds*)

Can and should we distinguish, theoretically and representationally, *concentrationary* memory from *Holocaust* memory? What are the gains and what are the risks of disentangling a specific *concentrationary* dimension within the history, representation and memory of events in Europe between 1933 and 1945 from the core horror of systematic, industrial and racialized genocide between 1942-44? How does such a strategic distinction speak to the current uses and misuses of both the imaginary and the memory of a genocidal Holocaust and the latter's circulation, notably via imagery, as a metaphor or model for other instances of violence and violation before and after? Will it enable us to confront urgent political and representational issues obscured by the now over-inclusive range of the late coming term, Holocaust, which, all too often, iconographically and conceptually, conflates the concentration camp (KZ) as a state instrument of absolute domination with the extermination camp (VZ) as a criminally dedicated death factory? Working analytically *with* concentrationary memory, rather than reifying it as completely distinct from Holocaust memory, we focus here on two main lines of inquiry. One is the elaboration of a specific Benjaminian concept of memory and its mechanics that are not confined to time and place. The other revisits the Arendtian analysis of the systematic attempt at total domination in which Arendt identified the novelty of an experimental assault on the human, hence the annihilation of the political itself in the entire society of which the concentration camp was the laboratory. In our four short papers we will examine the implications of 'the concentrationary' as a prism for the study of transnational and transcultural memory and the politics of photographic, cinematic and mediatic representation.

This panel reflects on a research project from which two edited collections have been produced, *Concentrationary Cinema* (Berghan, 2011/2014) and *Concentrationary Memories: Totalitarian Terror and Cultural Resistance* (I B Tauris, 2013), while two more are forthcoming: *Concentrationary Imaginaries: Tracing Totalitarian Violence in Popular Culture* (2015) and *Concentrationary Art: Cayrol, Resnais and Aesthetic Responses to 'the concentrationary universe'* (2016).

**Benjamin Hannavy Cousen** is a cultural analyst who completed a doctoral thesis at the University of Leeds as part of the AHRC-funded research project on *Concentrationary Memories: the Politics of*



Representation titled: *The Seeping and Creeping of Haunted Memory: Tracing the Concentrationary in Post War Cinema*. His publications include an article on Picasso titled 'Memory, Power and Place: Where is Guernica?', *Journal of Romance Studies* 9:2 (2009), pp. 47-64.

**Matthew John** completed a doctorate in French Studies at the University of Leeds, as part of the AHRC-funded research project *Concentrationary Memories: the Politics of Representation* titled *Concentrationary Cinema: Aesthetics and the Camps* using Jean Cayrol's notion of *concentrationary art* as means of critically re-examining a number of cinematic works produced under Anatole Dauman's production company Argos Films.

**Griselda Pollock** is Professor of Social and Critical Histories of Art and Director of the Centre for Cultural Analysis, Theory and History at the University of Leeds. Recent publications include *After-affect | After-image: Trauma and Aesthetic Transformation* (2013). Forthcoming are *From Trauma to Cultural Memory: Representation and the Holocaust* and *The Nameless Artist in the Theatre of Memory: Life, Death, Love and Loss in Charlotte Salomon's Leben? Oder Theater? (1941-42)* With Max Silverman, she is co-editor of *Concentrationary Cinema: Aesthetics as Political Resistance in Alain Resnais's 'Night and Fog'* (Berghahn 2011), *Concentrationary Memories: Totalitarian Terror and Cultural Resistance* (I B Tauris, 2013), and in press *Imaginaries: Tracing Totalitarian Violence in Popular Culture* (2015).

**Max Silverman** is Professor of Modern French Studies at the University of Leeds. His most recent work is on post-Holocaust culture, colonial and postcolonial theory and cultures, and questions of memory, race and violence. He is author of *Palimpsestic Memory: the Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film* (Berghahn, 2013) and co-editor with Griselda Pollock of *Concentrationary Cinema: Aesthetics as Political Resistance in Alain Resnais's 'Night and Fog'* (Berghahn 2011), *Concentrationary Memories: Totalitarian Terror and Cultural Resistance* (I B Tauris, 2013), and in press *Imaginaries: Tracing Totalitarian Violence in Popular Culture* (2015).

## **PANEL E: Remembering the Holocaust in Africa**

26 January, 3.00-4.45pm, Alumni Room

**Chair: Jane Taylor** (University of Leeds)

**Hazel Frankel** (University of the Witwatersrand)

### **From Tundra to Veld: David Fram's Yiddish poems of Lithuania and South Africa**

The Holocaust resulted in the extermination of Jewish families and communities in Eastern Europe as well as the almost-total annihilation of Yiddish, their mother tongue. Focusing on the poems of the Lithuanian-South African David Fram written before, during and after this period, my paper will argue for their continued relevance both as containers of memory and as a space for reflection on issues of transnationalism and hybridity, going beyond a single poet's testimony in a minority language.

Fram's poetry reflects a personal narrative, offering specific insights into communal Jewish life both in Russia and in South Africa; as aesthetic representations, the poems reflect the losses he suffered with the destruction of his family and friends; as they confront cross-cultural issues that arose from diasporic living, their content allows for a focused discussion around issues of transnationalism, both specific to South Africa and more generally.

The timeliness of this project may be associated with the affirmation of the value of linguistic and cultural diversity in post-apartheid South Africa. In making Fram's poems accessible to a wider audience through this act of retrieval, which also may also take advantage of digitization possibilities where the individual literary text encompasses a fine-grained understanding of greater cultural processes, I hope in some small way to memorialize a lost world and also to highlight transnational issues, which remain relevant in our digital age.

**Hazel Frankel** holds a Postdoctoral National Research Foundation Fellowship at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in the departments of both English and Creative Writing. She read for her doctorate, 'David Fram, Lithuanian Yiddish Poet of the South African Diaspora' at Sheffield Hallam University. Her published works include a poetry collection, *Drawing from Memory* (Cinnamon Press), two novels, *Counting Sleeping Beauties* and *Illuminating Love* (Jacana Media), and a volume of interviews with survivor-immigrants, *Memoirs: Our Stories; Our Lives* (Chevrah Kadisha, Johannesburg). She is currently recording the testimony of a Latvian Holocaust survivor who owes her life to the bravery and generosity of spirit of numerous Righteous Gentiles.



**Catherine Gilbert** (University of Nottingham)

### **Reshaping Memory: Holocaust Legacies in Rwandan Genocide Survivor Narratives**

According to René Lemarchand, 'the Holocaust and the Rwanda genocide are two of the most terrifying and complex catastrophes of the 20th century'. It is therefore unsurprising that the Holocaust, as the better known of the two events, is frequently used as a paradigmatic frame for discussions about the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. This paper proposes an evaluation of the appropriateness of the Holocaust paradigm as a lens through which to view and interpret the genocide in Rwanda, focusing on the testimonies of two Rwandan women genocide survivors: Esther Mujawayo (2004) and Immaculée Ilibagiza (2006).

One important feature of these women's texts is the frequent references to the Holocaust, both within the narratives themselves and in the accompanying paratextual material. Such references serve primarily as a means of facilitating comprehension for the Western reader, but also raise a number of problematic questions to which this paper will attempt to respond: To what extent does familiarity with the Holocaust story shape survivors' own accounts of the genocide in Rwanda? Are Rwandan women survivors resisting such an interpretative framework or is this framework deemed to be necessary in communicating their story to a Western audience? As such, this paper constitutes the initial stages of a wider research project examining the link between postcolonial memory and the memory of the Holocaust, exploring crucial questions about the implications of Holocaust legacies on our understanding of genocide and the subsequent cultural responses to it.

**Catherine Gilbert** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Nottingham, working on the AHRC-funded project 'Building Images: Exploring 21st century Sino-African dynamics through cultural exchange and translation'. She completed her PhD in 2013 and her thesis, 'Writing Trauma: The Voice of the Witness in Rwandan Women's Testimonial Literature', focused on Rwandan women's representations of their experiences of violence and trauma during the 1994 genocide. She has published articles in the *Bulletin of Francophone Postcolonial Studies* (2012) and *Dialogues francophones* (2010), as well as a chapter in the edited volume *Representations of the Unspeakable in the Francophone World* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

**Adam Levin** (University of Pretoria)

### **Exploring the Intersection between Witness and Interpreter in *Dawn* and *Mother to Mother***

In this paper, I will contribute to research on the transnational parallels between Holocaust memory and South African apartheid memory by focusing on the concept of testimony and the contrasting ways that it has been applied in articulating the narrative of these two histories of oppression. In the case of the Holocaust, most testimonies have been articulated from the perspective of a survivor-witness. In contrast, the testimonies of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission were conceptualized through an interpreter who would articulate the witness's narrative. These approaches to articulating memory differ from each other. However, I will argue that, when



considered in relation to one another, each testimony form provides a medium through which to explore how the other represents differing facets of both spoken and unspoken trauma.

To contextualize my analysis, I will refer to two fictional literary works. These are Elie Wiesel's *Dawn* and Sindiwe Magona's *Mother to Mother*. *Dawn* explores the psychology of a recently liberated Auschwitz prisoner who joins a Jewish terrorist group. Set towards the end of apartheid, *Mother to Mother* examines the events leading to the murder of Fulbright scholar Amy Biehl from the perspective of the mother of one of the perpetrators. These texts represent different histories and approaches to constructing memory. However, I will suggest that the process of engaging with the trauma narrative each text constructs may be better facilitated by developing a dialogue with the other text and the way it conceptualizes the testimony form it represents.

**Adam Levin** is currently pursuing a PhD at the University of Pretoria, focusing on issues of transnational memory in literature through the lens of a dialogic parallel between Holocaust testimonies and those produced during the trials at the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. His primary research interests are Holocaust literature and popular culture. He has merged these two interests in a recently produced chapter entitled "Recreating the Holocaust: YA Dystopia and the Young Jewish Reader". This chapter was published in *The Hunger Games: New Readings of the Novels*. Adam is also the creator of *Pop Junkie*, a blog which takes an academic approach to exploring popular culture.

**Ayala Maurer-Prager** (University College London)

### **Across Landscapes, Across Time: The Spectral Presence of Auschwitz in Literary Representations of South African Apartheid and Rwanda's Genocide**

'People come to Rwanda and talk of reconciliation,' says Edmond Mrugamba. 'It's offensive. Imagine talking to Jews of reconciliation in 1946.' Speaking to Philip Gourevitch in *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families*, Mrugamba both confirms and challenges claims to the Holocaust's universality as a paradigm of human suffering: although he claims the specificity of Rwanda's catastrophe, his own parallel between Rwanda's genocide and the Holocaust unwittingly assumes a connection between them. In her influential essay 'Rwanda's Bones', Sara Guyer describes how Andrew Blum felt compelled to visit Murambi to relieve himself of the stress of imagining his grandparents' suffering in Auschwitz.

This paper will interrogate several of Rwanda and South Africa's most prominent works of testimonial literature to explore the Holocaust's place in the processes of both multidirectional memory and cultural representation. In an age of globalisation and the rapidly approaching end of the period of living memory, this paper will argue that implicating the memory of the Holocaust into analysis of horrors more recently perpetrated represents a new, complex, yet ultimately necessary trajectory of Holocaust remembrance if it is to retain a significant and enduring resonance in global consciousness. In addition to discussing the ethics of conflict comparison, this paper will examine how the transgenerational shifts in Holocaust invocation affects the potency of its memorial legacy –



both for those whose families perished in its horrors, and for those who call upon its memory to come to terms with their own tragedy.

**Ayala Maurer-Prager** is a PhD Candidate in Comparative Genocide Literature at University College London. Provisionally entitled “‘On Their Own Terms’: The Challenge of Culture in Literary Depictions of Genocide and Mass Violence’, her thesis represents a disciplinary convergence between Holocaust and Postcolonial Studies. Conjunctively analysing texts in English, French and Hebrew depicting the Holocaust, South African apartheid and the Rwandan genocide, her thesis reacts against the recent critical tendency to apply Euro-American trauma theory to global occurrences of genocide and mass violence.

**Michal Singer** (Cape Town Holocaust Centre)

### **South Africa: An Unlikely Site for Archiving the Holocaust**

Since 2011 the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation has been formally engaged in an archiving project aimed at preserving and digitising its various archival collections related to the Holocaust. This includes content in a range of formats, including personal letters, official documents, photographs, and a variety of ephemera. South Africa may seem an unusual source for such content, but the collections that have amassed at the three Holocaust Centres demonstrate both the global, enduring impact of the Holocaust, and the particular and multidimensional legacy of Nazism and its implications on South Africa’s own history of race and mass trauma.

The archive provides a space for the tangible, yet fragmented, remnants of this traumatic past to be explored, understood, and sublimated through the arguably more cathartic experience of laying the past to rest. Its emphasis on provenance and maximal exposure through digitization allows the material to speak for itself, and also provides a space for broader engagement within a global diaspora of Holocaust discourse.

The paper will reflect upon the largely empirical research related to archiving conducted to establish the provenance of the eclectic contents of the collections. It will challenge the extent to which the archive represents and furthers a transnational discourse of Holocaust memory and human rights by exploring how far the archive represents the South African experience, with the unintended potential of contributing toward local processes of healing and, ultimately, nation building.

**Michal Singer** is an historian based at the Cape Town Holocaust Centre, where she works both as an archivist and an educator. She received a Research MA in History at Wits University, with a focus on South African environmental history. She was awarded the Africa Thesis Award in 2010 by the African Studies Centre in Leiden, the Netherlands. Having worked in the South African heritage sector for the past five years, she is particularly interested in exploring the interface between history and human rights education.



## PANEL F: Institutional Memory

26 January, 3.00-4.45pm, LHRI

**Chair: Stephan Petzold** (University of Leeds)

**Larissa Allwork** (University of Northampton)

### **From *Tell Ye Your Children* to *Dinner with Polpot*: The Challenges of Globalizing Holocaust Memories at Sweden's Living History Forum**

Established in 2003 as Europe's first publically funded national educational authority on the Holocaust, tolerance, democracy and human rights, Sweden's Living History Forum (LHF) lies at the intersection of global, national and local Holocaust remembrance cultures and their 'universalisation' into the wider study of global 'Crimes against Humanity'. Beginning with LHF's origins in 1997's Living History Project, this paper will discuss major developments within the organization over the last ten years. It will address how LHF has effectively worked in the space between the national and the transnational as well as the controversies that LHF has stimulated, particularly as Conny Mithander has noted, in relation to the representation of communist crimes. This paper will also give an overview of an increasingly critical liberal historiography, which sees LHF as part of a progressively more 'regularized' Swedish remembrance culture. My paper will include interview material with Paul Levine and Stéphane Bruchfeld, authors of *Tell Ye Your Children* as well as information from a 2014 meeting with Marcel Rådström (Educator) and Johan Perwe (Press Officer) at LHF's premises in Stockholm on 14 May 2014. My paper will also connect the case of LHF to some of the broader findings of my forthcoming book, *Holocaust Remembrance Between the National and the Transnational: A Case Study of the Stockholm International Forum (2000) and the First Decade of the ITF*.

**Larissa Allwork** researches at the University of Northampton. Having trained at the University of Oxford, she completed her PhD at Royal Holloway, University of London in 2011. Her monograph, *Holocaust Remembrance Between the National and the Transnational* will be published by Bloomsbury Academic in 2015. Larissa also participates in the EU Marie Curie Initial Training Network, 'Diasporic Constructions of Home and Belonging' and the University of Northampton Working Group for Interdisciplinary Research in Trauma, Narrative and Performance.

**Katya Krylova** (University of Nottingham)

### **Remembering the Holocaust in Austria Today: Recent Counter-monuments in Vienna**

Following a long period of collective silence on the Nazi past in Austria the last three decades have seen the Holocaust gradually become integrated into the nation's collective memory. With this new historical consciousness there has been an increased drive to commemorate Holocaust victims in public space. The past decade has seen a surge in decentralized memorials and memorial projects



commemorating victims of the Holocaust in Austria. These memorials, often rooted in grass-roots initiatives, follow the tradition of the counter-monument, as defined by James E. Young in the early 1990s. They resist fixity, they disrupt public spaces, and engage us in 'memory-work', rather than the monument doing the work for us (Young 1992).

Another notable aspect of memorial projects in Vienna in recent years is their desire 'to make memory visible' through their topographical focus (the *Vienna Project* website). While Karen Frostig's multimedia *Vienna Project* (2013-2014) offers the most notable example of this, with its digital mapping of 1938 Vienna, this topographical orientation also informs projects such as the *Steine der Erinnerung* [Stones of Remembrance] (2005–, instigated by Elisabeth Ben David-Hindler), Julia Schulz's *Schlüssel gegen das Vergessen* [Keys Against Forgetting] (2008) and Carola Dertnig's and Julia Rode's *ZU SPÄT [TOO LATE]* installation (2011-2012). Finally, the memorials repeatedly thematise the nature of remembrance itself. Frostig's project insistently poses the question, stencilled and sprayed on thirty-eight sites in Vienna: 'What happens when we forget to remember?' Similarly, Schulz's *Schlüssel gegen das Vergessen* [Keys Against Forgetting] implicitly acknowledges the desire of some to forget rather than remember the Holocaust. Focusing particularly on their use of space and the memorials' self-reflexive engagement with memory and memorialisation, my paper will explore what these counter-monuments reveal about how the Holocaust is remembered in Austria today.

**Katya Krylova** is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow in the Department of German Studies, University of Nottingham. Her Leverhulme project and forthcoming monograph examine the treatment of the past and Austrian identity in contemporary Austrian literature, film and culture. She has published on Ingeborg Bachmann, Thomas Bernhard, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Ruth Beckermann. Her first monograph, *Walking Through History: Topography and Identity in the Works of Ingeborg Bachmann and Thomas Bernhard* (2013), was the winner of the 2011 Peter Lang Young Scholars Competition in German Studies. She is a member of the faculty-wide 'Memory Studies and the Politics of Memory' research cluster at Nottingham.

**Jeffrey Murer** (University of St. Andrews)

### **Conflicting Memories: The Politics of Holocaust Memorials in Contemporary Hungary**

In this paper I explore the repetitions of hate and violence from the Holocaust and earlier white terrors in contemporary Hungary. At present the Jewish community in Hungary is incensed by recent actions of the government as acts of remembrance: the construction of the Occupation Memorial, suggesting that Hungary was also an 'occupied victim' of Nazi Germany's brutality, and the soon to be opened House of Fates (Sorsok Háza), the Disney-esque quality of the presentation so infuriated Holocaust scholar Randolph Brahm that he returned his Order of Merit of the Hungarian Republic. These officially sanctioned sites of memory have angered and enraged elements within the Jewish and Gentile communities alike, as these sites are seen as brazen attempts to 'whitewash history.' This paper explores the impact of transnational memory on the politics social transgenerational memory, which transcends the familial, and extends as the bonds of collective interaction and collective identity formation. In doing so, the paper will examine the challenge of including voices



that may have heretofore been excluded in constructing collective memory of the traumas of the Holocaust, and will explore the politics behind exclusionary practices. The paper will explore the problems of who speaks for whom, and the social and political struggles surrounding the practical and powerful questions of who is to be the arbiter of what is to be included and what is not; what is accurate; and what is historical 'whitewashing'? The paper focuses on the symbolic exchanges between everyday people and a current Hungarian government seeking absolution for Hungary in the Holocaust, through an examination of the proposition that some political elements are engaged in what Vamik Volkan called 'Extended Pathological Mourning', a social process filled with rage and anger that looks like mourning, but does not include important cathartic processes of working through.

**Jeffrey Murer** is a Lecturer on Collective Violence at the University of St Andrews. He is the co-editor of *Flashpoints in the War on Terrorism* (2006).

**Esra Ozyurek** (London School of Economics)

### **Making Germans out of Muslims? Muslim-only Holocaust Education Programs in Germany**

In contemporary Germany there is a new and alarming public discourse about how Muslims, but more precisely Turkish- or Arab-background residents and citizens, are not interested in the history of the Holocaust. This is seen as a sign of their lack of commitment to German identity and also as evidence of their anti-Semitism. As a response the German government allocates resources to organizations that develop out-of-school Holocaust education programs for Muslims.

Based on two year-long observation of numerous Muslim-only Holocaust education programs, I argue that the alarmist discourse is not well founded. What makes the immigrant engagement with the Holocaust history troublesome for the German public is that when they are interested, more often than not, Muslims identify with the victims, rather than the perpetrators – as Germans are expected to do? Muslim only-Holocaust education programs try to change this affiliation by teaching Turkish and Arab background Germans how their own ancestors have been bad towards their own Jews. This way they aim to instill Muslim immigrants feelings of responsibility and atonement towards Jews as practices of proper German citizenship. On the one hand, this effort can be seen as a gesture of invitation towards Germanness. On the other hand, however, it is a practice that strongly reproduces immigrant/Muslim exclusion from the German nation as the education programs primarily perceive them as 'Turks' and 'Arabs' independent of for how many generations they have been part of German society. Finally, an emphasis on the 'perpetrator' position of Muslims towards 'their own' Jews hides racist practices where Muslim Germans are victims of.

**Dr Esra Ozyurek** is Associate Professor and the Chair of Contemporary Turkish Studies at the European Institute at London School of Economics. She is an anthropologist and is the author of *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey* (2006, Duke University Press) and *Being German, Becoming Muslim: Race, Religion, and Conversion in the New Europe* (2014, Princeton University Press).



**Trey Palmisano** (Baltimore Hebrew Institute at Towson University)

**The Problematic Ethics for the Criteria of Inclusion into the ‘Righteous Among the Nations’ at Yad Vashem: A Case Study on Dietrich Bonhoeffer**

While Yad Vashem was created through the Israeli *Knesset* as a means of promoting solidarity between the Jewish people and Gentile nations, the memorial of the Righteous of the Nations created to honor righteous Gentiles for their rescue efforts of Jews during the Holocaust has not been without controversy. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a leading figure in Western theology and a participant in Nazi resistance activity, has been denied inclusion into the memorial on multiple occasions, with the most recent rejection occurring in 2000. This paper briefly examines the controversy, and attempts to identify problems of ethical approach that have separated those for and against his inclusion. By tracing the historical concept of the righteous gentile as both *ger tzedek* and *ger toshav*, an ideological framework is presented that may express the counsel’s decisions for rejection. The author examines the issue of ‘embodied evil’ as a specifically Nazi problem that has created a short-sightedness on the part of Yad Vashem, suggesting that an *ethics of survival* in Judaism has trumped other ethical considerations despite Yad Vashem’s own published criteria to the contrary. Finally, the argument is made that such actions have a deleterious effect on the kind of interfaith dialogue the memorial was sanctioned to foster. So long as the commissioning body remains thoroughly Jewish in its outlook, the breadth and scope of Gentile candidacy will likely be subject to motivations that do not translate outside of Jewish ideology. The author will also consider the consequences of this approach.

**Trey Palmisano** is currently a Rose A. Winder scholar in the Jewish Studies program at the Baltimore Hebrew Institute at Towson University. His recent activity includes a paper delivered on the theology of letter-writing in Nazi Germany and British colonial India at Merton College, University of Oxford, which will be published as an article in *Religions of South Asia* 8.3; paper delivered at the regional meeting for the AAR on Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the ethics of responsible marriage; and a book, forthcoming from Wipf & Stock, entitled *Peace and Violence in the Ethics of Dietrich Bonhoeffer: An Analysis of Method*, with a foreword by Reinhard Krauss.



## PANEL G: Theorising the 'Connective Turn'

27 January, 09.00-10.45am, Alumni Room

Chair: Jay Prosser (University of Leeds)

Helen Finch (University of Leeds)

### H. G. Adler's Yellow Star: Emotion in the Transnational Holocaust Archive

This paper looks at the complex negotiations involved in repressing, storing and encountering emotion in the transnational Holocaust archive. Drawing on recent work by Marianne Hirsch (2011) and Ingraham (2011), it explores the dangers risked when approaching the archives of Holocaust survivors in the search of a coherent narrative. In negotiating the structures of power that constitute the archive (Derrida, Foucault), the fragile and contingent nature of archived objects from a life disrupted by the Holocaust, and the authorial or scholarly imperative to construct a narrative from these traces, how do we read and engage with the emotions preserved in these archival traces? How do these emotions translate across cultures as these narratives are constructed in a different, transnational context? How do we avoid the impulse to co-opt fashionable affects in the service of contemporary narratives that inspire empathy, and may be mobilised in the service of contemporary political debates? This paper takes as its starting point the various archives of emotion of the Holocaust survivor H. G. Adler, and interrogates them in the light of the above theoretical questions, arguing that an ethical position that respects the radical otherness of the emotions encountered in the transnational Holocaust archive may be impossible, but is still an urgently necessary position as memory turns to postmemory. It further asks what aesthetics might be adequate to remediating such emotions in new artworks.

**Helen Finch** is Associate Professor in German and Director of Student Education in the School of Languages, Cultures and Societies at the University of Leeds. Her monograph on queer masculine identities in the works of W. G. Sebald, *Sebald's Bachelors: Queer Resistance and the Unconforming Life*, appeared with Legenda in 2013. She is currently working on a book project entitled 'Holocaust Literature in German: Canon, Witness, Remediation' and is a co-investigator on a series of projects linking researchers in the UK and South Africa working on trauma, reconciliation and reparation in the aftermath of German Nazism and Afrikaner nationalism. In addition, she is a co-investigator on a major AHRC Care for the Future research project, 'Performing the Jewish Archive'.

Huw Halstead (University of York)

### Kristallnacht in Constantinople': Off-the-peg Memories in Representations of the 1955 Istanbul Pogrom

On the night of the 6th and the early morning of the 7th 1955, the Greek community of Istanbul fell victim to a pogrom, the *Septembriana* or 'events of September'. Seemingly closely connected with



escalating Greek-Turkish tensions over Cyprus, a mob ransacked Greek houses and shops, causing widespread damage, injury, and even death. This pogrom has come to feature as the central commemorative event for the Istanbul Greeks who, following this and other persecutions, were forced out of Turkey and became a diaspora community. I explore how memory of the *Septembriana* amongst the Istanbul Greek migrant community of Greece evolved and was expressed through dialogue with memories of other massacres, persecutions, and genocides. Specifically, I consider how memories of the Armenian genocide of 1915, *Kristallnacht* of 1938, the Holocaust, and the Kurdish-Turkish conflict of the 1980s and 1990s appear in Istanbul Greek commemorative narratives about the *Septembriana*. I describe these appearances as 'off-the-peg' memories – decontextualised and formulaic motifs that emerge specifically in the context of raising awareness of Istanbul Greek suffering in public forums. Although off-the-peg memories conform to many aspects of recent research into the transnational construction of memories of suffering, they should not be automatically equated with cosmopolitan (Levy and Sznajder 2004) prosthetic (Landsberg 2005), or multidirectional (Rothberg 2009) modes of remembering. Though certainly challenging privative and competitive interpretations of memory, off-the-peg memories can be distinguished by their interchangeability and tendency to confirm as much as challenge national identities and histories.

**Huw Halstead** is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at the University of York. He is an oral historian whose research focuses on the memories of Greek forced migrant communities from Istanbul and Imbros/Gökçeada. His research into the formation and negotiation of memory and identity by the Istanbul Greeks has been published in the journals *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* and *Modern Greek Studies*.

**Lizzie Oliver** (University of Leeds)

### **'Connective' Histories? Postmemory and the Far Eastern Prisoner of War**

During the Second World War, over 100,000 Allied troops were held prisoner of war (POW) by the Japanese across the Far East. Typically, popular representations of those returning from captivity depict a group of men who did not speak about their experiences. Memories were not commonly shared at home, and many children of former Far Eastern POWs have found it a slow and difficult process to understand the impact of their fathers' experiences on their own upbringings.

I draw on interviews with the children of former POWs and archival materials from the Imperial War Museum to trace how - despite the centrality of the European concentration camps to its development – the concept of postmemory is equally applicable to other stories of captivity that occurred during the same period. Further, I show that a nascent form of postmemory was burgeoning among the families of former Far Eastern POWs in the immediate post-war period, and that this emerged through an increasing public consciousness of, and comparative reaction to, other events that occurred during or immediately following the Second World War.

However, where postmemory has enabled a connective approach to history for second generation writers and artists of Holocaust memory, I find evidence of disconnection in the transgenerational



remembrances of the Far East. With 2015 the 70th anniversary of liberation, I end by considering what role (if any) a third generation now plays in taking forward the work of postmemory.

**Lizzie Oliver** completed her PhD in the School of English at the University of Leeds in 2014.

**Andy Pearce** (Institute of Education, University College London)

### **After Gumbrecht: Latency, the Holocaust and the Transnational**

In his remarkable recent book *After 1945*, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht introduces the notion of 'latency' to conceptualise how the 'gray legacy' of the Second World War pervades our 'ever-broadening present'. For Gumbrecht, this condition and its accompanying 'mood' (*Stimmungen*) has global dimensions, and speaks – amongst other things – of a continuing, almost paralysing inability to know how to orientate oneself in relation to the wars' events and its aftermath. Almost inevitably the Holocaust looms large in Gumbrecht's field of vision, captured in his candid admission that 'something about that past and how it became part of our present will not come to rest'.

In this paper I want to take Gumbrecht's schema for mapping how 'latency' acquires objective form and first question whether instead of thinking in terms of a global circulation of 'Holocaust memory' we can in fact conceive of a globalization of Holocaust ritualization. Rituals are, of course, uniform and unifying endeavours, but within the context of nation-states they are equally powerful expressions of local concerns and preoccupations. With recent developments in Britain's Holocaust culture as a point of reference, I intend to suggest that as much as contemporary Holocaust memory is transnational it is – and will continue to be – sifted through parochial prisms constructed by politics and power. If this two-way process leads only to the Holocaust becoming ever more abstract and decontextualized, it is perhaps commensurate with what Gumbrecht identifies as the 'new chronotope' of our age.

**Andy Pearce** is a Lecturer in Holocaust and History Education at University College London's Institute of Education. His book *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain* has recently been published by Routledge, and he has written various articles and book chapters on issues related to Holocaust remembrance and teaching and learning about the Holocaust. In the past he has collaborated on projects with the Wiener Library and the Imperial War Museum, amongst others, worked for the Holocaust Educational Trust, and taught history and politics in secondary schools.

**Stephenie Young** (Salem State University, Massachusetts)

### **In the Shadow of Mengele's Skull: Forensics and Memorialization in Post-Conflict Bosnia**

In the 21st century, just the utterance of the word 'forensics' has the tendency to unlock the door to the popular cultural imagination. Yet forensics as a science exists to counter amnesia, to counter erasure, essentially to speak for those in absentia. And one of the places where this 'speaking' is needed is during the process of the excavation of mass graves - referred to as anthropological



forensics - and the objects and bodies that are discovered. In this paper I consider the theory of forensic aesthetics put forward by Keenan and Weizman in their study *Mengele's Skull* and the impact that the forensic case of Mengele, where the evidence of his skull may have created a 'very different discursive operation' than traditional witnessing (11), has had on post-Holocaust witnessing since the latter part of the 20th century.

Keenan and Weizman write that the object is posited as the mediation between the 'language of things' and 'that of people' and my work considers this as it focuses on photographs of possessions of the dead found in the primary and secondary mass graves of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the 1990s war in the region. I am interested how these images, particularly those by Ziyah Gafić (b. Sarajevo), are used to aestheticize and interpret these found objects through *prosopopeia* (28). Through the work of Eva Domanska and Jacques Rancière (among others) I consider their claim about the advent of the 'thing' as a witness (rather than a person—an 'eye-witness') through these photographs from Bosnia. In the larger project I ask, what kinds of narratives do these photographs of 'things' create about the relationship between aesthetics, forensics and a national narrative needed for memorialization? Does this aestheticization of forensics in post-conflict Bosnia create a particular 'aesthetics of violence' for Bosnia that is connected to, yet separate, from the Holocaust? Can one ever really separate the 'thing' from those who are asked to interpret it?

**Stephenie Young** is an Associate Professor of Comparative Literature and a faculty member of the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Salem State University in Massachusetts. She completed her Ph.D. in comparative literature at the State University of New York, Binghamton. Her research interests and publication topics include comparative twentieth century literatures (especially Latin America and southeastern Europe), problems of memory, experimental testimony, contemporary women's writing, and the relationship between aesthetics and violence in contemporary imagery and narrative. She is the recipient of numerous grants and fellowships including a Marion and Jasper Whiting Fellowship and a Mobility Grant awarded by the Spanish Ministry of Culture and sponsored by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Most recently, in summer 2014, she co-organized a research workshop at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum entitled 'Literary Responses to Genocide in the Post-Holocaust Era.' She is currently working on a book project about the relationship between collective memory, forensics and artistic production in post-conflict regions including Bosnia and Peru.

## PANEL H: Film and Visual Culture

27 January, 09.00-10.45am, LHRI

**Chair: Paul Cooke** (University of Leeds)

**Jamal Bahmad** (University of Leeds)

### **Echoes of the Mellah: Historical Trauma and Transnational Aesthetics in Moroccan Cinema**

Morocco was home to the largest Jewish community in the Muslim world until the 1950s. The creation of the state of Israel, rise of anti-Semitism in the Arab world, strong appeal and mobilisation of international Zionism led native Jews to make the *aliyah* to Israel or seek a better future in Europe and the Americas. Sultan Mohamed V had famously refused to hand over his Jewish subjects to the Vichy regime during WWII, but the country was soon to lose its Jewish community to an unforetold fate. The Moroccan Jewish community has gone down from over 300,000 in 1950 to around 5,000 today. The dramatic departure of Jews in the 1950s and 1960s has created an ever-growing *désir de mémoire* ('desire to remember') centred on this paradigmatic community in Moroccan social life and public sphere. The restoration of synagogues and cemeteries, booming heritage tourism, growth of films on the memory of Moroccan Jews, and the creation of the Museum of Moroccan Judaism in 1997 are signs of a thriving memory culture. Trauma prevails in Jewish collective memory in Morocco and abroad. An analysis of Kathy Wazana's *They Were Promised the Sea* (2011) and Kamal Hachkar's *Tinghir-Jerusalem* (2011) reveals how the ambiguity and collective memory of the traumatic departure of Moroccan Jews share and engage the aesthetic modes of representation in Holocaust memory cultures. This paper will dwell on the logics of circulation of Holocaust memory as it meets local processes of remembering Morocco's Jewish past on screen in order to probe the transnational aesthetics of remembering a violent episode of Moroccan history through the documentary lens.

**Dr Jamal Bahmad** is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Leeds. Completed at the University of Stirling in 2014, his doctoral dissertation examined the politics of neoliberalism, everyday life and postcolonial subjectivity in Moroccan urban cinema since the 1990s. Bahmad specialises and has published widely in North African cultural studies with a focus on cinema, literature, cities, memory and youth subcultures.

**Maurizio Cinquegrani** (University of Kent)

### **Documentary Film and Transnational Journeys to the *Shtetl's* Marketplace**

This paper addresses the cinematic representation of the marketplace in a group of documentary films focusing on postmemory journeys from the United States, the Netherlands, Canada and Israel to the sites of the former *shtetlekh* in Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania. In the interwar period the market square saw the encounter between Poles and Jews and was one of those sites that defined



the *shtetl* as complex and multicultural rather than as an hermetic Jewish world. During the war, the marketplace was often the place where Jews were gathered before deportation to the death camps or before being murdered at the outskirts of the *shtetl*. Documentary films consistently used the marketplace to trigger, exhume and unlock memories of Jewish life in Eastern Europe and its destruction during the war. This paper looks at a number of case studies including *Return to my Shtetl Delatyn* (Willy Lindwer, 1992), *Miejsce urodzenia (Birthplace)* (Paweł Łoziński, 1992), *Shtetl* (Marian Marzynski, 1996), *There Once Was a Town* (Jeffrey Bieber, 2000), and *Paint What You Remember* (Slawomir Grunberg, 2010). By using the concepts of 'site of memory' (Nora) and 'postmemory' (Hirsh) in relation to these films, I aim at illustrating the complex topography of Jewish life in pre-war Eastern Europe while investigating the ways in which the ease of movement that followed the fall of communism resulted in an increased number of transnational journeys of postmemory in the form of documentary films.

**Maurizio Cinquegrani** is a lecturer in Film Studies at the University of Kent and has published widely on cinema and urban space. His first monograph, *Of Empire And the City*, was published by Peter Lang in 2014. He is now writing a book on documentary film and Holocaust topographies for Edinburgh University Press. Part of his work on cinematic *shtetlekh* will be published in 2015 by Palgrave Macmillan. He is also going to be keynote speaker at the London Jewish Museum in January 2015 during the conference 'Tracing Topographies: Revisiting the Concentration Camps Seventy Years after the Liberation of Auschwitz'.

**Ned Curthoys** (University of Western Australia)

### **The Holocaust and Genre**

The critical, pedagogical, and cultural significance of genre-based Holocaust themed fiction is a surprisingly underdeveloped area of scholarly concern given the extensive audience reach of genre fiction and film. In *A Thousand Darkesses: Lies and Truth in Holocaust Fiction*, Ruth Franklin acknowledges that prohibitive injunctions against falsifying or trivializing the historical experience of the Holocaust has generated a 'holy grail of Holocaust literature ... that forever desired and never-to-be-attained text that will provide us with a direct channel to the Holocaust'. However, while Franklin protests that all written texts on this subject are 'in some way mediated' by narrative focalization and fictional constructs, her aesthetic preference expresses a cognitive bias in which literature offers 'imaginative access to past events' that are otherwise unavailable to strictly factual forms of writing.

Yet bold genre choices that rework the historical record in order to imaginatively engage a contemporary audience are becoming increasingly prominent in recent Holocaust themed representations. In this paper I example the morally ambiguous, socially liminal 'Sally' in Stefan Ruzowitsky's Academy Award Winning film *The Counterfeiters* (2008). Sally is an opaque antihero who has been described in an interview with the director as 'a *film noir* character in a Holocaust movie'. A non-committal observer of a corrupt system Sally dramatizes the perennial clash between pragmatism and idealism, and the corrosive temptations of privilege and complicity, for a contemporary audience. Ruzowitsky's unabashed avowal in interviews that in *The Counterfeiters* he



was attempting to create a problem film focused on topical moral issues such as economic privilege is comparable to representations of the Holocaust in children's and young adult fiction in which naïve protagonists with an anachronistically modern sensibility, often indeterminately poised between perpetrator and victim, enable the audience to engage with ethical questions that may be obscured by an overwhelming focus on the horrors of life in extremis. The paper ruminates as to whether the resilient productivity of genre in shaping our ways of seeing the Holocaust demands more flexible and immanent standards of critical appraisal.

**Ned Curthoys** joined the English and Cultural Studies program at The University of Western Australia in January 2014. He is the author of *The Legacy of Liberal Judaism: Ernst Cassirer and Hannah Arendt's Hidden Conversation* (Berghahn Books, 2013) and has contributed work on Arendt to journals such as *Theory and Event*, *New Formations*, *Comparative Literature Studies*, and *Intellectual History Review*. His current research project investigates the banality of evil as a spur to representing perpetrators and their cultural matrix in contemporary literature and film.

**Aleksandra Kubica** (independent researcher)

### **Post-Jedwabne Debate Controversies in Poland: History, Memory and their Advocates**

In public debates in post-Communist Poland, memory-based narratives of the Holocaust shaped by the framework of national and religious identities continually engage with historical accounts of the past. Memory and history as modes of conceiving the past (Lowenthal, 1985), are linked to specific agency and 'habitus' in certain societal fields. Nonetheless, academic literature examining the discussions on the Holocaust in the Polish public sphere often uses national agency as an analytical concept in treating national narratives as homogenous. This paper argues for the development of a novel analytical framework to analyse public debates on memory and history in Poland and beyond. It is proposed to examine the contemporary discussions on the Holocaust narratives by exploring collective memory as a process of constant production and re-production of narratives by producers and consumers (Kansteiner, 2002). In the process, groups and individual actors are driven by their interest, be it intellectual, political or economic (Bourdieu, 1991), and articulations of these interests provide impulses for constant re-creation of discourses of memory and history. The paper examines as a case study the discussions provoked by Władysław Pasikowski's fiction film *The Aftermath* (2012). Pasikowski, as a cultural producer from the generation of post-memory (Hirsch, 1990), sought in his intellectual intervention to reconcile conflicting historical and memory-based narratives of the past. The film generated a vivid public debate in which a number of actors from various societal fields were striving for dominance. The analysis considers the involved agents and their interests in the framework of collective memory seen as a process of creation and re-creation of narratives.

**Aleksandra Kubica** graduated from St Andrews University in Scotland with an MA (Hons) degree in International Relations. She also holds an MA degree in Nationalism Studies and Jewish Studies from Central European University in Budapest. Currently, Aleksandra works as a freelance educator and researcher in Poland.



**Thomas Van de Putte** (journalist)

### ***Living in Auschwitz***

In April 2014, I was sitting on a local train from Katowice to Oswiecim (Auschwitz), in Southern Poland. On the seats next to mine, two teenage girls were contemplating life. 'Do you know why I would not like to live in Oswiecim?', one asked. 'Because there are too many mosquitos', she continued. My initial shock at this almost banal expression is the inspiration behind the documentary film *Living in Auschwitz*: How could Auschwitz, an almost universal symbol and the very center of European identity, also be a normal Polish town? The second shock came after five minutes of thinking: What does my astonishment tell me about the context and the society in which I was raised? Are we still able to see the mundane next to a sight so crucial to our memory of the twentieth century?

This documentary would explore ways to combine Auschwitz as a symbol and Oswiecim as a town. On the one hand, *Living in Auschwitz* would tell the personal stories of people living in Oswiecim and how they treat the Holocaust in their village. Their treatment might be characterized by indifference, a taboo, an eye towards profit, or perhaps a deep engagement. Parallel to these local stories, this documentary would follow a Belgian Auschwitz-trip. In contrast to the experiences of the inhabitants of Oswiecim/Auschwitz, the everyday confrontation with the Holocaust for these Western Europeans is not that direct. The direct confrontation is momentary and the contact with the local inhabitants rather minimal. But these visitors are charged with a more indirect, cultural/historical burden that is much more understandable for a Flemish audience. Juxtaposing locals with a study trip could reveal a paradox of everyday life in Auschwitz, both visually and in regards to content.

*Living in Auschwitz* would like to engage with more classical frames of representing the Holocaust in visual media. Rather than the interplay of witnesses and historical images (functioning mostly as illustrations and not as sources of information in most of the historical Holocaust documentaries), *Living in Auschwitz* would explore ways for visual media to engage with the Holocaust in the world without witnesses that is soon to come. Furthermore, the continuous repetition of the same frames in contemporary media coverage of Auschwitz could lead to a sense of general 'compassion fatigue', which could be counterproductive. To maintain the relevance of the Holocaust as a topic for societal debate, visual journalistic media will have to diversify the ways in which it engages with the topic in order to keep attracting people's attention. *Living in Auschwitz's* concept of a 'parallel report' would offer an impetus for alternatives.

**Thomas Van de Putte** studied Contemporary History at Ghent University, and Nationalism Studies at Central European University (Budapest). He worked for Reuters News covering France and Benelux. Thomas Van de Putte is currently directing *Living in Auschwitz*: a documentary film project supported by the Belgian public television (VRT) and the Pascal Decroos Fund for Investigative Journalism.



**Victoria Grace Walden** (Queen Mary, University of London)

### **The Ethics of Holocaust Animation**

When we think about animation, it is Disney films and Warner Bros.' comical cartoons that come to mind. Thus, it is hard to think that animating the Holocaust might be appropriate. In the 1970s, Survivor Elie Wiesel warned about the trivialisation of the Holocaust in popular culture texts and it is easy to dismiss the simplified codes and non-real worlds of animation as offering such a representation. But theorists such as Paul Wells and Joanna Boudlin note animation has the ability to show audiences things live-action films cannot. Animations play to the senses by using their malleable hand-made surfaces to express the subjectivity of experience rather than attempt to represent reality photographically. The limited footage we have of the Holocaust cannot do survivors' testimony justice. Not only are we faced with the ethical issues of using images shot by perpetrators, but often photographs are decontextualised or appropriated as arbitrary symbols. Such imagery may show moments or sites of history, but they do not engage with the affect of the Holocaust: the human experience, aftermath of trauma or the effect of remembering it.

In this paper I use a phenomenological approach to examine how animations such as *I Was the Child of Holocaust Survivors* (Ann-Marie Fleming, 2010) and *Silence* (Sylvia Bringas and Orly Yadin, 2008) allow audiences to engage with memory of the Holocaust through their textural surfaces. In contrast, I will discuss the rise of Lego stop-motion animations about the Holocaust uploaded by young people onto YouTube in order to define an ethical framework for Holocaust animation.

**Victoria Grace Walden** is a PhD candidate at Queen Mary, University of London where she also teaches on the 'Introduction to Film' unit. She has taught Media and Film Studies at Tertiary level for seven years and is a freelance educator for the Holocaust Educational Trust, working in UK schools and on the Lessons from Auschwitz programme. She has trained teachers for several years, offering workshops and published resources. In 2013 she was awarded a teacher-research fellowship by the 21st Century Learning Alliance to develop vocational pedagogy for media teaching. She has published several book reviews and the article 'The Non-Human and Affect: Seven Minutes in the Warsaw Ghetto' in *Short Film Studies Journal*, and she runs the research group 'Holocaust, Contemporary Genocide, Popular Culture and Digital Technology' which always welcomes more members: <http://holocaustgenocidepopularculture.wordpress.com/about/>.



## PANEL I: Francophone Literature

27 January, 11.00-12.45pm, Alumni Room

Chair: Max Silverman (University of Leeds)

Christine Berberich (University of Portsmouth)

### 'My story has ... many holes in it...': the Problem of Holocaust Faction in Contemporary Writing on the Holocaust

Almost 70 years on from the end of the Second World War the Holocaust still holds considerable cultural capital. Even though the numbers of actual survivors of the atrocities are now inexorably diminishing, new publications on the Holocaust appear almost every month. In lieu of survivor accounts, the ethically troublesome genre of Holocaust fiction is gaining ever more ground. Occupying the grey zone between memoir and fiction, Holocaust *faction* is also getting increasingly popular. As such we have seen the appearance of works of fiction enhanced by factual research on the one hand, and works of factual research more problematically manipulated by fiction on the other as writers try to engage with the Holocaust from ever changing and challenging perspectives.

One of these perspectives is that of the perpetrator – a topic long shunned but now increasingly coming to the fore. Apart from the biographical accounts of children and grandchildren of the real perpetrators, there is now fiction about imagined perpetrators (Jonathan Littell's vastly influential though no less troubling *The Kindly Ones*, for example) as well as imagined narratives about 'real' perpetrators. This paper will offer a critical discussion of the narrative strategies employed by Laurent Binet's *HHhH* of 2013. In this highly original account, Binet focuses on the Czechoslovakian assassins of Reinhard Heydrich whose story, however, is constantly overshadowed by that of their 'victim', Heydrich himself. A story about resistance heroes is thus turned, problematically, into a story foregrounding the perpetrator. Through his postmodern historical and fictional detective work of piecing together fact and fiction, Binet problematises the very act of writing historical narratives, the reliability of 'history' as well as turning traditional notions of 'victimhood' on their head.

**Dr Christine Berberich** is a Senior Lecturer in Twentieth-Century and Contemporary English Literature at the University of Portsmouth. Her research specialism focuses on English national identity and its creation on the one hand, and on post-memorial Holocaust writing on the other. Her publications include the book *The Image of the English Gentleman in 20th Century Literature: Englishness and Nostalgia* (2007), the co-edited collections *These Englands: A Conversation on National Identity* (2011), *Land & Identity: Theory, Memory & Practice* (2012) and *Affective Landscapes in Literature, Art and Everyday Life* (forthcoming, 2015), the collection *The Bloomsbury Introduction to Popular Fiction* (2014), as well as essays and articles on authors as diverse as Ian Fleming, W.G. Sebald, Julian Barnes, Rachel Seiffert and Uwe Timm. She is, with Neil Campbell, series editor of *Place, Memory, Affect* with Rowman & Littlefield. Currently she is working on an edited collection dedicated to *Trauma & Memory: the Holocaust in Contemporary Culture*.



**Nina Fischer** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Intersections of Holocaust and Nakba Memory: Susan Abulhawa's *Mornings in Jenin***

In connection with this summer's Gaza war, supporters of the Palestinians and supporters of Israel, including Holocaust survivors in both camps, brought the politicization of Holocaust memory to new heights. In his epilogue to *Multidirectional Memory*, Michael Rothberg considers the (ab-)uses of Holocaust memory within the context of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. He argues, 'the unspeakable acknowledgement that "enemy" peoples share a common, if unequal, history is the utopian moment underlying the ideology of competitive victimization. [...] Understanding political conflict entails understanding the interlacing of memories in the force field in the public sphere' (Rothberg 2009:313). In her 2010 *Mornings in Jenin*, the Palestinian-American author Susan Abulhawa brings together Holocaust and Nakba memory, but not in the form of competitive victimization. Despite the fact that Abulhawa 'interlaces' memory to understand rather than divide, a rare stance in Israeli and Palestinian discourses, this bestselling novel has not yet received much scholarly attention.

My paper will redress this critical oversight, suggesting that *Mornings in Jenin*, while conveying and calling attention to the historical and contemporary victimization of Palestinians, also participates in transnational discourses of Jewish victimhood under the Nazis. In the scenes set during the Nakba, the author highlights the traumatic legacy of the Holocaust as inextricably interwoven with Palestinian history. Using the concept of multidirectional memory as a point of departure, I will adapt it to the situation of (former) victims shown as perpetrators with the aim to understand how Abulhawa commemorates both histories of suffering while writing a Palestinian story.

**Nina Fischer** is a currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Program in Cultural Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Previously, she was a researcher and project manager of Aleida Assmann's 'History & Memory' group at the University of Konstanz, Germany. In January 2015, she will take up the Edgar Astaire Fellowship in Jewish Studies at the University of Edinburgh.

Nina's research areas include memory, Holocaust, and migration studies; she is currently working on a book about conflicting cultural representation of Jerusalem as a transnational/transcultural site of memory. Her publications on the global movements of Holocaust memory include 'Writing a Whole Life: Maria Lewitt's Holocaust/Migration Narratives in "Multicultural" Australia.' *Life Writing* 11, no. 4 (2014): 1-20. (Special Issue: *Australian Women's Migrant Literature*) and 'Re-inscribing Holocaust Memory: Ruth Klüger's *still alive* as American Jewish Autobiography.' *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of History and Culture* 18, No. 3 (2012): 29-60. She also co-edited a 2013 special issue, entitled *Entangled Pasts: Transnational Memories in Australia and Germany*, of *Crossings: Journal of Migration and Culture*. Her monograph *Memory Work: The Second Generation*, on the literature of children of Holocaust survivors is forthcoming.



**Zoe Roth** (Durham University)

### **The Alternative Archive: Cultural Memory of the Holocaust and Colonialism in Francophone and Israeli Literature and Visual Culture**

In *What Can Separation Mean*, Edward Said enjoins us to 'think in terms of coexistence, after separation, in spite of partition.' He asserts that conflicts cannot be resolved by drawing boundaries between people who inhabit unavoidably intertwined cultures, histories, and spaces. The archive is a repository that unites these histories. But as an apparatus of state power, the archive can also partition different traditions of cultural memory — such as the Holocaust and the *Nakba* — that are intertwined. In contrast, imaginative works of literature and visual culture can transcend institutional and geographical boundaries to imagine spaces of co-existence (Hochberg 2010). And archival methods can enable artists and writers to connect memory and history, or 'to connect what cannot be connected,' as the postmodern artist Thomas Hirschborn calls it. In this paper, I will explore works that construct a self-conscious relationship to Holocaust and colonial history by creating an alternative archive.

Drawing on Rothberg's notion of 'multidirectional memory' (2009) and Foster's description of postmodern art's 'archival impulse' (2004), I will concentrate on two cases studies: Jonathan Littell's French novel *Les Bienveillantes* (2006, *The Kindly Ones*), and the work of 'Justine Frank,' a Jewish Surrealist persona created by the contemporary Israeli artist Roe Rosen. Littell's novel is focalized through an unreliable narrator who creates Holocaust historiography that frequently lapses into hallucination and fantasies, drawing in colonial spaces. Similarly, the eroticism of violence in Frank's work suggests the intimacy of cultural memory of the Atlantic slave trade, Belgium's exploitation of the Congo, and the Occupied Territories conflict. These works construct an alternative archive that makes the subjective nature of memory an agential force in the narration of history. And, in doing so, they are able to conceive of possible, currently unimaginable, futures of co-existence.

**Zoe Roth** is a Lecturer in French at Durham University, where she specializes in twentieth-century French and comparative literature and francophone Jewish writing and visual culture. In 2012-2013, she was a Junior Research Fellow at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies. She has published on the avant-garde, visual culture, and Jewish literature in such journals as *Philip Roth Studies* and *Word & Image*.

**Nathalie Segeral** (University of Hawaii-Mānoa)

### **Gendering Multidirectional Memory: Rewriting the Mother / Daughter Plot in Malika Mokeddem, Scholastique Mukasonga, Maryse Condé and Cécile Wajsbrot**

Paraphrasing Marianne Hirsch's seminal work, *The Mother / Daughter Plot: Narrative, Psychoanalysis, Feminism*, this paper proposes to explore the gendering of trauma by reading in conversation four recent (auto)fictional narratives of trauma: French-Jewish Cécile Wajsbrot's *Mémorial* (2005), Algerian Malika Mokeddem's *Je dois tout à ton oubli* (2008), Guadeloupean Maryse Condé's *Moi, Tituba, sorcière...Noire de Salem* (1986) and Rwandese Scholastique



Mukasonga's *La Femme aux pieds nus* (2008). These four texts converge in revolving around tropes of infanticide and tormented mother/daughter relationships through issues of (post)memory. Building on Michael Rothberg's 'multidirectional memory,' this study focuses on the ways in which a woman writer memorializes her own traumatic history when it happens to be part of a larger History often dominated by male narratives, so as to create bridges among texts by women writing with the voiced intention of re-inscribing their stories within the dominant canons of French history and literature.

By performing a close study of the shared tropes they use in reclaiming their stories, this paper will, first, highlight the ways in which Holocaust metaphors provide a productive echo chamber in narratives dealing with various traumas (slavery, Holocaust postmemory, the Rwandese genocide, Chernobyl, Hiroshima, colonial and postcolonial Algeria), and, then, demonstrate how the circulation of recurring tropes (infanticide, troubled mother/daughter relationships and transgenerational trauma) among narratives dealing with different time periods and different types of traumas allows these writers to move beyond victimology by giving rise to a transnational literary voice of the gendering of trauma. Ultimately, this study's aim is to sketch a multidirectional feminist trauma theory in Francophone literature.

**Nathalie Segeral** is an assistant professor of French and translation studies at the University of Hawaii-Mānoa. She received a PhD in French and Francophone studies from UCLA in 2012 with the support of the Center for the Study of Women and of a Mellon fellowship in Holocaust studies. Her research and recent publications explore the articulation of gender, trauma, and memory in contemporary women's writings through figures of motherhood and infanticide. She has also published essays on Karin Albou's *La Petite Jerusalem (Jewish Culture and History)*, on Marguerite Duras's texts and cinema and on representations of female 'madness' in contemporary cinema, and is currently working on a book manuscript provisionally titled *Reclaimed Experiences: Gendering Trauma in Contemporary Francophone Genocide Narratives*.



## PANEL J: Spaces of Memory: Camp Sites

27 January, 11.00-12.45pm, LHRI

**Chair: Victoria Nesfield** (University of Leeds)

**Greg Herman** (University of Swansea)

### Jorge Semprún and the Place of Death

In *L'Écriture ou la vie* (1994), Buchenwald deportee Jorge Semprún recalls a conversation, following the liberation of the camp, with a fellow inmate: 'I'd like the camp to be abandoned to the erosion of time, of nature... I'd like it to be engulfed by the forest.' Meanwhile, in *In Place of Death*, Alan Marcus records the actions and reactions of several hundreds of tourists as they enter Dachau concentration camp. Souvenir photos are framed under the words *Arbeit Macht Frei*; smiles are struck by groups leaning nonchalantly against the crematoria; children, bored by the inaccessibility of an event beyond all comprehension, play-fight in the dust.

The events of the Holocaust have long been described as ineffable, lying outside the realms of language and comprehension. This paper asks whether the physical sites of extermination are also located in a similar abyss. What now differentiates the gas chamber from the guillotine as an object of dark fascination, for a spectator, irreparably estranged from the meaning of the site by the fundamental incomprehensibility of the Judaeocide? If the former camps can no longer function as places of 'remembrance', how should we commemorate the dead? Should the camps be preserved? As monuments to history it seems that the answer must be 'yes'. However if the truth that they seek to represent is no longer contained within them (was it ever?) could it be the lesser of two evils to follow Jorge Semprún in allowing nature to reclaim her land?

**Greg Herman's** AHRC-funded PhD, titled 'Jorge Semprún and the Tale of History' was awarded by the French department of the University of Aberdeen in early 2014. Since obtaining his PhD he has taken up a post at Swansea University as a Tutor in French Language and Culture. He has published in a collection of essays on 'L'extrême littéraire', and attended numerous national and international conferences to present on areas relating to his doctoral thesis.

**Marta Marín-Dòmine** (Wilfrid Laurier University)

### From Auschwitz to Mauthausen: A Critical Perspective on the Representation of Spaniards in Mauthausen

Approximately 10,000 Spanish Republican refugees in France since 1939 were deported to Nazi camps, the majority to Mauthausen. Another large group of Spaniards were also arrested while working in the French Resistance against the Nazi occupation. The historical transmission of these



facts in Spain, along with the reception of testimonial memories, has been and still is complex and controversial to say the least.

This difficulty in the transmission is due only in part to the censorship exercised by Franco's regime against the history of the Republican side. However, in this presentation I will raise other hypotheses to understand and discuss the way a certain discursive narrative has been central in the construction of Mauthausen in the Spanish imaginary.

To convey my hypothesis I will depart from the contextualized analysis of two specific periods in the social and political history of Spain: the late 70s, and the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. I will argue that in opposition to the almost complete oblivion that impregnated the decade of the 70s, the turn of the current century is marked by an eruption of memories (literary and cinematic) related to the Holocaust. This context plays a key role in the construction of a paradigm that will be used to vehiculate the transmission of other Spanish memories. In the specific case of the history and memories of the Spaniards deported to Mauthausen, the rhetorical devices shaping Holocaust memory are put to the service of the construction of a Spanish memory that distances itself from its original political context to embrace the narrative of the victim while fostering an uncritical assimilation between the Holocaust and the Spanish deportation, between Mauthausen and Auschwitz.

**Marta Marín-Dòmene** is Associate Professor of Spanish Language, and Hispanic Peninsular Culture and Literatures, at the Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada, where she is also Director of the Centre for Memory and Testimony Studies.

**Erin McGlothlin** (Washington University in St. Louis)

### **Representing Treblinka**

The questions I wish to take up in my paper concern how we, as literary scholars, conceptualize the symbolic geography of the Holocaust in what I believe are problematic ways. In particular, I am interested in how we have come to rely on a narrow canon of Holocaust literature that posits Auschwitz as the dominant and exclusive site of Jewish suffering during the Holocaust at the expense of other critical locations and experiences. The classic texts we read and teach reinforce the experience of Auschwitz as the master narrative of the Holocaust, a phenomenon made further possible by postwar discourse that figures Auschwitz both as a metonymy for the totality of the concrete historical events of the Holocaust and a metaphor that signifies radical evil. While Auschwitz is without question of central importance to our understanding of the Judaeocide, the cultural proclivity to reduce the complexity of the Holocaust to Auschwitz serves to displace from contemporary consciousness other important sites of the Holocaust. One possible way of complicating the notion of Auschwitz as the Holocaust experience par excellence, I argue, is to shift our focus from Auschwitz to another critical site, Treblinka, the Operation Reinhard death camp at which, during its mere thirteen months of existence, close to a million Jews were murdered. My paper will examine the representation of Treblinka in the few survivor accounts that have been published and in one fictional account, Ian MacMillan's *Village of a Million Spirits* (1999), isolating



aspects that are particular to the Treblinka experience, such as the frequent and intimate contact between the SS guards and the Jewish inmates who worked as forced laborers in direct support of the death installations. As I argue, such factors characteristic of Treblinka alert us to the ways in which the dynamic between perpetrators and victims played out differently in Treblinka than it did in Auschwitz, a factor that complicates the standard narrative of imprisonment in Auschwitz narratives.

**Erin McGlothlin** is Associate Professor of German and Jewish Studies at Washington University in St. Louis. Her main research interests are in the areas of Holocaust literature and film and German-Jewish literature. She is the author of *Second-Generation Holocaust Literature: Legacies of Survival and Perpetration* (2006) and co-editor with Lutz Koepnick of *After the Digital Divide?: German Aesthetic Theory in the Age of New Digital Media* (2009). Additionally, she has published articles on such topics as Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*, Edgar Hilsenrath's *Der Nazi und der Friseur*, Ruth Klüger's *weiter leben*, Art Spiegelman's *Maus* and Bernhard Schlink's *Der Vorleser*. She is currently working on a book titled *Constructing the Mind of the Holocaust Perpetrator in Fictional and Documentary Discourse*, which will appear with Northwestern University Press. Professor McGlothlin was a research fellow in residence at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum's Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies in 2006 and was a co-leader with Anita Norich of the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies Hess Faculty Seminar on Holocaust Literature in January 2014. In Summer 2010, she was a DAAD Guest Professor at the Universities of Dortmund and Paderborn. She is co-editor (with Brad Prager) of the Camden House book series *Dialogue and Disjunction: Studies in Jewish German Literature, Culture, and Thought*.

**Dana Mihăilescu** (University of Bucharest)

### **Transnational Conundrums of Young Generations' Contemporary Trips to Holocaust Death Camps: Ethical Potentialities of Incongruous Memories in Thomas Duranteau's *Travelogue Des Miettes et des étoiles***

Trips to Holocaust death camps have been much used for pedagogical purposes, to form citizens that are conscious of the risks inculcated by totalitarian regimes. The issue of ever more selfies being taken at Holocaust camps by youngsters has been simultaneously tackled of late, especially in Ruth Margalit's 2014 New Yorker essay 'Should Auschwitz Be A Site for Selfies?' and Anne Rothe's 2011 book *Popular Trauma Culture*, highlighting the increasing failure and problematical ethics of such projects. In this complicated contemporary context, my paper examines a recent travelogue by a 1979-born French historian who had no direct connection to the Holocaust, Thomas Duranteau's *Des Miettes et des étoiles* (2012). The narrative brings together testimonies by survivors from Auschwitz-Birkenau, Duranteau's notes during his five-day trip to the camp, the drawings he made out of these encounters and three graphic narratives coupling an extract from the diary of an SS doctor from Auschwitz and two imagined encounters with a faceless child born and killed in Birkenau and a lonely old man from Treblinka.



My major goal is to answer two core questions: how can contemporary trips to Holocaust death sites avoid becoming forms of trivialization or manipulation of the Holocaust? Is an artistic representation that uses and reframes images of the past, like that of Duranteau, a positive project that inscribes these European sites in a transnational context which relies on a fundamental questioning of what being human means? In response, I contend that Duranteau foregrounds the ethical potentialities of incongruous memory lenses based on an acute awareness of temporal distances, dislocations and ambiguous positionings of various generations.

**Dana Mihăilescu** is an Assistant Professor of English/American Studies, at the University of Bucharest, where she earned her PhD in 2010 for the thesis 'Ethical Dilemmas and Reconfigurations of Identity in Early Twentieth Century Eastern European Jewish American Narratives'. Her main research interests include Jewish American Studies, Holocaust survivor testimonies, trauma and witnessing, ethics and memory. She has published articles on these topics in international journals of specialty such as *American Imago*, *European Review of History* and *East European Jewish Affairs*. Her most recent projects are a co-organized visual exhibition, *Family Line-Ups. Trans-generational Encounters in Family Photography* (<http://www.familylineups.com/>) and a co-edited volume on *Mapping Generations of Traumatic Memory in American Narratives* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014). Further details: <http://unibuc.academia.edu/DanaMihailescu>.



## PANEL K: Jewish Literature and Theatre

27 January, 4.00-5.45pm, Alumni Room

**Chair: Simo Muir** (University of Leeds)

**Lia Deromedi** (Royal Holloway, University of London)

### Transgenerational Trauma and Transnational Memory in American Holocaust Literature

The idea of transgenerational trauma can be linked to transnational memory in the context of American Jewish writers. Through a comparative look at works by survivors who immigrated to the United States such as Lore Segal's *Other People's Houses*, Louis Begley's *Wartime Lies*, and American Jewish writers writing about the Holocaust like Cynthia Ozick's *The Shawl*, and Saul Bellow's *The Bellarosa Connection*, this paper seeks to understand how Holocaust memory has been absorbed by American Jewish writers and readers into their secular consciousnesses. Like American survivor immigrants, American Jews can imagine the traumatic history they have inherited by virtue of their birthright. American Jewish writers who approach the Holocaust in their fiction have had a profound impact on the proliferation of Holocaust memory in post-war American generations. Promoting secularization in the Jewish community, the literal substitution of Holocaust memorial activities for Judaism suggests that for many secular Jews, the ritual surrounding Holocaust memory has insinuated itself into the religion. Like their European and survivor counterparts, these writers often confront a world in which God both exists and permits the Holocaust, but framed within their secularized American Jewish viewpoints. Whether the authors represent iconic elements of the Holocaust explicitly or focus on the traumatic pasts of survivors or second-generation postmemory, what is revealed in the literary proliferation of the Holocaust in American popular culture is the ability of Holocaust memory and trauma to transcend time and space.

**Lia Deromedi** is a final year PhD candidate working with Robert Eaglestone at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her thesis identifies a canon with the canon of Holocaust literature of Holocaust survivors who wrote fiction from the child's perspective. She has presented at conferences in the United Kingdom, United States, Austria, Germany, and Australia. Her book chapter titled "'Which self?': Jewish Identity in the Child-Centred Holocaust Novel' is forthcoming in *Boundaries, Identity and Belonging in Modern Judaism* in Routledge Jewish Studies Series, ed. Oliver Leaman.

**Jocelyn Martin** (Ateneo de Manila University)

### Manilaner Memories: Bridging World War II Memories of East and West

Trauma Studies discourses that centralise the place of the Holocaust as the main trigger-event of PTSD in World War II find secondary relevance in Asia. Instead, Hiroshima and Nagasaki or the Japanese occupation might be more prominent traumatic references evoked in Asian collective



memory. Furthermore, peoples such as the Filipinos, who have undergone serial colonisations, Martial Law and, not to mention, recurrent natural catastrophes, would consider experiences such as these as more traumatic than the Holocaust, thus echoing the postcolonial concerns in recent Trauma Studies research (cf. Craps, Mengel and Borzaga).

However, during WWII in U.S.-occupied Philippines, an unusual phenomenon ushered a 'bridging' of memories of both the Holocaust and the Japanese occupation. Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon decided to welcome more than a thousand Jews escaping Kristallnacht - a number surpassing that of Schindler's list. These German and Austrian Jews have thus found homes and jobs in Manila. Unfortunately, the Japanese occupation would soon again disrupt their lives. In other words, for these emigrants, the memories of WWII included both the Holocaust and the Japanese occupation. These refugees have called themselves Manilaners – a hybridised Filipino-German word, which, on the outset, would signify those who have escaped the Holocaust and have settled in Manila.

In light of this story, this paper would like to analyse two memoirs, Frank Ephraim's *Escape to Manila* and Jürgen Goldhagen's *Manila Memories*, both published in 2008. Firstly, such narratives offer, not a 'competitive memory' (Rothberg) of victimisation which promote either an Asian or European version of WWII, rather, hybridised memories of both the Holocaust and the Japanese intervention. Secondly, emigration (geographically, practically and theoretically) displaces Holocaust narratives to Asia. Thirdly, Quezon's decision to accept Jewish European refugees inscribes itself as postcolonial resistance to the then-U.S. administration. The name 'Manilaner Memories' thus encapsulate hybrid, cross-cultural, postcolonial memories of World War II.

**Jocelyn Martin** is Assistant Professor in Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines, where she teaches Literature, Memory and Trauma Studies. After obtaining her PhD in Languages and Letters from the Université Libre de Bruxelles in 2010, she has published book chapters in the volumes *Re/membering Place* (Peter Lang, 2013) and *Aboriginal Australians and other 'Others'* (Les Indes savantes, 2014). Recently, she has been appointed a Founding Member of the Columbia University-based Council for European Studies Research Network on Transnational Memory and Identity.

**Jessica Ortner** (University of Copenhagen)

### **Transcultural Postmemory: the Decentralisation of the Holocaust in the Work of Barbara Honigmann**

As a consequence of the mass expulsion of the European Jews during the Nazi regime, exile and its aftermath is an important subject matter in contemporary Jewish literature. I want to argue that in articulating postmemories of exile and its aftermath, contemporary Jewish writers may function as agents of 'transcultural' 'mnemonic processes' which are 'unfolding across and beyond cultures' (Erl, 2011:9). Thus, Barbara Honigmann, who is an important figure amongst writers of 'post-exile literature' (Stern, 1994), becomes a carrier of a transcultural 'Holocaust memory.' Firstly, she does so through the construction of a hybrid autofictional identity which blends traces from different cultural, national and religious frameworks: The French in which she lives, the Jewish which she



practices and the German to which she remains culturally attached through her literary work (1999: 72). Secondly, her writings also imply a transcultural model of collective Holocaust memory. Instead of representing the Holocaust and the forced dispersion of the Jews as singular events, she employs narratological strategies that uncover multidirectional connections of 'Holocaust memory' to other occurrences of persecution and dispersion (Rothberg 2009), e.g. she reveals her family history to be a story of constant wandering due to earlier pogroms and experiences of exile (1999) and gives voice to multidirectional interrelations between the Holocaust and the Gulag - the terror of National Socialism and Communism (2000). Thereby she takes part in a broader tendency among postwar Jewish writers to decentralize the Holocaust as the main locus of remembrance and thus as main source of individual and collective identity.

**Jessica Ortner** currently works on a postdoctoral project on Holocaust literature written by the second and third generation at the University of Copenhagen, drawing upon a wide corpus of German and Austrian writers. Beside a main interest in postmodern and magic realistic narratological strategies, Ortner is examining to which extent present Holocaust literature develops in relation to, or across, national boundaries.

**Julia Pascal** (University of York)

### **Holocaust Theatre in Britain: Representing Women**

Having originally trained as a dancer and actor, I am a professional London playwright, artistic director of Pascal Theatre Company, and a descendent of Holocaust survivors. I am recognised as the leading playwright of Holocaust-themed drama in Britain (see Luckhurst 2006: 316). I have spent three decades interrogating the absence of female Jewish characters on the British stage, generating women's roles in my work as a playwright and exploring the lives of those directly and indirectly touched by the Holocaust. I was the first woman to direct a play at England's National Theatre and, of my generation of British playwrights, I am the only one to have consistently written about Jewish women's experience of the Holocaust. My work is published by Oberon Books and studied in British, French and German universities. It has been produced in the UK, France, Germany, the USA, Macedonia, Belgium and Austria. George Tabori has been a major influence as have Bertolt Brecht, Tadeusz Kantor and Joan Littlewood. My presentation will argue that I have tried to create a fresh body of Jewish roles on stage in place of the stereotypical saints, sirens or mothers tokenistically sewn into much postwar British drama.

*Theresa* was the first of my Holocaust plays to explore a hidden British history. This is the true story of a Viennese refugee, the music student, Theresia Steiner. She came to England to escape Hitler and worked as a nanny in outer London before moving to Guernsey in 1940. Theresia Steiner was forced to remain as a stateless person by a British police officer just before the Channel Islands were invaded. I went to Guernsey to research and to meet those who had known her. There I learned about the round-up of the Jews on the islands with the full collaboration of the authorities at a time when the Channel Islanders were whitewashing this history. The character of Theresa in the Channel Islands was that of a nanny and then a nurse. I represented her at work, capable and caring, with everything to live for and believing that she had reached safety. I used the construction of 'Theresa'



to represent a professional young woman and to reveal a secret history which had been suppressed by British historians. The play was seen all over Britain but banned in Guernsey. It was broadcast by BBC Radio as *The Road to Paradise*. The character of Irina in *Woman in the Moon* was based on the experience of Eugenia Rozenberg who was a hidden baby in Krakow. She told me her mother's story and I incorporated Eugenia's mother into the character of Irina who, desperate to get out of her underground hiding, walks in the Krakow streets in order to enjoy light and sunshine. Outside, she fears that she will be recognised as a Jew by the men who follow her. This is historically important as it shows a Jewish woman dealing with a complex life or death situation on the street during the Nazi-occupation of Poland. Pretending to be an Aryan, she risks her life for the oxygen of freedom and the chance to walk around as a 'normal' Polish citizen.

Irina is not depicted as being a central member of a family. She is a free woman. She is not a victim. This makes her quite new in received ideas of Jewish women in the Holocaust. Although she has a baby, Irina is an adventurer who endangers her life for the simple human pleasures of waling and breathing street air. Joan Rabinowitz in *St Joan* is a Black Jewish Londoner who time-travels back into history as Joan of Arc to try and change the historical drive towards slavery and Shoah. This play, performed in the 2014 Edinburgh Festival, is an active depiction of a Jewish Black woman who defies history. It is a political and poetic satire which has a wide resonance for transnational Holocaust memory and is a critique of the current French National Front.

**Julia Pascal** is a playwright, theatre director, and a PhD student at the University of York.

**Jana Schmidt** (SUNY Buffalo)

### **Sadistic Mimesis – H.G. Adler's Lists of Names**

This paper explores the role literature plays in the articulation of intersubjectivity in the immediate aftermath of 1945. It turns to the Czech survivor H.G. Adler and his construction of a 'world' in his novel *The Journey* by way of his interest in lists. My underlying theoretical concern is whether the notion of the transnational requires rethinking and building a common world in the sense which Hannah Arendt formulates: as a space of appearance, that is, in which all people are equally visible.

As the complete breakdown of political life in mid-1940s Germany revealed to Arendt and Adler, the problem of having a world is not purely a matter of politics but, crucially, one of aesthetics. The form of the list – then an all-pervasive form that connected and, more importantly, failed to connect survivors across the globe - was appropriated by Adler who himself appeared on one of the lists of the Theresienstadt *Judenrat* [Jewish council] in 1944, when he was deported to Birkenau. Thus, my paper visits three of Adler's aesthetic strategies in the representation of the murder of European Jewry which, I argue, constitute instances of darkly humorous 'sadistic mimesis.' Adler's name lists, his fictional play of names, and the 'collective' narrative voice in *The Journey* all assimilate themselves to an absent object. Though often interpreted as reconciliatory in tendency, Adler's texts register the trauma of community without limiting its effects to Nazi Germany. Instead, they ask us to refigure the social bond transnationally and with an eye to the way literature is necessary for such imaginations precisely as it subverts both aesthetics and politics.



**Jana V. Schmidt** is a PhD candidate in Comparative Literature at SUNY Buffalo. Her dissertation looks at the émigré thinker Hannah Arendt, writers H.G. Adler and Grace Paley, and the artist Philip Guston for aesthetic articulations of intersubjectivity and reconciliation after the collapse of community in 1940s Germany.

## PANEL L: Translating Holocaust Memory

27 January, 4.00-5.45pm, LHRI

Chair: **Stephan Petzold** (University of Leeds)

**Sharon Deane-Cox** (University of Edinburgh)

### **Inflected Accounts: Holocaust Memory in Translation**

Many Holocaust testimonies travel beyond their original points of telling as a result of translation, crossing linguistic, cultural and temporal boundaries and reaching new audiences. And yet, despite the fact that translation serves as an important repository of Holocaust memory, only meagre attention has been paid to the epistemological and ethical implications of circulating the lived experiences of the survivors in this particular mode of transfer. Significant questions remain regarding the potential of translation, both positive and negative, for shaping the way in which readers come to understand, and respond to, these first-hand accounts. This paper will begin by positioning the translator as a secondary witness in order to consider how translation, as an act of listening, can have an impact on the preservation and transmission of the survivors' words. It will also scrutinize editorial influences on the translation process, paying particular attention to the significance of which accounts are selected for publication and how they are packaged.

In order to illustrate how the translator may (dis)serve as a secondary witness, comparative examples will be drawn from various translations which re-mediate the experiences of French deportees into English to various effect, including Agnès Humbert's (2008) *Resistance*, Sim Kessel's (1972) *Hanged at Auschwitz* and Micheline Maurel's (1958) *An Ordinary Camp*. Overall, it is hoped that this paper will better reveal the communicative opportunities and dilemmas – both textual and contextual – inherent in the translation of survivor testimonies, while drawing attention to the potential of translation to inflect our remembrance of the Holocaust.

**Sharon Deane-Cox** is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow in the School of Literatures, Languages & Cultures at University of Edinburgh. Sharon works predominantly in the field of Translation Studies, but her research also engages closely with Holocaust Studies, Museum Studies and French Studies. Her current project explores the varied ways in which translation can shape the transmission of personal and cultural memory and it is centred on comparative case studies of French accounts of deportation and occupation during WWII and their English translations. Sharon has published articles on Robert Antelme in *Translation Studies* (2013) and on the Oradour-sur-Glane Remembrance Centre in *Translation and Literature* (2014).



Ian Fairley (University of Leeds)

### **Ekphrastic Memorial: Paul Celan's 'Einkanter, Rembrandt'**

This presentation will begin by reflecting on the meaning and translation of the first word of Paul Celan's 'Einkanter, Rembrandt', published in *Schneepart* (1971). An 'Einkanter' is, according to the *Penguin Dictionary of Physical Geography*, a 'ventifact which has only one facet cut by wind-blown sand'. It is also, literally, a thing (stone) with one edge, and I am interested in what can be understood by the co-incident of edge and face in Celan's ekphrasis – as a poetic act of memorial – of Rembrandt's self-portraiture. Among the occasions that contributed to the making of 'Einkanter, Rembrandt', we know that Celan's visit to the 1968 Paris exhibition *Israël à travers les âges* informed the poem's closing recall of Psalm 16, with its affirmation of constancy and endurance, vis-à-vis the figure of Rembrandt. This conjunction can be adumbrated by exploring Celan's reading of Georg Simmel (on Rembrandt) and Henri Bergson (on duration). In trying to understand Celan's poem, I hope to gather some thoughts about the 'face' of memory and the matter of facing, in Celan's words, 'das, was geschah' ('that which happened').

Ian Fairley teaches literature part-time at Leeds University and is Lead Therapist in Bradford for Solace Surviving Exile and Persecution. He has translated Paul Celan's *Fadensonnen* and *Schneepart*. His edition of Amos Weisz's *Worksongs* will appear this year with the Waterloo Press.

Dorota Gołuch (Cardiff University)

### **Translational Practices and Transnational Memory in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum**

The question of transnational memory of the Holocaust – a genocide remembered in many linguistic communities – evokes issues of multilingualism and translation. This paper attempts to outline the problematic of translation in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum, which remains among the most poignant memorials of the Holocaust victims and a globally-significant site of memory preservation and construction.

The paper presents preliminary results of a 'pilot' study for an emerging project. It is based on twelve interviews with current and retired employees of the Museum: focused on older generations of employees, the interviews provide insight into practices of translation within the institution in the course of its existence. Ranging from internal translations of correspondence from survivors and their families in the post-war decades, to translations of Polish-language monographs, published by the Museum, into foreign languages, to the complex process of guided tours in various languages, these translational practices may influence ways in which Auschwitz is represented and remembered.

The latter practice seems of particular interest as the work of a guide encompasses translation, figuratively speaking, of what the guide knows and feels about Auschwitz into the format of a talk, which is tailored to particular audiences. Moreover, in the case of Polish guides offering tours in foreign languages, there is an element of interlingual translation because the guides choose foreign



language vocabulary and terminology, while taking into account the (anticipated) collective memory of the visitors. Drawing on examples from interviews with guides, the paper considers implications of such 'translation' choices for transnational Holocaust memory.

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**Stephanie Faye Munyard** (Cardiff University)

### **Revising Wiesel's *La nuit*: Translation, Reception and the Transnational Re-negotiations of Holocaust Memory**

Without translation – a process by which values, genres and rhetoric forms transcend cultural and linguistic boundaries – the acquisition of border-crossing perspectives on Holocaust memorial cultures would be impossible. Translation transforms entire domestic arenas (cultural, literary), it changes texts and societies and has been paramount in allowing the memory of the Holocaust to move beyond national parameters. Yet, the consideration of transnational Holocaust memories through the lens of translation has received little scholarly attention.

A comparative analysis of Elie Wiesel's *La nuit*, and its multiple translations and revisions into English and German, will bring into focus the process of translation and of interpretation that takes place when values, histories and narratives are hurled across borders of culture and language. This study will present examples that suggest not only how narratives are transformed in translation, but also how translation strategies are affected by, and how they themselves can affect the changing status of the Holocaust, transculturally.

This paper recognises that a translation is more than an ephemeral process; it is a cultural artefact whose dissemination and consumption shapes memory in a transnational space. This study will be centred on the reception of Wiesel's testimony in France, Germany, Britain and the US. It will look at the work's paper footprint, as well as its online presence, establishing how *La nuit* and its translations have been appraised by different communities of readers, across the generations. It suggests that the debates and discussions generated by reviews, by different communities surrounding the memory of the Holocaust, within their specific historical and cultural contexts, are central to mapping transnational patterns of memorialization. Crucially, it evaluates the future of translation at the end of this period of living memory.

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**Dominic Williams** (independent researcher)

### **Transcribing/Translating/Transmitting Trauma: Filip Müller's Reading from the Scrolls of Auschwitz**

Among the outtakes of Claude Lanzmann's interview for *Shoah* with Filip Müller, survivor of the Auschwitz *Sonderkommando*, one scene records Müller reading someone else's story aloud. 'The 600 Boys,' attributed by the Auschwitz Museum to Zalman Lewental, another member of the 'special squad,' was written probably within Crematorium III, buried in its grounds, and only discovered in 1962. Müller's reading of the story, stumbling at points, fluent at others, generates moments of intense affect. These are reminiscent of the scenes of 'incarnation' that Lanzmann strives to generate in many of the interviews in *Shoah*. Here, however, it is produced not by recollection of an incident witnessed at first hand, but by writing produced by a third party, only known to Müller at the endpoint of a process of transcription and translation.

Müller's reading at times comes close to breaking down, but these latter points cannot be described as breakthroughs into 'incarnation.' The stumbles are indexes of Müller's own emotional difficulties in reading this story, but also traces of the materiality of the original, partially damaged, text, inscribed in the editorial marks of the German translation over which Müller hesitates.

This paper traces the route of this story through various languages and media, from Yiddish manuscript, to Polish and German translations, to Lanzmann's recording of Müller's performance. I argue that this process of transmission can itself be described as working traumatically, and suggest that the transnational and the traumatic in *Shoah* itself are intimately bound up with each other.

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