PROBING THE ETHICS OF HOLOCAUST CULTURE

Edited by

CLAUDIO FOGU

WULF KANSTEINER

TODD PRESNER

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potential victims of Islamist genocidaires, aided and abetted by academic fellow travelers in the West.[120] The force of these assumptions led them to a single, terrible conclusion about perceived enemies: "If you do not destroy them, they will destroy you. There are precedents for this."[121] Accordingly, they seemed to interpolate colleagues' differing contributions to the study of genocide as symptoms of a pernicious political trend: one that needs to be destroyed. This style of feeling and reasoning is not confined to Holocaust scholarship. Wherever the fate of human groups is at stake, hypervigilance can intrude into scholarship. Good—that is, secular—scholarship heeds the advice of Eva Hoffman, whose reflective capacities honed by the professional study of literature enable her to articulate and practice the necessary, almost austere self-discipline: "we need to achieve a certain thoughtful separation from received ideas as, in our personal lives, we needed to separate ourselves, thoughtfully and with sympathy, from our persecuted parents."[122]

Studying genocide, then, requires two operations: loosening oneself from all participants' perspectives, and engaging in comparative analysis in time and place. The benefit of hindsight confers an epistemological privilege: "an international, cross-cultural, or culturally intermingled perspective comes to us as easily as certain kinds of exclusive ethnic and religious attachments came to our ancestors," writes Hoffmann. "Translated backwards, this can lead to a comparative approach to history." Hoffmann understands the social scientific challenge for all scholars of genocide: "If we want to call upon the Shoah to deepen our comprehension of atrocity, then we need to study not only anti-Semitism but the process of ethnic and religious hatred, the patterns of fanatical belief, the causes of neighborly violence, and the mechanisms through which these can be contained."[123] Such an approach means studying the circumstances in which lethal ideologies of difference like anti-Semitism are generated rather than taking their existence for granted. This is the program that Raphael Lemkin entreated in the scholarly study of genocide.[124] Cross-fertilization between Holocaust and genocide studies is finally under way, but extrascholarly anxieties regarding the crisis of nostalgic liberalism have led to distracting debates about civilizational clashes, wars on terror, and competitions for grievable suffering.[125]

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The Witness as "World" Traveler

Multidirectional Memory and Holocaust Internationalism before Human Rights

MICHAEL ROTHBERG

IN THE TWO DECADES since the publication of Saul Friedländer's landmark edited collection *Probing the Limits of Representation* (1992), a great deal has happened.[1] Indeed, the volume and the 1990 conference from which it emerged took place on the threshold of enormous world historical change—change that has had epochal geopolitical, economic, and cultural consequences. The conference fell squarely between the unanticipated dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the equally rapid process of German unification. The subsequent collapse of the Soviet Empire and the end of the Cold War led to new, sometimes genocidal wars in Europe (and beyond), and also brought with them a new phase of economic globalization, as a now-uncontested neoliberal capitalism declared "the end of history" and sought to establish the universal reign of "free markets." At the same time, related technological developments fostered accelerated and unprecedented cultural change; in particular, the expansion of the Internet and other forms of new media starting in the mid-1990s and continuing on to our present has reconfigured flows of culture and unsettled intellectual production. Uniting these linked transformations at the levels of politics, economy, and culture has been a turn toward the transnational dimensions of social processes; local conditions and events are now understood as thoroughly enmeshed in the global.

Friedländer's conference and volume also emerged at what would prove to be a pivotal moment in the cultural memory of the Holocaust; they were both part of that moment and contributed to it by provoking critical discussions about historical representation that continue to this

day. The year following the appearance of *Probing the Limits* saw the opening of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and the worldwide success of Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List*. Such was the impact of these two developments that the ABC news show *Nightline* declared 1993 "The Year of the Holocaust"—a name also meant to capture the unease created by the troublesome, violent events in the Balkans and an apparent rise in European neo-Nazi activity, including the murderous firebombing of the homes of immigrants and asylum seekers in Germany.[2] When the international community largely stood by in 1994 as Hutus slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Tutsis (along with moderate Hutus) in the Rwandan genocide, it both confirmed the ongoing relevance of Holocaust memory and raised questions about the efficacy of its most famous slogan—"Never again!"

In the wake of the renewed attention to the Holocaust and to contemporary genocide in the early and mid-1990s, the two central issues Friedländer highlighted in his introduction to *Probing the Limits*—"historical relativism and aesthetic experimentation"—have continued to generate controversy and debate.[3] Yet, despite the continuities that link our present to Friedländer's forward-looking volume, a significant *discontinuity* also separates us from the moment of *Probing the Limits:* the "globalization" of Holocaust studies that has accompanied the broader, increasingly transnational social processes of the post–Cold War era sketched above. By globalization in the context of Holocaust scholarship, I mean first of all the emergence of a robust field of comparative genocide studies since the 1990s and of comparison as an unavoidable question in the study of the Holocaust.[4] While the contributors to *Probing the Limits* were legitimately concerned about the historical relativism at stake in the *Historikerstreit* and related controversies in the 1980s, today, space has become available for nonrelativistic debate about the relation between the Holocaust and other instances of extreme violence that preceded it, followed it, or even coexisted alongside it. Comparison remains controversial, of course, and not all comparisons are equally legitimate, but in the wake of Bosnia and Rwanda—and now in the aftermath of Timothy Snyder's thesis in *Bloodlands* about the relation between Stalinist and Nazi violence—comparison cannot simply be banished as inevitably tarnishing the singularity of the Holocaust.[5]

Parallel to the increasingly comparative nature of genocide studies, a newly "cosmopolitan" memory culture has emerged. As the sociologists Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider have argued in their influential, if con-

troversial work, "at the beginning of the third millennium, memories of the Holocaust facilitate the formation of transnational memory cultures, which in turn, have the potential to become the cultural foundation for human rights politics."[6] The link between Holocaust memory, cosmopolitanism, and human rights has "normative and institutional" correlates, according to Levy and Sznaider, and has been facilitated by the "decontextualization" of the Nazi genocide and its reconfiguration as an "abstract" symbol of "good and evil."[7] Levy and Sznaider's primary concern, as I understand it, is neither to affirm nor to condemn this cosmopolitan turn, but rather to describe a new disposition of remembrance that has become hegemonic in the years since the Friedländer volume.

Many of the essays in *Probing the Limits* retain their relevance despite the legion of political, economic, and cultural changes I have outlined. Yet, the absence of a cosmopolitan perspective focusing on human rights in the volume and its dearth of comparative investigation—beyond the contestation of the relativizing moves of German conservatives in the *Historikerstreit*—now appears especially striking, even if, as I go on to argue, the focus on human rights and cosmopolitanism comes with its own limits. In order to grasp the distance between the Friedländer volume and the perspective tracked by Levy and Sznaider, note, for example, that Raphael Lemkin, who coined the concept of genocide, does not appear anywhere in the volume's index; nor is Lemkin's concept used in the volume outside its specific reference to the Nazi genocide of European Jews. Other genocides that preceded publication of *Probing the Limits,* such as the Armenian and Cambodian genocides, are simply absent from discussion.

Finally, and most relevant here, no reference to genocide, racism, and violence in *colonial contexts* appears in *Probing the Limits,* with the singular exception of the essay by Vincent Pecora, who presciently draws on Frantz Fanon and Edward Said to ask about the limits of the critique of Western modernity in dominant discussions about the singularity of the Holocaust. Symptomatic of the times, Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism*—whose provocative, if problematic juxtaposition of imperialism, anti-Semitism, Nazism, and Soviet terror has inspired recent comparative scholarship—receives no mention, even as a couple of essays reference her other writings on Eichmann and on the camps. These absences are particularly significant because in the years since *Probing the Limits,* the study of the Nazi genocide and its legacies has taken what I have called a "colonial turn," with numerous scholars around the world now actively involved in the post-Arendtian project of tracing the myriad,

multidirectional links between colonialism, decolonization, and genocide.[8] Participants in this turn, such as Dirk Moses and Jürgen Zimmerer, have been tracking both the colonial antecedents of the Holocaust and the entangled legacies of different histories of extreme violence that have emerged in the decades since the defeat of National Socialism.[9]

I draw two conclusions from this contextualization of *Probing the Limits of Representation*. First, the point is not to criticize Friedländer's collection for the absence of comparative and postcolonial perspectives—for such absences are, precisely, symptomatic and not peculiar to this work—but, instead, to use reference to this highly sophisticated and influential volume to mark the conceptual distance between 1992 and today. That distance provides an analytical lever for thinking about the ethics and politics of Holocaust memory cultures across different periods. Yet, second, we should not misconstrue the significance of that distance. The transnational, colonial turn in Holocaust memory does not, in fact, derive uniquely from the period after *Probing the Limits* and the epochal changes mentioned above—as Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism* and other early postwar works exemplify. Rather, the comparative turn of the past twenty years has helped bring into view heterogeneous Holocaust memory cultures that were there *all along* but never entered into dominant understandings of the past. These memory cultures deserve exploration not because they represent ideal, unproblematic alternatives to later developments, but because, despite being embedded in circumstances now distant, they may nevertheless productively challenge the politics of memory and human rights in our own changing times.

A revised look at the period *before* the globalization of Holocaust consciousness in the 1990s suggests a conception of transnational memory that looks quite different from the normative and institutional cosmopolitan memory described by Levy and Sznaider. The earlier, 1960s moment of globalized memory culture I pursue here does *not* emerge in tandem with the rise of human rights; rather, it *precedes* it, if we follow Samuel Moyn's revisionary history of human rights, and instead aligns itself with anticolonial movements. As Moyn has demonstrated, these movements focused on "collective liberation, not human rights": "insofar as anticolonialism gazed beyond the state, it was in the name of alternative internationalisms, in a spirit very different from that of contemporary human rights."[10] Such alternative internationalisms come with their own pitfalls, to be sure, yet also with their own, now largely forgotten potentials for thinking about the ethics of Holocaust memory: in particular, a

vision that does not rely on the abstract and decontextualized discourse of human rights understood by Levy and Sznaider as the motor of cosmopolitan memory. In place of the predominantly liberal, individualist, and moralist model of human rights, which too often situates those lacking the protection of human rights as passive victims in need of "Western" humanitarian intervention, anticolonial internationalism foregrounds collective, political movement and solidarity among co-implicated agents involved in an antagonistic struggle. In seeking to overcome the racial and Eurocentric hierarchies that a later human rights regime risks reproducing, anticolonial internationalism also enables a more multidirectional understanding of the place of the Holocaust in transnational memory cultures.[11]

Such a multidirectional approach redraws the boundaries of Holocaust memory by refusing to take disciplinary, ethnic, geographical, and temporal borders for granted and by exploring how the memory of the Holocaust has always been in a mutually constituting dialogue with histories and memories of racism, slavery, and colonialism that both preceded and followed the events of the Shoah. In this chapter, I develop this multidirectional remapping of Holocaust memory by drawing on theories of media and mediation. Levy and Sznaider understand mediation as fundamental to the decontextualized cosmopolitan memories of the human rights regime and argue that mediation "by definition requires a certain form of abstraction."[12] Referencing recent theories of media and cultural memory, I offer an alternative perspective in which mediation does not signal abstraction but rather reembodiment and cultural translation; it can thus underwrite a multidirectional memory culture with an ethics and politics different from that of contemporary human rights.

In order to demonstrate the constitutive multidirectionality of processes of mediation, I turn to one of the discursive genres most responsible for the globalization of Holocaust memory in the last half century—testimony—and explore processes of mediation in relation to one Holocaust survivor's ongoing, long-term testimonial project. The multifarious testimonies of Marceline Loridan-Ivens produce what I call a "Holocaust internationalism" that has rarely been glimpsed, no less taken seriously by scholars of the genocide, even those who have probed some of its most extreme limits. Born Marceline Rozenberg in France in 1928 to Polish-Jewish immigrant parents, Loridan-Ivens (also known as Marceline Loridan or, simply, Marceline) was deported to the Nazi camps as a teenager along with her father.[13] After returning home alone, she

entered the "era of the witness" in 1961—an epochal year for Holocaust memory and testimony—when she told her story in public for the first time on film.[14] In the fifty years since then, she has been a globe-traversing, politically engaged documentarian, a septuagenarian autobiographical feature filmmaker, a memoirist, and a talking head representative of what "being Jewish in France" means.

Following the trajectory of Loridan-Ivens's life and work helps us recalibrate our understanding of the relation between the past and present of Holocaust memory and prompts us to think differently about the ethics and politics of remembrance at a moment of generational transition. Loridan-Ivens's testimonial project exemplifies what the philosopher María Lugones calls "'world'-travelling": "Through travelling to other people's 'worlds' we discover that there are 'worlds' in which those who are the victims of arrogant perception are really subjects, lively beings, resistors, constructors of visions, even though in the mainstream construction they are animated only by the arrogant perceiver and are pliable, foldable, file-awayable, classifiable."[15] Characterized by an "*openness to surprise*" and set against forms of domination that rely on the separation of worlds or on imperial conquest, Lugones's notion of "'world'-travelling" resonates with Loridan-Ivens's testimonial project, which encompasses both her experiences as a survivor of Auschwitz and the decolonizing contexts of Algeria and Vietnam, in which she went on to produce films.[16] Ultimately, I argue, the "'world'-travelling," Holocaust internationalism of Loridan-Ivens offers a politicized form of remembrance that contests both the sacralization and sentimentalization of the Holocaust's uniqueness and the liberal cosmopolitanism of human rights that have dominated memory culture in recent decades.

The Politics of Circulation: Testimony between Mediation and Memory

Writing in a 2003 issue of the journal *Discourse* dedicated to *The Future of Testimony,* Anne Cubilie and Carl Good suggest that "Testimonial studies . . . at times seem to be rigidly divided between two poles, emphasizing either the politically interventionist aspect of the testimonial articulation (*testimonio,* subaltern studies, human rights discourse) or the aporetic unrepresentability of traumatic experience (Holocaust studies and the psychoanalytic dimension of trauma studies)."[17] More than a decade later, the situation remains predominantly as Cubilie and Good describe it, even if some countermovements can be detected and human rights has become a more generalized reference point.[18] The multiple testimonies of Loridan-Ivens represent an opportunity to pursue a new synthesis beyond this polarization because they cut across the divides that have shaped the field until now: they mobilize both the idiom of trauma and the idiom of politics; they embody the specificities of intimate experience, while also moving in a distinctly transnational realm; and they bring Holocaust memory into dialogue with anticolonial interventions. In addition, they suggest a promising terrain on which such a synthesis might take place by foregrounding two crucial, interrelated issues that have until now largely been neglected in approaches to testimony in Holocaust studies: mediation and circulation. Mediation and circulation may seem at first like risky terrain for testimony, since bearing witness seems to rely on immediacy, presence, and the topographical situatedness of the witness.[19] Yet, far from constituting the ruin or abstraction of testimony, mediation and circulation are actually portals into testimony's constitutive futurity and can be vehicles of alternative internationalisms not premised on the abstractions of the globalized human rights regime.

Recent work in the field of cultural memory studies can help us develop a methodology to accompany this insight about testimony's mediation. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney have sought to advance the study of cultural memory by developing a "dynamic" approach that contrasts to the static approach they associate with Pierre Nora's model of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). In reworking Nora, they also supplement Maurice Halbwachs's notion of the social frameworks of memory with a focus on "medial networks": "the specifically medial processes through which memories come into the public arena and *become* collective."[20] In order to specify how medial networks inflect the dynamics and frameworks of cultural memory, Erll and Rigney draw on the concepts of "premediation" and "remediation" developed by the media theorists Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin. As Erll writes, "it is the 'convergence' of medial representations which turns an event into a *lieu de mémoire,*" and that convergence takes place through two fundamental processes of "intermedial network[ing]": in *premediation,* existing media images and narratives "provide schemata for new experience and its representation"; conversely, in *remediation,* the now-constituted event circulates through a variety of media forms.[21] An approach guided by premediation looks at the *enabling conditions* of memory in preexisting technologies, narratives, genres, schemata, and images, while remediation focuses on the *afterlife*

that keeps memory "present." These processes coexist and should be studied in tandem as two axes of memory work. Each act of memory, in other words, invokes a (pre)mediated past while calling for a (re)mediated future.[22]

If premediation and remediation are so ubiquitous and so plastic, how are they useful conceptually and methodologically? For Erll and Rigney, media networks facilitate the process of convergence that turns a mere place into a semantically loaded site of memory: the tracing of those networks allows us to establish, after the fact, the conditions under which cultural memory emerges and under which testimony may find addressees. But we can also derive a further implication from that insight: approaches to the networked nature of mediation provide a method for tracing the webs of transfers and translations that make memory *multidirectional.* In other words, once taken up into processes of premediation and remediation, acts of memory and testimony transgress their "proper" places and circulate in heterogeneous networks of historical reference. The echoes, ricochets, and overlaps between apparently distinct memory traditions that define memory's multidirectionality derive, at least in part, from the infrastructure of medial networks. Mediation opens up memory and testimony to transcultural exchange and serves as a terrain of political intervention.

The effectivity of such intervention is not guaranteed, however, because politics always involves confrontation with power. But focusing on mediation grants insight into the questions of power that contour the circulation of memory and testimony. If memory and testimony come into being through their circulation in media forms, both premediation and remediation are themselves made possible through articulation with the channels of cultural, economic, political, juridical, and military power—although, I would insist, these channels of power never fully determine them, but, rather, provide an arena of contestation. In the realm of testimony, in particular, the convergence promised by media networks constitutes the grounds on which a struggle takes place over what South African scholar Fiona Ross calls "a voice with a signature"—that is, the possibility for a witness to maintain some form of ownership over her testimony as it circulates beyond her immediate control (Ross's examples concern testimony at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission).[23] Although in the wake of deconstruction we may be rightly suspicious of terms such as "voice," "signature," and "ownership," "a voice with a signature" can still serve as a valuable regulative ideal for thinking about

the mediation and circulation of testimony. That ideal can contribute to what Ross calls "a critical ethical theory of risk and vulnerability," a theory that can help us understand "subjectivities forged in and inhabiting globalized linguistic forms" like testimony.[24] Rethinking cultural memory as a dynamic process shaped by media networks and channels of power in addition to social frameworks helps us elaborate a public concept of testimony that usefully supplements the more-dialogic model that has largely guided Holocaust studies.[25] As my primary example illustrates, the dynamics of mediated memory do not primarily produce abstraction but rather new forms of embodied remembrance and "'world'-travelling" agency that suggest a politics beyond the dominant human rights regime.

Rethinking the "Era of the Witness"

At the origins of my concept of multidirectional memory was a testimony I discovered in the 1961 cinema verité experiment *Chronique d'un été* (*Chronicle of a Summer*), an important work in film history and a clear precursor to Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah,* but at that time, little known by scholars of Holocaust memory and testimony.[26] With the filming of *Chronicle of a Summer,* Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin set out to document everyday life in Paris in the summer of 1960 through direct interviews with a range of Parisians—students, workers, political activists, and ordinary men and women, who were asked, "Are you happy?" by interviewers the filmmakers sent out into the streets. The year 1960 was a potentially tumultuous moment in France, as decolonization was rapidly remaking the political order. It was a time of violent transition in the Congo and a tense moment in the already six-year-old Algerian War of Independence. Although these events are briefly mentioned or hinted at in the film, fairly little of this dramatic political context actually made it into the film's final cut—quite deliberately, but also quite understandably, given the massive state censorship around the Algerian conflict.[27]

Instead, the surprising center of *Chronicle of a Summer* turns out to be the testimony of Marceline Loridan, as she was then known, seen early in the film as one of Rouch and Morin's street interviewers and only later revealed as a survivor of Auschwitz in a powerful scene where the camera silently tracks down to her tattooed arm. Rouch and Morin later film the testimony of Marceline in two linked sequences, one in which she walks through the Place de la Concorde and another in which she enters the old

market building Les Halles.[28] In these scenes, she bears witness in a condensed testimony to her deportation to the camps as a young teenager along with her father, scenes of violence in the camps, and her painful return to her surviving family—without her father—after liberation.[29] Marceline's passage through the streets, her absent-minded humming of a song of the French resistance, and her clearly affected demeanor as we seem to "overhear" her story make this a powerful example of testimony's site-specific, embodied force that appears to offer itself to us in its "immediacy."

Yet, the many factors that make Marceline's testimony important and powerful all involve processes of mediation. First, the testimony marks an important stage in film history because its very recording relies on innovations in camera and sound technology that allow Rouch and Morin to capture the testimony in a public space—with the use of a lightweight and mobile camera—while also preserving the intimacy of her address, through a portable microphone and Nagra recorder that the witness carried with her while strolling through Paris. As Loridan put it in a 1961 interview, "the rhythm of my steps led me to share those memories."[30] In other words, far from "abstracting" Marceline's testimony, new possibilities of technological mediation enable a form of testimony harmonized with the movements of the body in public and in proximity to the grain of the voice.

In addition, this medium-specific event mediates and is mediated by state politics. From the point of view of the history of Holocaust memory, Marceline's testimony could not have come at a more significant time. Filmed in the year that Israeli agents arrested Adolf Eichmann and released in the year that survivor testimony at Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem would permanently change our understanding of the Nazi genocide and help usher in what Annette Wieviorka has called the "era of the witness," Marceline's presence in *Chronicle of a Summer* helps provide an alternative genealogy of Holocaust testimony and cultural memory. Instead of emerging through the carefully staged—and judicially debatable—context of Israeli *state pedagogy* in the Eichmann trial, Marceline's staged appearance aligns at least indirectly with a *challenge* to the French state in a moment of war and crisis. That is, Marceline's testimony possessed a mediated, allegorical significance in the moment of its appearance: her tale of suffering in the recent past occupies the place of those testimonies to contemporary political violence that could not be told openly in decolonizing France because of state censorship and were thus forced to pass

through either underground and extralegal paths or, as in this case, indirect evocation. Marceline's testimony takes on this allegorical meaning because of the careful way Rouch and Morin situate her testimony in the wake of brief discussions among its cast of real-life characters about the Algerian War and about the ongoing processes of decolonization reported daily in the news. Although the Holocaust as historical event differs immeasurably from France's late colonial war, Holocaust testimony at that moment cannot be separated from testimony to colonial violence; rather, the two forms of testimony mediate each other.

But the mediation of Marceline's testimony is even more complex. First of all, it is premediated by two significant postwar films. The testimony sequence is immediately preceded by an uncomfortable scene on the roof of the Musée de l'Homme, in which Rouch draws attention to Marceline's tattoo and asks two African students if they understand its significance. They admit that they do not, although one of the students then mentions having seen a film about the camps, probably *Night and Fog*. Although it is not mentioned in *Chronicle of a Summer*, *Night and Fog* had held one of its first screenings in the Musée de l'Homme, a site during World War II of resistance activity, and its director, Alain Resnais, considered the film an allegorical protest against the just-begun Algerian War.[31] But another Resnais film also figures here: as Marceline Loridan later wrote, in giving her testimony, she imagined herself as Emmanuelle Riva in Resnais and Duras's new-wave classic *Hiroshima mon amour,* which had recently appeared and featured Riva meandering through the streets, much as Marceline does while giving her testimony. Through premediation, Marceline's testimony already participates in the network of associations between different scenes of violence made available by Resnais's films.

Two further steps are necessary. First, if the conditions of possibility for Marceline's testimony in *Chronicle of a Summer* lay in its premediation by a range of discourses, texts, and technologies, the multiple remediations of her testimony subsequently established it as a publically meaningful and politically vital act. In the urgent struggle over Algeria, the testimonial form and staged dialogue established by Rouch and Morin's film reappeared frequently. *Chronicle* opened in Paris in the fall of 1961, in the midst of one of the major crises of the late colonial state: the October 17 massacre of dozens—and roundup of thousands—of peacefully demonstrating Algerians in the streets of the French capital. In the weeks immediately following the massacre, the anticolonial New Left

newsweekly *France-Observateur* published two interview-based pieces that, like *Chronicle,* linked the Holocaust with the violence of decolonization. In "Les deux ghettos" (The Two Ghettos), Marguerite Duras, whose *Hiroshima, mon amour* premediated Marceline's testimony, now remediates *Chronicle:* she uses the documentary's interview form to juxtapose discussions with two Algerians and a survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto, whom Duras dubs "M" (a possible echo of Marceline).[32] Two years later, strikingly similar connections are also made in another text that seems to remediate *Chronicle*—African American writer William Gardner Smith's novel *The Stone Face* (1963), the first novel to treat the Paris massacre, which also features at its center a female Holocaust survivor whose name begins with "M."[33] In Duras and Smith, as in Rouch and Morin's film, the encounter between a female Holocaust survivor and colonized men of color serves as a gendered and racialized trope of intersecting memories and a tension-filled solidarity across difference. Such intersecting solidarities do not exhibit the process of abstraction and the polarization of good and evil that Levy and Sznaider find in the later moment of human rights; rather, they involve embodied encounters and complex and ambivalent affective translations.

Second, by becoming a filmmaker and later a memoirist, Loridan herself very deliberately remediates the testimonial impulse, sometimes at great personal risk and often as an expression of internationalist solidarity. For the last half century, she has sought to craft for herself what Ross calls "a voice with a signature," but she has also sometimes put that voice into service for projects that move beyond the reproduction of her own past and extend into a future defined by an encompassing vision of collective liberation. Already in the year after *Chronicle*'s appearance, Loridan went from being in front of the camera to being behind it—where she has remained ever since. She traveled to the newly independent Algerian state and made a forty-minute documentary with Jean-Pierre Sergent, who also appears in Rouch and Morin's film. *Algérie, année zéro* (*Algeria, Year Zero* [1962]), like *Chronicle,* seeks to assess the state of life in a moment of historical transition. Because of its politics, it was banned in France for more than forty years, an indication of how seriously state power takes the force of circulation.

Loridan would continue the process of remediating her own testimony in a series of films she went on to make with her companion Joris Ivens, the important Dutch communist documentarian she met through her role in Rouch and Morin's film. ("I could marry that woman," Ivens reportedly said after seeing *Chronicle*—and he did.) Together, Ivens and Loridan (later Loridan-Ivens) made documentaries such as *Comment Yukong déplaça les montagnes* (*How Yukong Moved the Mountains* [1976]), a twelve-part, twelve-hour series about everyday life in China in the wake of the Cultural Revolution, described by one contemporary critic as "témoignage direct" (direct testimony) about China, even as the film was also criticized for its clearly partial portrait of the country.[34] After Ivens's death and now in her mid-70s, Loridan-Ivens made her first feature film, *La petite prairie aux bouleaux* (*The Birch-Tree Meadow,* that is, Birkenau [2004]), a fictionalized autobiographical account of an Auschwitz survivor who returns to Poland for the first time decades after the war.

One of the films made with Ivens, *Le 17e parallèle: La guerre du peuple* (*The Seventeenth Parallel: The People's War* [1968]), provides a powerful example of how testimony and mediation have continued to intersect in the alternative internationalism that Loridan-Ivens continued to foster after first giving public testimony about her deportation and return.[35] Filmed by Ivens and Loridan beneath falling American bombs in 1967 on the front lines in Vietnam, *The Seventeenth Parallel* follows *Algeria, Year Zero* in transforming the testimonial impulse beyond the autobiographical subject into a collective militant practice: instead of dramatizing their own process of bearing witness to decolonization, the filmmakers provide a forum for ordinary Vietnamese to testify to their experience of war and the struggle for national liberation.[36] Part war documentary, part exploration of daily life in extreme circumstances, and part revolutionary propaganda, *The Seventeenth Parallel* uses a collective voice-over narration in French—attributed to a woman from the Vihn Lihn region where the film was made—together with direct and indirect address to the camera in Vietnamese by peasants and local party members.[37] The film documents the peasants' attempts to continue tending their rice paddies, to construct elaborate underground shelters, and to contribute to the war effort against "the enemy," the Americans. Using a language associated with the Holocaust, they testify that they will "never forget" the crimes of the Americans. One of the predominant (perhaps self-reflexive) motifs of the film is the ingenuity of the villagers in transforming—we might say remediating—the weapons of war: parts from downed American planes and rockets are turned into bicycles and a printing press, while bomb craters become fishponds.

Through their collaboration, the filmmakers also remediate the war, turning it into an *aural* testimony. The nature of the collaboration that

lies behind *The Seventeenth Parallel*—between the older, established male documentarian Ivens and the younger, lesser-known, female Loridan—is a complex one, but one that bears on the questions of mediation and testimony. In early accounts, Loridan is often referred to merely as an assistant, but more recently her contributions have been granted codirector status (for instance, on the new DVD edition of Ivens's films).[38] However one resolves the issue of authorship and addresses the gender asymmetries that lie behind it, Loridan's contribution in *The Seventeenth Parallel* is both clear and clearly indebted to her earlier experience with what was then considered "new media" in *Chronicle of a Summer* (a film that also emerged from collaboration): the lightweight camera and recording technology used to elicit her testimony in Rouch and Morin's film.[39] As Jean-Pierre Sergent reports, it is through Loridan that Ivens discovered "direct sound," a technique still relatively new and crucial for the testimonial effect produced by *The Seventeenth Parallel.*[40] Direct sound—and direct cinema, a genre related to cinema verité—involves the simultaneous recording of sound and image in "real-world" settings, a process that we now take for granted, but that was technically complicated until the early 1960s. Indeed, synchronous sound may be the most powerful form testimony takes in *The Seventeenth Parallel:* the persistent roar of American jets and the explosions of American bombs throughout the film (as well as the clatter of Vietnamese antiaircraft weapons) take the place of a musical soundtrack and bear aural or sonic witness to the risks involved in the filming and to the seemingly impossible conditions in which the villagers were living and resisting their fate.[41]

Aural testimony is also linked to a recoding of trauma. In the book accompanying the film, Loridan describes situating herself in a hole fifty meters from the village where they are staying in order to capture the sounds of an American air attack; she uses a Nagra recorder, precisely the kind she carried while Rouch filmed her testimony in the summer of 1960.[42] Yet the recordings Loridan makes do not simply reproduce the traumatic testimony at the center of *Chronicle of a Summer.* For one, Loridan's subject position has shifted from first person to third person witness and from surviving victim to implicated subject offering solidarity. With this shift in location, the "sound" of testimony also shifts. Returning to the village after the end of the attack, the filmmakers visit a school where a fourteen-year-old girl had died a few days earlier in a previous American shelling. While they are in the underground school, the alarm

rings for yet another attack and, Loridan reports, "without panic, very orderly, the children arrange their things carefully: pen, ink, books, notebooks are their weapons. And they descend into the shelter joyously, as during recreation. The tape that I recorded mixes strangely [*mêle drôlement*] the whistle of airplanes and their laughter."[43] If Loridan's presence with a Nagra recorder suggests that Rouch's cinema verité technique has premediated *The Seventeenth Parallel,* the latter film also remediates the earlier scene of testimony. *Chronicle* had staged a highly mediated Holocaust testimony that itself became the occasion for the articulation of other traumatic histories, as I have shown. Now Loridan, as sound recorder, has herself become the medium for an address from and to a new set of others. But not only the channels of mediation have changed; the message has shifted as well: from an articulation of personal traumatization to the laughter of collective resilience in the face of overwhelming violence. This affirmative account of the Vietnamese anticolonial struggle brings with it in turn a more aggressive political message than we find in Rouch and Morin's film or in discourses of human rights. On the classroom wall, above where the young victim of American bombing used to sit, a sign now hangs: "We must work even harder to avenge the memory of our little sister Xuan."[44] In the spirit of militant documentary, Ivens and Loridan's Vietnam film recodes trauma as the occasion for a new, antagonistic politics of memory.

In recoding trauma and memory, Loridan also commits to a new politics of testimony. Both the politics and the form of this commitment deserve critical discussion; certainly, neither is unproblematic, especially when viewed with the clear vision of hindsight. In the views of both Ivens and Loridan, there is, for instance, the evident risk of a romanticization of "Third World" resistance and the imposition of too homogenous a view of collectivity.[45] In retrospect, Loridan-Ivens would concur and has described her commitments of the time as "false, naïve, and simplistic."[46] Even more serious is the obscuring or forgetting of crimes committed in the name of the Communist internationalism that motivated them. Such a political error, especially relevant to the case of their post–Cultural Revolution China film, *How Yukong Moved the Mountains*, ended up weighing heavily on the filmmakers. Loridan-Ivens describes a deep "inner depression" whose "cause was the Paradox we discovered: we believed what the Chinese in front of the camera said that they believed, but it all turned out to be a bitter illusion. This crisis, a political, artistic,

philosophical and ideological crisis, would last a few years."[47] Seeking to confront the prejudices of the capitalist West, Ivens and Loridan ended up implicated in another kind of state violence.

In the wake of that crisis, Loridan-Ivens turned in new directions—and turned back to the "original" trauma that defined her life: Auschwitz. After Ivens died in 1989, Loridan-Ivens writes, "I was left behind with my grief . . . and with the next film that I would have to make without him. About Auschwitz. Joris encouraged me to tackle it. And now that he has passed away, I have the space to return to my own origin, to my Jewish background. And I have the courage to return to the stench of corpses, the dull colors, the moaning in the hell of Auschwitz."[48] The film that emerged from this return, *The Birch-Tree Meadow*, is decidedly more autobiographical and less multidirectional and internationalist than the works of the 1960s.[49]

My reason for evoking the anticolonial, internationalist era of Loridan's productivity has not been to celebrate it as a model that can be applied "immediately" to the present, but rather to make a point about the history of memory and the future of testimony: the turn to militant cinema that Loridan takes in collaboration with Ivens is both inscribed in the experimental genesis and political context of Loridan's first public testimony in *Chronicle of a Summer* and is yet an outcome that could never have been foreseen in any deterministic account. There is no straight path from Auschwitz via a Holocaust testimony during the Algerian War to the filming of testimony under falling bombs in Vietnam. Yet this itinerary suggests a Holocaust internationalism shared by others that offered an actually existing alternative to the canonization of the Holocaust's uniqueness taking place at the same time.[50] It also continues to offer an alternative narrative of the globalization of Holocaust memory centered on collective political struggle instead of cosmopolitanization in the age of liberal human rights.[51]

The Seventeenth Parallel is not a Holocaust testimony, and yet it emerges from the unexpected testimonial project of a Holocaust survivor who, enabled by processes of mediation that were anything but abstract, found herself engaged with and implicated—bodily and politically—in a history allegedly "not her own." For Loridan—and I suspect for many other survivors of traumatic events—testimony is not the culmination of an experience, but an essential step in the fashioning of a future that helps her to move: a "departure," in Cathy Caruth's terms.[52] Of course,

movement into the future is not absolute freedom: the witness takes her baggage with her.

Coda: Under the Sign of Suitcases

In 2008, Loridan-Ivens produced another iteration of her testimonial project: her memoir *Ma vie balagan*. In that text, whose multilingual title draws on the Hebrew/Yiddish word for chaos, Loridan-Ivens sums up her life with a pithy epigram: "Je vis sous le signe des valises [I live under the sign of suitcases]."[53] With this phrase, Loridan-Ivens activates a polyvalent figure for the post-Holocaust work of memory and testimony. Most obviously, given her history, the suitcase calls up one of the icons of concentrationary memory. In Loridan-Ivens's words, these are the suitcases "we had to abandon on arrival in the camp, the ones that accumulated at Auschwitz, with their labels and their names."[54] In a further turn, the suitcases come to figure memory and repression simultaneously: "And then there are the 'container' suitcases. . . . Full of diverse souvenirs that you would prefer not to see again. Sometimes you open the suitcase, you see the too burdensome past, and you close it up again."[55]

But if the suitcase is a potent symbol of dispossession as well as a kind of crypt, containing "deep" memories too traumatic to handle directly, it also has yet other, potentially more affirmative associations. It marks the life of a "world" traveler: these are suitcases that suggest the compulsion she shared with Joris to "go elsewhere, [into] exile."[56] Additionally, the valise might be the bag Marceline carries (holding the Nagra recorder) as she gives her testimony in *Chronicle of a Summer*—a testimony she reiterates in the documentary *Being Jewish in France* (2007)—and it thus serves as a reminder of that testimony, an act linking personal experience and public space in a manner that at the time was practically unprecedented. Finally, the chapter title from which the memoir's suitcase discussion is taken—"La porteuse de valises" (The Carrier of Suitcases)—refers explicitly to Loridan-Ivens's activities as one of a small number of French women (and men) who "carried suitcases" for the underground Algerian independence movement.[57] Indeed, as Jean-Pierre Sergent has recently clarified, those suitcases of money for the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) were sometimes stored in Loridan-Ivens's apartment—at great personal risk.[58] Thus, for Loridan-Ivens, the rhetoric of suitcases suggests the proximity of trauma, travel, mediation, and anticolonial, internationalist

politics. Although not necessarily a harmonious mix, the very heterogeneity of these associations may provide the grounds for a synthesis of the best features of the internationalist and cosmopolitan models.

What would it mean to place the ethics and politics of Holocaust memory "under the sign of suitcases"? The suitcase is a medium that assists a human agent in an act of transportation. The sign of suitcases references testimony as a medium for meanings and actions that take place when one leaves home and circulates in the public realm; when one becomes implicated in the world and creates a bodily and verbal connection between diverse sites of history, memory, and trauma. For Loridan-Ivens, the suitcase is simultaneously the form, medium, and content of testimony—at once the burden of suffering and the means for making it public and moving with it into futures not yet written. For those of us concerned about the shape of Holocaust remembrance in the new millennium, the example of Loridan-Ivens offers an additional message: an ethical future for Holocaust memory demands that we cultivate what Lugones calls an "openness to surprise" and a desire to uncover alternative pasts that resist the familiar stories of the present.

19

Fiction and Solicitude

Ethics and the Conditions for Survival

JUDITH BUTLER

ONE QUESTION that emerged from the debates in Holocaust historiography over historical writing is whether history can be conducted without narrative forms, and whether, as a consequence, history is implicated in fictional devices in order to chronicle the past.[1] Of course, the linking of those two questions presumes that the fictional implies the false. We want to be able to distinguish false and true testimony, and we need the latter to refute nefarious forms of revisionism. When the debate is cast in terms such as these, however, we fail to consider that narrative may well be a way to communicate certain historical truths, including what Hayden White has termed their "emotional reality."[2] Indeed, it may be that narrative and poetic forms alike are the only way to communicate certain dimensions of historical experience, including its historical effects on language itself. Moreover, they can, as in the work of Paul Celan, show us how certain kinds of historical traumas have inflicted damage on the very models of transparent communication that we rely on in order to establish an irrefutable historical record. Celan's poetry effectively registers a shattering of language in which words appear as stray bits of refuse, partial monuments, or animated ruins.[3] The work of Cathy Caruth has prompted us to ask, under conditions of trauma, what is still speakable? What happens to language under conditions of historical trauma such that our very capacity to narrate (1) may well fail to report what we have experienced, and (2) may well continue to register and reenact trauma within its own terms?[4]

The debate about narrative forms in Holocaust historiography first centered on the question of how it may be possible to use testimony, itself

105. Ran Zwigenberg, *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Symptomatic: Alvin H. Rosenfeld, *The End of the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

106. Bartov, *Mirrors of Destruction,* 73.

107. Bartov, "Genocide and the Holocaust," 19.

108. Compare his review of Tim Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), in the *Slavic Review* 70, no. 2 (2011): 424–428.

109. See Bloxham's discussion of the general issue in "Holocaust Studies and Genocide Studies," 66.

110. Irwin Cotler, Paper presented at the New York Symposium, Raoul Wallenberg Legacy of Leadership Project, hosted by the Cardozo Holocaust, Genocide and Human Rights Program, September 18, 2014. The paper was a version of "Never Again: Six Enduring Lessons of the Holocaust"; http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/irwin-cotler/holocaust-enduring-lessons_b_3030564.html. The same links are made by Samuels, "Applying the Lessons of the Holocaust," 260–261, 268–269.

111. See http://www.cardozo.yu.edu/programs-centers/program-holocaust-genocide-and-human-rights-studies/faculty. Thane Rosenbaum, "Hamas's Civilian Death Strategy," *Wall Street Journal,* July 21, 2014.

112. See http://combatgenocide.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Statement-of-Principles-signed.pdf.

113. Yossi Sarid, "Elie Wiesel Hides Ethnic Cleansing behind a Prayer Shawl," *Ha'aretz,* October 17, 2014. The quotation is taken from Shmuley Boteach, "Elie Wiesel and Kagame of Rwanda Discuss Genocide and Syria," *Jewish Press,* September 30, 2014; http://www.jewishpress.com/indepth/columns/america-rabbi-shmuley-boteach/elie-wiesel-and-kagame-of-rwanda-discuss-genocide-syria/2013/09/30/. For criticisms of these sorts of views, see Avraham Burg, *The Holocaust Is Over; We Must Rise from Its Ashes* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

114. Michman, "The Jewish Dimension of the Holocaust in Dire Straits?" 20 (emphasis in original).

115. Ari Shavit, *Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel* (New York: Spiegel and Grau, 2013), 394; "Shavit's *My Promised Land* Examines Israel's Complexities," National Public Radio, December 26, 2013; http://www.wbur.org/npr/257255745/shavits-my-promised-land-examines-israels-complexities?ft=3&f=257255745; Gary Rosenblatt, "Shavit: 'We've Lost Our Narrative,'" *Jewish Chronicle,* December 4, 2014.

116. Amos Goldberg, "The 'Jewish Narrative' in the Yad Vashem Global Holocaust Museum," *Journal of Genocide Research* 14, no. 2 (2012): 187–213; Daniel Blatman, "Holocaust Scholarship: Towards a Post-Uniqueness Era," *Journal of Genocide Research* 17, no. 1 (2015): 21–43.

117. Roger Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life, 1856–1915* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1993).

118. Bertrand Russell, "The Bomb and Civilization," *Forward* 39 (August 18, 1945); E. P. Thompson, *Exterminism and Cold War* (London: Verso, 1982), 1–34.

119. Zwigenberg, *Hiroshima,* 9.

120. Omer Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (1998): 771–816. Analyses that include Palestinians are Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); and A. Dirk Moses, "The Contradictory Legacies of German Jewry," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 54 (2009): 36–43.

121. Bartov, "The New Anti-Semitism," 15.

122. Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge,* 197–199.

123. Ibid.

124. A. Dirk Moses, "The Holocaust and World History: Raphael Lemkin and Comparative Methodology," in *The Holocaust and Historical Methodology,* ed. Dan Stone (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 272–289.

125. Bloxham, "Holocaust Studies and Genocide Studies"; A. Dirk Moses, "Does the Holocaust Reveal or Conceal Other Genocides? The Canadian Museum for Human Rights and Grievable Suffering," in *Hidden Genocides: Power, Knowledge, and Memory,* ed. Douglas S. Irvin, Alexander L. Hinton, and Tom LaPointe (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 21–51; Dan Stone, *Histories of the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), chap. 5.

18. The Witness as "World" Traveler

1. Saul Friedländer, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

2. See my discussion of this moment in Michael Rothberg, *Traumatic Realism: The Demands of Holocaust Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

3. Friedländer, *Probing the Limits,* 4. An incomplete list of these diverse controversies includes: the Goldhagen debate, the Wehrmacht exhibition, *Life Is Beautiful, Neighbors, The Kindly Ones,* and *Inglourious Basterds*—the list could go on. This period also sees the continuation and intensification of controversial Holocaust references in the context of the ongoing Israeli/Palestinian conflict. On this context, which cannot be treated in the space available here, see Michael Rothberg, "From Gaza to Warsaw: Mapping Multidirectional Memory," *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 523–548.

4. For a rich example of work in comparative genocide studies, with a focus on colonial and postcolonial contexts, see A. Dirk Moses, ed., *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (New York: Berghahn, 2009). The comparatively inclined *Journal of Genocide Research* was founded in 1999.

5. Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

6. Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, "Memory Unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory," *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 1 (2002): 87–106, esp. 88.

7. Ibid., 93, 102.

8. For an assessment of the Arendtian legacy, see Richard H. King and Dan Stone, ed., *Hannah Arendt and the Uses of History: Imperialism, Nation, Race, and Genocide* (New York: Berghahn, 2008). See also Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), pt. 1.

9. To get a sense of the new work on—and debates around—the relationship between colonialism and the Holocaust, see, for example, Isabel Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama, ed., *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Moses, *Empire, Colony, Genocide;* Dan Stone, *Histories of the Holocaust* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), esp. 203–244; Jürgen Zimmerer, *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz? Beiträge zum Verhältnis vom Kolonialismus und Holocaust* (Berlin: Lit, 2011). See also the forum featuring Zimmerer, Birthe Kundrus, and others in "The German Colonial Imagination," *German History* 26, no. 2 (2008): 251–271. For the entangled aftermath, see Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory;* Michael Rothberg, Debarati Sanyal, and Max Silverman, eds., *Noeuds de Mémoire: Multidirectional Memory in Postwar French and Francophone Culture,* special issue of *Yale French Studies* 118/119 (2010): 52–71; Debarati Sanyal, *Memory and Complicity: Migrations of Holocaust Remembrance* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015); and Max Silverman, *Palimpsestic Memory: The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film* (New York: Berghahn, 2013).

10. Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 85–86. The chapter from which I am quoting is called "Why Anticolonialism Wasn't a Human Rights Movement." Moyn's convincing argument that the human rights movement only becomes significant in the post-1968 period lends support to my argument for alternative internationalisms in the pre-1968 period.

11. My point is not to dismiss the politics of human rights as such, but to point to the limits of its dominant articulations, which I believe accord with the normative vision Levy and Sznaider find in post-1990s Holocaust memory culture. In the vast critical literature on human rights, a succinct critique that aligns with my point here is Wendy Brown, "'The Most We Can Hope for . . .' : Human Rights and the Politics of Fatalism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, no. 2/3 (2004): 451–463. Also relevant in this context is the nuanced critique of the consensual, human-rights based Holocaust memory culture in postapartheid South Africa in Shirli Gilbert, "Anne Frank in South Africa: Remembering the Holocaust, during and after Apartheid," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 366–393. For productive reflections on the dialectic of rights and memory that have inspired my thinking on this complex issue, see Andreas Huyssen, "International Human Rights and the Politics of Memory: Limits and Challenges," *Transcultural Negotiations of Holocaust Memory,* special issue of *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 607–624.

12. Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, *Human Rights and Memory* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 15.

13. In following text, I refer to Marceline Loridan-Ivens according to the name(s) she used at the time she took part in different cinematic and literary projects. When speaking generally about her, I refer to her current preference for Loridan-Ivens.

14. For the significance of 1961, see Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness,* trans. Jared Stark (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); and Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory,* pts. 3 and 4.

15. María Lugones, "Playfulness, 'World'-Travelling, and Loving Perception," *Hypatia* 2, no. 2 (1987): 3–19; 18.

16. Ibid., 16; Lugones's italics.

17. Anne Cubilie and Carl Good, "Introduction: The Future of Testimony," *Discourse* 25, no. 1/2 (2003): 4–18; esp. 5.

18. For a similar assessment focused on Holocaust studies, see Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, "The Witness in the Archive: Holocaust Studies/Memory Studies," *Memory Studies* 2, no. 2 (2009): 151–170.

19. Lawrence Langer even famously—or infamously—claims that "oral testimony is distinguished by the absence of literary mediation." See Lawrence Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 57.

20. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, "Introduction: Cultural Memory and Its Dynamics," in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory,* ed. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 1–11; esp. 2 (emphasis in the original).

21. Astrid Erll, "Remembering across Time, Space, and Cultures: Premediation, Remediation, and the 'Indian Mutiny,' " in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory,* 109–138. Erll draws on Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); and Ann Rigney, "Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory," *Journal of European Studies* 35, no. 1 (2005): 11–28. See also Erll, "Travelling Memory," *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 4–18.

22. As a public articulation of memory, acts of testimony function analogously. See Gillian Whitlock, "Remediating Guerilla Girl: Rape Warfare and the Limits of Humanitarian Storytelling," *Biography* 33, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 471–497. Whitlock does not refer directly to Bolter and Grusin, but rather to Wai Chee Dimock, "Introduction: Genres as Fields of Knowledge," *PMLA* 122, no. 5 (October 2007): 1377–1388.

23. Fiona Ross, "On Having a Voice and Being Heard: Some After-Effects of Testifying before the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *Anthropological Theory* 3, no. 3 (2003): 325–341, esp. 336.

24. Ross, "On Having a Voice," 337.

25. Noah Shenker also diagnoses this limit of studies of Holocaust testimony and seeks to develop a new methodology attuned to mediation. See Noah Shenker, "Embodied Memory: The Institutional Mediation of Survivor Testimony in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," in *Documentary Testimonies: Global Archives of Suffering,* ed. Bhaskar Sarkar and Janet Walker (New York: Routledge, 2009), 35–58.

26. Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin, directors, *Chronique d'un été* (Paris: Argos, 1961).

27. For a discussion of this editing process, as well as some of the footage treating these political themes, see Florence Dauman's documentary *Un été +50* (Paris: Argos, 2011). For an analysis of the way politics was deliberately edited out of the film, see Sam DiIorio, "Total Cinema: *Chronique d'un été* and the End of Bazinian Film Theory," *Screen* 48, no. 1 (2007): 25–43.

28. For a close reading of this scene of testimony, see my discussion in Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory,* chap. 6.

29. Writing forty years later, Loridan-Ivens describes the deportation in the following terms: "How could I have known, growing up as a little girl in a modern, happy family in Southern France, that history is so merciless. That my hard-working father, who had flown from anti-Semitism in Poland to France in 1920, would return on the same railway. We had both been arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and transported to Poland, to the concentration camp Auschwitz. Of the fifty members of our family only a few would return. I arrived in France on the same cattle car, without him." See Marceline Loridan-Ivens, "The Wind of Tides," in *Cinema without Borders: The Films of Joris Ivens* (Nijmegen: European Foundation Joris Ivens, 2002), 6. Loridan-Ivens's most complete account of her deportation has recently been published in the memoir *But You Did Not Come Back*, trans. Sandra Smith (New York: Atlantic Monthly, 2016).

30. See the May 7, 1961, interview with Marceline Loridan for the television program *Reflets de Cannes,* now included in the 2103 Criterion edition of the *Chronicle of a Summer* DVD.

31. For the historical resonances of *Night and Fog*—including its links to decolonization—see Griselda Pollock and Max Silverman, eds., *Concentrationary Cinema: Aesthetics as Resistance in Alain Resnais's Night and Fog* (New York: Berghahn, 2012).

32. Marguerite Duras, "Les deux ghettos," *France-Observateur,* November 9, 1961, 8–10. See also Henri Kréa, "Le racism est collectif, la solidarité individuelle," *France-Observateur,* October 26, 1961, 14–15.

33. William Gardner Smith, *The Stone Face* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1963).

34. This quotation is taken from the discussion of *Comment Yukong déplaça les montagnes* on "Le masque et la plume" (radio show, April 10, 1977), available on the website of INA; http://www.ina.fr/video/AFE09000133/les-echos-du-cinema-numero-23.fr.html. See also the press excerpts included in Jean-Pierre Sergent, "The Chinese Dream of Joris Ivens," *Studies in Documentary Film* 3, no. 1 (2009): 61–68.

35. Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan, *Le 17e parallèle: La guerre du peuple* (Paris: Argos, 1968).

36. In Loridan's words, the film was an attempt to capture "people's true lived experience" (*le vécu veritable des gens*). See Serge Daney, Thérèse Giraud, and Serge Le Péron, "Entretien avec Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan," *Cahiers du Cinéma* 266/267 (May 1976): 6–22; esp. 7.

37. The voices of the villagers are sometimes clearly individualized and sometimes presented as a kind of chorus; the latter is the case near the beginning of the

film, when the filmmakers have edited together fragments of various individual stories of flight from the south to the north over the 17th parallel. One of the most striking testimonies comes toward the end of the film from a gun-toting nine-year-old boy who declares that he is afraid of tigers but not Americans!

38. The *Cahiers du Cinéma* interview cited above gives a good sense of how Ivens and Loridan worked and portrays a fairly equitable collaboration.

39. See Loridan's comments on the relatively recent invention of the Coutant camera and the Nagra recorder in Daney, Giraud, and Le Péron, "Entretien avec Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan," 14. Note that Rouch and Morin's film and Ivens and Loridan's film also shared the same producer: Argos Films.

40. Sergent, "Chinese Dream," 63. My implicit argument here is that the multidirectional links between *Chronicle of a Summer* and *The Seventeenth Parallel* are not primarily a matter of content (the histories at stake are, in fact, radically different from each other), but rather of genre (testimony, direct cinema), rhetoric ("never forget!"), and material form (technology and cinematic technique).

41. The sounds of bombing and jets are not only used synchronously and it is not always possible to tell whether the sound is synchronous with the image—certainly, much editing has taken place. While the synchronous sound is powerful in evoking Vihn Linh as a place, the nonsynchronous use of the same sounds becomes a leitmotif that structures the film as a whole. Indeed, nonsynchronous sounds of bombs and planes accompany the title sequence, a series of still battle shots that form the backdrop for the credits.

42. Marceline Loridan and Joris Ivens, *17e parallèle: La guerre du people (deux mois sous la terre)* (Paris: Les éditeurs Français Réunis, 1968), 51.

43. Ibid., 54. My translation.

44. Ibid. This scene is not included in the film, although there is much footage of the underground schools, and children play a significant role (including giving testimony). The recordings Loridan describes in this scene are, however, similar to ones found in the final cut.

45. See for instance Ivens's comments in his preface to the book version of *17e Parallèle* (9). The filmmakers have also sometimes made contestable decisions about what footage to include—including scenes of corpses and of the capture and humiliation of an American soldier.

46. Steven Erlanger, "Jewish Deportee on Persecution, Past and Present," *New York Times,* January 2, 2016; http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/02/books/a-french-deportee-life-at-auschwitz-and-history-repeating.html.

47. See also Pierre Haski, "Marceline Loridan a filmé la Chine de Mao: 'Je fus dupée par mon époque,'" *Rue89*, June 15, 2014; http://rue89.nouvelobs.com/2014/06/15/marceline-loridan-a-filme-chine-mao-jai-ete-dupee-epoque-252686.

48. Loridan-Ivens, "Wind of Tides," 5.

49. See also Loridan-Ivens's remarks about the eternal nature of anti-Semitism on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, in Pierre Haski, "Auschwitz 70 ans après: donner tort à Marceline Loridan," *Rue89*, January 27, 2015; http://rue89.nouvelobs.com/2015/01/27/auschwitz-70-ans-apres-donner-tort-a-marceline-loridan-257335.

50. Another obvious example of Holocaust internationalism is the non-Jewish Auschwitz survivor Charlotte Delbo, who linked her experiences nonreductively to events in Algeria, Greece, and Argentina, and also condemned Soviet terror. On Delbo, see Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory,* chap. 7.

51. For the importance of 1968 and, in particular, the Vietnam War in the globalization of Holocaust memory, see also Berthold Molden, "Vietnam, the New Left and the Holocaust: How the Cold War Changed Discourse on Genocide," in *Memory in a Global Age,* ed. Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 79–96.

52. See Cathy Caruth, "Trauma and Experience: Introduction," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory,* ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 10.

53. Marceline Loridan-Ivens, *Ma vie balagan,* written in collaboration with Elisabeth D. Inandiak (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2008), 173. My translation. The fact that the memoir has been written in collaboration with a professional writer (and friend of Loridan-Ivens) only confirms the importance of forms of mediation in the production of testimony—one of the central arguments of this chapter.

54. Ibid. The suitcase as *lieu de mémoire* is, of course, not limited to Loridan-Ivens. Such suitcases play a significant role in Holocaust commemoration. They are, for instance, displayed at various camps and museums and used in pedagogical projects such as *What We Carry,* which combines videotaped survivor testimony and the presentation of authentic artifacts carried in suitcases. See the project website; www.whatwecarry.org. Another innovative deployment of the suitcase as a figure of multidirectional memory can be found in Turkish writer Menekşe Toprak's short story "Velizdeki Mektup" (The Letter in the Suitcase), which recounts the "inheritance" of Germany's National Socialist history by a Turkish-German immigrant girl. See Menekşe Toprak, *Velizdeki Mektup* (Istanbul: YKY, 2007). The story has been translated into German by Koray Yılmaz-Günay, as "Der Brief im Koffer," *Freitext* 19 (2012). Yasemin Yildiz and I discuss this story in our coauthored book project in progress, "Citizens of Memory: Migrant Archives of Holocaust Remembrance."

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. See Hervé Hamon and Patrick Rotman, *Les Porteurs de valises: La résistance française à la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1979).

58. Sergent's comments can be found in Dauman, *Un été.*

19. Fiction and Solicitude

This chapter was written first as a response to a paper by Samuel Gerson entitled "'Mourning and Melancholia' after the Holocaust: A Psychoanalytic Kaddish for Jean Amery, Paul Celan, and Primo Levi," presented at the San Francisco Center for Psychoanalysis in January 2012.

1. Saul Friedländer, *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

2. Hayden White, "Figural Realism in Witness Literature," *Parallax* 10, no. 1 (2004): 113–124. For a related essay that covers some of this same ground, see my "Primo Levi for the Present," in *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zionism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 181–204.

3. See Ulrich Baer, *Remnants of Song: Trauma and the Experience of Modernity in Charles Baudelaire and Paul Celan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

4. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

5. Shoshana Felman, *The Juridical Unconscious* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

6. Carole Angier, *The Double Bind: Primo Levi, a Biography* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2002); Ian Thomson, *Primo Levi, A Life* (New York: Picador, 2004).

7. Primo Levi, "Rappoport's Testament" in *Moments of Reprieve,* trans. Ruth Feldman (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 1–2.

8. Hayden White, "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth," in Friedländer, *Probing the Limits of Representation,* 37–53.

9. Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved,* trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Random House, 1989), 78. Further citations are documented parenthetically in the text.

10. See Sigmund Freud, "Criminality from a Sense of Guilt," *Collected Papers* (London: Hogarth, 1953), 4:341–344.

11. This is doubtless related to Hayden White's claim that the middle voice has a privileged position in Holocaust historiography.

12. Charlotte Delbo, *Auschwitz and After,* trans. Rosette Lamonte (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), xiii. Further citations are documented parenthetically in the text.

20. Catastrophes

1. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 3, 9.

2. Ibid., 3. A crucial contribution to the debate on the exceptionality of the Shoah is Alan Rosenbaum, *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide,* 3rd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009).

3. Jacques Derrida, "Autoimmunity: Real and Symbolic Suicides: A Dialogue with Jacques Derrida," in Giovanna Borradori, *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida,* trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 92.

4. Adopted from Derrida, "Autoimmunity," 88.

5. See Richard G. Hovannisian, introduction to *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide,* ed. R. Hovannisian (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 21; and Roger W. Smith, Eric Markusen, and Robert J. Lifton, "Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide," ibid., 271ff. The