EVZ

FOUNDATION
REMEMBRANCE
RESPONSIBILITY
FUTURE

PRESERVING SURVIVORS' MEMORIES

Digital Testimony Collections about Nazi Persecution: History, Education and Media

edited by Nicolas Apostolopoulos | Michele Barricelli | Gertrud Koch

PRESERVING SURVIVORS' MEMORIES

Digital Testimony Collections about Nazi Persecution: History, Education and Media

edited by Nicolas Apostolopoulos | Michele Barricelli | Gertrud Koch
on behalf of Stiftung „Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft" (EVZ)

Due to the generation shift, the central challenge has become to preserve the memories of the survivors of National Socialist persecution and to anchor these within 21st century cultural memory. In this transition phase, which includes rapid technical developments within information and communications technology, high expectations are being made of the collections of survivors' audio and video interviews. This publication reflects the interdisciplinary debates currently taking place on the various digital techniques of preserving eyewitness interviews. The focus is how the changes in media technology are affecting the various fields of work, which include storage/archiving, education as well as the reception of the interviews.

eVZ FOUNDATION
REMEMBRANCE
RESPONSIBILITY
FUTURE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

OPENING REMARKS

The preamble to the Law on the Creation of a Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future" in the year 2000 states, among other things, that the German Bundestag intends to "keep alive the memory of the injustice inflicted on the victims [of National Socialism] for coming generations as well". In its first years, the Foundation fulfilled this commitment primarily by supporting personal encounters between victims of National Socialism and young people. At the same time, it was clear that it would soon no longer be possible to pass on remembrances in this way. Following the example set by others (for instance the Fortunoff Video Archive launched in 1979, the interviews initiated by Steven Spielberg with almost 52,000 survivors in the 1990s, and the diverse activities of Yad Vashem), the Foundation set up an international project in which former slave and forced laborers were asked about their life histories. Between 2005 and 2007, almost 600 interviews were carried out in 26 countries. In cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin, these interviews were later comprehensively prepared in the digital archive "Forced Labor 1939–45" (http://www.zwangsarbeit-archiv.de) and made available to the public for research, training, as well as education and media purposes. With particular focus on the history of forced labor under National Socialism, the Foundation thus played an active part in international efforts to document the memories of the survivors.

During this process of coming to terms with the past, the Foundation's intention is not to brush over the crimes and the systemic relationships in favor of promoting undue identification with the testimonies of former victims of National Socialism. Rather, the aim is to open up an additional perspective that is essential to understanding the history of National Socialism, a perspective which for various reasons and for many decades has played only a subordinate role in research and the culture of remembrance (and not only in Germany). One particular academic and educational challenge we therefore face today is to uncover the wealth of documented victim perspectives while

at the same time avoiding the exaggerated elevation of the testimonies. The reports of the survivors are not the final truths. Their subjective authenticity does however open the door to questions about the contexts and alternative thematic approaches: about perpetrators and structures, about the scope for independent action, and about the possibility of resistance and individual responsibility. In this respect, the perspective of the victims is indispensable. The Foundation is therefore working to anchor this permanently in the "cultural" memory in Germany and in Europe.

With this in mind, the bodies of the Foundation decided at an early stage to make young people aware of this rich collection of biographical interviews, which were initially accessible only in digital archives, through various educational formats. As time goes on, young people will have less and less direct contact – or no contact at all – with this history through family members, and their lives today are fundamentally different from those in the first half of the 20th century. Together with its partners, the Foundation has been developing online education materials, taking selected interviews from the digital archive "Forced Labor 1939–45", putting them into context and preparing them for educational use. These kinds of educational materials are already available for Germany and the Czech Republic in 2016, and they are currently being prepared for use in Russia and Poland. The materials differ from country to country, as they have to be adapted to the different conditions and contexts – cultures of remembrance, national debates and education systems. In recent years, the Foundation has also encouraged academics to undertake research into the various and demanding aspects of integrating self-testimonies of survivors into education work in accordance with sound pedagogical principles. With the insights gained from the challenges that were involved, we were motivated to compile a selection of texts from various Foundation events and to publish these in the Education with Testimonies series. Following volumes 1 and 2, I am delighted to announce that volume 3 is now available. It is based on an international conference entitled Preserving Survivors Memories, which was held in Berlin in 2012. The conference was organized in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin and USC Shoah Foundation.

In the context of remembrance of the history of National Socialism, we are still at an important turning point – the transition from "communicative" to "cultural" memory. The latter can no longer draw on exchanges with living eyewitnesses. The simple act of documenting as many life histories as possible was in itself an important step in this transition. But it would be naive to believe that by making testimonies available for future generations the job is finished. The crucial point is that careful storage in archives is no guarantee that things will not be forgotten in the culture of remembrance. As in communicative memory, remembrance strategies, historical interpretations and "forgetting" are interactive elements within cultural memory. As the cultural memory will be a "digital memory" in many important respects in future, these strategies will always be linked to digital selection and evaluation techniques, and this in turn will have a growing impact on research and consequently on our approach to remembrance. The contributions in section 1 of the combined edition presented here focus on this aspect in particular. In section 2, the contributions address the challenges that arise when video interviews are embedded in different educational formats and environments, for example at memorial sites, museums or in the classroom. One fundamental question here is how target groups living many decades hence can be brought into contact and work with testimonies in the different educational settings. Section 3 examines the performative power of those media on which the cultural memory relies. This power is not only revealed in the analysis of technical media, whether this be film, video or an iPad display, but also in the analysis of formal aspects such as the camera perspective or image details from eyewitness interviews. As the media of cultural memory also exert their performative power in other contexts, the above-mentioned conference did not focus solely on the testimonies of survivors of National Socialism, but also reflected on the experience of other mass injustices, such as in Rwanda. Although most of the texts in this volume date from 2012, they deal with fundamental questions regarding the media treatment of eyewitness testimonies. I would like to thank all of the authors, especially the editors Gertrud Koch, Michele Barricelli and Nicholas Apostolopoulos, for their excellent work and

support. They were commissioned by the Foundation to take on this task. At the Foundation, Ralf Possekel assisted in developing the concept and provided support during the start-up phase. My thanks also go to Freya Kettner, who came in at short notice and made sure the volume was completed. I hope all readers find the texts informative and a source of inspiration for their work.

Günter Saathoff
Co-Director of the Foundation EVZ

Geoffrey Hartman

FUTURE MEMORY: REFLECTIONS ON HOLOCAUST TESTIMONY AND YALE'S FORTUNOFF VIDEO ARCHIVE

I wish to discuss crucial issues confronting those living in the present as well as at present, those who do not evade the past yet seek to sustain the energizing hope that is their very birthright. The passing of the eyewitnesses to the Holocaust, the eruption of new genocides, and the role of technology – in particular its contribution to audiovisual witnessing – are the background to what I will have to say.

Because of its scale – political, psychological, territorial – the immense genocidal ambition of the Shoah needed a long time to expose fully. It will take even longer for its implications to be fully absorbed. As more recent attempts at genocide accumulate, and extermination is used openly as a political threat, horrors of the present compete with horrors of the past. There is progress in the juridical realm of human rights, but each such success is like the beam of a flashlight in an ever-encroaching darkness. "The darkness", Paul Celan wrote in "Backlight" (Gegenlicht), "has gone into and deepened itself." [1]

Witnessing: Concept and Development

As a mode of witnessing, testimony differs from reportage. The reporter, today, can come very close to on-the-spot, real time delivery of information. In the testimony interview, however, memory enters affected by a sensitive temporal component. What is recalled may be psychologically distanced as well as chronologically distant.

For most survivors of the Shoah there was a significant hiatus, sometimes of several decades, between their experience and its delayed testimonial recall; and the after-effects of the genocide during this interval become an integral

part of their testimony. Traumatizing memories will have caused some of the delay. But there were also difficult social factors involving the survivors' reception or "écoute," and the rebuilding of lives in their homeland or foreign country of resettlement. [2]

In 1981 Yale University agreed to care for and develop a local New Haven video testimony project launched two years before. Using an open, less restrictive interviewing protocol instead of a set questionnaire, this effort soon expanded. Yale established affiliates throughout the United States, and in South America, Canada, Europe and Israel. By affirming the expressive dimension of video, and training interviewers to leave the initiative and flow of speech as much as possible to the witness, the project strengthened the "testimonial alliance" of survivor and interviewer in order to release repressed memories and obtain a fuller picture of daily life and death in the camps, ghettos, and hiding places.

The motivation for Yale's delayed project included a mounting anxiety. Was there a future for Holocaust memory? What would happen after the passing of the eyewitnesses? Could their experiences be conveyed to the public at large without the simplifications of network television's 1978 miniseries "Holocaust?" Holocaust denial too was causing serious concern.

Today, more than thirty years after the opening of the Yale Video Archive, we see that the question of who would preserve the memory of the Holocaust is being answered. Not only do we find an ever greater sense of that obligation among the children, and now the grandchildren, of the survivors; we find it also among witnesses by adoption, men and women of conscience without any direct – ethnic, religious, family – links to the victims.

Moreover, as the testimonies increasingly stand in for the survivors, and post-Shoah genocides reveal a danger that has not ended, a new type of witness appears, a secondary witness, as it were, dedicated to studying the era's genocidal outbreaks and the pursuit of remedies through a continuation of testimony projects, the archiving and safeguarding of documents from Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, and a continued striving for the universal propagation of human rights.

The result is that the memory of the Holocaust has retained an unexpected focalizing power. The enormity of the fact sinks in that, after initial, limited phases, and often not deterred even by the labor needs of the Nazi war effort, the persecution of the Jews turned into a planned total extermination. Had Hitler's war succeeded, what could have stopped him postwar from targeting Jews wherever they lived, or singling out any other community for extermination or slavery? [3] The testimonies support an admonitory consciousness necessary for the very survival of humanity as a humane species.

The Survivor as Witness With some exceptions, such as David Pablo Boder's audio-recordings in the displaced persons camps shortly after the war, most Holocaust research centered at first on the perpetrators, in order to identify and prosecute them. The survivors and other eyewitnesses were chiefly debriefed to that end. Gradually, though, by the very force of the personal testimony offered, in the Eichmann trial, the Fortunoff Archive's video testimonies, and Claude Lanzmann's "Shoah," the survivors' voices and bearing, as well as words broke through. They became individuals again, rescued, as Haim Gouri remarked when reporting on their testimonies at the Eichmann trial, rescued "from the danger of...being perceived as all alike, all shrouded in the same immense anonymity." [4]

Although the testimonies as victim stories are similar, and what Jewish prisoners, in particular, could observe was severely restricted by their abject status in the camp hierarchy and all-absorbing struggle against death, the survivors convey, through oral interview and story-telling impulse, the humanity and individuality denied them during their many years of persecution. Oral testimony, moreover, showing the populist strength of an emerging communicative genre, proved to be an alternative medium for many who might never have testified except in this impromptu way.

The Testimonial Challenge However important court-solicited testimonies have been, a new genre of extra-juridical acts of witnessing has come into being. It is this freely communicated genre I wish to emphasize. For some time now, every other kind of memoir has moved to the center of attention. A distinctive testimonial literature, preserved and shared in the form of oral his-

tory, should not get lost amid this mass eruption of memoirs in our culture. One result, moreover, of today's "memory boom" is that questions arise about the genre. There always has been some wariness, of course: many years ago one scholar called biography, and by implication autobiography, fiction under the condition of remaining true to fact. Yet survivor testimonies in the bad news era we have entered (if we ever left it) create a special case and challenge.

It is a challenge, for both witness and receiver. Given the content of the testimonies, our willingness to listen is, first of all, a moral engagement. Little in the testimonies is comforting; mainly, the courage of the victims in telling, and so to an extent reliving their story. Arthur Frank, author of *The Wounded Storyteller*, writes: "One of our most difficult duties as human beings is to listen to the voices of those that suffer." [5] That suffering persists, since terrifying memories never entirely subside.

Moreover, if "to listen to the witness is to become a witness," [6] the empathic powers of those who were not there come under pressure. We feel our inadequacy. "It is not ours, this death, to take into our bones," the poet May Sarton writes. In the omnipresence of trauma stories, though not everything is dark, but interspersed with episodes of resistance, extraordinary bravery, organizational cunning, even resilient humor, where do we invest limited resources of compassion?

This leads to a central aspect of the testimonial challenge. Those who try to learn from what others have endured must trust the authenticity of such narratives. Authenticity in this context implies more than an absence of fakery, or self-deception of the Binjamin Wilkomirski kind. The worry about who could talk for the witnesses resolved when they began to talk for themselves, to go beyond proxy representation and convey their own stories – that worry shades into a more troubling concern. For, given the extremity of genocidal suffering, can the survivor witnesses speak for themselves, let alone for companions who did not survive?

Interviewing the Dead

Primo Levi's sad conclusion, in *The Drowned and the Saved*, that none but the dead could be the authentic or (his word) "integral" witnesses, renews a concern we are obliged to acknowledge. *I Did Not Interview the Dead* was David Pablo Boder's title for his book containing a sample of the oral histories he gathered in the displaced persons camps. [7]

Survivor testimony, however direct and affecting, is not immune to questions, whether of a malicious kind, those of Holocaust deniers, or deeply honest, that of Primo Levi, who understood the psychological aftermath of extreme suffering. In such testimony not truth alone is at stake, but also justification. I have in mind the working through of a special type of self-doubt afflicting concentration camp prisoners, and others forced to exist in "the grey zone," as defined by Levi. The camps were a constricted world of "choiceless choice," (Lawrence L. Langer) and this can haunt survivors who feel in need of being justified – to themselves, as well as in the eyes of those who think, naively, such words as "hunger," "cold," "thirst," etc. denoted the same thing in the camps as at home.

Factual or historical accuracy is rarely the heart of the matter when the issue of trusting a testimony arises. Most errors or distortions are corrected easily enough by historians with access to a deluge of documents. At the heart of the matter is our quality as listeners, the patience and stamina of listening to unbelievable atrocities, of summoning a necessary suspension of disbelief; and this can come about only if we are not distracted by insignificant and correctable mistakes.

The small number of fake accounts, like that of Wilkomirski, are probably motivated by a peculiar memory-envy, by a wish to share vicariously major events – a wish indulged more commonly and innocently through literary fictions. The very increase, however, of Holocaust narratives, and their dissemination by the media, may encourage memory thieves. Sigrid Weigel has aptly characterized deceptive psychogenic memories: they provide, she says "a free pass [*Entréebillet*] by means of which everyone irrespective of their particular position in history can become part of a historical drama."

Even more sad and crucial is that, despite the mostly successful postwar recovery and resocialization of the survivors, trauma keeps taking its toll. The passage of time cannot quite extinguish a feeling that the death camp is still in them, or they in the death camp. While rituals of mourning and commemoration are how we normally delimit staying in contact with the dead, the survivors' situations, especially vis-à-vis murdered family, friends, and companions, remain psychologically hazardous. "And so they are ever returning to us, the dead," Sebald writes in his first novel.

A deeper analysis of what it means to live with the dead, if only in imagination, could develop this theme of Holocaust trauma. Primo Levi's poem "Survivor" tells of being haunted by his dead companions: "Stand back, leave me alone, submerged people." When Charlotte Delbo has one of her narrators say, "I died in Auschwitz and no one notices it," she refers to a permanent paradox that besets Holocaust memory. The survivor person harbors a dead person as well as a radically changed one: she is two, one who remains "over there," trapped in the eternal misery of the camp, and one who has separated from the living dead and shed – is still shedding, even in the act of writing and remembering – her death-camp skin.

Toward an Authentic Reception of the Testimonies

As secondary witnesses, we struggle to gain an authenticity of our own. Can we come close enough to extremity to take in what the witnesses are saying? Lawrence L. Langer, the first to study the Yale testimonies in depth, resists the need to find meaning of the uplifting kind in grim and comfortless stories. He doubts that words, other than the victims' own, can be found, given their "death immersion." "The innocent language of Eden," Langer writes, "survived the expulsion, and must now die another death."

Reception, of course, has meaning in itself. It honors the testimonial act, and the singularity of each act of this kind. Radically speaking, every testimony says "I was there" and negates the obscene Nazi jargon that reduced prisoners to a number, a disposable "Stück Jude." While the historical information in many witness accounts is certainly not negligible, and often supplements other sources, there is a necessity for acknowledging this "I was there" as well as satisfying the quest for definitive information, or aiming to make the genocide intelligible – not fatally damaging, that is, to our species image, our concept of the human.

(1) Media Witnessing: Trauma

The change from audio to video in order to record the witnesses might seem like a minor adjustment in sync with the trend from radio to TV and internet as our main sources of information. Yet surely it is the act of witnessing that matters, rather than the medium. The change to video consolidates three interdependent elements of Holocaust witnessing. First, it is part of a distinctive move by the survivors into the public consciousness. At the same time, we become more aware of the role of the interviewers, whose main function is no longer a standard debriefing, as was the norm via questionnaire in the immediate postwar years, but who now assist witnesses in the release of both ordinary and traumatic memories. This in turn creates an intensified relation between witness and interviewer, often described as a "testimonial alliance," with the interviewer becoming more of a partner. Finally, in an essay collection, *Media Witnessing: Testimony in the Age of Mass Communication*, the editors, Paul Frosh and Amit Pinchevski, formulate a third essential element that they call "audiencing." They suggest that "the function of media technology in [Fortunoff's] project was more than the establishment of an audiovisual archive: video cameras effectively constituted a technological surrogate for an audience of the witnessing process …". This "audiencing" as they call it, adds a third important element: "bearing witness" as a hopeful community-building or rebuilding process.

Much depends on "building a discourse with an interlocutor." For while in ordinary media interviews the failure to engage does not always matter, in testimonies, the interviewers' role is not ancillary, but fundamental. The interviewers come before the witness as more than a questioner: he or she are, at the same time, supportive addressees. Dori Laub develops the thought concisely: "It is only through the testimonial process in the company of an

intimate, total listener that the lost internal "Thou" can begin to be reestablished, and the process of internal dialog, symbolization, and narrative formation can resume. |8

Much depends, then, on "building a discourse with an interlocutor." This seems to contradict Yale's principle not to take the initiative from the survivor. Actually it strengthens both parties. For in ordinary interviews, when the stakes are not particularly high, it does not much matter what is resolved. But in testimonies that seek to emerge beyond trauma, the interviewer's role, as Pinchevski notes, is "not merely ancillary but…fundamental to the process, serving an interpellative function …" |9.

This is a crucial insight, and valid for other instances of genocidal trauma. For Laub traces the dyadic structure of the interview back to the parent-child relationship and its protected "holding space." |10 Replicating a mature version of that space, the ideal interview enables (if anything can) the recovery of a "Thou". Laub designates by means of this personal pronoun a trusted respondent who tolerated the infant's stress and distress during its original struggle for an articulate communication and a distinctive sense of self. It follows that bearing witness in a situation marked by massive trauma involves bearing up the witness by turning the interviewer into something of a medium – one who recalls from the unconscious of the survivor a sense of the unlimited intimacy and trust Holocaust trauma had disabled. The interviewer becomes for the witness the surrogate for an audience ready after several decades to be fully informed. The interviewer, as part of the scene in which the interview takes place, blends functionally with the internal figure or imago that originally, though not even then without pain or struggle, guaranteed the infant what might be called, ironically, its "living space" (*Lebensraum*). The survivors who go on this intra-subjective, not only inter-subjective journey, will be able to restore to memory incidents that deterred their will to communicate.

(2) Media Witnessing: Re-embodiment

Video technology, moreover, allows us to penetrate, as if physically present, the testimonial scene itself. We observe not only how a repressed memory sometimes surprises the witness, but also how, in general, the testimonies make us more aware – even than audiotape – of silences, pauses, and other non-narrative aspects. That kind of attention can also focus on the idiosyncratic yet often lively texture of the displaced person's way of speaking in a newly adopted language. The confluence of all these traits in what may be named the videotext can then be elucidated by the literary-critical mode scholars call "close reading." |11

Consider this re-embodiment also from the perspective of the victims. In captivity they were not allowed to face their oppressors. There was never the possibility of a face to face. They could not even raise their eyes to them. The systematic attempt to shame them was heightened by the guards' domineering stance, which intended to implant a feeling in the prisoners of absolute nothingness. Compared to the guards, "I was a shade," Dan Pagis writes in his near-Manichean poem "Testimony." "A different creator made me."

The Nazi pseudo-Science of Race ("*Rasse Wissenschaft*") contributed to this dehumanization; a vicious ideology that denied Jews the very ability to feel shame. It claimed that however assimilated they seemed to be, they remained, by blood, "treacherous Asiatics," non-Aryans without a true identity, who tried to look like true Germans, and had to be unmasked. This unmasking was crudely reinforced by a widely disseminated caricaturing of "the Jew": in books for children, in newspapers, and on posters of the notorious *Der Stürmer* that (dis)graced many street corners with an advertising pillar.

But now, via their testimonies, the survivors are seen and listened to, all the more human for having the courage to recall their former abjection. Video testimony gives them their face back.

If video testimony focuses, moreover, on the individual in the act of remembering, there is an effect of real and restored presence. I have mentioned that during the interview we sometimes glimpse the actual emergence of a lost memory. Should the traumatic moment, as trauma theory claims, embed itself like a flash, becoming an *instantané* without adequate temporal and reflective extension (because too terrible, too threatening), that moment, in

the interview's safe atmosphere, has a chance not only of emerging but of taking hold – that is, allowing the survivor to survive it, to accept the reality of having had such an experience and come out human, alive. Trauma at that point becomes productive; and we too, alerted by great writers like Levi, Semprun, Antelme, Améry, Wiesel, Blanchot, are made aware of a rebirth to life out of the "death life" (Langer) experience of the witness. In contrast, movies that try to recreate the camps and killing places, and turn the past into a specious present, often remain strangely unreal despite realistic shock effects.

(3) Media Witnessing: Derealizing Tendencies

This brings up an issue not sufficiently examined: the *derealization* effect of modern media. While improved technologies of emission and reception guarantee an audience, they cannot guarantee an increase in the audience's receptiveness.

Tragically, moreover, the only advantage of the speed with which news is disseminated, is that we now learn of genocides as they are happening, |12 so that the immediacies of television reportage make everyone into an involuntary bystander. None of us can plead: "I did not know." Christiane Amanpour has called the role of Serbia in the systematic killing and inhumane imprisonment of the Muslim population during the Bosnian conflict between 1992 and 1995 a genocidal atrocity committed in prime time. Our talk is about action, but the reality remains the pain of passivity, of an intervention that has always arrived too late.

Video and film, therefore, even as they reach out to an extended public, heighten at the same time an anxiety which is the by-product of *our cancerously enlarged ability to create semblances of the real*. "To space conspiracy theorists," I read in the *New York Times* (January 11, 2004), after photos from Mars were relayed back to earth, "there was no moon landing and there is no mission to Mars, just a lot of special effects." The ability to produce simulacra, called up repeatedly, instills a certain caution, however urgent the matter demanding action.

(4) Media Witnessing: Grief and Globalization

Transmitting images of human suffering and victimization occurring anywhere on the globe has brought about an era of what Luc Boltanski names "*souffrance à distance*" (exposure to the suffering, however far away, of others). Such global extension also involves the world of scholarship. The field of Holocaust and Genocide Studies is established to encompass numerous deadly episodes and severe violations of human rights since the Holocaust. Each collective ordeal, of course, retains its own specific character. Its entire historical and memory-milieu can differ. It is important, however, to note the leveling or universalizing impact of information technology. We have not examined carefully enough a fall-out from the electronic media's ability instantly to record and disseminate.

Today the flood of information relayed from anywhere is so great that TV and internet images can become *electric phantoms* derealizing the real. When that happens, telecommunications disturb the work of mourning. Confronted constantly by so much death and trauma, is there still a way to grieve close to the actual grave or designated memorial place – without a universalizing shadow on consciousness?

One reaction is to dig in all the more, to insist on the uniqueness of each loss, to mark and consecrate the site and date of the traumatic event. It may also have influenced the disjunctive, elliptical phrasing of Celan's later poetic style that seems to aspire to the inscriptive conciseness of dates, as if the poet wanted all his words to have an epitaphic resonance and consolidate around a missing "Thou." Lyric fluency gives way to a cursive hammering beat.

Testimony and Subjectivity

Testimony's informative aspect cannot be dissociated from the individuating performance. It is precisely during acts of witnessing, in the unpressured, extra-juridical context of the testimony interview, that subjectivity comes forth in a more significant manner than quirks, memory lapses, and other idiosyncrasies that often characterize personal behavior. Jean Améry says simply that the act of remembering is what keeps memory alive; and he asks that

his autobiographic *Unmeisterliche Lehrjahre* – with a title that points to the perversion in Nazi Germany of Goethe's ideal of "Bildung" – should be understood as a work of "*unverschleierte Subjektivität*" (a subjectivity without veils). Others, like Robert Antelme, a prisoner in Buchenwald and Dachau and author of *L'Espèce humaine*, hope that a new post-war ideal of both formal and informal discourse will emerge, a "parole désarmée," words born of a "sovereign weakness."|13 Without giving up a vision of human fraternity, courageous affirmations like these are unafraid of the subjectivity intrinsic to witnessing, and rethink language and literature after the enormous man-made suffering characterizing the period from 1914 to the present.

Conclusion

Thousands of edited and unedited video testimonies are now available to schools and museums. Encouraging their study is the immediate practical task we face. The Shoah Foundation has digitized all its interviews, and the Fortunoff Video Archive has completed the digital migration and development of a remote access system. There is no reason why the testimonies could not enter curricula dealing with Modern European History, Political Science, Trauma Studies, Memory Studies, Media Studies, Ethics, Oral History. Eventually their classroom and museum presence should create the climate needed in order to achieve a more effective pursuit of human rights.

While this pursuit, no doubt, requires a long-term inter-generational commitment, and our present capacity to invoke legal remedies is limited, we already have the means to foster a more comprehensive *cultural* memory in order to counteract racial and nationalistic prejudice.|14 Oral histories of the Holocaust are not a closed canon. Nor do they seek to provoke a competition among those who suffered from the Nazis. But in addition to describing the time of persecution, they yield glimpses of the new life animating a defamed, desecrated, and victimized people whose peaceful institutions and learning centers amounted, without exaggeration, to a pillar supporting Europe's culture, as important as the Classics or Christianity.

The testimonies expect the survivors to engage with an interlocutor, to reach deep into the past, but also to share memories of life after repatriation or resettlement. They contribute to the depiction not only of a macro-historical event but also of states of mind ranging from severe to lesser forms of post-traumatic stress. It is important to understand that by taking a narrative form, and avoiding atrocity photos or similar footage, the testimonies do not re-traumatize but grip rather than freeze the emotions, and may have the strength to convey into the future what we can bear to remember. Their educative and humanizing value includes allowing the witnesses their image, their voice, their emotions.

Walter Benjamin, in his last thoughts on "The Concept of History," regrets how often historians have failed to stay with affective and disturbing memories. Too often, he charged, they transmit a false sense of closure or progress; and, turning away from defeated but still accessible energies, purge lament from history.|15

Let *us*, however, respect the voice of lament. What we grieve for is never the dead alone, but their unconsummated life: the ghost of so many vital communities, and a lost wisdom that might have strengthened rather than undermined our species image. Let us continue to build an audience for those who have had the courage to testify and who must represent the many who did not survive.

1   Celan, P. (1983). Gesammelte Werke 3. Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp 1983, p. 163. Author's translation.

2   In genocidal episodes after the Holocaust, another delaying factor may enter: residual political constraints (such as victim and perpetrator continuing to live in proximity) could make it hard to secure a mental and physical place safe enough to allow either public or privately offered testimony.

3   A recent book by Lang, B. (2009). Philosophical Witnessing: The Holocaust as Presence. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press is an intricate, important examination of what seems to be lacking (and an attempt to fill that lack): the consideration of the Holocaust by most major contemporary philosophers.

4   See Gouri, H. (2004). Facing the Glass Booth: The Jerusalem Trial of Adolf Eichmann. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

5   Frank, A. W. (1995). The Wounded Storyteller: Body, Illness, and Ethics. Chicago: Chicago University Press, p. 25.

6   Fine, E. S. (1982). Legacy of Night: The Literary Universe of Elie Wiesel. Albany: State University of New York Press.

7   Boder, D. P. (1949). I Did Not Interview the Dead. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

8   See e.g. Laub, D. (2012). Testimony as Life Experience and Legacy. In Goodman, N.R., Meyers, M. B. (Eds.). The Power of Witnessing: Reflections, Reverberations, and Traces of the Holocaust. New York: Routledge, pp. 59–79 and "Reestablishing the internal "Thou" in Testimony of Trauma …" The concept of such a space was originally developed by Donald Winnicott as a special, and especially important case of Object Relations theory; it posits that the child is allowed to, as it were, "destroy" or "annihilate" what stands against its ego, an action the caretaker must suffer, so that the child, consoled by an intimation of the love object's indestructibility/immortality, can build up a "first ego organization." See Winnicott, D. W, (1965) The Maturational Process and the Faciliating Envronment. Studies in the Theory of Emotional Development. New York: International Universities Press.

9   Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 The strongest interviews can also become a mode of bonding beyond the testimonial alliance by expanding what Maurice Halbwachs described as an "affective community" necessary for the reception, development, and maintenance of a collective memory (though not necessarily a traumatic one). This further, larger-scale bonding arose, in the Yale project, from the necessity of organizing groups in each country to make the tapings possible through fund-raising, information-gathering about the presence of survivors and witnesses, and interview training sessions. All this led beyond the dyad and introduced a third dimension, communitarian and intergenerational. "[T]he apparatus of the archive doubles as the enabling context for the construction of a remembering community. It doesn't take just two to bear witness, but the promise of a whole congregation." See Pinchevski, citing Hartman.

12 Dramatic instances of this are provided by journalists like Samantha Power. See Power, S. (2002). "A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide. New York: Basic Books, especially the "Preface." She details forcefully the problematic of reception on the part of news editors and state agencies. Consider also the chilling title of the Philip Gourevitch book: Gourevitch, P. (1998). We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with our Families: Stories from Rwanda. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. The radio in Rwanda was used by the perpetrators to disseminate orders and inflammatory messages.

13 Antelme, R. (1996). Textes inédits /Sur L'espèce humaine /Essais et témoignages. Paris: Gallimard, p. 68. He is thinking particularly of Maurice Blanchot's writings.

14 Here theory work becomes essential, especially that which defines the "cultural memory," given the deadly effect of Nazi ideology's Rasse Wissenschaft, its politicized biology and phylogenetic concept of racial speciation. See Assmann, J. (1988). Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität. In Assmann, J., Hölscher, T. (Eds.). Kultur und Gedächtnis. Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp, p. 9ff.

15 Benjamin, W. (2003). "On the Concept of History" and "Paralipomena ." In Eiland, H., Jennings, M. W. (Eds.). Selected Writings, Volume 4: 1938-1940, translated by E. Jephcott and others.Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 390, section 2, and p. 401.

Nicolas Apostolopoulos

AUDIO AND VIDEO INTERVIEWS AS A DIGITAL SOURCE FOR THE E-HUMANITIES
Section I – "Digital Changes"– Introduction

Digital technology has been used for many decades in order to serve natural science for the purpose of solving mathematical models and delivering results for a wide variety of engineering problems. With the development of linguistic methods, this technology has been used extensively in order to provide systems that can undertake text analyses and help scholars to use computers for their very own special needs.

In the last 15 years, digital technology has also reached the audio and video world. It can be observed that while those media formats were mostly analog in the 1990s, nowadays only very occasionally does one find audio and video equipment that is actually based on analog technology. Today, the digital representation of all types of media and the services that are on offer by the software industry as well as the dramatic fall of prices for computing power and storage capacity allow the integration of audio and video into the traditional digital world. This enables the creation and dissemination of so-called multimedia-based systems and solutions for the scientific community.

This integration of different media types, with the help of digital technology, offers new opportunities to researchers to consider interviews as a new source of data that can be processed, searched, analyzed, combined and displayed by computing machines and their human interfaces. Moreover, they can also be interconnected to traditional text documents and linked together by using the hyperlink concept of the Internet, thus enabling the user to operate in a completely digital world. This makes the work with multimedia material more attractive since it enables the scholar to create and work with

different types of digitized documents. In addition, it enables different views of the subject under investigation. This seems to be most attractive for research questions that deal with such types of objects like interviews as they consist of multimedia-based material.

From the point of view of the researcher, an interview is a source of information that consists of different types of material and may have different digital formats. It may be a written, an audio or even a video interview and may have additional items linked to it such as pictures that are presented during or after the interview, diagrams, maps etc. Simultaneously, there may also be more than one interviewee and more than one interviewer. They can also contain additional representations such as transcripts or scene analysis data, time codes etc. Depending on the internal digital representation of the interview and its components as well as the metadata associated with it, there are different types of methods that might be applicable, or not.

As researchers need to operate with such complex material, to search within it, to sort, to undertake statistical or semantic analysis etc. the question is not whether audio and video interviews are a valuable source for the digital world of the humanities (e-humanities). This is already accepted by the scientific community. What we really need to do is to investigate how we should create digital representations of the interview (that nowadays is already recorded in a digital format) and what kind of tools we should offer to the scholar in order to facilitate his work with this type of material. This is not a trivial question as, with the help of digital tools, we can decompose the original material into pieces that may be addressed separately by software tools and can also be composed together in order to "restore" the original view or create other views that we might need in order to carry out research.

In other words, researchers would like to have an "Interview Engine" that would help them to plan, carry out, store and access the interview in different ways in order for them to be able to undertake the research and deliver new results to the scientific community. Do we have such an "Interview Engine"? Unfortunately, no, not to the extent just postulated. This is because the technical problems that arise from the use of audio and video material as

well as the tools that are available for the handling of such material are not powerful enough or are extremely complicated in their use and cannot be offered to researchers of the humanities. Also, there is not a unified strategy of how to decompose the interview into "digital pieces" that are suitable for all kinds of research investigations and can offer different views of the material. Different representations will lead to additional requirements of storage capacity and processing power that is still not available today at reasonable prices. There is a need for keeping the costs of the interview processing low, as we do not possess the digital tools that will reduce labor costs with respect to different data representations of the interview itself.

In reality, there are many tasks that we would like the "Interview Engine" to do for us without or with only minimal intervention of the researcher. We need to have the original digital representation at our disposal. We need to have the oral and visual part separated, if we wish for this to be so. We do need a complete transcript of the video in text format with or without remarks about visual information that is contained therein (pause, movements, loudness, …). We like to extract information from those partial views of the original interview and to combine them with other interviews. Everybody would like to have such digital tools that work with different languages and are reliable with respect to the quality of the results. Again, it is known that we do not have such tools available today for the scientific community which can deliver almost error-free results. Therefore, some researchers are disappointed by the big promises of the computer scientists and, as they need to have valid data for their research, they apply for grants in order to replace the work that should be done by machines with (expensive) human labor. However, using this method we cannot offer digital interviews to a wide community of researchers within affordable financial budgets.

Do we have to resign then? Of course not. The very interesting contributions to this topic that are contained in this publication show a number of very valuable activities in the field of visual digital history. They all report about successful projects and the role of digitized testimonials in the field of oral and visual history as well as the significant contribution made by the digital tools

that have been developed and implemented. In addition, the limits and obstacles of the platforms and the algorithmic methods that are available today are also highlighted. Furthermore, the development of a global digital interview environment and its advancements so far are described and analyzed. This leads us to the basic question of what should be expected from an ideal "Interview Engine" in the near future. The fundamental question of the importance of (digital) testimonies to historical research will not be addressed here.

As already mentioned, there are some very challenging problems to solve if we want to create an environment that can play the role of the "Interview Engine". Automatic speech recognition and the successful translation of speech to text (with additional enhancements such as multilingual environments) are two of the most crucial tasks that need to be successfully implemented. Image processing and scene analysis is also needed if one does not operate within a standardized interview environment. To some extent pattern recognition is also helpful when interviews are searched and compared with other oral or visual objects. As those "big challenges" within information technology are important tools for digital interview analysis and research as well as for other fields of the digitization era, we can expect that many research labs are currently working on solutions to these problems. It is therefore necessary to have a flexible and extensible architecture as well as a framework of modules that can interact with each other when building the "Interview Engine". It needs to be able to deliver tools that can be combined in order to deliver specific solutions for different types of research questions that might arise or be requested by scholars.

I believe that this strategy will help to create a successful "Interview Engine" which has the best prospects for the current and future needs of the scientific community.

Sigal Arie-Erez and Judith Levin, Yael Gherman

SEIZING THE MIDDLE GROUND: THE NEW ROLE OF THE ARCHIVIST: A PERSPECTIVE FROM YAD VASHEM

In recent years, we have been investing a lot of time and effort looking for ways to make the documentation we hold at the Yad Vashem's archives available and accessible on the internet. This experience, of tackling numerous challenges and dilemmas—ethical, substantial and technical—has given us the opportunity to take a close look at the changing role of the archivist.

This paper deals with the challenges that we, the archivists, are facing, which have emerged due to the evolving technology. The following is a perspective on solutions we have found to approach these challenges.

In this article I will refer to the following topics:

- Evolving technology and archival tasks
- The impact of the technological change
- New challenges for the archivist
- Competing perspectives on the role of the archivist
- Yad Vashem's way forward

Let's start by examining how technology has evolved and how it has influenced the way archives function.

We can roughly refer to three eras: the pre-computer era; the early computer era; and the progressive computer era.

Regarding each era I will refer to four criteria:

1. The catalogue characteristics
2. The level of availability, i. e. What does the audience need to do in order to reach the archived material?
3. The level of accessibility, i. e. Can the audience reach the documentation itself or just the catalogue?

4. And the last point: The possibility to link the documentation to other documentation and other subjects—named in this article the level of interconnectivity.

In the pre-computer era all archival material was stored in an appropriate storage facility. (Archival material such as: paper, tapes, microfilms, videos etc.) The catalogue, which contained the description of the material, was created on card indexes.

In terms of availability – Obviously, one had to physically come to the archive itself in order to search the card index and go through the material. Accessibility – Those interested, mostly researchers, could access the material only through the card index. Interconnectivity – In terms of linking different types of material and documentation through access points (e. g.: subject headings, names, geographical locations). That was very limited since it was based on manually collected keywords, which appeared in the card index. *In the early computer era* all material was still stored in a storage facility, maybe in better conditions than before. And the descriptions were created using computer software. Availability – As before, one had to come to the archive itself in order to search the catalogue. Accessibility – The computer made the search much easier, faster and brought more extensive and relevant search results. In terms of interconnectivity, the level was medium.

Since the catalogue was computerized, creating links and connections between subjects, names and geographical places was made possible.

In the progressive computer era the descriptions of the archival catalogue will still be created using computer software, but the great improvement is the digitization of the archival material itself and the possibility to publish the catalogue as well as the material itself on the internet.

In terms of availability, one would not have to come to the archive. Searching the catalogue as well as documentation will be possible from a distance—if the catalogue and the digitized archival material will be made available, for example, on the internet; or through institutions that have authorized access. In terms of accessibility, the fields of information technology and information science keep on evolving and developing far more than we ever wit-

nessed. New information systems have been integrated into archives and the IT department plays a much bigger role nowadays in our institutions.

Technology will enable direct searches through the material, even beyond the computerized description done by the archivist.

Applications and technologies, such as OCR (optic character recognition) conversion, make it possible to undertake a textual search on the document itself, or a transcript of the person testimony for example. And Name Entity Recognition can help us improve the cataloguing and enhance the findability as well as accessibility of our materials.

Speech Recognition technology even gives us the option to translate speech into text. Google has already made such services available for video testimonies on YouTube for free (of course still with very limited accuracy).

In terms of interconnectivity, the level is high. The metadata produced through cataloguing is enriched with technology-generated metadata. The result of this is more and more access points to the archival material, which can be connected to an expanding knowledge base, and through that knowledge base to even more related archival materials.

One example of a developing technology which takes this idea even further and brings knowledge domains from different sources globally together is the Semantic Web and Linked Open Data.

To sum up, the information revolution that made the archive more accessible, more available and more interconnected has also dramatically changed the way we consume information. It has also opened the doors to new audiences. Tom Friedman coined the slogan "the world is flat" when he referred to the information revolution that pushed forward globalization.

But as usual, progress brings some shortcomings with it as well. In our field, it brought about some major negative impacts.

When people are looking for information on the internet, they usually look for a specific subject, a person's name, locations etc. In answer to their query they get a list of documentation that contains the phrase that they were looking for. Can they understand the wider context of the information? Do they have the tools to set it in the relevant time frame and understand its meaning?

So, along with this flood of information came the loss of contextualization, fragmentation and superficiality.

New Challenges for the Archivist

How do we, the archivists, stay relevant? Who needs us? Are we still the gate-keepers of information? Do we still need to act as mediators or simply make the data searchable?

Basically, we can identify two competing perspectives on the role of the archivist: one is the traditionalist, with the long legacy of collecting, preserving, and presenting the data, as it has been done since the early days of archives. Members of this school regard themselves as the gatekeepers of information and as a vital link between the audiences and the documentation.

On the other end, the technologists, a relatively new group with a different perspective, see the traditionalists as a relic of an anachronistic practice. For them, technology is the new mediator between the audiences and the documentation. For them the archivist just needs to make sure that the documentation is accessible and available, and the rest will be done by technology and audiences themselves (such as Web 2.0 applications and "user-generated content"). We would like to offer a third perspective that in a sense tries to seize the middle ground, which tries to highlight the advantages of both perspectives. According to this third perspective, the archivist has an important and even more demanding role than before.

Providing accessibility to archival material

On the one hand, archivists always tried to keep their original material safe, in an appropriate environment and conditions, and with limited physical access to the archival material for people of their choice.

And today the technology provides a solution to safeguard the originals so that they can last for a long time, and offers a scanned copy for use to everyone by means of digitization.

This means that the archivist has one more task added to his responsibility regarding the processing of the archival material.

Enhancing availability (open the gates)

Now, that the original materials are safe, and digitization provided us with a scanned copy for usage, the role of the archivist changes—he is not only the gatekeeper anymore, but rather the gate opener.

Enabling search on data

Digitization and technology not only provide us with direct access to the archival material, but also allow us to use the transformed digitized material to our advantage, applying all the "miracles of technology". But these are not "miracles", so to speak. Behind these miracles lies a vast knowledgebase of the "all-knowing" and experienced archivist.

For example, we in Yad Vashem from the very beginning created a knowledgebase for geographical place names in the context of the history of the Holocaust (before and after historical border changes for example), our knowledgebase is not phonetic but culture based.

We did the same for first and family names, a database which consists of genealogical knowledge. For example, searching for "Avraham" in our database will lead to a list of 1,015 existing variations connected to the name "Avraham" that we have in Yad Vashem's system.

For a long time our only visitors were scholars and researchers who made the effort and traveled around the world just to sit in our reading room, and take a look at the collections of archival material, and go through numerous video testimonies in order to collect enough material for their research. Today, many of the users which look for information in our archive are genealogists tracing the footsteps of their ancestors. People are looking for family members and their destinies as well as life stories, going through the trail of documents and testimonies which they left behind.

Today, we archivists need to be content experts and also knowing how to navigate through our collections to help and find pieces of information regarding one person's destiny.

In Yad Vashem, this is one of our biggest efforts. We have a team of 50 – with the mission of extracting every Jewish name out of our archival material in

order to commemorate by giving the researcher another access point into our collections.

Bringing context back

But still, even though we need to know how to find the pieces of information, we also need to supply our audience's background and context to keep them safe from the superficiality.

Augmented interconnectivity (internal and external)

Creating tables of content, names, places, subjects, organizations, personalities etc. to enable access points based on our historical and archival knowledge.

The environment is rapidly evolving and there's a change in the needs of the audiences that we are trying to address.

The challenge, the archivist needs to check himself in a timely fashion, in order to make sure that he stays relevant, and adapt to the ever-changing environment.

The way forward, we need to develop new tools and methodology and to enhance cooperation, since the task in hand is too overwhelming for each organization to go it alone.

Obviously, the way forward has much to do with budgets, but not entirely.

One also needs to set a vision and to define exactly how to turn this vision into reality.

We have tried offer a perspective on the way forward in a concise manner. We have a long road ahead of us but this has also set the opportunity for a vast inter-organizational cooperation.

Douglas A. Boyd

SEARCH, EXPLORE, CONNECT: USING OHMS TO ENHANCE ACCESS TO ORAL HISTORY

Portions of this article were published elsewhere following the original presentation and are cited appropriately in the text.

The Nunn Center has been collecting and preserving oral history interviews since 1973 and now has an archival collection of over 10,000 interviews, which is estimated to represent over 20,000 hours of audio and video material. Although we do possess a small collection of interviews with Holocaust survivors in the United States, my primary role in this article is to discuss the archival imperative to build sustainable and affordable workflows for enhancing access to online oral history. Specifically, this paper is about the Nunn Center's use of a tool we created called OHMS (Oral History Metadata Synchronizer), an open source, free tool for enhancing access to online oral histories, and how OHMS has dramatically changed our archival workflow models, and has empowered archives all over the world to meet user expectations with regard to enhancing access to oral history.

I believe the reason we conduct oral history interviews, the reason we preserve important life stories, is to ensure that individuals can play a more prominent role in the historical record. Of course, not all interviews are meant to be publicly available in the present moment and may require temporary access restrictions. However, I do believe strongly in the hope that "recorded oral history interviews will, eventually, resonate and connect with future researchers" (Boyd 2012). I have seen too many oral history interviews and projects "hidden away" in archival obscurity.

The Internet is dramatically altering our perception of the "historical record", and user expectations of instantaneous and efficient access are continuously rising. The acceleration of the mass digitization of archival materials

and the maturation of digital archival infrastructures are resulting in a profound increase in the discovery and accessibility of online primary sources; yet, oral histories, outside of a few select initiatives with major funding, remain relatively inaccessible and underutilized by researchers, scholars, and the general public.

Oral history as an archival format has traditionally posed numerous challenges for both curators and users, when compared to other formats such as photography and manuscript collections. Archived oral history collections are inherently presented with the significant challenges of time and the need for text. Time-based media in the archive requires time to describe, access, and comprehend. An archive would have to listen to a recording before providing useful descriptive metadata, a time-intensive commitment that few archives can maintain when faced with the accessioning of hundreds or thousands of interviews. Second, spoken word, when recorded, needs text, in the form of metadata and verbatim transcripts, in order to be discoverable and perceived as useful. Once discovered, effective and efficient use of archived oral history interviews has usually depended upon the presence of verbatim transcripts, which are prohibitively expensive to generate. Automatic speech recognition (ASR) efforts continue to struggle with poorly recorded interviews with multiple speakers using dialect. Because of the significant time commitment involved, un-transcribed interviews typically go unused.

It is valuable to underscore here that I strongly believe in the importance of encouraging the users of oral histories to engage with the audio and video recordings. Most reference requests that come into the Nunn Center are interested in obtaining only the transcript. Unfortunately, less than half of our collection has been transcribed. From a usability standpoint, transcripts have traditionally provided the most efficient methods for discovery and access to specific information. In the chapter "'I Just Want to Click on It to Listen': Oral History Archives, Orality and Usability," I comment on this observation:

I watched the Nunn Center users and researchers gravitate more to collections that were transcribed. Despite our standard warnings to corroborate direct quotations with the original

audio or video interviews, I watched researchers quote and misquote from transcripts that were, often, not even verbatim representations of the text. In general, our audio and video interviews remained on the physical and virtual shelves. I do not believe that researchers generally wanted to ignore the audio and video interviews because they were lazy and uninspired by the human voices telling the stories. Time-based media in both the analog and digital realm is difficult and time consuming to use. (Boyd 2014: 91)

Content management systems and user interfaces provided by digital library and archival infrastructure have been designed to "optimize the user experience for repositories of digitized text and images, and they have generally failed in providing usable architecture for enhancing the users' experiences with online audio and video." (Boyd 2014: 91) There have been great advances in technology; however, from the curation perspective, oral history continues to depend primarily on unsustainable workflows and models for providing basic levels of access. With most archives facing declining budgets, the curation of oral histories can be perceived as being prohibitively expensive, and the notion of providing "enhanced" access to this resource was previously unimaginable. Digital tools and workflows have profoundly altered almost every aspect of modern life, yet we have maintained a particularly analog approach to curating and providing access to oral history. In my recent book *Oral History and Digital Humanities,* co-edited with Mary A. Larson, I declared my frustration with this observation:

I have become firmly committed to the ideal that the oral history community cannot structure our fundamental access workflows and strategies on models which require unrealistic amounts of continually escalating funding. In today's innovative digital climate, it seems that you can do just about anything with a grant. What you cannot do, necessarily, is sustain what you created with that grant, after the grant funding runs out. (Boyd 2014: 90)

Oral History methodology is becoming very popular in the United States. At my university, more faculty and students are conducting oral history projects for their research than ever before. Community projects are becoming

even more common. The Nunn Center is now regularly accessioning between 400 and 600 interviews annually. As the volume of interviewing increases, we must accommodate this escalation by adapting our archival workflows, or we will be quickly overwhelmed.

The notion of "enhancing" access to oral history was once reserved for boutique or super-funded oral history projects. The general oral history and archival community has struggled for decades to make oral history a more easily accessible resource. "We must quicken our transition, our mindsets and paradigms, and our archival workflows and procedures to adapt and accommodate users' expectations. When we do, our interviews will be used." (Boyd 2014: 94).

I have worked with oral histories in an archival context for my entire professional career. I think a great deal about oral history and how to enhance access to oral history in an archival context, especially where there are limited staff and financial resources behind projects—which is typically the case. I also think a great deal about usability in a web-based archival context. Mainly because I have found, in the past, that not much attention has been paid to the topic by archivists and librarians. We think a great deal about organizing information, but our efforts often have fallen short at the point of user interaction.

Frustrated by cumbersome workflows and interfaces, I first began to abstractly envision something like OHMS (Oral History Metadata Synchronizer) very early on while managing the oral history collections at the Kentucky Historical Society. However, I began to envision OHMS in a much more concrete fashion while managing the digital program for the University of Alabama Libraries. I began to think a great deal about usability, especially within a web-development context. I began to realize that our design and usability efforts were primarily directed at the websites or repositories encompassing the oral history interviews. However, the user interface for engaging with the actual oral history interview was, for the most part, still difficult to use. OHMS was constructed to facilitate discovery and use, but more specifically, it was based on my simple observations from being an oral history archi-

vist for nearly 15 years. Researchers and users of all kinds have three primary expectations when working with archived oral history. They want to *search*, they want to *explore*, and they want to *connect* when they work with archived interviews. I have observed that users/researchers want an easy to use, but robust search mechanism for the quick and efficient discovery of information. In addition to searchability, users/researchers of online oral history need information architecture designed for exploration, an environment that encourages serendipitous discovery of information. Finally, users/researchers want the ability to triangulate a variety of resources with the click of a mouse or a swipe of their finger and to dynamically engage oral history interviews. In a digital or e-humanities context, users want to engage material in creative and innovative ways that we might not yet imagine. Enhanced methods of discovery and use enhances the chances that we can connect users to oral history interviews that will resonate with them in meaningful ways, connecting users and researchers to more than simply words on a page—connecting them to meaningful and powerful moments.

OHMS (Oral History Metadata Synchronizer) is a system created by the Nunn Center in 2008 to address limitations in the oral history user experience by connecting a text search of a transcript/index to the corresponding moment in the audio or video. OHMS is a freely available platform that gives the user the ability to search, explore, and connect with interview content in dynamic and efficient ways. After developing, testing, and using OHMS for several years as an in-house solution, in 2011 the Nunn Center received a National Leadership Grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) to make OHMS work better as an open source solution with other content management systems and repository infrastructures. Essentially, the goal of the grant was to make OHMS something that other institutions could easily adopt and implement. In 2013, OHMS became freely available and is now being used by both small and large institutions all over the world.

This would be an opportune time to take a closer look at what the OHMS system is and how it works. The OHMS system consists of two components, the OHMS Application and the OHMS Viewer. The OHMS Application is where an

archive *prepares* an interview for the user. The OHMS Application is a back-end, web-based application where interviews are imported and metadata is created. It is in the OHMS Application where the transcripts are time-coded and/or interviews are indexed. You do not upload digital audio or video into the OHMS Application, you simply link to the recording. The OHMS Application is not a repository and is not meant for long-term storage of records; the application is a working space for preparing records for access via the OHMS Viewer. The OHMS Application is where you import or create metadata records, upload and synchronize the transcript to the time code of the web-accessible audio or video files, and/or index the interview.

When it comes to the presentation of transcripts, the OHMS Viewer is very simple in concept. In the OHMS Application, archives can place time-coded markers at minute intervals. The OHMS Viewer takes the user from a key-

Figure 1: OHMS Application When the transcript synchronization or index has been created, the "product" that is exported from the online OHMS Application is a very simple XML document which contains the interview-level metadata, the transcript and/or the index. Once exported from the OHMS Application, the oral history interview is made accessible via a simple hyperlink to the XML document which presents the interview to the user within the OHMS Viewer (which must be installed by the host institution on a web server).

Figure 2: OHMS Viewer (Transcript)

word search to the nearest minute-marker. By clicking on the timecode, the user is taken to the corresponding moment.

Indexing provides a powerful series of access points yielding a useful search and browse experience for the user. Indexing involves the mapping of natural language, as expressed in the interviews, to concepts, infusing an added value to the index that is lacking in a transcript alone. But indexing should not only be perceived as being an affordable compromise when transcription proves too expensive. For example, an interviewee may talk about living under segregation in the United States, without ever mentioning the word "segregation." An index point could clearly state that the segment discusses living under segregation, "mapping natural language conversation to descriptive and meaningful concepts" (Boyd 2013).

The Indexing module of the OHMS Application allows the indexer to identify and create segments or stories based on the content flow of the interview. Indexed segments can contain a segment title, description, subjects, key-

words, GPS coordinates (to interface with Google Maps in the OHMS Viewer), and hyperlinks to link out from a moment to correlating online resources such as photographs, videos, or informational websites. Archives can upload controlled vocabularies, which are suggested for the keywords and subject fields as the indexer types. Users can browse index segments by examining the table of contents created by the titles. By selecting a segment, the segment accordions open to reveal the details. A search of the index will identify relevant segments. When the user clicks "play segment" they are taken from a search result in the index to the correlating moment in the audio or video. The OHMS Viewer is the user interface of the OHMS system. When an online interview is called by the content management system, the OHMS Viewer loads, calling select interview level metadata and the *intra* interview level metadata created in the OHMS Application from the corresponding XML file. As the OHMS XML file is called by a simple hyperlink, the OHMS Viewer is universally compatible with content management systems such as CONTENTdm or Omeka. OHMS was created in the spirit of sustainability, affordability, and interoperability, and utilizes:

Ubiquitous formats such as XML and CSV, both of which can be opened and manipulated using a basic spreadsheet or word processing software package. Furthermore, OHMS creates an information package that, of course, works effectively with the OHMS viewer, but will easily and seamlessly map to and integrate with future systems as well. What results from OHMS is a sustainable archival solution for providing enhanced online access to oral histories and the ability to effectively and efficiently navigate, discover and engage the orality and the content of our oral history materials in a flexible, affordable online environment. (Boyd 2014: 93–94)

By creating OHMS, we did not create a new repository or content management system; there are plenty of those in current use that are quite good. What OHMS does is work with an existing repository or content management system to improve the user experience.

OHMS has transformed the Nunn Center's workflow, as well as the way we design and implement our projects. I want to reiterate here that not all in-

Figure 3: The OHMS Viewer (Index Module)

terviews should be online in this moment. However, there is now in place a workflow that assumes enhanced access for our interviews. Indexing interviews is much less expensive when compared to creating web-ready transcripts. In 2014, the Nunn Center spent 16,000 US Dollars on indexing over 900 hours of interviews that are now available online. Had we transcribed the same set of interviews, the cost would have been over 180,000 US Dollars. As previously mentioned, indexing involves the mapping of natural language,

as expressed in the interviews, to concepts, infusing an added value to the index that is lacking in a transcript alone. OHMS allows both to work together simultaneously. Because of the cost savings, my center is primarily indexing interviews for projects that have not received external funding.

Recently, I have begun to encourage the *interviewers* to create the index for an interview soon after the interviews are conducted. We have also had great success utilizing students and volunteers to index interviews. I was rarely able to recruit volunteers for transcribing. However, the indexing process provides a user-friendly opportunity to deeply listen to and describe an interview. We have now successfully collaborated with numerous professors who have inserted OHMS indexing into their course design. Previously, when students were using oral histories, they were merely acting as consumers. Now, when the students create the indexes, they become contributors to the process. The Nunn Center is able to fulfill our mission of getting our interviews utilized by faculty and students, and the professors are able to create a course environment where students are able to engage with primary sources in new and exciting ways. The final result is enhanced access to our online interviews.

The Nunn Center is now able to focus our efforts on providing our users an effective way to enhance access to our interviews and collections, utilizing an open-source, free resource. The users are able to search, explore, and connect with the rich content, so they can discover and engage with these interviews quickly and efficiently. Before creating and implementing OHMS, the Nunn Center used to boast about having 500 users utilize our interviews each year. Now, we are averaging over 10,000 interactions with our interviews *per month*.

Recently, we released the multi-lingual capabilities of OHMS. Archives are now able to serve up transcripts and translations, as well as create a bi-lingual index. Users can search and toggle between languages and be taken to the same corresponding moment in the audio and video. In the beginning of 2016, there were over 200 institutions using OHMS in 17 different countries. In the article "OHMS: Enhancing Access to Oral History for Free" I wrote:

The mission of OHMS has transformed from enhancing access to the Nunn Center collections to empowering institutions, both large and small, to provide an effective, user-centered discovery interface for oral history on a large scale for a fraction of the usual cost. (Boyd 2013)

Usability is an important consideration. The notion of *enhanced access* to oral history can no longer be limited to only the elite and well-funded projects. By creating and deploying OHMS, we can, now, affordably enhance access to online collections, both large and small. My hope is that with OHMS, we can begin to encourage a new perception of what is possible and affordable with regard to meeting our users' expectations in the way we provide online access to oral history collections.

REFERENCES

Boyd, D. A. (2014). 'I Just Want to Click on It to Listen': Oral History Archives, Orality and Usability. In D. A. Boyd, M. A. Larson (Eds.), *Oral History and Digital Humanities: Voice, Access, and Engagement* (pp.77–96). New York City: Palgrave Macmillan.

Boyd, D. A. (2013). OHMS: Enhancing Access to Oral History for Free. In *The Oral History Review 40* (1), pp. 95–106. Retrieved from http://ohr.oxfordjournals.org/content/40/1/95.full?sid=4331042a-d1a0–41d0-b29a-e940ad318012.

Boyd, D. A. (2012). Search, Explore, Connect: Disseminating Oral History in the Digital Age. In D. Boyd, S. Cohen, B. Rakerd, & D. Rehberger (Eds.), *Oral History in the Digital Age*. Institute of Library and Museum Services. Retrieved from http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/2012/06/search-explore-connect.

Stef Scagliola, Franciska de Jong

TAKING NOTES ABOUT RINGING DOORBELLS AND BARKING DOGS: THE VALUE OF CONTEXT FOR THE RE-USE OF ORAL HISTORY DATA

Summary

This paper argues that archival interview collections contain a wealth of data that could be fruitfully exploited by scholars from a broad array of disciplines, provided that the archival practice of creating, documenting and annotating interview collections would be more tuned to the methods and practices of academic research. It also suggests how a number of innovative multimedia processing technologies could be equally beneficial for widening the scholarly use and the repurposing of interview collections. Three interview projects are described in which an effort has been made to reinforce the synergy between the archival and the scholarly realm. The projects illustrate how digital technology can be applied to turn interview collections created in a non-academic setting into a network of knowledge resources that can be relevant to multiple audiences: the general public, specific communities and academic researchers.

Oral History and the role of contextualization

Sounds trigger human memory faster than texts. To experienced interviewers, the sound of a doorbell or of a barking dog will probably remind them of situations in which the ideal setting for establishing rapport with the narrator is threatened to be disturbed. Experienced interviewers will undoubtedly have the skills to manage inconveniences such as the unexpected visit of a neighbor or the sudden needs of a pet during an interview. But they will not be inclined to include a field note about incidents of this kind in the documentation of the interview if there are no explicit instructions, even though it is known that such disturbances can have considerable impact on the "flow" of an interview. If the interviewer and researcher are one and the same person, the problem of lack of context does not occur, but if the interviewer is creating a source for a future listener, omitting these apparently minor details creates the risk of so-called de-contextualization: an inappropriate interpretation of a source due to the lack of knowledge on how it was produced (Berg 2008). As an interview is a co-created source, partly shaped by how two individuals respond to each other's gender, cultural and social background and physical traits, the future consulter will also need some information about the background of the interviewer. At a more general level, information is needed on how participants were recruited and informed about the interview project. Scholars will also want to know what the considerations and principles were for the creation of the topic list, the consent form and the metadata scheme (Berg 2010). In sum, the feasibility of re-use of interviews in an academic setting is strongly bound to the degree of accessibility and richness of contextual information on the creation of the sources. Qualitative data can only be adequately interpreted if scholars are informed about who was involved, in which context and for which reasons and motives.

The term "re-use" generally refers to scenarios in which data t is created to answer a specific research question and is later re-used by other researchers for related or even different research purposes. In the field of oral history data that is fit for this kind of re-use is referred to as *research-driven* data. This as opposed to *process-generated* oral history, which refers to an archival effort to document the experiences of a particular group on the basis of a broad topic list with the aim of serving future listeners. In the latter case, the relation between researcher and narrator is not exclusive and the identity of the speaker is made public (Freund 2009).

Contextualization is even more relevant when the source has the potential to be valuable for a variety of academic disciplines. Spoken co-created first person narratives shed light on a broad variety of human expression. They cre-

ate meanings at the intersection of biography, identity, history, and society through the mediation of speech, language and memory. Scholars that study these dimensions of human expression each have their specific requirements for the analysis of data. Fortunately digital technology has now reached a level of refinement that enables to cater for these requirements. The techniques for unraveling the multiple layers of meaning that are inherently present in audio-visual material are powerful enough to capture and analyze the textual, visual and aural dimensions of a source. This has brought about a change in the accessibility and interoperability of audio-visual narratives, and in the volume and variety of annotation layers. This potential for differentiation enables the very same source to serve scholars from various disciplinary and methodological backgrounds. An interview with a former political activist can serve as a witness account for the historian, as a source on the distribution of emotional expressions for the linguist, while the visual anthropologist may focus on the bodily interaction in the dialogue and the phonetician on patterns of sighs, silences and laughter.

Accurate contextualization to serve these diverse audiences, however, requires a policy of metadata-consciousness and of strict annotation protocols among the creators of collections. It also asks for the involvement of researchers at the various stages of data creation: the conceptualization of the project, the possible target audiences, the method of interviewing, the metadata scheme, and also the form in which the content is presented to the audiences: the user interfaces. If models of collaboration could be adopted in which scholars contribute to the specification of archiving procedures, the best of both worlds would be within reach: use content to serve and inform the general public and, at the same time, provide multiple academic disciplines with rich sources of knowledge.

The proposed "best of both worlds" scenario supported by digital technology has been extensively explored by the first author of this paper in three subsequent oral history projects conducted in the Netherlands. In this article a brief description of the three projects will provide the basis for a number of recommendations, specifically in relation to the need for rich contextualiza-

tion, the implications for the methodological framework of collecting digital oral sources and the functionality of access platforms.

The Dutch Veterans Interview project

The Dutch Veterans Interview project, which ran from 2006 to 2011, resulted in the first large-scale "digital born" interview collection in the Netherlands. It consists of more than 1,000 audio interviews with a representative number of Dutch veterans of war and military missions [1]. The oldest narrators are conscripts involved in the defense of the Netherlands during the German invasion in May 1940, the youngest are military professionals recently deployed in the context of the International Stabilization Force Afghanistan. The aim of this project was to make these oral sources accessible to the general public, the media, educators, and, in particular, to the academic community (Berg 2010).

The assumption was that collecting knowledge on the personal experience of people who have gone through the transition from civilian to military life and back yields valuable sources that cannot be found in military reports. The fact that subsequent generations have been interviewed that were deployed in different military contexts also offers ample possibilities for comparative research. The project was funded by and managed at the Veterans Institute, a service organization of the Ministry of Defense. This proved to be an ideal setting for reaching out to the community of veterans and gaining their trust. In view of the rich content of these life stories, an extensive metadata scheme was designed. It contains fields regarding the project background, the interview context, the background of the narrators, the chronology of their military careers, summaries of each ten minutes of the interview tagged with keywords, and a glossary with an explanation of jargon and abbreviations. This last element was added to make the military terminology accessible to a lay audience, to serve linguists and ethnologists interested in jargon that evolves during a particular military mission, and to document terms that cannot be found in regular speech, which is a precondition for successfully applying automatic speech recognition software on audio recordings. This

approach required an intensive training for the team of interviewers that conducted the interviews and processed all required documentation. A dedicated online information management system was designed so that the interviewers could work on the interviews online in a standardized way. This induced them to complete all the required fields. To enable indexing and searches based on a comprehensive thesaurus, the attribution of key words was also standardized. An editor was assigned the task of using the associative potential of the entire interview team, and to gradually turn the feedback from the team into a contained vocabulary that had to be used to tag the ten minute long summaries.

The instruction to provide a briefing on the circumstances during the interview for future listeners initially raised feelings of uneasiness among the interviewers. They were quite willing to document the variety of encounters so as to inform the coordinator, but the idea of unknown future listeners reading these notes raised ethical concerns with regard to the privacy of the narrators. These were appeased through an agreement that the field notes would be re-phrased, eliminating all remarks that could be interpreted as too personal or offensive, before they would be included in the database. In any case, these notes would only be made available to researchers after the researcher had gone through and accepted a strict protocol that committed the researcher to confidentiality. Another layer of context was provided through a series of in-depth interviews with all of the fifteen interviewers involved. This yielded insight into their background, the diversity of interactions with the narrators, and introspections about their own socialization process during the project with regard to veterans and military affairs. They also expanded on strategies they developed to deal with an unexpected course of events during the interview. The interviewers all agreed to grant access to these interviews for purposes of scholarly research.

A facetted online search environment was developed and coupled to the interview database. The facets work as filters and help the user to narrow down the search in a flexible and conceptually transparent way. With regard to access to the interviews the narrators had been offered various accessibility options. Some 500 veterans, mainly the older generations, agreed with unrestricted online access to their interview. This meant access to the audio recording and to a limited number of metadata fields. Access to the other 500 interviews and to all metadata fields, including the information about their profession, education and health, is only granted after going through a strict admission protocol designed by the Veterans Institute. To integrate the resource into an environment that is familiar to scholars, the entire interview collection has been archived in the Electronic Archiving System of *Data Archiving Networked Services* (DANS), an institute that is responsible for the long-term preservation and re-use of digital research data for the Humanities and Social Sciences in the Netherlands.| 2 All records, including the 500 restricted ones, are represented in the catalogue in the form of a short anonymous description of the content plus key words. As part of the metadata is published as open data, it can be easily indexed and retrieved via the web. Once a source has been identified, it can be accessed in accordance with the access conditions that have been agreed to with the narrator. If the access is unrestricted, permission is granted directly through EASY, while in other cases, an e-mail with request for access is sent to the owner of the data.

Several efforts were made to involve academic researchers in the creation and exploitation of the collection. Two PhD students from the Royal Military Academy were part of the interview team. One focused on veteran interpreters for a study on language policy in the armed forces, while the other interviewed female military veterans for a study on gender in the armed forces. In exchange for the service of recruiting participants and training as well as support during the interview process, they agreed to release their interviews after the completion of their PhD. If necessary, they would tailor the topic list to their needs or plan a second interview that would not be shared with the project (Van Dijk 2010).

An important question is whether it is permissible to approach narrators for a second time. The issue may pop up when researchers are interested to know more about a topic that is mentioned only briefly in a first interview, and the answer is highly dependent on the nature of the topic and, in the case

of testimonies on traumatic events, the potential risk of re-traumatization, (Duckworth 2012/Mears 2009). Within the Veterans project, secondary interviews proved to be successful in a study on friendly fire incidents that was set up at the request of the TNO Defense and Safety Institute. Narrators of interviews that were identified on the basis of a search in the database with the keywords "friendly fire" were approached for a follow-up interview that yielded rich material and formed the basis for a historical typology of friendly fire incidents for a European research project on safety during military operations (Schraagen 2010).

Another collaboration with researchers was set up with the aim of testing the multidisciplinary potential of the collection. In the project *Veteran Tapes,* some 25 interviews with full transcripts were offered to a variety of scholars: a theologian, a discourse analyst, a sociologist, an anthropologist, a methodologist, and an oral historian, with the request to analyze the corpus using their own methodological toolbox. A team of speech specialists designed and implemented a tool for fragment cutting (Heuvel 2010). This joint multidisciplinary effort resulted in an edited volume (Berg 2010), and in an enhanced publication, a digital version of the book with links to audio-fragments and metadata fields of the interview for every citation. [3]

Several digital analysis tools could have been applied if full transcripts of the words spoken would have been available with time-codes, indicating the fragment within an interview recording in which the words occurred. However, there were no resources for manual transcription and no adequate automatic speech recognition technology for Dutch was available at the time of the project. It would have required additional training of the recognition models to ensure that the recognition error rates would have been sufficiently low. The availability of full time-coded transcriptions of the oral sources would have enabled the integration of functionalities such as full text search on the transcripts and retrieval of fragments, automatic topic classification and the mining of vocabulary (e. g. a study that checks the variation in defense jargon across ranks). Examples of tools for automatic metadata extraction that could have helped the enrichment of the contextualization are the

tracking of patterns in the emotions expressed through prosody, intonation, silences, facial expression, gestures, and other non-verbal elements.

The project yielded fundamental insights in the requirements for re-using life stories that were incorporated into the project by a new series of training courses for the interviewees and by adjusting the metadata structure of the data base. Despite the fact that the Veterans Interview Project was nominated for a data curation award, the connection to the research community lost momentum after the termination of the project. The Veterans Institute proved to be the ideal organization for creating the archive, but a service organization for veterans is not well equipped to promote the archive within the academic community. This is an important consideration when assessing the output of such an investment in terms of knowledge production.

War Love Child

"War Love Child" (Oorlogsliefdekind) is the name of a multimedia oral history project funded by the program Heritage of War of the Dutch Ministry of Health and Welfare [4] that has addressed the historical taboo of the many children fathered by Dutch military personnel during their service in the Dutch colonies, notably the Netherlands East Indies. [5] Dutch troops were deployed there from 1945 to 1949 to wage a decolonization war with the Indonesian independence movement. The distance, the duration of their service and the need for intimacy led to loosening the ties with the home front and engaging into relationships with local Indonesian women. The opportunities were plentiful as nearly all military units had female servants at their disposal for cleaning, cooking and washing clothes (Wietsma and Scagliola 2014). Combined with a deliberate policy of the military authorities of abstaining from distributing condoms to prevent the practice of pre-marital intercourse, these relationships led to the birth of many children of "mixed blood". Soldiers who wanted to marry their Indonesian girlfriends would be forcefully relocated to another unit or sent back to Holland, while leaving the mothers and their half-Dutch children behind. The subject of the Dutch military in the role of "absent fathers" of a considerable number of children, for

which the Dutch authorities indirectly bore responsibility, was a complete blind spot in Dutch post-colonial history.

After stumbling on a few of these cases, a team consisting of an oral historian (the author of this paper), a documentary maker (Annegriet Wietsma) and a producer (Jean Hellwig) decided to address this historical taboo with the help of digital technology. A digital environment was created where people could leave messages and stories, either anonymously or with their names. Starting with a few stories, after having announced the website in environments frequented by veterans and the Netherlands Indies community, such as cultural festivals and reunions, the number of personal stories and photos on the website grew steadily. Surprisingly enough, it turned out that a group of these children had moved to the Netherlands at an older age. The documentary maker would contact the contributors by e-mail and ask whether they were willing to tell their full story and have it documented in the form of a video-recorded interview. Many of them agreed, and provided personal documents such as birth certificates, letters and photos, that were digitized and preserved along with the interview. The option of field notes was regarded as being too demanding, taking into consideration the effort that it would take and given the setting in which various people were involved in filming the interviewees. Contrary to the person-to-person setting during an audio-interview, filming with the intent of recording it in broadcast quality means the involvement of specialists for sound and light. This, however, gives the interview more the character of a performance than of an intimate exchange of information. A field trip to Indonesia yielded a collection of interviews with children and with a few mothers. Gradually a dedicated community evolved that regarded the website as a public but safe place for coming out and supported the effort of the project by naming other similar cases. The information on the website, together with the video-life stories and personal documents, laid the basis for a documentary, a book and a play, as well as a dataset on a completely missing chapter of Dutch colonial history.

The project also anticipated scholarly use of the material, as the condition for funding was that the entire dataset would meet academic standards for data curation. Consequently, all interviews were transcribed, and just as with the Veterans Project, all documentation was integrated into the metadata scheme of the EASY catalogue at the DANS website. The requirements for re-use were also dealt with from the legal perspective. The interviewees had to sign a consent form that explicitly gives permission to deposit their interview and corresponding documents in a trusted digital repository that would be made accessible to other researchers (Ni Laoire 2007). The authors of the data remain the gatekeepers, but on request they can share their data with others.

The dataset has already proven its value as a basis for revisiting the written archives. Stories about the desperate need among the troops for female companionship or sex can now be traced back to previously unnoticed reports of chaplains about the morale in the unit and the dangers of prostitution. War Love Child is also an example of how technology can stimulate that the sources serve multiple audiences. With the help of an interactive website and an online semi-open data repository, a community has evolved, artistic products have been created, and researchers have access to previously unknown sources about a silenced colonial legacy. On top of the examples for the potential of technology listed above for the Veterans Interviews, additional functionality for War Love Child could be to analyze the patterns in the site visits, or to create visualizations of the social networks based on the named entities extracted from the posts, the interviews and other content sources uploaded to the site. A next stage that is envisioned and that represents a challenge in terms of technology is the creation of an Indonesian counterpart, with the use of translation tools that would support searches undertaken in Bahasa Indonesian. This could facilitate the communication between communities from different countries that have a shared past.

Post-Yugoslav Voices

Post-Yugoslav Voices is the umbrella label for a series of multilingual video-oral history projects with victims of war and detention in former Yugoslavia financed by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Netherlands Em-

bassy in Sarajevo. At present, interview collections have been created and made public via online portals in Croatia (almost 450 interviews) | 6 and in Bosnia (100 interviews) | 7. In the interviews citizens from different social groups and coming from different regions reflect in the form of personal accounts on three major timeframes: WWII, the period of socialist Yugoslavia, and the war of the nineties (de Jong 2014). The Erasmus Studio, the institute for e-research of the Erasmus University Rotterdam, was responsible for (1) the design of the database and the search technology, and (2) the monitoring of the creation of the interview corpus on the basis of a methodology that anticipated re-use by multiple disciplines.

In Croatia the local partner was the human rights organization Documenta, in Bosnia the participating parties were the Centre for Investigative Reporting (CIN) and the Human Rights Center of the University of Sarajevo. As they knew the local language and their record of human rights work provided the appropriate network and position to recruit narrators and gain their trust, they were invited to take up the responsibility for collecting data. The local organizations were also the ones primarily responsible for involving the public in re-conciliation initiatives on the basis of the material. The video-recorded interviews have all been fully transcribed in Croatian and Bosnian, respectively, and partly translated into English (over 300).

For both collections an extensive metadata scheme was designed with 25 fields including personal information on the interviewee (e. g. name, address, education, religion, nationality), on his or her status (e. g. civilian, veteran, military, refugee) and on the interview setting (e. g. place and date of the interview, interviewer, videographer). The collection is searchable at fragment-level as the transcripts and time-based keywords that have been attributed are indexed and aligned with the video. The English translation creates the opportunity for non-local scholars to get access to primary sources on a recent conflict without the mediation of an interpreter or scholar who can speak Serbo-Croatian. The structure of the narratives is determined by a biographical semi-structured questionnaire. All interviews start with a passage on family history, which often provides relevant context for understanding

the position of the narrator vis-à-vis the violent conflict of the 1990s. The importance of using a similar structure for both collections is that it offers ample possibilities for comparative research.

The collections are made public in open access through a streaming video platform. If necessary, sensitive passages can be taken out and access can be limited to protect interviewees. Just as is the case with the other projects, the collection has been integrated into the EASY catalogue, the scholarly access platform hosted by DANS, with indexing of key words and summaries for each single interview. | 8

Monitoring the quality of the interviewing and documentation process conducted by local NGOs in Croatia and Bosnia from a university 1,500 km away without knowing the local languages proved to be quite challenging. The first round of interviews in Croatia turned out to be quite short as the narratives were merely framed around the traumatic event and its aftermath. A feedback loop was organized after the first results had been processed to ensure that the interviews would be more uniformly structured and that probing would take place more frequently. It is noteworthy that in Bosnia, where the interview team consisted of two journalists, probing for details was standard procedure from the very beginning. This yielded long and rich interviews with many references that can be triangulated with other sources. | 9 The guideline to provide field notes on the interview setting was not followed adequately, neither in Bosnia nor Croatia. This specific instruction proved to be too demanding in an interview context with so many other requirements. Security also played a role. The precautions that have to be taken in a post-conflict context with ongoing ethnic tensions (Aras 2012) became apparent when in the Bosnian project one of the Bosnian-Serbian interviewers preferred to stay anonymous.

To assess the potential of these collections to serve as the basis for multidisciplinary research, and in analogy to the *Veteran Tapes* project, a range of scholars from different disciplines was invited to perform a preliminary analysis on the basis of their methodological framework on the first 50 interviews that were generated during the project. They then presented the results at

a workshop that took place in Rotterdam in December 2012. The disciplines represented were: history, social psychology, narrative psychology, social sign processing, transitional justice, sociology, translation studies, discourse analysis and human rights studies. There was clear consensus that the collections contained a wealth of information. Especially the visual dimension and the availability of English subtitles expanded the potential for outreach to scholars worldwide. At the same time, it was observed that a stricter interview protocol and close monitoring of the annotation and translation workflow could further improve the quality of the collection and thereby the potential for re-use and impact. The need to provide field notes about the interview context was again stressed. The same holds true with regard to probing into details of violence that has been experienced or witnessed, a highly relevant theme for human rights research. However, this element had to be handled with special care, as illustrated by the fact that one interview from the Bosnian Memories collection had to be taken off-line because the narrator had received threats by the person he had spoken about as perpetrator of a crime. This person had been held in custody in The Hague and charged with war crimes at the time of the interview, but was eventually acquitted and started to threaten the narrator after having heard about the interview. The risks that occur when the narratives refer to recent violent conflicts could be mitigated by making certain passages with such references unavailable to the general public, and only giving access to these to researchers who have ensured confidentiality.

A usage case proposed by the field of human rights research was to use the narratives as a source of insights that could help to improve the design of quantitative surveys. Such surveys could include a question on the willingness of respondents to be available for an interview (Rauschenberg et al. 2016). The social-psychologist involved suggested a grounded theory approach, including open coding of most of the material, irrespective of the available metadata.

Among the innovative elements of Post-Yugoslav Voices is the combination of moving images and translation. Of course this additional layer of inter-

pretation asks for yet another layer of annotation: the choices that had been made in the translation policy.

In order to comply with the methodological frameworks commonly adopted in the multidisciplinary field known as social signal processing (Vinciarelli 2009), and to capture the full range of facial expressions of interviewees, the camera should operate in a close-up mode. In many settings, such a technical requirement would be in conflict with the need of creating recording conditions that make the narrators feel at ease. Therefore, the ambitions for re-use of interview data for developing models for the automatic analysis of recorded life-stories have to be adjusted to what is feasible and doable given the origin of the recordings. Still, on the basis of experimental explorations of the data collected in the Post-Yugoslav Voices projects by a team of researchers consisting of linguists and psychologists, some progress has been made in the understanding of the dynamics in the various verbal and non-verbal layers of emotional expression over the time span of an interview (Truong 2014a). The data has also played a role in the validation of an annotation scheme for sighs in spontaneous non-read speech (Truong 2014b).

In general, a tension was observed between the tendency of the NGO to let the victim freely express his or her experiences, and the researchers' need for more details that make it possible to place the narrative about the traumatic events that occurred in the past into a biographical chronological context. This observation was reported to the coordinators in Zagreb, and whilst trying not to put too much pressure on vulnerable narrators, the protocol was adjusted. This proved to be very fruitful, because it soon led to longer and richer interviews. At the same time, however, the costs and time reserved for the translation exceeded the available budget, meaning that not the entire collection could be translated into English.

The criticism expressed by scholars about the lack of specific details that would enable in-depth research in these process-generated interviews, could be met by creating a separate dedicated sub-collection, even with anonymous narrators if that would be needed. This model could also be applicable to accounts by perpetrators whose perspective is currently not covered by the collection.

The availability in this collection of two-language transcripts offers ample possibilities to apply more refined models for automatic metadata extraction, such as automatic topic classification, the tagging of mentioned locations and events, sentiment analysis based on quantifying positive and negative terms in a narrative, and other applications that require access to collections as bulk data. The limited availability of field notes could be an incentive to investigate the feasibility of developing tools that identify spots where the standard course of an interview is interrupted or signal where unannounced behavioral changes occur.

Conclusion

The interview projects reported in this article illustrate the wealth of potential crossovers between oral history projects and scholarly research, but also the constraints that limit the extent to which initiatives from the realm of cultural heritage and NGO are capable of meeting the requirements of academia: more metadata, more details, more context is needed. Some are quite easy to realize, such as providing documents about the background and goal of the project, other requirements demand a more intensive training of interviewers, such as creating a thesaurus or providing field notes that are discrete and do not breach the privacy of narrators. Crucial is that the initiators of such projects are conscious of the fact that by involving researchers in the conceptualization of the project they are generating a future audience. This not only applies to specialists with regard to content, but also to computer scientists specialized in information extraction. A future return of investment in creating a large-scale oral history archive can best be secured by considering the project as a network of knowledge, and generating future users during the runtime of a project.

But it takes two to tango. A successful re-use of data is also dependent on the interest being shown and coming from the research communities. Despite the emphasis that is placed by academic funding programs on open access and re-use of data, paying attention to the practice of curating interview data is still often absent in the academic curriculum. This decreases the chances

for future collections to meet the conditions for re-use. Students also get little training in how to identify existing interview data that could serve the needs of their research topic. But with the growing attention for the role of research infrastructures and data archiving, also in the social sciences and the humanities, the call for standards and best practices in the handling and use of interview data, and also innovative models of collaboration between archival and academic groups, may soon become louder. Examples of how oral history collections that provide rich contextual information have fuelled the research agendas of multidisciplinary teams may turn out to be crucial stepping stones for this development. A quote from Google's former CEO Eric Schmidt seems to indicate that information science is heading in the direction of prioritizing the contextualization of information: "*If content is king, then context is queen!*". | 10

REFERENCES

Aras, R. et al. (2012). Documenting and Interpreting Conflicts through Oral History. A Working Guide. New York: Columbia Center for Oral History Research.

de Jong, F. M. G., van Hessen, A. J., Petrovic, T., Scagliola, S. I. (2014). Croatian Memories: Speech, Meaning and Emotions in a Collection of Interviews on Experiences of War and Trauma. In *Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'14)*. Reykjavik: ELRA.

de Jong, F. M. G., Oard, D. W., Heeren, W. F. L., Ordelman, R. J. F. (2008). Access to Recorded Interviews: A Research Agenda. In *ACM Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage 1* (1), pp. 3:1–3:27.

Duckworth, M. P., Follette, V. M. (2012). *Retraumatization: Assessment, Treatment, and Prevention*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Freund, A. (2009). Oral History as Process-generated Data. In *Historical Social Research 34* (1), pp. 22–48.

Mears-Lunsford, C. (2009). Interviewing for Education and Social Science Research: the Gateway Approach. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ni Laoire, C. (2007). To Name or not to Name: Reflections on the Use of Anonymity in an Oral History Archive of Migrant Life Narratives. In *Social and Cultural Geography 8* (3), pp. 373–390.

Rauschenbach, M., Scagliola, S., Parmentier, S., de Jong, F. M. G., (2016). The Perfect-Data Marriage: Transitional Justice Research and Oral History Life Stories. In *Transitional Justice Review 8* (4). Retrieved at http://dx.doi.org/10.5206/tjr.2016.1.4.2.

Schraagen, J. M. C., te Brake, G. M., de Leeuw, M., Field, J. (2010). Cognitive Aspects of

Friendly Fire Incidents, TNO Report, TNO Defense and Security. Retrieved at http://www.eda.europa.eu/docs/documents/Friendly_Fire_Executive_Summary.pdf.

Temple, B. (2013). Casting a Wider Net: Reflecting on Translation in Oral History. In *Oral History 41* (2), pp. 100–109.

Truong, K., Westerhof, G. J., Lamers, S. M. A., de Jong, F. M. G. (2014a). Towards Modeling Expressed Emotions in Oral History Interviews: Using Verbal and Nonverbal Signals to Track Personal Narratives. In *Literary and Linguistic Computing 29* (4), pp. 621–636.

Truong, K. P., Westerhof, G. J., de Jong, F. M. G., Heylen, D. K. J. (2014b). An Annotation Scheme for Sighs in Spontaneous Dialogue. In *Proceedings of the 15th Annual Conference of the International Speech Communication Association (INTERSPEECH 2014)*, pp. 228–232. Singapore: ISCA.

Van den Berg, H. (2008). Reanalyzing Qualitative Interviews from Different Angles: The Risk of Decontextualization and other Problems of Sharing Qualitative Data. In *Historical Research Volume 33* (3).

Van den Berg, H., Scagliola, S., Wester, F. (Eds.) (2010). *Wat veteranen vertellen. Verschillende Perspectieven op Biografische Interviews over Ervaringen Tijdens Militaire Operaties*. Amsterdam: Pallas Publications.

Van den Heuvel, H., van Horik, R., Sanders, E., Scagliola, S., Witkamp P. (2010). The Veteran Tapes: Research Corpus, Fragment Processing Tool, Enhanced Publications for the e-Humanities. In *Proceedings of the 7th Conference on International Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'10)*. Valletta: ELRA.

Van Dijk, A., Soeters, S., de Ridder, R. (2010). Smooth Translation? A Research Note on the Cooperation between Dutch Service Personnel and Local Interpreters in Afghanistan. In *Armed Forces & Society 10* (36), pp. 917–925.

Vinciarelli, A., Pantic, M., Bourlard, H. (2009). Social Signal Processing: Survey of an Emerging Domain. In *Image and Vision Computing 27* (12), pp. 1743–1759.

Wietsma, A., Scagliola, S. (2014). *Liefde in Tijden van Oorlog*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom.

1   See http://www.veteraneninstituut.nl/diensten/interviewcollectie.

2   See http://www.dans.knaw.nl.

3   The enhanced publication can be accessed here: http://www.watveteranenvertellen.nl.

4   In Dutch referred to as *Erfgoed van de oorlog*; see http://www.oorlogsbronnen.nl/erfgoedvandeoorlog.

5   See https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/datasets/id/easy-dataset:41362/tab/2.

6   See http://www.croatianmemories.org/en.

7   See http://www.bosnianmemories.org.

8   See http://www.easy.dans.knaw.nl.

9   Interview of Stef Scagliola with documentary maker and interviewer of Bosnian Memories, Mubarek Asani, 18.03.2014.

10 James MacTaggart lecture, Edinburgh TV Fest, retrieved at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hSzEFsfc9Ao&feature=player_embedded.

Bea Lewkowicz

THE AJR REFUGEE VOICES ARCHIVE: A RESOURCE FOR SCHOLARSHIP AND LEARNING

Refugee Voices is a collection of 150 filmed interviews with refugees from Nazism now living in Britain. All the interviews, the interview summaries, transcripts, and the interviewees' database have been digitized and are accessible at many academic institutions in the UK and world-wide (for updated information about where you can access the archive please go to www.refugeevoices.co.uk). This paper describes the background and general methodology of the project and gives an introduction to the *Refugee Voices* interviews of this valuable oral history archive (it is based on an earlier paper by Grenville and Lewkowicz 2009). At the date of publication, *Refugee Voices* is in the process of expanding to include at least 50 additional interviews.

Background

In 2002 Dr Anthony Grenville, Carol Seigel, and I curated the exhibition "Continental Britons: Jewish Refugees from Nazi Europe", which was funded by the Association of Jewish Refugees (AJR) and shown at the Jewish Museum London. The exhibition contained my 53-minutes film "Continental Britons", consisting of edited extracts from sixteen interviews with former refugees. The impact of the film was noted by one visitor: "watching the video and walking round the exhibition was like walking with history" (entry 23rd of July 2002, visitor's book). Inspired by the success of the film, Dr Anthony Grenville and I submitted the proposal for a *Refugee Voices* Archive, a large scale video oral history project, to the AJR. The AJR, the organization that has represented the Jewish refugees that fled from Hitler to Britain since

1941, realized how important it was to create a resource that would memorialize the history and the experience of the refugees and commissioned this project. The first interview was carried out in January 2003 and the project was finished in 2008.

The remit of the project was to conduct 120 interviews (subsequently increased to 150) as widely as possible across the entire UK, avoiding too exclusive a concentration on North-West London, the principal area of refugee settlement. Consequently, there is a balance between the number of interviews carried out in London and the South-East and those carried out in the Midlands, the North of England, Scotland, and other regions. The spread of the interviews ranges from Glasgow and Edinburgh to Winchester and Southend, from Batley and Knaresborough to Bristol and Cardiff. A considerable number of interviews were filmed in the Manchester area, some of them with members of the local Orthodox Jewish community, a thus far under-represented group among the German Jewish refugees.

Another aim of *Refugee Voices* was to record the experiences of "ordinary people", who form the bulk of the refugee community in Britain, and not only concentrate on the prominent and high-achieving refugees, a handful of whom have been interviewed for the *Refugee Voices* collection, such as the film set designer Ken Adam. Most of the interviewees have never been interviewed before and very few on film.

Methodology

The development of oral history in the UK is clearly linked to the development of *Alltagsgeschichte* and "history from below" which attempted to give voice to marginalized groups, to "give history back to the people in their own words" (Thompson 2000: 308). At the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties some oral historians challenged the pure "recovery" and "gathering" focus of oral history and asserted that "memory" should be moved to the center stage of analysis and not only remain the method of oral history (Frisch 1990: 188). These methodological developments suggested that the purpose of the *Refugee Voices* interviews needed to be two-fold:

a) To gather evidence of historical experiences not widely recorded (of the emigration and settlement of German-speaking refugees in the UK in general and specific experiences in particular, for example women as domestic servants, accounts of internment, refugees as POWs in Germany etc.); and
b) to enable an individual to narrate his/her life story and reflect on his/her experiences.

Keeping in mind the aim of historical reconstruction on the one hand and the creation of narrative memory on the other, the nature of the interview questions was of crucial importance. The questions needed to be open, not suggestive, and descriptive ("Could you please describe …?", "What was it like …?", "How do you remember …?"). Many of the interviews start with the question "Can you tell us about your family background?" The answers can vary from one minute to five minutes, from talking about the history of the family to immediately talking about Hitler and the experience of emigration. The interviewers were also instructed to accept silences as part of the interview. The interviews vary in length from one to six hours; the average interview lasts for two to three hours. All the interviews are life story interviews, covering the interviewees' lives from childhood to today. We created guidelines for interviewers and camera operators in order to be as consistent as possible.

The project had three principal interviewers, Anthony Grenville and Bea Lewkowicz in the South and Rosalyn Lifshin in the North of England. The first interview took place in January 2003 with Elena Lederman, who had survived the war in hiding in Brussels, and our last interview was conducted in March 2007 in the Wiener Library with Professor John Grenville, who had come to the UK on a Kindertransport from Berlin (an edited version of the interview has been published in the Leo Baeck Yearbook 2011 (Lewkowicz 2011). We decided to film a "head and shoulder" shot throughout the interview but to zoom out at the end of the interview in order to get a sense of the interviewee's space. Our aim was not to change the shot during an interview, thereby not giving more or less visual importance to certain parts or sequences of the interview. The aesthetics of the video testimony image is a quite interesting topic and I think in future we will see research about the varied choices made

by different video oral history projects, looking at the different impacts these choices make on the viewer and user of testimonies. Below are sample images of three interview shots and their filmed photographs.

The advantage of video testimony, as suggested by James Young, is that unlike literary testimony (which is edited), silences are part of the image and unlike audio interviews, gestures, movements, and expressions provide an additional layer of interpretation (Young 1988: 161). Inspired by other video history projects, such as the Fortunoff Video Archive of Yale University (4,300 interviews), the USC Shoah Foundation, (52,000 interviews), and the Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivors Oral History Archive at the University of Michigan-Dearborn (300 interviews), *Refugee Voices* is the first dedicated video archive of life histories by refugees from Germany and Austria in the UK. It was decided very early on in the project that all interviews needed to be fully transcribed in order to provide the best access possible for researchers to the raw material of the interviews.

Accompanying the collection is a comprehensive database of the interviewees with 47 separate categories, including place and date of birth, parents' details, manner of emigration, prisons/camps and war experiences, as well as information about the interviewees' post-war lives, careers, families etc. The database makes a treasure trove of information easily available to researchers. The time code in the transcripts makes it possible for a researcher to locate specific passages within an interview in a short amount of time. They can easily locate information relevant to any number of specific areas of interest, for example "Kindertransportees", "domestic servants", "internment on the Isle of Man", or relating to interviewees from specific locations. Each interview is also accompanied by still shots of photographs of family members and friends, of places of importance for the interviewee and of other items and documents of special importance in the interviewee's life. *Refugee Voices* is therefore both an archive of video testimonies but also of private photographs and documents.

One should note here that while transcriptions are very useful in terms of access to the material, they should not be treated as a primary source. Due to the nature of the many languages involved (German, English, Yiddish, Hebrew etc.) and the sheer volume of transcripts (more than 7,500 pages of transcripts), mistakes in transforming the spoken words to written words are unavoidable, despite our editorial efforts. One interviewee was very upset that the transcript cited Wroclaw and not Inowrozlaw as the birth place of his father. Although we were able to correct this mistake at the time, we are aware that other mistakes might only be found once researchers are working on and using the interviews.

The Interviews

The interviews cover a very wide spectrum of experiences, including those of refugees who escaped to Britain before the outbreak of war in 1939, those who survived in hiding in occupied Europe, and those who survived the camps. Of the 150 interviews, 71 were conducted with men and 79 with women, the biggest groups of interviewees were born in Berlin (31) and Vienna (25), 35 interviewees had come to Britain on a Kindertransport. 67 interviewees were over 80 when we interviewed them, the oldest interviewee is 97 years old and the youngest was 64.

The life stories of the interviewees reflect many aspects of the history of forced emigration and survival. Alongside those interviewees who came directly to the UK there are interviewees who came to Britain via Shanghai, via Palestine, and on the notorious ship *St Louis*; there are also interviewees who were in the East of Poland in 1939, were deported to Central Asia by the Soviets and made their way to the Middle East after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, joining the British forces there. There is an interview with a survivor who was smuggled to safety from Denmark to Sweden in the famous sea-borne rescue of Jews, an interview with a survivor who was released from Bergen-Belsen to Switzerland in January 1945 as part of a prisoner exchange, and an interview with a man who was present at the signing of the Israeli Declaration of Independence in 1948. As the interviews also explore the post-war lives of the interviewees, the testimonies contain a wealth of material on the lives of the interviewees in Britain after 1945: on

the manner of their settlement, the obstacles they encountered, the degree of their integration, their sense of identity and their religious affiliation, as well as their professional development, their attitudes to Britain, Israel and their native lands, their family life as well as their hopes and aspirations for their children.

The open-ended nature of the questions allows the interviewees to create their own narratives and thus provide ample opportunity for oral history research. For example, let us look at the two answers given by Natalie Huss-Smickler and Charles Danson when asked at the beginning of the interview about their family background. Natalie Huss-Smickler, born 1912 in Vienna, says:

"Well, yes my mother came from Poland and my father was also born in Poland but they came very young to Vienna and we considered ourselves Austrians, Viennese Austrians. Yes. Until Hitler came." (Interview 5, *Refugee Voices*)

Charles Danson, born 1920 in Berlin, replies very differently to the question about his family background and gives a very long answer:

"About my background. Well, I was born in Berlin on the 22nd of January 1920. My original name is Danielsohn, my father was Dr Peter Danielsohn. He was a physician specializing in internal diseases. My mother, Marga Danielson, née Neufeld, was a professional pianist up to the time when I was born, when she gave it up professionally. She was actually the first pupil of the very famous pianist Arthur Schnabel. Schnabel lived round the corner from where we lived. In the days before she was married she used to play tennis with him before getting a lesson. I also had a half sister. Her name was Eva, we called her Evi, and she was my half sister because my father had been married before. His first wife, my sister's mother, died, of cancer actually, and then my father remarried, and he married my mother Marga. They had actually known each other all their lives, because they were related, very distantly related. I think they were third cousins or something like that. I had a very happy childhood, and I was completely spoilt, specially by my sister because I was so much younger than she, nine and a half years younger, and she used to take me out in the pram, and showed me

proudly to all her friends, and when I was asleep she used to tickle me till I woke up and cried, because apparently I looked particularly sweet when I cried. Now the first six years I never went to Kindergarten. I played at home and I had friends and we played at home, and when I was six years old I started the Gemeindeschule, which is a prep school, it was about five minutes away from where we lived." (Interview 20, *Refugee Voices*)

Another important aspect of the *Refugee Voices* interviews is the reflective section at the end of each interview. We wanted to make sure that the interviewees have space to reflect on their experiences by asking questions like "What impact did your experiences have on your life?", "How different would your life had been if you had not been forced to emigrate?", and "How would you describe yourself in terms of your identity?" guided this reflective process. We felt that in terms of the narration of lives by mostly older interviewees, these were pertinent themes to explore. When listening to the reflective section at the end of the *Refugee Voices* interviews, the researchers can understand that the experiences of displacement and loss in the early lives of the interviewees are often still relevant today. Arnold Weinberger, who was born in Fulda, and came on a Kindertransport to the UK, says at the end of the interview:

"I miss my family. That is all. And I think about them every day. I look at that photo of my parents, the only one I have got, every day I look at it, there isn't a go day goes by without me looking at it." (Interview 92, *Refugee Voices*)

Ursula Gilbert, who came on a Kindertransport from Berlin, describes her life as follows:

"My happy family life was interrupted and I lost my parents and my sister. And I tried to work myself up to a sort of a useful and nice enough human being. I found my own family and I managed to study so I've got something I can say I can be proud of. I'm happy and I've got no regrets […] And that's how it is and I had to come to terms with that. It's no good saying I resent it in any way because that's how it is." (Interview 145, *Refugee Voices*)

These quotes illustrate that in these interviews we can find narratives of trauma and rupture but that they are often accompanied by narratives of coping and adjusting.

Educational Outputs

While the *Refugee Voices* Archive was still in the making, we produced our first educational film called "Moments and Memories" (40 minutes), which is basically a teaser to the collection of interviews in the archive. The film is listed in the resource section of the website for the UK Holocaust Memorial Day and can be purchased from the AJR. I subsequently produced two other films based on the *Refugee Voices* interviews, one about refugee artist Milein Cosman (24 minutes), shown during an exhibition of her work at Burgh House in London and since then in many other settings, and another film called "Czechoslovak *Refugee Voices*" (focusing on the stories of the five refugees who had come to the UK from Czechoslovakia, 30 minutes).

The major educational output based on *Refugee Voices* interviews was facilitated by funding received from the Austrian Nationalfonds and Zukunftsfonds in 2009, which allowed us not only to create a film but also a multi-media resource, consisting of an exhibition, a catalogue, a film, and a book. This follow-on project, called "Double Exposure: Jewish Refugees from Austria in Britain", works with different layers of interpretation, in different media and can really demonstrate the enormous potential any testimony collection has, given the funding possibilities. "Double Exposure" gave us a chance to re-visit and re-interpret the interviews we had gathered and to look at them in a new light.

Anyone who has worked with testimonies knows that authors, film makers, and educators shape, edit, and select the stories and images we present to a wider audience. This "framing process" is often not made explicit. Our aim was to find a way of visually illustrating this process and so the idea of "Double Exposure" was born. We decided to go back to the interviews and take still photographs of moments of filmed conversation, in the frame of the viewfinder (of the camera which had filmed the original interview), with the

volume and brightness control visible. Through this process the image of the interviewee became "double exposed", first to the lens of the video camera and then to the lens of my still camera. We then chose one quote from each interview and translated it into German. The idea for choosing these particular quotes was to locate the interviewees in the present and explore their reflective messages about their identities, their history, and their visions of the future. We get a sense of how each person coped individually with the trauma of uprooting, dislocation, and loss. Another layer of information was added by the old still photographs which we produced as a strap line for each panel. For the exhibition I made a 50-minute film called "Double Exposure" and for other screenings I produced a 104-minute version. The exhibition and film was accompanied by a catalogue with the biographies of the 25 interviewees and a book "Stimmen der Flucht" (Grenville 2011). Our aim was to make each medium work independently while at the same time reinforcing each other's content.

Figure 1: Screen shot from "Moments and Memories"

Figure 2: Screen shot from "Czechoslovak Refugee Voices"
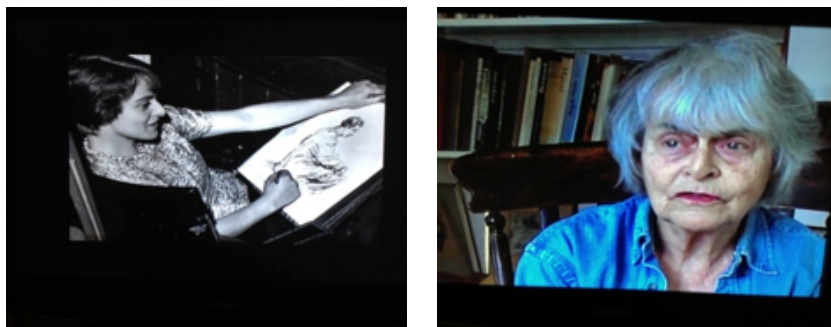
Figure 3: Screen shots from "Impressions", a film based on the Refugee Voices interview with artist Milein Cosman

The following quote by Otto Deutsch, for example, in which he talks about his gratitude, an important theme in many interviews and his inability to forget, is visually represented on an exhibition panel and appears in the "Double Exposure" film.

"I feel grateful to many people, for instance, to my dear mother—what courage she must have had to sign the paper sending me away; to Mr. and Mrs. Ferguson [my foster parents]; to the many people involved in various welfare organization. You live a normal life, but you never, ever forget, you can't forget, and I would not want to. Can I forgive? That's difficult to. But life must go on." (Interview 15, *Refugee Voices*)

Conclusion

I hope to have illustrated that the *Refugee Voices* Archive offers an enormous potential for both scholarship and learning. It is a very valuable resource for academics, researchers, educationalists, and others with a professional interest in such fields as Jewish Studies, Holocaust Studies, Migration and Refugee Studies, as well as modern British, German, Austrian, and European History. The testimonies personalize history and enrich our historical understanding of events. They can give us a glimpse of how the interviewees look back on their lives and how they coped with the experiences of persecution, separation, loss, adaptation, and settlement in the UK. [1]

The interviews also offer the researcher the opportunity to contextualize different narratives and to compare them to each other, in some cases to even compare different narratives by the same person, as some of the interviewees have also published their own autobiographies and/or have been interviewed by other interview projects. [2]

One interviewee, Arnold Weinberg, summarizes the importance of *Refugee Voices* as follows:

"As time goes on, the memory of those days and the importance of it will dim with time and this programme [Refugee Voices] will help to keep it in people's minds and hopefully let

Figure 4: Page 6/7 from "Double Exposure" exhibition catalogue (Lewkowicz 2011)

Figure 5: Book cover of Anthony Grenville's book "Stimmen der Flucht" (Grenville 2011)

Figure 6: "Double Exposure" exhibition panel of Otto Deutsch

the future generations have a better life, in a better world." (Interview 61, *Refugee Voices*)

In a recent interview with Gerti Baruch, born in Vienna in 1926, we filmed her family register. One entry read: *Die Erinnerung ist ein Paradies, aus dem wir nicht vertrieben werden koennen.* (Memory is a paradise from which we cannot be banished). This entry, written in 1936, encapsulates the long lasting importance of the collection of memories we have captured in the *Refugee Voices* archive. I hope that in years to come many individuals will have the opportunity to listen to the *Refugee Voices* interviews which we recorded between 2002 and 2008 (and the additional interviews, currently being recorded from 2015 on) and learn from them about the experiences and lives of the Jewish survivors and refugees who settled in the UK.

REFERENCES

Frisch, M. (1990). *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Grenville, A., Lewkowicz, B. (2009). Refugee Voices. In *German Historical Institute London Bulletin 31* (2), pp. 178–183.

Grenville, A. (2011). *Stimmen der Flucht: Österreichische Emigration nach Großbritannien 1938/39*. Vienna: Czernin.

Lewkowicz, B. (2010). Changing Stories? An Exploration of the Relationship between the Interviewer and The Interviewee's Narrative, Paper given at the ESSHC Conference in Ghent.

Lewkowicz, B. (2011). An Interview by Dr Bea Lewkowicz with Professor John Grenville. *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook 56* (1), pp. 7–26.

Lewkowicz, B. (2011). *Double Exposure. Jewish Refugees from Austria in Britain*. Exhibition catalogue.

Lewkowicz, B. (2012). Refugee Voices (The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive): A New Resource for the Study of the Kindertransport. In *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39. New Perspectives* (pp. 239–246). Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi..

Thompson, P. (2000). *The Voice of the Past. Oral History (third edition)*. Oxford: OUP.

Young, J. (1988), Writing and Re-writing the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation, Indiana 1988.

1 See Lewkowicz 2012 on interviews with Kindertransportees in the *Refugee Voices* Archive.

2 See Lewkowicz 2010 for a discussion on the role of the interviewer on shaping the narrative of the interviewee.

Michele Barricelli

PUBLICATION PROJECT
"PRESERVING SURVIVORS' MEMORIES"
Section II – "Education" – Introduction

Video testimonies about Nazi mass crimes and other genocides have become a widely used medium of education and instruction in schools, universities, museums and memorial sites. On the one hand, this is due to the lack of contemporary witnesses which today are more and more unable to deliver their memories personally in a face-to-face situation. On the other hand, the high number of videotaped narrative interviews also results from the special benefits they provide for Oral History in general and especially as a multi-faceted pedagogical resource. Collections of various kinds are enabling students to get close to those who lived in times of utmost injustice, discrimination and persecution; those living today are invited to listen to the powerful stories of the past and use these as a basis when thinking about intolerance and bigotry nowadays.

Of course, firstly and foremost, video testimonies are primary sources in a scientific understanding – they can be analyzed, compared, evaluated, and therefore re-heard over and over again. Thus we can analyze how the changing identities of survivors are depicted and constructed textually over time. The interviews with real people who stood up against tyranny and are able to relate their unbearable experiences, even informing us of how they have come to live with these also convey emotions and personal messages in a way that fosters compassion and a sense of responsibility. Obviously this is a common ground for learning processes that are taking place in the 21st century.

In this chapter various forms of the integration of video testimonies into history education will be presented and examined in the broadest sense. It will be made clear that no matter if in a classroom, a museum or a memorial site,

whether in a developed democratic country or a posttraumatic society, if the mass violence occurred many decades ago or almost yesterday, the video-taped narratives of the witnesses encourage viewers to prepare for very special history lessons. First of all, it's the authenticity of the speech that attracts learners from all fields. Then there are the iridescent details of the accounts which cannot be easily come by when only relying on written evidence like files or reports, not even when beholding photographs or art. Finally, however, the real challenge is to directly look into peoples' faces at the very moment that they are telling their stories of pain and persecution, all the time listening to a dialogue which contains an unconcealed message: The memory of endless suffering cannot be erased, yet it must be remodeled, on the side of the audience, into the will to do good and taking on responsibility for a better future so that this injustice of the extreme kind may never happen again. This, however, is a most difficult task. Younger students at school cannot easily connect themselves to a far-away past and its crimes. These took place in the bygone era of their great-grandparents. The average visitor to an historical museum or a memorial site may not feel at ease with the enervating voices and sometimes painfully exposed faces broadcast by the monitors of the exhibitions. And sometimes the hardships of suffering and humiliation under barbaric rulers are so fresh that sensitive methods have to be conceived in order to be able to deal with the memories successfully. A good example for this is provided by Freddy Mutanguha, who is contemplating the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide in 1994. So are there any overall approaches when making use of video testimonies for teaching history?

Modern didactics certainly have devised and come up with appropriate methods of coming to terms with video testimonies in educational settings. The challenges, often enough ambivalent, of truthfulness, trust and empathy are duly put into consideration as we can see in the texts of Werner Dreier, Katharina Obens and Nadine Fink alike: Dreier examines the considerable impact of contemporary witnesses visiting Austrian schools and suggests how learning programs that contain videotaped interviews may in the long run replace the final loss of the survivors. Obens assesses the effects of emo-

tions on historical consciousness when pupils are learning to use survivors' testimonies and, relying on her practical examples, calls for a psychological training that could help one to indulge in the recorded narratives. Fink is focusing on a very special setting of Holocaust education when, by means of an empirical approach, she is testing how younger citizens of a nation that was not directly involved in the Second World War may nevertheless relate themselves to this history and develop concern for the victims.

Outside school, official agents of historical or memorial cultures have to handle the emerging problems in their own ways: Suzanne Bardgett is delivering an inner perspective from a high-ranking British museum and giving us an insight into the efforts of making the exhibition of a tormented past more touching and much more personal. Diana Gring discusses the custom-built needs of memorial sites when integrating video testimonies as educators are struggling with the problem of honoring the victims on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of putting their experiences into a clear and explanatory context. Working at Bergen-Belsen, she can take advantage of a local interview project that has led to a singular concept combining historical source material, film footage and video testimonies.

Preserving the precious memories of genocide survivors does not only happen at official institutions, but everywhere there where witnesses meet the next generations – or merely themselves within a protected surrounding. Edward Serotta presents a very special scene of the mixture of modern technology with, as he openly admits, the old-fashioned art of story-telling. Under the roof of the Centropa organization, founded in the 1990s in Romania, projects took place that brought together Holocaust survivors, their memories and the matching photos or other documents still available. This resulted in video-taped interviews which today can be used for preserving the stories of the interviewees who, sadly enough, have passed away by now.

It has to be argued that despite the widespread use of video testimonies in the field of teaching and learning, the development of scholarly work regarding this matter is still at the very beginning. The papers presented here – together with the discussions in a few other publications, including those of

the EVZ foundation – can demonstrate, though, how the voices and faces of the past, if only preserved and made available by means of modern technology, can help to fulfill two essential concerns of education: peace-building and reconciliation.

Werner Dreier

TESTIMONIES OF HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS IN SCHOOL EDUCATION – EXPERIENCES, CHALLENGES, OPEN QUESTIONS FROM AN AUSTRIAN PERSPECTIVE

Since the late 1970s, witnesses to National Socialism have been visiting schools and sharing their recollections with students about what happened to them and their families, how they reacted and what this past means for them today. In 2013 about 30 women and men older than 80 years of age – the eldest, Marco Feingold, actually turned 100 in 2013 – still bore the burden of recollecting and narrating what they experienced during the years of National Socialist tyranny as Jews, Slovenes in southern Austria, Roma, Jehovah's Witnesses or children in reformatories. In 2014 an even smaller group of witnesses visited approximately 60 schools all over Austria. [1]

Schools and the general public continue to receive these witnesses with great interest. In general, there is still a high level of public interest in National Socialism, the Second World War and the crimes committed by Nazi Germany and its allies; according to the Austrian magazine *profil*, sales go up by 50% when there are cover stories relating to the Nazis (the same applies to the German weekly *Der Spiegel*). [2]

In 2013/14 the famous Burgtheater in Vienna staged *Die letzten Zeugen* (The Last Witnesses), a kind of documentary play and reading by Doron Rabinovici based on the recollections of survivors. The presence of six survivors on stage made the play into a tribute to those outstanding personalities. [3]

The terms "witness", and particularly "testimony" (from *testis*, the Latin for witness), already hint at the underlying social significance. A testimony is a formal written or spoken statement, especially one given in a court of law: *the testimony of an eyewitness;* it is evidence or proof of something. [4]

Jewish and Christian religious traditions strengthen this significance: "You must not testify falsely against your neighbor" (Deuteronomy 5:20), and "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" (8th commandment according to the Catholic and Lutheran count, or the 9th commandment according to Anglican and Orthodox tradition).

School visits by witnesses are even more loaded when the visitors are introduced as "survivors". The term "survivor" recalls the border between life and death, a grey zone which – like death itself – is far removed from the everyday experiences of most people today. The shadow of death is now within the classroom and not, for example, in a hospital. This is an emotional challenge suggestive of fear and horror, but it also has something attractive about it, particularly when the horrors of the past can be viewed from the relative safety of the classroom. But the classroom does not provide enough support and security for all children and adolescents, especially not for those who have been persecuted or subjected to violence themselves.

Not only does the "witness as a wanderer between two worlds", quoting Martin Sabrow, bring the present together with a past that has been "overcome and made harmless" (Sabrow 2012); in addition the survivor can also talk about violence and death while simultaneously representing the possibility of *Weiterleben* (the German title of Ruth Klüger's book – literally, to continue living; the English title is *Still Alive*) (Klüger 2001). Ruth Klüger herself, however, is very sceptical of this important role of the witness, which is so frequently invoked. What could a witness talk about that listeners could or would want to hear and understand? Klüger says that listeners should not identify with the account but rather be provoked and seek debate (Ibid.: 141).

The classroom in the Austrian school

Austria's school system is highly differentiated and selective. In grade 5, pupils are divided into the *Gymnasium* (grades 5–12) – a more academically-oriented type of school – and the *Hauptschule*, a junior high school (grades 5–8) with fewer academic requirements which mainly leads into the vocational training system. Some 70% of young Austrians from the ages of 15 to

18 or 19 attend grammar school or vocational grammar schools, and approximately 30% participate in vocational training (these students attend school for only one day a week).|5 Of the latter group, some 30% do not speak German as their first language.|6 Witnesses to National Socialism mainly visited higher-education classes (grammar schools and vocational grammar schools) when they went to school and only in rare cases did they visit vocational schools.

The Austrian school of today is a multicultural school. An average of approximately 1 in 5 pupils does not speak German as a first language, and in urban areas many more children come from diverse backgrounds; in the primary schools of Vienna and the bigger cities, but also in small towns such as Bregenz, we find children with family backgrounds from at least 14 nations.|7

According to the compulsory national curriculum, all pupils must learn about National Socialism and the Holocaust in grade 8, and the 70% who participate in higher education are again exposed to it in grade 11 or 12.

The Nazi era, and thus the Holocaust, are primarily addressed in history class. But even in subjects such as German and Religion texts on the topics are read and issues relating to this history are discussed. What's needed is collaboration between teachers so that students do not feel that they are being continually confronted with National Socialism and its unpleasant stories in an uncoordinated way. The problem is that teaching history in general, and teaching about National Socialism in particular, is coming under increasing pressure. There are fewer lesson periods available for it, whereas the amount of content grows from year to year. Austria recently introduced civic education classes at the expense of teaching history in the 8th grade classes, and the same thing is planned for the *Unterstufe* (grades 4–8).|8

Although the curricula for all types of schools above the level of *Volksschule* (grades 1–4) call for National Socialism and the Holocaust to be taught, no specific number of classroom hours is set aside for handling these topics. Teachers are free to dedicate very few hours to it or to plan for a more detailed teaching unit lasting for many hours. In general, it must be assumed that these topics increasingly find themselves in competition with topics

that currently seem more urgent. In seminars, we generally hear teachers bemoaning this time pressure.

As a recent study shows, it cannot be assumed that teachers will have studied National Socialism or the Holocaust during their initial training phase at universities or teacher training colleges, except in a very general way and only getting a rough overview (Greussing 2014). Even though all universities and teacher training colleges in Austria regularly offer topic-specific courses, students have an option: they can either attend courses on National Socialism or courses dealing with other topics in contemporary history. In-service teacher training is not obligatory in Austria, and today many teachers are overwhelmed by the significant changes in the school system. In addition, many history teachers teach only a few hours of history and many more hours a week in their second (and therefore main) subject. This also contributes to a lack of professionalism when it comes to teaching history.

However, teachers are an important key to successfully learning about National Socialism and the Holocaust. The challenges for teachers arise not solely from the discipline of history or the topic itself, but rather from the diversity of students in today's classroom. That said, the diversity of the students should not actually pose any fundamental difficulty for a class on National Socialism and the Holocaust which does not aim solely to convey knowledge and the "right" lessons to the students. By focusing not on a supposedly homogeneous collective of students who must be taught the right attitude and relevant knowledge, but instead on the learners in all of their diversity, such a class could create space for individual exploration, individual questions and individual, opinionated learning.

Witnesses to National Socialism visiting Austrian schools

Some of the witnesses to National Socialism who visit schools and share their diverse experiences and recollections with students are Holocaust survivors, others were political opponents, some were in concentration camps, others emigrated. Hermann Langbein was a founder and leading personality in this eyewitness program. Langbein fought in Spain, was imprisoned in France,

Dachau and Auschwitz, and after the liberation he became the first general secretary of the International Auschwitz Committee in 1954. He was a functionary in the Austrian Communist Party until he was expelled from the party in 1958 and subsequently dismissed as general secretary of the Auschwitz Committee in 1961 (Halbmayr 2012).

Langbein was one of the survivors who became a historian of Nazi persecution.|9 In his academic writings, mainly about Auschwitz, he joined other survivors such as H.G. Adler, Leon Poliakov and Raul Hilberg. All of them were born into Jewish families; Adler was imprisoned in Terezin, Poliakov was part of the French Resistance and Hilberg escaped to the US from Vienna. For decades, the Holocaust was not a topic of contemporary historical research, and it was certainly not viewed as the central crime of Nazi Germany and its allies. Instead, as Sybille Steinbach points out, it was considered a "fringe phenomenon, especially in West German historiography."|10 To come back to Langbein, we might add that in Austria, too, academic historiography did not address the Holocaust – it was the survivors and members of the resistance who held up the memory of Nazi crimes as a mirror to a society that refused to acknowledge them. Langbein was an eyewitness as well as a historian who was politically socialized in communist ideology. His concept for eyewitnesses visiting schools was therefore based on this combination of personal accounts and the more objective, academic historical knowledge. In 1980 he developed this concept and proposed a program to the Austrian Ministry of Education together with a young professor for political science at the University of Innsbruck, Anton Pelinka.

The people who visit schools in this program are called "contemporary witnesses" (*Zeitzeugen*) and not "survivors", which underlines the active role of the individuals and not their status as victims. To begin with, a witness and a historian would visit schools together, but over the years the concept changed and witnesses met school classes without being accompanied by someone responsible for the historical context.

For Hermann Langbein it was important that the witnesses should not focus too much on their personal, subjective experiences but rather move on

"without delay" to the more pressing ideological and sociological questions that come up when dealing with the system that brought Auschwitz into being (Halbmayr 2012: 214).

The ambition was quite clear: to give the opponents and also the victims a voice in order to fight Fascism and Nazism. In addition, Langbein would not explicitly emphasize the murder of Jews or refer to this as the Holocaust or Shoah.

Hermann Langbein and many other contemporary witnesses who visited Austrian schools from the 1980s on were so-called "politicals", meaning that they had been sent to concentration camps on account of their political convictions and not on racist grounds. Or they may have been persecuted on racist grounds, but they viewed themselves first and foremost as political people; many of them had been communists for some period of time in their lives. Ruth Klüger had encountered these "politicals" as a young Jewish girl in the camps – and she passed a rather generalized and quite harsh judgment on them, referring to the "arrogance of the politicals": "The politicals, some of whom came from the anti-Semitic milieu, despised the Jews because they seemed morally superior; while they had been imprisoned for their convictions, the Jews had been imprisoned for nothing, absolutely nothing. (Politically active Jews were still treated like Jews in the concentration camps)." (Klüger 2001: 74)

For Langbein and many of the *Zeitzeugen*, visiting schools in the 1980s or 1990s and talking about Nazi persecution had a clear intention: to build a better future, a more just society – or even more explicitly, a socialist society. The aspect of teaching history clearly dominated over the recounting of personal experiences. The people telling their stories and sharing their experiences were not meant to be experts in everyday life but rather history teachers and bearers of a message. A smaller group of these "contemporary witnesses" shared their experiences as Holocaust survivors, as persecuted Roma or Sinti, Jehovah's Witnesses, deserters from the Wehrmacht, or children in institutions where other children were mistreated or even killed. It appears as though nobody who had been persecuted as a homosexual talked

in schools, however. And, of course, the experiences of the majority of Austrian society in the Wehrmacht or as part of the "*Volksgemeinschaft*" ("people's community") were not reflected in this program. In general, it was meant to make room for suppressed experiences and for alternative narratives.

The witnesses of this generation had usually experienced National Socialism as young adults, and their age progression meant that fewer and fewer of them were able to visit schools after the turn of the century. Hermann Langbein died in 1995. But new witnesses came forward, including many women. The majority of them were much younger and viewed their task less politically. They also brought new perspectives to bear – often those of children who had survived in the camps or in hiding.

Hermann Langbein initiated an annual seminar to introduce the latest historical research to the witnesses. This seminar still exists. Today it brings together historical witnesses as well as teachers and facilitates dialogue between the generations. Every spring approximately 20 witnesses meet with interested teachers for two days. [11]

But aside from these extraordinarily strong and devoted *Zeitzeugen* who still engage in this important conversation with the younger generation, we have to face the fact that only very few Holocaust survivors or resistance fighters are still able to visit schools in Austria. This is why learning programs based on videotaped testimonies are so important. A second aspect is that it seems easier to reflect on video testimony than on the testimony a survivor gives in a classroom.

"The Legacy" (Das Vermächtnis, 2008) and "New Home Israel" (Neue Heimat Israel) – Holocaust Survivors Tell their Stories.

After 1945, the voices of people persecuted on racist grounds were rarely heard in Austria; the Jews had been murdered or remained in their "new homelands" after having been expelled – very few returned, and of those who did, many were "politicals" who felt they had a political duty to establish a "new Austria". [12] The voices of Jewish victims and other persecuted groups had very little presence in Austria, and particularly in Austrian text-

books, until the turn of the 21st century. In order to give as many students as possible the opportunity to "encounter" the experiences of the persecuted, _erinnern.at_ used thirteen interviews from the collection of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute to develop the teaching materials known as "Das Vermächtnis" (The Legacy). This resource consists of two DVDs, one with excerpts from video interviews, the other with a variety of teaching modules for the classroom which also include personal photos and documents. Photos from the time discussed by the interviewees convey an image of the people who are mentioned as well as, in particular, the interviewees at a time period when they were of a similar age as the students today.

Three different kinds of video excerpts are included:

■ Short biographical documentaries which focus on the years of persecution but still attempt to tell the interviewees' entire life stories.

■ Thematic videos which combine clips about a single topic (e.g., "camp", "escape and expulsion") from multiple interviews.

■ Video clips arranged according to the learning modules on DVD 2 – so that teachers can directly access the clips they need without having to search for them.

■ The main didactical principles are:

■ To enable a thorough examination of videotaped testimonies: What has been seen and what has been heard? How do the students react to the interviewees and to their account?

■ To present entire life stories and not to reduce a life only to the time of persecution.

■ To foster an "encounter" with a survivor – albeit in a technically transmitted version.

 "The Legacy" has primarily been presented to Austrian teachers in the context of seminars organized by _erinnern.at_. The main feedback has been that teachers use DVD 1, with the video documents, much more often than DVD 2, with the teaching material. We assume that DVD 2 includes too much material, too many PDFs and thus too much paper that needs to be printed out, so it overwhelms the teachers; too much material and too little time.

"Neue Heimat Israel" (New Home Country Israel) is an educational resource available to schools on DVD and on the internet. | 13 It is based on 14 interviews with Holocaust survivors from Austria who now live in Israel. In the context of seminars held by _erinnern.at_, hundreds of Austrian teachers had the opportunity to meet many of the older women and men in Israel who still spoke a soft Austrian German but had a very ambivalent relationship to Austria. For many of them, Austria was the romanticized land of their childhood, but also the country where they barely managed to flee persecution and often where their families were murdered. These encounters left a lasting impression on many of the teachers. It therefore made sense to try to convey these special experiences and memories to Austrian schoolchildren as well.

The didactic principles were revised in accordance with the feedback from "The Legacy". The biographical approach was strengthened in that the central video profiles of the interviewees were supplemented with sequences which hinted at the current life situation of the people at the time of the interview. Attempts were also made to convey an impression of their life in Israel. Additionally, two cameras were used during the interviews to make editing easier and the interview situation more transparent. The environment, the interviewer, the camera and the camera operator were all meant to be visible.

The focus is, once again, on the interviewees, and only photos and documents provided by the interviewees themselves are used in the video profiles and the modules on the internet. Once again it was important to make both time periods visible: the time period that was being reported on (through historical photos provided by the interviewees, for example), and the time that the actual interview was taking place (often through a glimpse at the interviewees' current living situation). The teaching material is clearly structured so that teachers can easily access it. The first point of access is via the educational website, through the biographies of the interviewees, and the first recommended teaching activity is an analysis of each biography. Six historically themed learning modules (e.g., "Relationship with Austria") as well as two learning modules about the process of remembering ("Speech and Silence")

and about the video profiles themselves make it possible to intensively engage with many of the issues addressed by the interviewees.

Teachers can familiarize themselves with "New Home Country Israel" in seminars; however, there are not yet any reliable findings on how these options are actually being used in the classroom and what the experience has been like for teachers and students.

What do we learn from the recollections of survivors?

Much can be learnt in a society like Austria, where the suffering of so many was ignored for such a long time. Very few individuals from one of the most important Jewish communities in the world came back to Austria after the years of persecution. More than 60,000 were killed, and approximately 120,000 preferred to live outside of their former homeland.

The social fabric of many regions of Austria was changed by the racist extermination policy. This was true not only for the Jewish population but also for the Austrian Roma and Sinti – only 10% survived.

From the very first moment of liberation on, many survivors of the Holocaust and many resistance fighters – often the same individuals – fought against the general refusal to confront the Nazi and Austrofascist past. Against this background of neglect, Herman Langbein and others established the program of witnesses to National Socialism visiting schools in the late 1970s.

For _erinnern.at_, it is still important to bring the narratives of the persecuted and expelled back into Austrian society – today also in the form of learning programs based on video interviews. This is part of the process of recognition of this violent past and of the suffering of so many. The recognition of the existence of the victims is also a precondition for any and all explorations regarding the causes of their suffering.

But we should not focus too much on the experiences of the victims if we want to learn how to work "against the repetition of Auschwitz". This is how Adorno phrased the enduring need to learn from the Holocaust and Nazi mass violence in order to prevent genocide or events of mass violence today. Hermann Langbein and the Holocaust survivors who visited schools in the

1980s would have described their agenda in a similar way. This attempt to prevent the "repetition of Auschwitz" calls for an examination of the perpetrators. To quote Adorno: "The roots must be sought in the persecutors, not in the victims who are murdered under the paltriest of pretenses."

Adorno also demands a focus on the subjects:

"One must come to know the mechanisms that render people capable of such deeds, must reveal these mechanisms to them, and strive, by awakening a general awareness of those mechanisms, to prevent people from becoming so again." [14]

In a similar vein, Raul Hilberg says we must first analyze the persecutors "because only the perpetrator, not the victim, knew what would happen the next day. The perpetrators were the decisive factor. You can't start with the reaction." [15] And Dan Diner points out that, for Saul Friedländer, an ethically-based empathy with the victims is the basis for reconstructing what happened (Diner 2012: 19).

In addition, a focus on structural or more "objective" dimensions will help generate an understanding of what happened back then. This demands an inquiry into the historical context, the "frames of reference" that are intertwined with human action, or into the interaction of the individual, group and organization, to give some examples. More generally speaking, it demands academic historical, sociological and psychological research and writing that explains what happened to those citizens who were made into victims.

Auschwitz survivor Hermann Langbein and the young professor of political sciences Anton Pelinka who established the program of witnesses to National Socialism visiting schools in the late 1970s responded to this need to combine academic research with individual memory when they established the rule that the witness should always be accompanied by a historian. In accordance with the zeitgeist of the 1970s and the left-leaning ideological background of Hermann Langbein, the witnesses back then did not speak much – or at all – about their personal experiences and their individual feelings. For them, this was not "objective" enough.

Max Schneider from Vienna, for example, fought in the British Army, while his family was murdered because they were Jewish. As a witness in schools, he initially hardly spoke about his family or his Jewish background – but he talked at length about general historical and sociological questions. It took him some years of visiting classes before he started to talk more and more about his parents and finally also about his younger brother, who was killed as a child. In doing so, he learned how sensitively and warm-heartedly students reacted to his personal feelings and his obvious grief.

Integrative approach?

One of the challenges today is to develop an approach that integrates survivors' narratives and historical research.

This is not about naively confronting "subjective memory" with "objective history" but about making transparent the potential and limits of these two dimensions of dealing with the past.

According to Saul Friedlander, an integrative narrative of the Holocaust cannot be limited to the decisions and measures of Germany and its allies but also has to include Jewish perceptions and reactions at each stage. Friedlander says he has given priority to the individual voice because it can "tear through the fabric of the 'detached' and ´objective´ historical rendition." (Friedländer 2010)

Even so, he talks mainly about written testimonies such as diaries. Video testimonies of survivors also have this potential. They evoke interest and produce the need for understanding. This is a good starting point for a learning process. According to Dan Diner, by presenting the perspectives of the victim, perpetrator and outsider, Friedländer achieves "the only appropriate, historically reconstructive view of the events: namely, a view that takes into account all facets of the events on the basis of an ethically based empathy with the victims." (Diner 2012: 19)

Survivors' testimonies and other ego-documents can be included in a variety of learning programs, such as schoolbooks or travelling exhibits that include historical analysis and survivors' voices.

The initial experiences have been encouraging: Quotes and photos from the video programs mentioned above have been integrated into learning material on anti-Semitism, [16] into a new history textbook for Austrian schools [17] and a travelling exhibition for schools. [18]

As in the travelling exhibition, where short clips from interviews are available via graphic links, survivors' testimonies may also increasingly become part of programs that make use of the fact that students are constantly connected to the internet through their smart phones or in (mini-)computer-based learning environments in the electronic classroom.

But what do students learn?

All of the extensive collections of life memories from people who were persecuted, who suffered, who lost relatives and friends, and who often spent their entire lives in the shadow of the mass violence committed by the Nazis – all of this aims to make these experiences accessible to a new generation.

Over the past years, a large number of videotaped witness interviews about the Shoah have been prepared for schools in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. However, there are still no empirical findings on how much historical learning takes place on the basis of these interviews. [19] A research project which brings together research institutes in the three countries aims to expand our understanding of what and how schoolchildren learn from videos of witness interviews – also in terms of how the teaching materials should be structured so that learners get the most benefit from them. In an initial pilot study, the same sequence of lessons was offered in schools in the three countries through an application for tablets developed especially for the pilot project. The researchers looked at both the learners' interaction with the tablets (what do they look at, how do they navigate, what holds their attention?) and the communication in the classrooms by recording videos and analyzing the data from questionnaires. [20]

The plan is to use the results of the pilot study as the basis for a larger study which should bring us closer to answering the question of "what do students learn?".

REFERENCES

Sabrow, M. (2012). Der Zeitzeuge als Wanderer zwischen den Welten in: M. Sabrow, N. Frei (eds), Die Geburt des Zeitzeugen nach 1945, pp. 13–32, p. 27. Göttingen: Wallstein.

Klüger, R. (2001). Weiterleben (in English: Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered). New York: The Feminist Press.

Greussing, K. (2014). NS- und Holocaust-Education in der LehrerInnenausbildung an österreichischen Universitäten und Pädagogischen Hochschulen des Bundes. Bericht zum Pilotprojekt, status as of 1 January 2014. Conducted by _erinnern.at_ on behalf of the Austrian Ministry of Education (unpublished).

Halbmayr, B. (2012). Zeitlebens Konsequent. Hermann Langbein. Eine politische Biografie, Vienna: Braumüller., pp. 141ff, 161ff.

Diner, D. (2012). "Fassungslosigkeit beschreiben". Saul Friedländers Werk zum Holocaust in: Einsicht 08. Bulletin des Fritz Bauer Instituts, Frankfurt 2012, pp. 16–23, here p. 19.

Friedländer, S. (2010). An Integrated History of the Holocaust: Possibilities and Challenges in: Betts, P., Wiese, C. (eds.). Years of Persecution, Years of Extermination: Saul Friedländer and the Future of Holocaust Studies, London/New York (Continuum), pp. 21–30, here p. 23.

1 Figures from the BMBF (Austrian Ministry of Education), 23 December 2014.

2 *profil* 45/2012, editorial.

3 http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_letzten_Zeugen (17 September 2014).

4 http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/testimony

5 Retrieved at http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/bildung_und_kultur/formales_bildungswesen/schulen_schulbesuch/index.html (15 September 2014).

6 See the table of students with non-German colloquial language in the 2013/14 school year; retrieved at http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bildung_und_kultur/formales_bildungswesen/schulen_schulbesuch/index.html (30 July 2015).

7 For example, in the primary school in Bregenz where my wife is headmaster.

8 Since 2008: https://www.bmbf.gv.at/schulen/unterricht/lp/Hauptschulen_HS_Lehrplan1590.html (viewed on 23 December 2014) – 2 hours per week in grade 8, together with approximately 6–8 hours of history in grades 9–12; 37 weeks to teach – 74 teaching hours annually, the hour lasting 50 minutes.

9 See for example Langbein, H. (2003). *People in Auschwitz*, translated by Henry Friedlander, University of North Carolina Press; H.G. Adler, E. Lingens-Reiner, H. Langbein (eds.) (2014). *Auschwitz. Zeugnisse und Berichte* (Auschwitz. Testimonies and Documents, 6th edition).

10 For the role of the survivors and the reluctance of academic historical researchers, see Steinbacher, S., "Introduction" in: Fritz Bauer Institut, S. Steinbacher (eds.) (2012). *Holocaust und Völkermorde. Die Reichweite des Vergleichs*. Yearbook, p.17. This is, of course, also true for eastern Germany and Austria. For early literature about the Holocaust and reports of survivors, see the database of the project on Holocaust literature: http://www.holocaustliteratur.de (in German, retrieved on 22 June 2014).

11 Witness seminar: http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/oesterreich/aktivitaten/zeitzeugen-besuche-im-unterricht (retrieved on 24 June 2014); the annual Langbein Symposium is dedicated to the discussion of general issues surrounding National Socialism: http://www.langbeinsymposium.at

12 Young Austria was an important platform for young, politicised Austrians in exile in Great Britain. Its members included the witness Max Schneider as well as Hermann Steiner, founder of the Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance: Frank, S. (ed.) (2014). *Young Austria. ÖsterreicherInnen im Britischen Exil 1938 bis 1947. Für ein freies, demokratisches und unabhängiges Österreich*, 2nd revised edition with DVD. Vienna: ÖGB-Verlag.

13 Retrieved at www.neue-heimat-israel.at

14 "Since the possibility of changing the objective—namely societal and political—conditions is extremely limited today, attempts to work against the repetition of Auschwitz are necessarily restricted to the subjective dimension. By this I also mean essentially the psychology of people who do such things. I do not believe it would help much to appeal to eternal values, at which the very people who are prone to commit such atrocities would merely shrug their shoulders. I also do not believe that enlightenment about the positive qualities possessed by persecuted minorities would be of much use. The roots must be sought in the persecutors, not in the victims who are murdered under the paltriest of pretenses. What is necessary is what I once in this respect called the turn to the subject. One must come to know the mechanisms that render people capable of such deeds, must reveal these mechanisms to them, and strive, by awakening a general awareness of those mechanisms, to prevent people from becoming so again." Theodor Adorno, "Education After Auschwitz" (German version, T. Adorno [1966] in: *Erziehung zur Mündigkeit, Vorträge und Gespräche mit Hellmuth Becker 1959 - 1969*. Edited by Gerd Kadelbach. Frankfurt 1970, pp. 92–109).

"The past will have been worked through only when the causes of what happened then have been eliminated." Adorno, *The Meaning of Working Through the Past*, Columbia University Press 1998, p. 103.

15 Interview with Raul Hilberg in: *Die Tageszeitung*, 7 December 2002, http://www.taz.de/1/archiv/archiv/?dig=2002/12/07/a0075

16 http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/oesterreich/lernmaterial-unterricht/anti-semitismus (viewed on 31 December 2014).

17 http://www.dorner-verlag.at/artikel/370–551510/GO-Geschichte-Oberstufe-7 (viewed on 31 December 2014).

18 http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/oesterreich/lernmaterial-unterricht/ausstellung-darueber-sprechen (viewed on 31 December 2014).

19 For references to these learning processes, see, e.g. Lina Bothe, Martin Lücke, "Im Dialog mit den Opfern. Shoah und historisches Lernen mit virtuellen Zeugnissen" in: Peter Gautschi, Meik Zülsdorf-Kersting, Béatrice Ziegler (eds.), *Shoah und Schule*. Zurich 2013, pp. 55–74; Dorothee Wein, „Historisches Lernen mit lebensgeschichtlichen Videointerviews – Beobachtungen aus der schulischen Praxis mit dem Visual History Archive (mit Juliane Brauer)" in: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors (ed.), *Gedenkstättenrundbrief Nr. 153*, 2/2010, pp. 9–23; Michele Barricelli, Juliane Brauer and Dorothee Wein, "Zeugen der Shoah: Historisches Lernen mit lebensgeschichtli-

chen Videointerviews. Das Visual History Archive des Shoah Foundation Institute in der schulischen Bildung" in: *Medaon*, issue 5/2009 (http://www.medaon.de/de/artikel/zeugen-der-shoah-historisches-lernen-mit-lebensgeschichtlichen-video-interviews-das-visual-history-archive-des-shoah-foundation-institute-in-der-schulischen-bildung/) (viewed on 16 July 2015); Michele Barricelli, "Für eine Weile noch. Videozeugnisse zur NS-Vergangenheit aus geschichtsdidaktischer Sicht" in: Nicolas Apostolopoulos, Cord Pagenstecher (eds.), *Erinnerung an Zwangsarbeit. Zeitzeugen-Interviews in der digitalen Welt.* Berlin 2013, pp. 49–58 (together with Martin Lücke).

20 "Shoah im schulischen Alltag – Historisches Lernen mit Video-Interviews von Überlebenden in einer tabletbasierten Lernumgebung." http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/oesterreich/e_bibliothek/ausstellungsprojekte/pilotstudie-shoah-im-schulischen-alltag-2013-historisches-lernen-mit-video-interviews-von-ueber-lebenden-in-einer-tabletbasierten-lernumgebung (viewed on 2 January 2015).

Nadine Fink

HISTORY EDUCATION WITH VIDEO TESTIMONIES: A SWISS CASE STUDY ABOUT PUPILS' HISTORICAL THINKING

This article relates to research on the contribution of work concerning memory and history of the Second World War in Switzerland and using this for the intellectual education of pupils (Fink 2014). The research was based on an exhibition of video testimonies named "I am History. 555 versions of Swiss history 1939–1945". I have observed how 15-year-old pupils visited the exhibition with their teachers and how they worked on it in class. I have also interviewed teachers and pupils as well as collecting all materials which have been used or produced in class.

The main purpose of the research was to see how pupils deal with video testimonies and what kind of relationship they have to empathy, to the notions of truth and of subjectivity, how they articulate individual and collective narration, if and how they make a distinction between history and memory, if and how they establish links between the past and the present. All of these questions are about pupils' historical thinking. I will focus here on how pupils received these video testimonies.

Theoretical and methodological frame

Martineau (1999) defines three dimensions of historical thinking: a language, a method and an attitude. Language refers to facts, concepts and theories in terms of historical grammar. Method consists of documenting, questioning, reasoning with a time perspective and in the interpretation of social facts. It is the third dimension – the historical attitude – which is central to this research and has been defined with four intellectual aptitudes:

- A *critical thinking*, a reflex of questioning what is given as truth (Audigier 2005);
- A *problematized conception of history*, which means to conceive history as a discipline, as a result of an intellectual process and a research procedure (Prost 1996);
- A *historical consciousness*, as an awareness of the "the past's present", the "historicity of the present" and the "room for initiative" for individual and collective actions (Koselleck 1990; Ricoeur 1991);
- *Sensitivity for the social function of history* to contribute to the intellectual education of citizens (Martineau, 1999).

Martineau's research shows that teaching based on the historical discipline, which sets out the historiographical process, helps to develop pupils' historical attitude. This attitude has a key role in so far as it affects the ability of pupils to acquire the two other dimensions of historical thinking, the method and the language. According to Martineau, historical attitude is therefore an important learning goal in order to develop historical thinking.

The research was designed so as to examine pupils' potential to think historically by analyzing their historical attitude towards video testimonies seen in the exhibition "I am History". Nine classes of the last year of compulsory school have been chosen from the seventy-three classes who visited the exhibition. The research is qualitative and applies a methodology of participant observation and interview survey (Blanchet & Gotman 1992). Data were collected in four phases: visit of the exhibition, courses given after the visit, semi-structured interviews with eight groups of three pupils and semi-structured interviews with nine teachers. Analyses presented here are mainly based on interviews with pupils. Their verbal productions have undergone a thematic content analysis (Bardin 1993; Quivy & van Campenhoudth 1995). The corpus has been crosscut in order to compile significant data. Such a horizontal and thematic procedure rules out singularity and puts together what refers to a same theme among all verbal productions and thus allows the constitution of a thematically coherent corpus. Qualitative analysis process focuses on the occurrence rather than on frequency of evidence. It ex-

amines pupils' conceptions and reasoning in order to study the contribution of video testimonies as pedagogical support for learning historical thinking.

Contextualization of the research

It has long been documented that historical facts established by historians when looking at the past and the testimonies of those who lived during the period and the events are not of the same nature and do not always match (Wallenborn 2006). They can be complementary to each other, but they can also be in contradiction or in opposition. The both complementary and conflicting relation between memory and history was observable in the late 1990s in Switzerland when there were deep controversies about Switzerland's position during the Second World War (Maissen 2005). The country was strongly criticized in particular for the economic and financial relations it had with Nazi Germany and for the policy of repression towards Jewish refugees trying to enter Switzerland. To handle the crisis and its consequences for international relations, the Swiss federal council and the parliament decided to establish an independent commission of historians – the Independent Commission of Experts Switzerland – Second World War (ICE)[1]. The Commission's mandate was to mainly investigate Switzerland's economic and financial relations with the Axes powers. This decision contributed to strengthening the anger voiced by many actors of the war era. International criticism and the ICE's investigations were indeed in opposition to the national memory, which conveyed the image of a heroic nation and population protecting its assumed neutrality and independence in wartime.

The context of controversial debates, which especially opposed historians and witnesses, led a few filmmakers and historians to create an oral history association[2] with the aim of collecting video testimonies of persons relating their memories of wartime Switzerland (Dejung et al. 2002). The association thus gathered over 500 interviews amounting to a total of 1,000 hours of recording. In order to mediatize this collection, the association realized the exhibition "I am History". The purpose of this memorial work was to point out the diversity of realities during the period of the Second World War in

Switzerland and to show how people remember the past more than fifty years after the events took place. The intention was also to cut through the simplistic division between witnesses and historians. Some of the witnesses were of course defending the image of a heroic nation. But others were much more critical concerning the attitude of Swiss authorities and its population during the war.

Educational purpose

The exhibition mainly consists of sixty-four sequences shown in a room called the "Kaleidoscope" (short films that highlight various witnesses around the same theme) and twenty-two documentary movies shown in a "Film library" (short films combining testimonies and other historical materials). The "Kaleidoscope" is based on interactivity; a majority vote determines the screening of a film, using special apparatus installed for this purpose. In the "Film library", visitors choose a film together. The total duration is about ten hours of sound and images, which represents only 1% of the 1,000 hours of interviews. Still, it is a lot to see when one has hardly an hour and a half time to visit the exhibition with a class.

In order to travel in this "kaleidoscope" of memories, an educational kit suggests that one works on the specificity of individual memory, singular testimonies and their contribution to historical knowledge and its narration (Fink 2003). Emphasis is placed on developing intellectual skills: recognize and differentiate memorial discourses and historical interpretation; consider any comment on the past as a socially constructed discourse and examine its relation to truth. It is important to focus on these questions because the evocation of the past in testimonies has a collective shape, which tends to mask the profoundly heterogeneous nature of individual and plural experiences. Here is an example:

"I am scandalized by the attitude of the authorities. We knew that we produced engines for the Germans. It was a tangible argument. With this material, we also could have strengthened our own army. It made us live. I can assume it without shame. I participated in it day after day. I do not feel responsible or guilty, absolutely not. One has to know the period we lived in. But there is a moral limit in such a dramatic period. And this limit was widely overstepped when we repressed the Jewish refugees." | 3

What is striking in this testimony is that this man did not exercise any professional activity in the field of armaments, nor did he take part in refugees' repression. Still, we see how much he goes from individual to collective responsibility, from individual to collective memory. This is what emerges strongly from the way most of the witnesses speak. Statements are set out personally and collectively, constantly coming and going between "I", "we" or "one". Each witness speaks for a collective entity while points of view diverge. The diversity and the uniqueness of narratives are striking when we analyze the testimonies. Still, witnesses become vectors of a collective memory that they share among their generation. They have different positions on the past, but they also speak about it using a common language that marked their time. Despite the multiplicity of narratives, the exhibition thus reveals a certain consistency in the way witnesses take position on the period of the war in Switzerland. Most of them felt at war, they went through this period in fear and with a feeling of renunciation.

By visiting the exhibition, pupils mainly receive this collective memory. To a certain extent, this collective memory even becomes theirs. The exhibition leads to the construction of a representation of the past which seems to be shared by witnesses and pupils. In spite of the fact that the pupils didn't see and hear the same testimonies during their visit, their comments converge to a common vision of Switzerland during the Second World War. This common vision can be roughly summarized as follows: Switzerland experienced war and wasn't as neutral as was pretended; the country didn't take an active part in the war, but the population had to cope with its consequences and restrictions.

"The Swiss government, which really took care of the war, which tried to come to an agreement with the German government, which was the most powerful country at that moment, later on they turned to the Allies just to survive and

to not be invaded. And the people, they continued to live as best they could, with what was distributed as food, because it was regulated." (David)

Pupils' reception

Teachers and pupils show a strong interest in oral history. Teachers value the opportunity to discuss the history of World War II through a medium that appeals to pupils. To use another type of document than written texts and to deal with the life stories of ordinary people is considered to be appropriate in order to promote the curiosity of their students. Pupils are sensitive to the emotions expressed by the witnesses. The technology of the exhibition and the use of video testimonies stimulate their interest in historical matters. By listening to the individual experience of agents of the past, the history of World War II becomes more concrete to them. Witnesses are ordinary people with which pupils can identify themselves. Despite it being virtual, the exhibition generates empathy and humanizes a past that therefore becomes closer and more touchable for pupils. They feel concerned. They consider the exhibition as a relevant way to deal with the history of the Second World War in Switzerland, to address a specific topic of history differently and using another context when compared to the traditional classroom. However, their attitude reflects the importance given to learning historical content about the past. Despite the fact that the exhibition shows a plurality of experiences and points of view, pupils are constantly making generalizations from anecdotal stories. The individual experience is reinterpreted as being a general factual knowledge about the past.

"They said that women worked hard. Because the men, they were at war. And things were going bad, because they were the only ones who were able to feed their families." (Damir)

"They [women] had too much work to do; they didn't have time to sleep." (Aïcha)

When pupils are asked to talk about what they saw and what they remember from their visit, they refer to testimonies as being certainties that happened

in the past, as facts that took place exactly the way in which the witnesses describe them. They erase the singularity and the subjectivity of witnesses' narrations. For example, the story of a Jew repressed at the Swiss border suddenly becomes representative of the general functioning of the asylum policy; a witness opposed to Nazism becomes representative of a point of view widely shared among the population. Pupils gather together information and constitute a set of knowledge without undertaking any periodization, without contextualization, without using any concept and way of reasoning that would reflect that a historical thinking process is taking place. They reproduce the witnesses' own tendency to generalize. For example:

"There was an aviator; he was talking about how they reacted when there was a plane that violated the airspace. He said: 'The Italians, we didn't care about them. The Germans, we were shooting at them. And with the Allies, we made the sign of victory'. And Switzerland was neutral. I don't know, it's … They weren't really that neutral" (Patrick).

Patrick refers to a specific testimony:

"We said: 'The Italians, we don't see them, we ignore them, we don't' care about them. If it's the French or the British, we make the sign [of victory]. If it's the Germans, we attack'. Once they were shot, who could have said that we didn't warn them? This was very clear." (Alfred Wachter, sequence 3.2.3).

Pupils identify and reproduce information in order to tell their own stories. Their narratives are declarative and factual. Individual, singular experiences of witnesses characterize a general context. These individual and singular experiences are added in order to create a kind of collective character, which becomes the keeper of a just representation of the past. Here is another example:

"At this time, Swiss people did not know foreigners, they had never travelled. The Polish soldiers were very kind and they were beautiful in their uniforms. They were not for the

Nazis. They thought that by kissing, they could become pregnant. The Jews were nice people. They were 6 out of 25 in a classroom. They didn't speak about sex and about love, it was a taboo." (Written production of 4 pupils)

Pupils' construction of a collective narrative becomes very clear here. Each element of the above written production becomes widespread, even though it emanated from only one particular case. What is significant to them, what they remember from testimonies, is recorded as knowledge about the past. Thus, they tend to immortalize representations conveyed by witnesses, which actually belong to the field of memory rather than to history. Such examples show the importance of providing a proper historical frame, of doing strong historical work when we ask pupils to work with oral history or with video testimonies.
Following these observations, one might conclude that the use of oral testimony in history class is not relevant. Yet, on the contrary, my findings show that it has a significant pedagogical potential which is observable at least at two levels.

Pedagogical potential

When pupils are explicitly questioned about the nature of oral history and oral testimonies, they pay attention to the diversity of individual and singular experiences and to the fact that witnesses are often in contradiction to each other.

"People are here to tell us the truth, so that we discover what they've been through. […] Then we can form our own opinion" (Aïcha).

"There are many who tell it in their own way, so that we can't really know what happened. […] We can listen to what people say, but they'll have a completely different point of view, so that we'll never exactly know" (Flora).

"You can't generalize. There's the truth in the camps, there's the truth at home, there's the

truth when they were hiding… There are many truths, but we'll never be able to make one big truth, I think" (Selma).

"First you listen to what they say, you look at it to see if it makes sense or not. […] But you can still check, there are official sheets" (Quentin).

These quotations show that pupils know how to withdraw from the narratives they are being faced with. It seems that oral testimonies contribute to promote their comprehension of important concepts, for example the concept of historical truth. They develop their understanding of the interpretative nature of narratives about the past, which is fundamental in terms of historical thinking.
The analyses of the interviews with pupils showed that the exhibition has an influence on how they think about history. Usually they conceive history as being there to tell about important dates and characters around assertions of truth organized in a linear narrative. Through the video testimonies, the exhibition offers another point of view on the past. Here, witnesses are ordinary people attesting the human reality of history, which becomes an environment of "agency" (Barton 2012). Pupils realize that witnesses were agents in the past, confronted with choices as well as constraints and they pretty much ignored the outcome, exactly as pupils today ignore the outcome of what is happening in the present. Testimonies have the pedagogical potential to bring to light what Ricoeur (1991) calls the "historical present". Witnesses show that there were other possible outcomes in the past, just like there can be different outcomes for what is happening at the present time.
A second significant pedagogical potential is that video testimonies make a major contribution to pupils' historical consciousness. All those who have been interviewed spontaneously establish a link between themselves and the generation which they encountered in the exhibition. The feeling of empathy humanizes a past, which becomes all the more close and accessible to pupils. This feeling of nearness allows one to get in touch with both the past and the present. Most of the pupils explicitly include themselves in this his-

tory. After visiting the exhibition, they have the impression of a confrontation with their own past. They recognize the temporal dimension of human realities. Becoming aware of the presence of the past in the present, in particular because agents of the Second World War are still alive (even if most of them were actually no longer alive by the time of the exhibition), pupils conceive that this past is not over as yet, that it still has consequences for the world we currently live in.

Speaking about the exhibition, many pupils make a link between witnesses who were agents in the past, and themselves, who in turn are agents in the present. This leads them to think about their own responsibility in the present. Many pupils pay attention both to the powerlessness of people who do not have control over the course of history, but nevertheless participate in it, and to the flexibility available to everyone – an ability of choice – to act according to convictions, values and a sense of responsibility. This attitude is very strong when pupils recall testimonies concerning acts of disobedience with regard to repressing Jewish refugees at the Swiss border. It helps them to understand that history is not simply determined by those who have power and endured by ordinary people. Here is an example:

"I think that what goes on today is also history, and that each of us makes history, a small piece of history. And all together, we can somehow influence history, we can make… And that's important for those who will come after us. They will say: my great-grandmother did that, then I made that, it's a chain." (Diane).

However, as stated above about the tendency of generalizing, pupils' historical consciousness needs to be more explicitly worked on during history class. Indeed, causal explanation still remains subject to a purposive rationality. Some pupils point out that the present could be different if people in the past had made different choices. However, the course of history is still seen as something inevitable. Pupils only remember the stories that confirm this point of view. Even when they consider themselves becoming witnesses of their time, they never call the present reality into question.

Nevertheless, teaching history with support of video testimonies such as those of "I am History" impacts on the improvement of pupils' historical consciousness based on, and considering, the following concepts (Buton & Mariot 2006): the "present's past" (historicity of present time), of the "past's present" (uncertainty and unpredictability in the past about the future) and of the "past's past" (what did not happen). It is important to explore further this relevant pedagogical potential in order to enable and support the pupils' intellectual and civic potential.

Conclusion

Although in many countries, including Switzerland, history curricula are today organized in terms of intellectual tools and keeping one's distance from an identity-based conception of the past, history teaching will always convey factual knowledge about the past and contribute to building a shared culture as well as a sense of national community. Bringing pupils to the point where they can partake in distance-related identity-conveying discourses entails taking seriously their intellectual skills. These skills are promoted in history curricula and by history education research. It requires teaching history in a way that systematically refers to the mode of reasoning about the past in order to exercise pupils' historical thinking. Stimulating this "unnatural act" (Wineburg 2001) is the most important purpose if history education aims to contribute to the intellectual education of pupils and to promote enlightened and responsible citizens.

REFERENCES

Audigier, F. (2005). La dimension européenne dans les enseignements d'histoire, de géographie et de citoyenneté. In M. Aligisakis (Ed.), *Europe et mémoire: une liaison dangereuse?* Genève: Institut européen de l'Université de Genève, 71–95.

Bardin, L. (1993). *L'analyse de contenu*. Paris: PUF.

Barton, K. C. (2012). Agency, choice and historical action: How history teaching can help students think about democratic decision making. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 7, 131–142.

Blanchet, A., Gotman, A. (1992). *L'enquête et ses méthodes: l'entretien*. Paris: Nathan.

Buton, F., Mariot, N. (2006). Socio-histoire. In *Dictionnaire des idées*. Paris: Encyclopedia Universalis, pp. 731–733.

Dejung, C., Gull, T., Wirz, T. (2002). *Landigeist und Judenstempel. Erinnerung einer Generation 1930–1945*. Zürich: Limmat Verlag.

Fink, N. (2014). *Paroles de témoins, paroles d'élèves. La mémoire et l'histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, de l'espace public au monde scolaire*. Berne: Peter Lang.

Fink, N. (2003). *L'Histoire c'est moi. 555 versions de l'histoire Suisse 1939–1945. Dossier pédagogique*. Lausanne: Archimob [in collaboration with K. Bianchi].

Koselleck, R. (1990). *Le futur passé. Contribution à la sémantique des temps historiques*. Paris: EHESS [1979].

Maissen, T. (2005). *Verweigerte Erinnerung. Nachrichtenlose Vermögen und die Schweizer Weltkriegsdebatte 1989–2004*. Zurich: NZZ Buchverlag.

Martineau, R. (1999). *L'histoire à l'école, matière à penser…* Montréal/Paris: L'Harmattan.

Prost, A. (1996). *Douze leçons sur l'histoire*. Paris: Seuil.

Quivy, R., Van Campenhoudt, L. (1995). *Manuel de recherche en sciences sociales*. Paris: Dunod.

Ricoeur, P. (1991). *Temps et récit*. T.3 : *Le temps raconté*. Paris: Seuil [1985].

Wallenborn, H. (2006). *L'historien, la parole des gens et l'écriture de l'histoire. Le témoignage à l'aube du XXIe siècle*. Loveral: Labor.

Wineburg, S. (2001). *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

1 http://www.uek.ch/en/index.htm.

2 The name of the association is "Archimob" for "Archives of the Mobilization". In the French part of the country, the term "mobilization" is commonly used to qualify the period 1939–1945 in Switzerland. More information about the association is available on www.archimob.ch.

3 Max Wickart, sequence 2–3-1.

Katharina Obens

EMOTIONS AND HISTORICAL LEARNING WITH SURVIVOR TESTIMONIES

Current research on the emotional encoding of autobiographical memory (Markowitsch/ Welzer 2005) and the process of historically conditioned identity positioning (Kölbl 2004) shows that emotions are significant for our historical consciousness. Emotions have different functions in the process of learning history. They can provide a motivational background, and thus enable the prevention or encouragement of a desired change in perspective. Equally, emotions may be focused on the historical phenomenon itself as it is presented, but can also be focused on the media or the social interaction beyond the narrow learning context at school. Consequently, I argue that the process of learning history through biographical accounts of Nazi victims cannot be investigated without taking into account the emotional aspects of this confrontation. But until recently, the question of the influence of (subject-generating) emotions on historical learning and the formation of the juvenile historical consciousness played no role in empirical history didactic research. |1 An essential element of the empirical study of juvenile historical consciousness that I will be discussing here is the finding that learning history is a location-bound process of understanding. Historic meaning formation processes are therefore "subject-dependent structures" (cf. Straub 1998: 99). However, they are also always bound up with the social, collective practices of a historical culture and familiar ideologies of family memory. History as meaning making thus emerges from the internalization of historical cultural practices as socialization and the learning process in everyday life (cf. Martens 2012: 236) and from the individual, emotional needs of the subjects. However, especially in Germany, it is almost exclusively the cognitive processes of learning history that are researched. This means that several important factors for the historical reconstruction process of the subject are often over-

looked. These include the historical imagination, the psychological functions of historical narratives, the location-based identification due to group-based emotions (which is expressed through affiliations with certain groups) as well as the moral value judgments, all of which have an important impact on the historical formation of meanings.

But what are the specific challenges of video testimonies? The young people here are faced with the task of creating a change in perspective: from 'I' to 'you' through history. At the same time, the encounter with witnesses can be a process through which to learn some basic social skills such as empathy. How young people deal with the change of perspective, what conclusions they derive from it for themselves, will depend heavily on their own life situation. It is against this background that complex, intrinsically active steps are required of the students for the evaluation and presentation of the results of interviews with witnesses. Psychological transfer mechanisms also form a constituent part of the reception of autobiographical narratives of traumatic events. Even for psychologically-trained listeners this is a challenge. Today numerous educational projects develop – in anticipation of the time when no actual witness will be left alive – projects with "video witnesses". But there are a number of factors which can prevent young people from re-imagining the Holocaust survivors' experiences. These include the passage of time since the event and the expectations created by the mass media, but also the way in which the survivors tell their story, which may be influenced by the trauma they have experienced. Correspondingly, historian Bodo von Borries states that the possible depiction of the survivors' psychological suffering in the interviews is 'nearly indispensable' in school and adult education (cf. Borries 2008: 405). I will discuss some of the difficulties inherent in these representations of memories, what form these media encounters take, and which difficulties in understanding may occur during the reception of autobiographical video interviews. Therefore, one focus of my research is to discover which emotional patterns recur within the young people in Germany after listening to such biographical narratives. In this article, I will confine myself to presenting only the research which relates to the curriculum days

with "media witnesses", although interestingly many of my findings are also applicable to teaching settings which involve face-to-face meetings with survivors.

Method

My research is based on a qualitative socio-psychological design inspired by an interdisciplinary qualitative approach originating from history didactics, narrative psychology and psychoanalysis. Since starting my research in 2008, I have conducted a comparative evaluation of 33 face-to-face meetings with 17 witnesses of the Shoah all over Germany and nine curriculum days (in which students watch videotaped interviews with Holocaust survivors) held for nine school classes at three different educational institutions in Berlin, in the course of which I have interviewed a total of 235 students.

First, I study the learning situations in which the survivors' testimonies take place and focus on the emotional moments of 'creating history' through storytelling, before asking the students in focus groups about their experiences. Secondly, I use an approach introduced by Ilka Quindeau (1995) and Ulrike Jureit (1999) to analyze the survivors' testimonies as well as the 'Geschichtsgeschichten' (Knigge 1987: 258) of the students. I believe that a crucial element of my approach is that I try to discover more about the context of the video interviews by conducting my own secondary interviews with the interviewers of the visual history archive who interviewed the survivors; I also try to find more autobiographical material about the survivors themselves.

Visual history and media-formatted historical consciousness

For analyzing the educational practice, I think we can use the concept of 'secondary witnessing', as originated by Geoffrey Hartman, which is understood as a complex cognitive and emotional performance that is required for re-enacting a medial dialogue between later-born generations and Holocaust victims even beyond their lifetime. Video testimonies are considered by Hartman to be an independent autobiographical genre that combines very old and new elements of autobiographical narratives (cf. Hartman 1999: 215).

But they gain their special status in the culture of memory through the interplay of individual, social and media practices (Baruch Stier 2001). Focusing on the mediation as an integral part of contemporary history, it means that we have to analyze the students' perception of the past as media *formatted*. This also therefore means that the history of cultural appropriation of history is essentially a 'visual history' (cf. Gerhard Paul 2006). The visualization of history comes close to the media habits, preferences and interests of the present youth generation. Through empirical studies of the extensive influence of media and especially the conductive medium of film, we can understand the historical consciousness of young people.

Many authors consider that the impact of audiovisual life narratives on the viewer is much stronger than that of literary testimonies of the Holocaust. For, as James Young writes, 'we respond to pictures of people as if they actually were people. When the teller and his story remain united in video testimony, we may therefore respond emotionally to it.' (Young 1988: 163f). In the case of survivors' testimonies, certain abstractions that might otherwise allow the viewer or listener to distance themselves (such as a reminder that the narrative of a certain film is merely fictional) are not possible (cf. Hartman 1999: 203f). In contrast, the sociologist and educator Michael Elm highlights the potentially 'life-affirming' effect of testimonies on young people, because the survivor's willingness to bear witness reveals that it is possible for the survivor to successfully integrate the trauma into their life (cf. Elm 2008: 215f). | 2

Listening to the trauma?

For many survivors the process of giving testimony is very painful, a fact that is often revealed in the facial expressions and gestures that accompany their words. By videotaping the process, and thus including the representation of body-bound memory, a powerful aspect of a visual history source is represented. At the same time, this challenges us, the viewers, to treat this exposing form of self-expression with great sensitivity. The fact that most of the interviewees are severely traumatized is reflected in their narratives; the ac-

tual trauma cannot be related but is contained or repressed in order to maintain the psychic integrity of the interviewee, which may lead to emotional detachment. The viewer will not necessarily become aware of this fact but it may still influence their reactions.

For, although the viewer's position in front of the screen implies at first a superior, nearly voyeuristic, view from the outside onto the interviewee, we soon discover that what we are seeing may trigger our own immediate reactions; in psychological terms, 'transference' takes place. Media theorist Judith Keilbach therefore introduces the term 'affecting' ('affizierend') for this particular characteristic of video testimonies and points out how emotional factors may also influence the cognitive reception of the interviews (Keilbach 2010: 153ff).

So the students have to learn: Memories consist of layers of experience; rather than acting as a window into the past, they are subject to the interpretative patterns of the present. Therefore biographical aspects play a role, as do cultural discourses surrounding what can and cannot be expressed. However, the seemingly direct interaction between viewer and interviewee is, of course, an illusion. The interviewees do not relate their life narratives 'just like that' but in a communication medium that already structures and thereby interprets them.

It is also important to note that any apparent lack of emotional expressiveness on the part of the survivor may be due to reasons other than 'psychic numbing'. These other reasons can include the survivor's repeated self-expression in interviews or the narrative representation of group identity of minorities in contemporary witness reports, a phenomenon which cultural theorist Kwame Anthony Appiah characterizes using the concept of 'script' (Appiah 1994: 156f). Appiah argues that the individual is tied to this script, over which he or she has no control. Furthermore, the video recordings largely dispense with effects such as zooming in or changes in camera angle, and avoid dramatic music; these are all essential elements of the documentaries that young people otherwise consume, and therefore these (or their absence) form part of the video's reception.

Empathy in learning with video testimonies

Ever since video testimonies were first used in the field of historical-political education, educators have aimed to provide a more empathic way of accessing history, facilitating a change in perspective. But what does empathy mean in this context? Empathy and the ability to change perspective are, strictly speaking, not emotions. Since they are responses to the emotion of another person, empathy and perspective-taking should basically be understood as a kind of social intelligence. Yet empathy must also be understood as a social medium and skill that undergoes specific changes, i.e. it is subject to social contexts and conditions of social interaction. This empathy, which sincerely endeavors to not be judgmental and wants to understand, is characterized by a deep respect for the other. It is an attempt to feel at home in the world of the others. The other person then makes the experience of being truly heard. The own values are not given, but the own position resigns, to give the other space.

Empathy as an educational goal can be found in various German curricula. However, the key term 'empathic learning' is not clearly defined and is thus, according to Noa Mkayton, equated with a process of over-identification. Describing the gap between distancing and intellectualizing on the one hand and over-identification with the victims on the other, Mkayton writes: 'The Holocaust is either too close, or it is too far off. Both prevent a sustained learning process.' (Mkayton 2011: 28). With reference to the issue of feeling empathy towards the witnesses, there is a current debate about whether emotion and empathy are key qualifications for the experience of alterity in history education. For empathy is, at the same time, virtually a prerequisite in interviews with survivor-witnesses and also a teaching goal. Educators consider empathy in dealing with survivor-witnesses as a constituting moment for the students to develop an empathic approach towards the witnesses; in this context, empathy is less a teaching goal than a method (cf. Heyl, Abram 1996).

In developmental psychology, two aspects of the complex phenomenon of empathy are defined: on the one hand the aspect of *empathic affect*, and on the other hand the *cognitive performance* – which I think is mainly the topic under discussion here – of the understanding of others, that is to say the ability to distinguish one's own emotional state from that of another person. However, until a necessary level of 'empathy motivated understanding' (cf. Schmitt 2003) is reached, meaning that a person is able to systematically refer to their own emotional experience in order to understand new experiences, it is necessary to start by practicing 'active empathy' in order to reveal the specific ways of thinking and emotional expressions that occur within one's own culture or generation. This is an essential first step for the development of 'intercultural or intergenerational empathy'. But how do we learn empathy? There is a convergence between cognitive models of imitation, constructs derived from social psychology studies on mimicry and empathy, and recent empirical findings from the neurosciences about social learning by imitation as well as interaction. We learn how to be empathic in the relationship to our family through the use of *empathic mirroring*.

In his theory of self-psychology, the psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut describes mirroring as one of the three poles of self-needs, essential for maintaining a healthy self-image and feelings of balance and well-being. Even as adults, with our identities formed, we still need regular doses of empathic mirroring, positive feedback that reminds us of who we are, and that we are valued (Kohut 1976; 1979).

Empirical findings in focus groups suggest that imprinted memories of traumatic experiences can trigger quite contradictory reactions within students. In almost every focus group, the traumatic experiences of the survivors were a subject of interest. However, it was difficult for young people to identify the seemingly objective and calm way the survivors spoke as an expression of suffering; this is demonstrated in the examples below. Here, I focus on the limits of emphatic re-imagination; a figure of reception that I will call 'desire for emotionality and authenticity' on the part of the students, which has been described by many practitioners and has emerged in various forms during my research. What emotional potential does the students' stated desire for emotionality and authenticity have?

Practical example

a) A group of 10th graders listen to the testimony of Yehuda Bacon

My first example comes from the curriculum day 'Witnesses of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials', which I developed together with my colleagues Tanja Seider and Dorothee Wein for a collaborative project by CeDiS and the Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. During this curriculum day, we showed a 20-minute sequence of a video (recorded in 2005) of Israeli artist and Auschwitz-Birkenau survivor Yehuda Bacon in which he speaks in great detail about the consequences of his trauma, which, we assumed, would make it easier for the students to put themselves in the emotional position of a child survivor. Unlike in the next example, where the survivor Richard Glazar was unable to talk about his suffering, Bacon reports his feelings in detail. At the beginning of the video sequence, Bacon is asked by interviewer Dagi Knellesen to explain his personal reasons for appearing as a witness in the Auschwitz trials | 3. In reply to that, Bacon delivers a very important statement which is crucial for understanding the interview. The statement is in part philosophical, but also very honest and personal: *'My main concern was to testify for my friends. And in a childish way I explained it to myself like this: "I want to relate what was going on in the soul of a Jewish child back then."'* | 4 During the interview, Bacon tries to include different perspectives. By 2005 most of those who had been boys in Birkenau were already over seventy years old and when he speaks of himself as a 14-year-old boy in the concentration camp he seems to see his younger self from a distance. Despite this, it becomes evident that he is also trying to convey the perspective of a child survivor in Czechoslovakia in the period directly after 1945, very explicitly describing the psychological consequences of the extreme traumatization he experienced. He reports the course of events and scene of the genocide he witnessed as a youth in a seemingly objective way. But there is one passage in which he describes the consequences of the trauma suffered in great detail *'as a wall between us and the others'* and which he concludes by saying *'so that it took some time to become normal again'*.

And we always said: 'We and the others.' There was a wall. And I described it, there was a funeral that I saw. Yes, so a funeral march with music. In my home town Mährisch-Ostrau . And we could see the hearse and, and the people and the music. And I started laughing and I thought the people are crazy. {(stressed :)} One man is dead and they make such a trallala about it? Well, because it was, indeed few weeks ago I saw a thousand that been killed or died and so on. And there is a man, that was unimaginable. It was ridiculous for me. Or the first visit, I think that was in an opera or and I saw it with my eyes from Auschwitz and thought: 'How long does it take to kill these people? How many bags of hair stay?' (…). That means I saw the people only as objects or how long it takes to kill a transport. Because we saw this every day. | 5

Once again, however, the young people watching the video responded to this passage in an unexpected way, as I will explain. Interestingly, in all three showings hitherto, the student work groups chose to focus on Bacon's narration of a funeral in Czechoslovakia to illustrate his memories of the time after the liberation. The 15 to 17-year old youths said that Bacon had become *'emotionally dead'* in Auschwitz, *'mentally disturbed'* by his experiences and *'crazy'*. We – as the teachers – were astonished by this unempathic way of talking about Yehuda Bacon, because we thought that in this testimony Bacon had a really honest, friendly and interesting way of sharing his feelings with the viewer. Generally, it could be observed that the students were trying to evaluate to what extent the survivors were able to 'come to terms' with their experiences. In evaluating the extent of the 'emotionality' of the survivor, the students showed a high degree of reserve towards the interviewee. It was also striking that the young people did not talk at all about their own feelings.

b) A group of 9th graders listen to the testimony of Richard Glazar

In my second example during a curriculum day on Theresienstadt concentration camp as part of the project 'Shoah Witnesses in School Education', students were shown a 39-minute sequence of a videotaped interview with Richard Glazar, filmed in 1996 by Albert Lichtblau. Richard Glazar, born in 1920 in Prague, was a Czech survivor of the Treblinka extermination camp.

In September 1942, he was deported to Theresienstadt and only one month later to Treblinka. In the sequence in question, he talks about his arrival in Theresienstadt, his life there, his witnessing the suicide of his grandfather, his deportation and the first hours in Treblinka. However, Glazar's manner of narrating – and in a sense therefore re-enacting – these traumatic events seemed to cause the students to feel irritation rather than the sense of empathy which is such a crucial aspect of the use of 'media witnesses' in education. In particular, the students had difficulty in making a connection between Glazar's seemingly calm manner of speaking during the interview and their knowledge of his later suicide in 1997. |6 The students clearly expected the witness to display his emotions in a more expressive way, as can be seen from the comment made by 15-year-old Maria after seeing the interview with Richard Glazar:

But also as he told us about the death of his grandfather, how he died in his blood and his feces, he didn't have any tears, there was nothing there. [B/00:15:31.0] |7
But this expression of irritation on the part of the student was followed by an interesting discussion which demonstrates a basic awareness of the functioning of psychological trauma. Students commented that, if you had experienced something like that, you would have *'no more feelings inside',* that you could not *'feel so much if you are traumatized'*, and that the survivors *'have, I think, switched off all the feelings while they tell the story' (B/00: 15: 48.5).* But this discussion between the students needed time and space, something that they don't have available to them in regular history lessons.

Empathic mirroring exercise

Due to these findings, which could, in my opinion, also dominate the cognitive processing of the issues learned, I developed the following training course that can be conducted within this context when educators realize that the perception of the video witness's emotional state is biased. However, it is important to note that this is a self-reflective training course and not an exercise in training socially desired emotions. For even though it is sometimes hard for educators who identify with the victims to cope with insensi-

tive remarks by students that demonstrate an apparent lack of empathy, it is important not to pre-define the emotions of the survivor-witness for the students but to create methods which enable us to work together on the matter. The exercise begins with the educator and/or the student choosing and viewing a video sequence. The student then takes notes on cards, describing what the video witness says and what *he/she is feeling* while narrating. They then view the same sequence for a second time and take notes on cards about what *I am feeling* while viewing the sequence. The educator then explains the model of 'Empathic Mirroring'. This should be followed by a dialogic exercise in small groups to figure out the intersubjective level of comparison:
1. What do I think that he/she feels?
2. What do I feel when I listen to him/her?
The next part of the exercise involves comparing the cards and inviting feedback from all the small groups. The teaching goal for the exercise as a whole is the understanding that emotions can be read differently and that how we do this has something to do with us. Finally, the exercise may end with the presentation of another sequence of the interview that might cast light on the shadow and/or autobiography of the survivor. Alternatively, the educator can use another interview to make a more general point about the consequences of trauma.

Conclusion: A lack of emotions in 'media witnesses'?

After viewing certain sequences of survivors' testimonies that were perceived as being highly emotional by educators, many students remarked that they perceived the 'media witnesses' as being 'very unemotional', making comments such as 'they sounded like a recording', 'with no feelings inside', 'they had no problem with talking about the bad things that occurred to them', and so on. It would seem that the students were not able to properly interpret expressions of emotion, such as slight changes in facial expression and gestures; many of them believed that only tears or emotional outbursts were adequate expressions of emotion. Due to their habitualized viewing patterns, these young people expect a clear emotional congruence

between the way something is narrated and its narrative content. When the interviewees did not cry or show the expected signs of emotional distress, or sometimes even laughed or told their stories in an unexpectedly vivid or animated way, the students were irritated. This incapacity to properly read the emotions of the survivors is presumably related to a lack of empathy as empathy is something that the students still have to learn. Most of the students who are confronted with the Holocaust in history lessons are 10th graders, which means that they are around 16 years old and the lack of 'ambiguity tolerance' is appropriate for their age. But it is also linked to their inability to read the emotions of victims of trauma and the understanding that in the last 70 years many survivors had learned to cope with their past in whatever manner that was. For example, the students do not know – and how should they? – how to deal with 'psychic numbing', which is a trauma symptom. They also expected that the survivor would be telling his or her story for the first time and were a bit disappointed when they realized that he or she had already told it many times.

Emotional learning as described above usually remains secondary to the main requirements of history education by means of video testimonies in school settings with adolescent students. However, I would like to stress that it is worth trying. For the strength of visual history, that is to say its ability to teach knowledge and empathy at the same time by also showing nonverbal patterns of assimilation can only be demonstrated dealing directly with the emotional aspects of video testimonies.

REFERENCES

Abram, I. (1996). Erziehung und humane Orientierung, pp. 11–60. In Abram, I., Heyl, M. *Thema Holocaust – Ein Buch für die Schule* (pp. 11–60). Reinbek: Rowohlt.

Appiah, K. A. (1994). Identity, Authenticity, Survival. Multicultural Societies and Social Reproduction. In Multiculturalism: Examining "The Politics of Recognition." (pp. 149–164). An essay by C. Taylor, with an introduction by A. Gutmann (Ed.) and commentary by K. A. Appiah, J. Habermas, S. C. Rockefeller, M. Walzer and S. Wolf. Princeton, NJ: University Press.

Assmann, A., Brauer, J. (2011). Bilder. Gefühle, Erwartungen. Über die emotionale Dimension von Gedenkstätten und den Umgang von Jugendlichen mit dem Holocaust. In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft – Zeitschrift für Historische Sozialwissenschaft 37* (1), pp. 72–103.

Baruch Stier, O. (2001). Framing the Witness, the Memorial Role of Holocaust Video Testimonies. In: J. K. Roth, E. Meynard-Maxwell, M. Levy (Eds.), *Remembering for the Future. The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide 3* (pp.189–204). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Elm, M. (2008). *Zeugenschaft im Film. Eine erinnerungskulturelle Analyse filmischer Erzählungen des Holocaust.* Berlin: Metropol.

Hartman, G. (1999). *Der längste Schatten. Erinnern und Vergessen nach dem Holocaust.* Berlin: Aufbau.

Jureit, U. (1999). *Erinnerungsmuster. Zur Methodik lebensgeschichtlicher Interviews mit Überlebenden der Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager.* Hamburg: Ergebnisse.

Knigge, V. (1987). Zur Kritik kritischer Geschichtsdidaktik. Normative Entstellung des Subjekts und Verkennung trivialen Geschichtsbewußtseins. In *Geschichtsdidaktik 3*, pp. 253–266.

Kölbl, C. (2004). *Geschichtsbewußtsein im Jugendalter. Grundzüge einer Entwicklungspsychologie historischer Sinnbildung.* Bielefeld: Transcript.

Köster, M. (2012). *Vom Holocaust lesen.* Textverstehen im Spannungsfeld von Darstellungstext und Identitätsbedürfnissen. In: Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik 11, pp. 116–130.

Kohut, H. (1976). Narzißmus. Eine Theorie der psychoanalytischen Behandlung narzißtischer Persönlichkeitsstörungen. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Kohut, H. (1979). Die Heilung des Selbst. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Markowitsch, H. J., Welzer, H. (2005)., Das autobiographische Gedächtnis. Hirnorganische Grundlagen und biosoziale Entwicklung. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Martens, M. (2012). Rekonstruktionen historischer Sinnbildung: Zum Nutzen qualitativer Forschung für die geschichtsdidaktische Lehr-/Lernforschung. In *Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik (ZfGD)*, pp. 233–250

Mkayton, N. (2011). "… the great danger is tears …" – Die Bedeutung von Empathie und Emotionen im Holocaustunterricht. In *Zeitschrift für Didaktik der Gesellschaftswissenschaften 1*, pp. 25–34.

Paul, G. (Ed.) (2006). Visual History. Ein Studienbuch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Quindeau, I. (1995). *Trauma und Geschichte. Interpretationen autobiographischer Erzählungen von Überlebenden des Holocaust.* Frankfurt am Main: Brandes und Apsel.

Schmitt, H. (2003). *Empathie und Wertkommunikation. Theorie des Einfühlungsvermögens in theologisch-ethischer Perspektive.* Freiburg/CH: Herder.

von Borries, B. (2009). *Ästhetische und emotionale Komponenten im Geschichtsbewusstsein.* Vortrag am 28.04.2009 im Rahmen des „Freiburger Geschichtsdidaktische Kolloquium" an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Freiburg.

Young, J. E. (1988). Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation. Indiana: University Press.

Survivors' Testimonies

Bacon, Y. (2005). Archiv Zwangsarbeit 1939–1945. Erinnerungen und Geschichte, Bacon, Archiv-ID ZA398 aus der Teilsammlung „Zeugen Auschwitzprozess - FBI Frankfurt".

Glazar, R. (1996). Interview with the archive ID 11704. Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute. Retrieved at http://vhaonline.usc.edu/viewingPage?testimonyID=11704&segmentNumber=420&returnIndex=0#

1 But there is a first investigation into the question of whether and how the self-percep-
tion of belonging to a particular group affect the reading comprehension of historical
texts on the Holocaust, cf. Köster 2012.

2 „Schon allein dadurch, dass es für eine Öffentlichkeit artikuliert wird, die daran An-
teil nimmt, wird der traumatischen Erfahrung der zusätzliche Schock der Einsam-
keit genommen. Wie auch immer die Überlebenden nun ihre Erfahrungen verarbeitet
haben und wiedergeben, äußert sich in ihrer Bereitschaft zum Zeugnis-Ablegen eine
lebensbejahende Haltung, die zum Ausdruck bringt, dass Traumata vielleicht nicht
überwunden, aber immerhin ins Leben zu integrieren sind." (Elm 2008: 215 f).

3 Bacon remembers making his first witness statement during the Auschwitz trials,
which was an 'unexpectedly exhausting' experience:

*"Obviously, this first confrontation caused me great physical and mental stress. Because
somehow all the images of things I had experienced with them [the perpetrators] reap-
peared literally before my eyes. Perhaps it's not the same for a painter or an artist, but these
were not just words. You see them in front of you, exactly as they were. It's just like when you
watch a film once again. It was very, very powerful, particularly in this situation [of the tri-
al]. Many of these images are still imprinted on my memory today."(Yehuda Bacon, tran-
script, p. 10). Original." Und ich dachte nicht, dass, dass es mich so entkräftete. Deshalb ein
großer physischer und seelsicher Druck selbstverständlich, diese Konfrontation das erste
Mal. Weil irgendwo alle Bilder, die ich mit denen erlebte, bei einem, vielleicht einem Maler
oder Künstler ist es ganz anders, da sind nur nicht Worte, sondern man sieht die, die Sachen
vor den Augen buchstäblich, ja. Man sieht es vor sich, genau, wie es war. So, so wie man von
neuem einen Film sich anschaut. Das war sehr, sehr stark und besonders in jener Situation.
[…]Bis heute sind viele Bilder sehr stark imprägniert von dieser Zeit."*

4 *Aber mein Einliegen war, Anliegen war, hauptsächlich zeugen für meine Freunde. Und in
einer kindischen Weise sagte ich es so: "Ich will erzählen von dem, was der Seele eines jüdis-
chen Kindes in dieser Zeit passiert ist.(Yehuda Bacon, transcript, p. 10).*

5 *Und wir sagten immer: „Wir und die andern." Da war eine Mauer. Und ich beschrieb es,
dass, die Begegnung mit den ersten, das war ein Begräbnis, das ich sah. Ja, die, so einen
Trauermarsch mit Musik in meiner Heimstadt Mährisch-Ostrau und, und da sieht man
diesen Totenwagen und ja und die Leute und die Musik. Und ich begann zu lachen und ich
dachte die Leute sind verrückt. {(betont:)} Ein Mensch ist tot und die machen so ein Tralla-
la darüber. Weil es war, ja paar Wochen vorher sah ich noch tausend, die man umbringt oder
sterben und verkommen und so weiter. Und da ist ein Mensch und, und man, das war un-
vorstellbar. Das war lächerlich für mich. Oder der erste Besuch, ich denke das war in irgen-
deiner Oper oder irgendwie eine Vorstellung und da sah ich es noch mit meinen Augen in
Auschwitz und dachte: „Ach, wie lang dauert es diese Leute umzubringen? Wie viel Säcke
von Haare bleiben?" (…). Das heißt ich sah die Menschen nur als, als Objekte oder wie lang
es nimmt so einen Transport umzubringen. Weil das sahen wir ja tagtäglich. (Yehuda Bacon,
transcript, p. 10)*

6 For comparison cf. Video Richard Glazar Tape 1/ ca. 14.48–17.55.

7 *Aber auch als er von seinem Opa erzählt hat, wie der da in seinem Blut und seinem Kot
gestorben ist, da hat er auch also keine Träne kam gar nichts, da. [B/00:15:31.0].*

Diana Gring

THE INTERVIEW PROJECT OF THE
BERGEN-BELSEN MEMORIAL

"Bearing witness means
describing, despite everything,
what is impossible to describe."
(Didi-Huberman 2007:154)

The Bergen-Belsen Memorial has been recording video interviews with sur-
vivors of the concentration and the POW camp Bergen-Belsen as well as oth-
er witnesses of the historical events for 15 years. The archival stock of these
audiovisual testimonies currently makes up 450 interviews with an approxi-
mate material length of around 2,000 hours (status in October 2016). Contin-
uous development over the years has established and institutionalized the
interview project, and it now fulfils a variety of relevant functions within the
scholarly, museum and educational work of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial.

The interview project originated in the 1980s when staff members of the Ber-
gen-Belsen Memorial recorded the first audio interviews. In the late 1990s
the historian Karin Theilen and the journalist Hans-Jürgen Hermel received
funding from the *Stiftung Niedersachsen* and, in cooperation with the Ber-
gen-Belsen Memorial, began recording life stories of people who had survived
the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Initially this involved witnesses liv-
ing in Western Europe, Israel or the United States. Further interview projects
developed from the mid-2000s on as part of the redesign of the Bergen-Bels-
en Memorial, focusing on areas such as the documentation of the life stories
of former concentration camp prisoners and POWs from Eastern Europe and
Italy, and former inhabitants of the Bergen-Belsen Displaced Persons (DP)
Camp. Other groups of witnesses with whom interviews were conducted in-
cluded former British Army members who liberated the concentration camp

in April 1945 and former members of relief organizations who had worked in the emergency hospital and the DP Camp. Another interesting group of interviews comprises the accounts by locals that offer a particular perspective not only on the Nazi period in general but also on the widely varying subjective "neighborhood" perception of the historical site of Bergen-Belsen.

The collection of video interviews formed an important basis for the design of the new permanent exhibition of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial that opened in autumn 2007.

A complex and differentiated media concept for the integration of the historical photographs and footage as well as the audiovisual testimonies in the exhibition was developed (Gring/Theilen 2007). The topics and approaches were chosen in close and continuous cooperation between the curators and the filmmakers with the aim of firmly embedding the videos and their presentation in the overall narrative of the exhibition.

"The testimonies provide information on individual aspects, situations and events in the history of the camps. In addition, they contain information about the living conditions in the camps, about which little or nothing can be gleaned from other sources. Many aspects of the history of the camps can only be documented through these testimonies, like the various ways in which prisoners tried to assert themselves under the most averse conditions." (Gring, Theilen 2009: 45)

The general concept for the use of visual media in the exhibition was based on the presentation of historical photos, film footage and video testimonies as authentic, singular source material. This means that the specifics of each visual material group are stressed and that historical footage as well as images were not just used as a 'backdrop' to illustrate the statements of the witnesses. Nor are audio recordings of witnesses used as a simple voice-over accompanying historical images. By presenting it in this way, the visual material and the testimonies are freed from the possible role of just being a pure illustration for the exhibition's texts and objects. Instead, they enjoy the same status of evidence as the other exhibits do. In addition to this, these forms of presentation aim to enable visitors to look at and face the historical

events depicted, while keeping in mind the limits of representation and the interdependence of different forms of historical material.

On the basis of this concept, 48 films were produced for the permanent exhibition. These included films for the exhibition sections "Prologue" and "Epilogue", and 16 topical and 26 biographical video points with excerpts from witness interviews, amounting to a total length of around seven hours. (Stiftung niedersächsische Gedenkstätten 2010: 20 ff.). The interviewees give faces, voices and words to the unimaginable suffering going on in the camps. They personalize the broader historical narrative and put events into concrete terms. The biographical approach also allows the survivors to overcome the status of victims by describing their lives before and after their persecution. The continuous biographical narrative makes the continuities and ruptures in the witnesses' lives visible and shows the interrelationship between different periods of life (Gring/Theilen 2007: 184 f.). The video testimonies accompany and guide the visitors through the entire exhibition. Within the narrative of the permanent exhibition, the video testimonies fulfill several important functions; and their presentation in conjunction with other source material in an integrative approach leads to important effects and synergies. The integrative approach also means that there is no 'competition' between the more traditional and the newer multi-media forms of presentation. Overall, seven hours of video testimonies are on display in the permanent exhibition of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial (Stiftung niedersächsische Gedenkstätten 2008).

After the redesign of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial the interview project continued, although in a greatly reduced form due to reductions in staff and financial resources. For example, until 2006/2007 most interviews took place in the survivors' home countries, and interview trips were made to Israel, Russia, Poland, England, the Netherlands, Ukraine, the United States and other countries. (Gring/Theilen 2006: 313). Today the majority of interviews are done with witnesses from all over the world during their visits to the Bergen-Belsen Memorial. For most of the survivors, seeing the site of Bergen-Belsen again, viewing the exhibition and the grounds outside, talking to

the Memorial's historians and archivists, researching documents on the fate of their persecuted family or even their own personal fate – all of this offers a good, practicable framework for recording their testimony. In most cases this results in an intensive contact for many years between the witnesses and the Memorial staff.

Over time, changes also occurred in the technical field: after filming witness interviews with mini DV cameras for around ten years, from 2010 on we started recording in HD format. The change in recording technology and the need to update the interview archive to the latest technical standard meant that several hundred interviews had to be digitized tape by tape. Following this reformatting, which lasted more than two years, since 2012 the whole interview stock has been available in digital format stored on hard discs. However, as with any other kind of audiovisual archive stock, this still leaves open the future question of the most suitable permanent storage medium.

At present around 10–20 biographical interviews are recorded annually as part of the interview project of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial. The interviews have been recorded until now with people from 27 different countries and in eleven different languages. They have a length of four to five hours on average. The Memorial holds a total of 339 interviews with survivors from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp: 255 people who were persecuted as Jews, 66 persons who were persecuted for political reasons, twelve Sinti and Roma as well as six people from other persecution groups. Thirty-two interviews were conducted with former POW from Russia, Poland and Italy (status in October 2016).

Taking a multi-perspective approach, we are doing our best to interview partners from many different groups of witnesses. This applies both to the survivors and to circles of people with a different connection to the location of Bergen-Belsen. Different prisoner groups, each with their own specific background of persecution, were interned in the individual parts of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, and the living conditions varied from one part of the camp to another, at least in different phases. Although this is obviously not representative, we have looked for and found interview partners

for specific paths of persecution, groups or camp sections. In the case of the "men's camp", for instance, to which sick prisoners or those no longer fit to work were sent, and which had a very high mortality rate, we now have 50 interviews from different phases. Another example are the "Unknown Children" – these were Jewish orphans from the Netherlands who were deported from Westerbork to Bergen-Belsen and then to Theresienstadt because their Jewish identity could not be conclusively established. To date we have conducted interviews with 14 people who belonged to the group of "Unknown Children". With regard to the research on the memory structure of child survivors and the biographical development as well as internal processing of extreme traumatization in early childhood, these interviews could provide important indicators when looked at in a comparative perspective. Based on child survivor interviews from the stock of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial, an extensive analysis for understanding the family relationships in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp was published recently (Gring 2014).

In 2012, in the context of the 60th anniversary commemoration of the founding of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial, a series of interviews was conducted on the topic of memorial culture and the history of the Memorial. Recently, we also started to conduct interviews with the so-called Second Generation. Seventeen of these interviews have been produced until now, mainly in combination with interviewing the father or mother who had survived the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The aftermath of the Holocaust and the enormous transgenerational impact and traumatization is documented in these interviews in the most impressive way.

An important task facing holocaust memorials for the future is the secure and long-term archiving of interview stocks – and the preservation of testimonies for future generations. Sometimes this work has aroused hopes and expectations that the medium could "replace" the witnesses in some form after their death or could become a universal educational and didactic remedy, but this is unrealistic and such a goal is unattainable. However, with a knowledgeable, reflective and sensitive approach and by using interpretation tools on an interdisciplinary basis, the video testimony can play a ma-

jor role in the Memorial's work in the future. The digitized video testimonies in our archives are no substitute for the direct encounters with witnesses – and should not be mistaken as such. In whichever way we use the video testimonies we should be aware that they are not a simple, quickly accessible source. Biography as a construct and traumatization require a variety of tools at many different levels in order to interpret and contextualize them. If we are in a position to do this, the audiovisual personal testimonies constitute a very rich form of material that can be used in diverse ways. They address aspects, situations, experiences and connections that cannot be obtained from any other source. And what some historians regard as the drawback of the personal testimony is actually its decisive advantage: the subjectivity, the possibility of making things concrete and very personal.

REFERENCES

Didi-Huberman, G. (2007). *Bilder trotz allem*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

Gring, D., Theilen, K. (2006). Video-Interviewprojekt der Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen. In *BIOS 19* (2), pp. 312–316.

Gring, D., Theilen, K. (2007). Fragmente der Erinnerung. Audiovisuelle Medien in der neuen Dauerausstellung der Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, pp. 153–219. In Schulze, R., Wiedemann, W. (Eds.). *AugenZeugen. Fotos, Filme und Zeitzeugenberichte in der neuen Dauerausstellung der Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen*. Celle: Stiftung niedersächsische Gedenkstätten.

Gring, D., Theilen, K. (2009). Fragments of Memory: Testimony in the New Permanent Exhibition at Bergen-Belsen, pp. 37–52. In *The Holocaust in History and Memory 2*.

Gring, D. (2009). Die Darstellung von Zeitzeugen in den visuellen Medien der Dauerausstellung der Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, pp. 16–20. In *Gedenkstätten Rundbrief Nr. 152* (12).

Gring, D. (2014). Zwischen ‚Familie im Lager' und ‚Lagerfamilie'. Kinder und ihre familiären Beziehungen in Videointerviews mit Child Survivors des Konzentrationslagers Bergen-Belsen, pp. 124–149. In Knoch, H., Rahe, T. (Eds.). *Bergen-Belsen. Neue Forschungen*. Göttingen: Wallstein.

Kellermann, N. P. F. (2009). *Holocaust Trauma. Psychological Effects and Treatment*. New York: Bloomington.

Knoch, H., Rahe, T. (Eds.). (2014). *Bergen-Belsen. Neue Forschungen*. Göttingen: Wallstein.

Rahe, T. (2008). Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen, pp.187–220. In Benz, W., Diestel, B. (Eds.). *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager 7*. München: C.H. Beck.

Stiftung niedersächsische Gedenkstätten (Ed.) (2010). *Bergen-Belsen. Wehrmacht POW Camp, 1940–1945, Concentration Camp, 1943–1945, Displaced Persons Camp, 1945–1950*. Catalogue accompanying the permanent exhibition. Göttingen: Wallstein.

Stiftung niedersächsische Gedenkstätten (Ed.) (2008). *Historical Footage and Interviews with Witnesses in the Permanent Exhibition*. Information Flyer, Stuttgart.

Zalasnik, R. (2011). Differenziertes Trauma – Die (Wieder-) Entdeckung der "Child Survivor"-Kategorie, pp.116–133. In Brunner, J., Zajde, N. (Eds.). *Holocaust und Trauma. Kritische Perspektiven zur Entstehung und Wirkung eines Paradigmas*. Göttingen: Wallstein.

Suzanne Bardgett

THE USE OF ORAL HISTORY IN THE IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM'S HOLOCAUST EXHIBITION

Readers who have visited the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum London (opened in 2000 and now seen by over five million visitors) will know that one of its most powerful elements is the filmed testimony of eighteen survivors who relate their memories of what happened to them – from just before the Second World War – through to their liberation in 1945. The resulting 'substrand' of narrative allows the visitor to come face-to-face with a group of people whose families fell victim to the Nazi persecutions, and who, in most cases, saw their parents as well as other family members die in the ghettos and camps.

The exhibition's evocative architecture, massive scale and dimly-lit ambience give it a chilling feel, and the presence of voices – audible more or less throughout the space – reminds us that the target of the Nazis' extermination policies were ordinary people – men, women and children – whose lives were turned upside down in a quite unimaginable way.

We first meet the 'survivor witnesses' in the oval-slatted introductory space where – to set the scene for the unfolding story – each remembers the kind of life they had as a child – the stern parents who made Rudi Kennedy wear short trousers even in winter, the freedom which having a working mother gave to Kitty Hart, Freddie Knoller's highly musical family in Vienna. Then, as the exhibition progresses, and takes the visitor through the intensification of Nazi persecution policies, we encounter them a further eight times – learning about their anxiety as children when the Nazification of German schools made them outcasts in their own communities, and later the fear, misery and physical suffering as the family lives they had known disintegrated in the ghettos and the camps.

At the time, 1997, that we addressed the various component elements which would make up the exhibition, the only way in which testimony had been made available to visitors at the IWM was through wall-mounted audio-handsets. These had proved a popular way to access the museum's excellent and wide-ranging Sound Archive, and it seemed likely that the Holocaust Exhibition would offer a similar range of handsets.

We engaged our audio-visual consultants at an early stage in the design process, determined that the substantial a/v element should be planned as a fully integrated element. We advertised our needs in *Broadcast* magazine and had a strong response, with sixty or so companies keen to be considered. We shortlisted only those who had made high caliber historical documentaries and who we felt would understand the exhibition's need for programs that supported – rather than led – the historical narrative.

It was the successful candidates, Annie Dodds and James Barker of October Films, who helped persuade us that the audiovisual element of the exhibition should include filmed testimony. As a team they had a string of acclaimed television documentaries behind them – several on Second World War themes – and their familiarity with the material and with testimony-based programs meant that they could envisage how the finished programs would enhance the exhibition.

Another factor helped our decision for filmed testimony: the BBC series *The Nazis* aired in mid-1997. The first major documentary series on 'our' subject for nearly a decade, it was much discussed by our team. Sharp interviewing had brought forth some gems, from older Germans remembering 'the good times', and from a Lithuanian member of a murder squad. We realized that facial expressions counted for a great deal and individuals' experiences through the different stages of the war were obviously easier to follow when the speakers' faces were visible on screen.

How were the witnesses chosen? Together with October Films, we trawled through the IWM Sound Archive, listening to people who had been interviewed in the past, and noting down those whose stories were especially well told, or who were special for some historical reason (Edyta Klein-Smith,

for example, who had survived the Warsaw Ghetto – a rare find.) The Sound Archive's keeper, Margaret Brooks, and Lyn Smith – a freelance interviewer with over twenty years of experience interviewing camp survivors – recommended survivors whose reminiscences they had found particularly striking. Gradually we built up a group of eighteen whose stories would stand for the experiences of the millions of people ill-treated – and in most cases – starved or worked to death or systematically murdered in the death camps.

Annie Dodds and her team interviewed the witnesses for around a half to a full day each. It is credit to the dedication of her and her team that the programs are so professional, and fit so seamlessly into the exhibition. We believed in allowing this group of experienced documentary-makers the freedom to develop the films as they saw fit (having agreed the outline content of each with us).

Curators on the rest of the Holocaust team – immersed in researching photographs, objects, facts, maps and so on – would visit the editing suite to suggest changes, and to absorb each program's information – helping to ensure that they both supported and were supported by the surrounding pictorial and showcase narratives.

The editing of the interviews was initially done by October Films on their Avid computer. As the rough-cuts of programs arrived, we realized how right our decision to opt for filmed testimony had been. Here were real people remembering the details of what had happened to their families – ostracism by classmates in a German school, random shootings in a Polish town, the prophetic words of a wise grandfather. I remember the arrival of the ghettos' program, with its description by Ruth Foster of her father being shot in front of her eyes in the Riga Ghetto, and by Barbara Stimler of her last glimpse of her mother. All who watched these short films were deeply moved.

The exhibition's design was progressing at the same time, and the team had to visualize how the visitor would encounter the testimony as they made their way through the maze of corridors, squared-off rooms and wedge-shaped recesses built from industrial brick and soot-colored terracotta tiles. These very hard surfaces caused some worries: would the sound bounce

around uncontrollably? We would not know until the whole thing was built. In the event, the survivors' voices echo a little, but in a way that intensifies the experience rather than detracting from it.

The Exhibition's story culminates in the large space dedicated to the massive white model of Auschwitz-Birkenau, on which hundreds of tiny figures depict the fate of a trainload of Hungarian Jewish refugees deported to their deaths in May 1944. At this point the survivors disappear from view – no longer appearing on the video screens, but their voices audible from tiny loudspeakers embedded in the alcoves lining the Auschwitz model.

Here are individual vignettes retained for over half a century about the internal workings of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Now it is one's imagination which supplies the images. Albin Ossowski remembers a trainload of gypsies arriving at night – in gorgeous, colorful costumes. Hours later they emerged from the decontamination huts shorn of their hair and naked. There is an almost palpable fear that what you are going to hear next you will wish you had never heard. In the next section, where we illustrate the lives of those selected to become slave laborers for the Nazis, the words come from ceiling-mounted sound cones – the dislocated reminiscences bringing an ethereal, haunting feel to this story of relentless ill-treatment.

The productions were ready by mid-1999, and we held a special screening for the survivors of all the testimony-carrying programs. If anyone had been unhappy with the way their testimony had been used, we would have had the time to make further edits. The screening took place in the museum's board room – rather formal with its carpet and portraits – and I did my best to convey to the survivors, and their husbands and wives, how different the finished ambience would be.

To our intense relief, the survivors did not mind the way their individual stories had been used to tell the top-line narrative. They readily understood the reasons for their 'fragmentation' and were pleased and encouraged to see the model showing what the exhibition would be like.

When the exhibition eventually opened, there was high praise from the press for the witnesses, their 'stoicism', and 'quiet, intense descriptions'. The

Evening Standard profiled three of them, and several were interviewed for the television coverage of the formal opening by the Queen.

The 'survivors in the exhibition' became a very special group to us. For many years they were well-known to our uniformed museum assistants and other front of house staff, becoming 'part of' the Imperial War Museum – a strange fate which none of them could have imagined back in the 1940s. Sadly, only very few are alive today, but their memories of the terrible treatment that they and their families experienced lives on in the exhibition, and we know from our visitors just what kind of impact their testimony has.

The real voices – speaking today – tie the past to the present so much better for today's people than just the monochrome images.

What brave, courageous people who talked on the videos, how moving this was.

A terrifying exhibition. But it's the triumph of the spirit which comes through in this display.

REFERENCES

Bardgett, S. (2005). Film and the Making of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition. In T. Haggith, J. Newman (Eds.). Holocaust and the Moving Image. Representations in Film and Television since 1933. London: Wallflower Press, pp. 19–25.

Kushner, T. (2001). Oral history at the Extremes of Human Experience: Holocaust Testimony in a Museum Setting. In *Oral History,* autumn issue.

IWM's Department of Collections holds almost 40,000 hours of recordings including over 1,000 hours of Holocaust-related material. Most of the recordings are catalogued and, in many cases, can be heard online via the IWM website (www.iwm.org.uk/collections/search), while full access and additional finding aids are also provided in the museum's London-based research room. The Department of Collections is still interested in receiving suggestions from people who may wish to contribute their reminiscences to its ongoing oral history program.

Freddy Mutanguha

PEACE BUILDING THROUGH EDUCATION: RWANDA AND KIGALI GENOCIDE MEMORIAL

Education can play an important role in building peace within a given society but it can also reinforce divisionism and the social destruction of communities. Although the educational system has contributed a lot to the socio-economic welfare of Rwanda, the false history taught to Rwandan children since the 1950s became a root cause of the ideology of hatred which resulted in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

Rwanda's history is not easily passed on – not that it is impossible to teach, but educators often express a need for support. Beyond facts, chronologies and events, post-genocide Rwanda is steadfastly focused on rebuilding and renewal, especially where its social fabric is concerned. After years of systematic social division that was first introduced in Rwanda by German colonialists and pursued by the Belgians but also adopted by the extremist Hutu governments after independence, the first anti-Tutsi pogroms started. Teaching history is a great challenge in a society where the leaders of the three groups (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa) who used to live together, sharing the same language and the same religion, worked hard to highlight small differences and establish them as irreconcilable opposites and planted the seeds of division between Hutu and Tutsi. For decades, the Tutsi population has been segregated, stigmatized, and discriminated from the rest of society.

In the Rwandan schools Tutsi children were forced to stand up to identify themselves, they were humiliated by their teachers in front of the Hutu colleagues and were called cockroaches, or snakes. Many times the Tutsi children were beaten after classes, with the perpetrators saying that they want to kill snakes before they bite.

The Tutsi were perceived as foreign invaders and were considered as enemies of the Rwandan political regime which was exclusively Hutu-led. The perse-

cution of the Tutsi group started in 1959 and it continued up to the 1994 genocide, when the government – led by majority Hutu extremists – decided to exterminate the Tutsi population. In only 100 days they killed more than a million people in a brutal and harsh way. The Tutsi were not killed in concentration camps or a death campus but in streets, which makes the Rwandan genocide against the Tutsi population unique.

How does one successfully deconstruct the making of "ethnic segregation" nowadays? How does one teach history and use the terms Hutu and Tutsi in a classroom without creating anger in the children of survivors or a collective blame regarding the Hutu's children whilst realizing that it is essential to address and understand the genocide, its planning and its implementation? How does one prevent the relegation of Rwanda's history into a sum of individual stories, family events and private interpretations in order to forge a more collective narrative that encompasses Rwandans from all walks of life? How does one build a community, a united society, after so much division, hatred and destruction?

Genocide begins within the hearts and minds. So what do we mean when we talk about education in this context? What kind of education can prevent genocide and is able to create an environment of peace within a society? It's a fair question because while improved levels of literacy and numeracy are necessary for a country's development, they do not, however, guarantee peace and stability. On the contrary, the organizers of the genocide in Rwanda, and those undertaking the same in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, were among the most educated in their communities.

Therefore, there are other important subjects that have to be taught in order to ensure a peaceful and sustainable future. Values that transform the way people think and behave towards each other are as essential as any major public health program. This involves education, developing the capabilities that enable people to challenge negative ideas and working against discrimination and prejudice.

We must discuss the way people view others and the way we speak about them, the kind of language we use. Is it the language of animosity, suspicion, fear and hatred? Or is it the language of accepting and valuing our neighbors? After the holocaust, the United Nations tried to ensure that a never again was put into place, but genocide happened again and again, if in Cambodia or Rwanda. It is clear that the present never learns from the past. Dr. Gregory Staton said, "in order to prevent genocide we must understand it". There is also a Rwandan proverb: "If you see a stone, it cannot damage your hoe".

As people are hoeing the land, when they see a stone they stop, they first remove it and then continue on with their work. So the stone should be viewable so that people are able to act against it.

In Rwanda, memorials such as the Kigali Genocide Memorial have been used as education tools to teach about the past and the approach of storytelling, developed by the Aegis Trust for the Kigali Genocide Memorial, uses testimonies from survivors, rescuers and perpetrators who confessed and committed to be peace makers in their societies. They are the weapons that remove the stones of injustice, prejudice, discrimination and human rights abuses.

Rwanda after Genocide – A Practical Example of Building Peace through Art

An exhibition titled 'Rwanda after Genocide - Building Peace through Art' is a mobile exhibition travelling around districts of Rwanda to share the country's history through the lens of reconciliation and living together. It aims to build this unity and sense of community through reflection on the Rwandan identity after the genocide. The teachers at the memorial tell personal stories about individual Rwandans who in 1994 had to make impossible and courageous choices. For many, Grace is the most striking character in the exhibition. Grace is a free spirit. She is only 11 years old and while fleeing to Goma, she hears a baby crying desperately and it is still lying on her murdered mother's stomach. The teenager, certainly exhausted herself, rushes towards the child, ties the baby on her back and takes her with her on her flight to the Congo, even going against her grandmother's advice. She names her Vanessa and introduces her from now on as her sister.

Despite continuing threats, Grace brought up Vanessa, who is now 22 and flourishing at school. Grace's story tells pupils that are participating in the peace building education program that by her action she had the ability to

think for herself and see beyond the language of dehumanization and hatred. In that baby she recognized another human being, just like herself, who was in need and she acted as she saw fit.

Grace is the perfect example of what the memorial is trying to sow in the hearts of our students and every young Rwandan citizen out there.

The exhibition allows young and old alike to experience drawings as well as stories and explore destinies as well as individual choices. It also intends to replace the old continuum of exclusion and defiance by a continuum of benevolence among Rwandans.

Ultimately, the peace building education should reach the hearts and minds of people in order to promote to unity among the members of society, to reduce the risk of future violence and to develop a culture of social responsibility.

The peace building education values constructive dialogue, develops critical thinking skills, fosters values such as respect, trust as well as empathy, and prepares young people to participate responsibly in society.

Edward Serotta

PRESERVING JEWISH MEMORY, BRINGING JEWISH STORIES TO LIFE: COMBINING NEW TECHNOLOGIES, FAMILY PICTURES, AND THE OLD-FASHIONED ART OF STORYTELLING

Every organization enjoys sharing the story of its founding myth. Ours has the added advantage of being true.

I begin by saying that Centropa was born in Arad, Romania, in the summer of 1999. I had driven into town to make a film on the Jewish community's soup kitchen for ABC News Nightline in the United States. Over the two weeks I spent there in August of that year, followed by another two weeks in December, I got to know everyone in its aging, fading Jewish community. It wasn't hard: there were well less than 200 and some of them were dependent on hot lunches served in their community center six days a week. The others came because they were seeking companionship—and perhaps because this was the finest kosher kitchen (in my estimation) in Central Europe. Arad's kitchen was staffed by Jews, Hungarians, Romanians, and Serbs, all of whom spent as much time arguing over recipes as preparing them, and every morning, an ethnic German farmer delivered her wares—and added her opinions, too.

The most important lesson I learned in Arad repeated itself like an ongoing course in Jewish memory. The kitchen was run by 93-year-old Roszi Jakab and in the afternoons, Roszi would sometimes invite me to walk home with her. In a high-ceilinged, Bauhaus furniture-filled living room, as she served me poppy seed strudel and poured tea into chipped *Wiener Werkstaette* cups, Roszi Jakab would pull out her family photo albums, point to one picture after another and start telling me stories.

Perhaps if it had only been Roszi who had shared her stories and pictures with me, things would have gone no farther. But Roszi's friends, Clara Földes and Eva Mairovici, would also invite me to their homes, and the process would repeat itself all over again.

True, most of the people in Roszi's, Clara's and Eva's albums had perished in the Holocaust, but what struck me was that these ancient story tellers became more animated as they regaled me with stories from long ago: the sister who had gotten into trouble at school for speaking out against King Carol II; an uncle, stuffed into his Austro-Hungarian officer's uniform, was, in fact, no officer, but a salesman on the make. There was the opera singing aunt, the grandfather who never left the house without candy in his pockets for children he met on his way to work, and the hot-headed brother who fled to Palestine before the Second World War and sent back a picture of the sand-filled streets of Tel Aviv.

Who collects this stuff, I would ask myself each evening as I sat on a bench by the Mures River and snacked on the food Roszi had prepared for me each day. No one, I thought, as I attended two funerals during my visits. When these people go, I thought, they are taking with them the stories only they can tell. I knew very well, even in 1999, that there were many commendable oral history projects that had interviewed elderly Holocaust survivors. Each one of them had come into being with the express purpose of asking Jews to explain, on video, all that they had gone through during the Holocaust.

I had no interest in following their well-trod path. Instead, I wanted to find a way to preserve stories of the Jewish world that existed *before* the destruction, a world that now lived on only in the stories and old family albums of people like Roszi, Clara and Eva.

While in Budapest, cutting my Nightline film, I met two young Jewish historians, Dora Sardi and Eszter Andor. They had just seen their grandparents' video interviews about what they had gone through during the Holocaust. While having dinner with Dora, she held her six-month-old son in her lap and said to me, "I think it's great my grandfather gave that video interview, but

I don't want that video to be the only story my son has of his great-grandfather. I want him to know how he lived, not just how his family perished." With those words, Dora set the tone for everything we would do from that point on.

Within weeks, Dora, Eszter, and I started sketching out our project and set goals, objectives, and parameters and we weighed the options open to us for preserving memory. The not-altogether-pleasant task of finding hundreds of thousands, and eventually millions of dollars to launch and carry through this project fell to me, but that discussion lies outside the scope of this paper.

Dora, Eszter, and I decided to forego the use of video and rely instead on transcribed audio recordings matched with old photos and documents, and we did so for several reasons. First: when I had written newspaper or magazine articles as a print journalist, if there was something I forgot to ask one of my interviewees, I could phone a day, a week, or a month later, and simply slip their response into the story. Not so when shooting video for television. Once the cake is baked, it's baked. You can't go back and insert the chocolate chips. A second reason: using video to interview respondents in different countries would mean hiring a videographer and a sound person. Having worked in video for years, I knew quite well that, a. video was expensive, and b. there were far more bad videographers out there than good ones.

Third: our overall goal was to ask Central Europe's oldest living Jews to share with us their stories of an *entire* century—from tales of their grandparents to stories about their great-grandchildren. We wanted to replicate, to some extent, the experience of sitting on those sofas like I did in Arad, and being enchanted with a lifetime of stories. We could not see how video was the medium for such a project.

Our objective was to digitize photos, keyword them and match them to the stories our respondents would tell us--all about growing up, going to school, falling in love, surviving the Holocaust and taking us all the way to their lives today. To combine all of this in an online searchable database would be new, it would be different, and it would end up being closer to Studs Terkel's ap-

proach to oral history than Steven Spielberg's impressive video Holocaust survivor project.

Finding elderly Jews to interview did not prove to be an obstacle, because by the time we began in 2000, I had already invested a decade and a half working in these Jewish communities. Through the three books and four films I'd made on Jewish life in this region, I had established the connections I needed in each country.

Developing a solid oral history methodology, however, was far beyond my reach, and I am deeply thankful to Dr. Margalit Bejarano, who had then been Director of Oral Histories at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Margalit was instrumental in helping us to develop our methodology, and she didn't just make suggestions to us by e-mail; Margalit sat in on our interviewers' seminars in St. Petersburg, Budapest, Bucharest, Istanbul, and Thessaloniki, reviewed the interviewers' transcriptions, made invaluable suggestions to them, and to us.

Centropa was just gearing up while the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation project was winding down its interviewing phase in most European countries, and Kim Simon, who had helped to organize their workflow in several countries, provided Centropa with Polonius to Laertes advice on how to organize interviewers and coordinators in each country. Kim's lessons' learned saved us more headaches than I could possibly imagine.

Our interviewers' seminars lasted a weekend, usually starting with lectures by historians, then a traditional Friday evening synagogue service and a dinner with the local Jewish community (more than 90% of our interviewers were non-Jews), followed by two intensive days of practice interviews and getting to know how to use our database. We wanted these interviewers to feel part of the communities they would be working in, which is why we invited dozens of potential interviewees to those dinners, which often stretched long into the night, and established bonds with those whose life stories we would tell.

The first visit to each respondent was spent reviewing our contract and then delving into each family tree, and this often took more than an hour. The sec-

ond visit began with the life story: and our methodology divided each life into sixteen separate chapters, as we asked them to paint us pictures about: their town, their grandparents, their schools, the youth clubs they attended, what their parents did for work, the books and newspapers they read. The wartime stories covered their descent into or escape from hell, and they were free to tell us as much, or as little, as they wished. The postwar stories covered chapters such as: who they married, and something about those family backgrounds, getting a job, starting families, watching their children leave home, and what they have been doing since retirement.

During our decade of interviewing in fifteen countries, I estimate that 70% of our 1,200 interviews were conducted over the course of three visits. In the case of Poland, Hungary, and Greece (a total of 300), we averaged around five to seven visits. In Vienna, those interviews have been going on for well more than a decade, as we started a social club for those we interviewed, and they continue to tell us "just a little something you ought to put in my story."

As for the 22,000 photographs and documents we digitized, we divided them into five categories with numerous sub-groups in each: people, places, activities, military, Holocaust-related, documents. Our online and offline search functions (we still haven't uploaded all our stories yet) allow web visitors to explore these pictures in any number of ways—by theme, country, family name, or decade.

What makes our stories different is this: every interview was audiotaped and transcribed word for word in the original language. When we translated these biographies into English, however, we removed all of the questions and put the entire biography into chronological order. We know that for an academic this is anathema, but historians are free to use our original language audio recordings or their transcriptions and, to date, some 44 masters' and doctoral students have indeed requested and received them.

For the rest of us, however, the English translations read, quite literally, like a translated autobiography, which is why these stories have proven so popular (our data shows that some 150,000 of our annual 250,000 unique visitors read through at least one biography online). Around 100 of our Viennese in-

terviews are online in German and 250 of the Hungarian stories are online in Hungarian. Twelve of those Viennese interviews have made their way into English and 70 Hungarian interviews have been translated into English.

When we were preparing www.centropa.org for launch in 2002, we realized that if we were going this far to pay tribute to Central European Jewish memory, we should enrich the site with other relevant material. That is why when we rolled out the site in September of that year, visitors found a section on Jewish foods, written first by Mimi Sheraton and then by Jayne Cohen, as well as travel tips by Ruth Ellen Gruber. We also offered essays and short stories written by contemporary Jewish writers from the region and soon we turned some of our best interviews into e-books that could be downloaded in PDF form.

In more recent years, we have published six printed books, fifteen online e-books, and produced a series of traveling exhibitions pulled from our interviews. Those exhibitions are currently traveling through Spain, the US, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, Austria, and Lithuania.

All of this serves to make Centropa an online Central European cultural center you can access from every computer, tablet, and smart phone in the world—all based on the fact that we chose to combine new technologies, family photographs, and the old-fashioned art of storytelling.

Of all the programs we could envision in our early days, education was not among them, but no sooner had we rolled out our website than teachers began asking us, via e-mail, what sort of programs we were offering educators. None, we told them. But teachers are a persistent lot, and we started inviting them to our office in Vienna to explore ideas with us. Since we are now working in 500 schools in 20 countries, it is worth recounting how we began and how we grew.

We felt if we wanted to bring Centropa to schools, we should begin by asking help from classroom educators, because they are on the front lines of teaching every day. Therefore, when they told us that they loved the way we presented history to them—meaning entire life stories—we brainstormed until we came up with the idea of turning our best interviews into multimedia

films. We understood they would have to be short enough to show in class, leave time to discuss them, and they should be filled with maps, dates, and as much historical information as we could comfortably fit into the narrative.

The concept was simple enough: we started taking some of our best and most compelling interviews (which stretch out over 40 to 80 pages), honed each story into a script by using the original words of our interviewees, and illustrated that script with the photographs from that family. We added maps, archival photographs and stock film footage, then hired well-known actors in Prague, Warsaw, Vienna, Berlin, Bucharest, Sofia, Skopje, and other cities to read the scripts (we always had our respondents or their families approve them). Finally, we brought in musicians to create the scores and combined it all in software programs that let the photographs float up before us as we watched our interviewees grow from children in kindergarten to standing next to their own great-grandchildren.

The result is that our film program has become our USP—our *Unique Selling Point* in marketing parlance. And it has pushed us into more schools than we could possibly have imagined, even though we have never aimed our films at a young adult audience. We just make the very best films we can, and students respond because we tell deeply emotional, compelling stories.

We currently have more than thirty biographical multimedia films online, and over the years, we have learned to make these films stronger and more compelling—as validated not only by their regular appearance in international film festivals (twelve as of this writing), but by the fact they are shown on national television in Austria, Hungary, Bosnia, and Serbia.

We produce short documentaries as well, and these stories tell how Europe's maps changed over the past 200 years; why Jewish soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army were so loyal to Franz Josef I; and how Bulgaria managed to protect its own Jews during the Holocaust while sending those of occupied Macedonia and Thrace to Treblinka. Since these films are also laced with maps, archival photographs, and film footage, teachers adore them, and our video on European maps is available on our site in English, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, and Polish.

Since we started working with schools in 2007, we have continued to meet and work alongside our teachers, and over the years we developed four principles we now stand behind:

- Stories are universal and stories connect us all;
- No one teaches a teacher better than another teacher;
- Students today respond better when they work interactively, and not try and absorb passively;
- We don't believe in borders.

Students in 20 countries relate to Centropa films because our stories, while set in 20th century Central and Eastern Europe, are universal in their scope. In nearly all of our more recent films, we include Righteous Gentiles who helped save the people we interviewed. That gives teenagers a strong moral compass, and we are great believers in giving students moral absolutes.

When we say "no one teaches a teacher better than another teacher," we mean that our seminars are not about "training" teachers to use the contents of a boxed curriculum someone wrote for them. We don't have a boxed curriculum. Instead, we learned that by putting teachers around a table after watching our films or viewing our databases, they came up with great ideas on their own. That is why we hold seminars in each country we work in, and each July we bring up to 90 educators from 20 countries together in the great cities of Central Europe.

By partnering with teachers we have also learned that students simply work better when they create their own projects - they learn more, do more, and become more engaged when they explore our website, find a story, and then use video to tell similar stories. European students love making films on "my town's Jewish history," especially when they can compete in this field with other schools.

Finally, we all know that today's students live on their smart phones, and they relate to the world through Google, YouTube and a myriad of social media programs. They honestly do not care where borders are, and since that is the case, we need to bring education to where they now live, which is why we connect high schools in Greensboro and Kielce, Mannheim and Haifa, Palm

Beach and Belgrade, Bonn and Sarajevo, Sarajevo and Greenville. When students know that teenagers on the other side of the world will not only see their work but learn from it, they become stakeholders in their projects.

I do not often return to Arad, Romania these days, but I did stop by the kosher kitchen one summer day in 2007. Roszi and Eva had since died, but I sat with Clara Földes in the community dining room, which seemed larger now as it had so few regular visitors. The community president, Ionel Schlesinger, ever the optimist, had opened a youth center in the Jewish community and installed a computer with wireless access. Sitting with Clara, I turned on my cell phone, connected to the Internet, and after she fumbled for her glasses, I showed Clara her story and her pictures on the Centropa website. "Imagine that," she said, as we scrolled through her pictures and went through her biography. "I wish my husband would be alive to see this," she said and sighed. Then Clara brightened. "And did you know I was a teacher in the Jewish school in Arad?" I told her, "Yes, Aunt Clara [Hungarians are big on calling their elders 'aunt' and 'uncle'], you taught in the Jewish school for eleven years, until the Communists closed it in 1948." Astonished, she said, "How do you *know* that?" I reminded Clara of the interview we conducted with her over the course of a week in 2003, and scrolled down on my iPhone and showed her that part of her story. Squinting through her glasses at the tiny screen, she said, "Goodness!" and smiled broadly, then patted my arm.

Clara Földes, the last teacher in the Arad Jewish school, died that autumn, and is buried not far from Roszi Jakab and Eva Mairovici. We at Centropa started our interview project too late, I know that, and I wish to God we had interviewed another thousand people, at least. But fifteen years before we held up that first picture and asked an old Jew to tell us a story about it, there was not the appropriate technology available to carry out this kind of project. Now, fifteen years after we began, it is too late, as there are so few Jews still alive who remember the pre-Holocaust world of Jewish *Mitteleuropa*. Yet the stories we heard on those 1,200 sofas, about the 22,000 pictures and documents we digitized, have allowed us to preserve just a piece of a world now lost to us, yet saved on www.centropa.org.

SECTION III – FILM

Gertrud Koch

VISUAL MEDIA, WEBSITES AND TV
Section III "Film"– Introduction

This section combines essays from different angles and focuses that are linked together in a shared interest in media history. The 'youngest' medium of digital computer-based technology poses its own problems in comparison with the 'older' technical media such as sound recording, photography, film, video and the different ways of preserving and distributing the recorded/produced sound and/or images. The testimonies of historical witnesses exist in all these variants of technical media. The guiding question, therefore, lays not only on the technical differences but in the emergence of specific symbolic forms that are shaped and produced via specific technical media, and, in a larger sense, on the pragmatics of those media: How are they used and understood during the process of recording/producing and during the process of reception and what can be said about their performative power to shape individual and collective memory, to establish what Kant called "Geschichtszeichen" (the sign of history)?

The question of media contains the quest for evidence: How much can we look at and make use of regarding testimonies as sources of knowledge, of historical narratives, legal documents and of autobiographical investigations? The closer analysis of media shows that they always mediate and never allow for the immediacy of sheer facticity. Media are per definition mediators and as such they color what they show, they are part of the formation of a discourse. The model of the testimony bears similar problems of reliability when it comes to memory, of the inherent perspectives of first-person narratives etc., insofar one can't even say that the media alone are transforming the facts of what is being reported – the person who reports has to already probe the same limits when it comes to strong criteria. In historiography these effects of first-person narratives are therefore embedded in a grid of

'objective' structures and data that allows the placement of the content of the report. Language, scenic and image-driven memory in the speeches *are* already media, and these first degree media are again mediated within the technical media of recording, mounting, showing. The relationship between these different media types often becomes the focus of research: How does the possibility of being able to download the testimony on your home computer and to edit it as you like create a mood of accessibility toward a person whose spoken words, whose frowning face can no longer be brought back to life?

In her contribution Judith Keilbach gives a comprehensive overview on the history of mediated testimonies following the thread of technological tools and the symbolic forms that they have generated. Sylvie Lindeperg focuses in her contribution on "Judicial Truth and Cinematographic Truth. Filmed Courtroom Testimonies: the Case of the Eichmann Trial," on the Eichmann trial as the first videotaped courtroom event that made television history and introduces this case as the generic form for further media presentations of testimonies. Paul Frosh opens with his contribution "Survivor Testimony and the Ethics of Digital Interfaces" the terrain for the last medium that is involved in media practices: The iPad and especially the touchscreen that enables a haptic sensation in the reception process – creating a new relationship between witness and reader/listener/viewer through the index finger.

While these three contributions are discussing the strong interdependency between the technical medium and the distributed message, another group of contributions goes more into the symbolic structure of the interchange between media and form. Michael Renov looks in "The Facial Close-up in Audio-Visual Testimony: The Power of Embodied Memory", together with the philosopher Lévinas and his ethics of interfacial recognition and communication, at a very old filmic form that seems to prevail in filmic discourses on witnesses and testimonies: The close-up of the face. Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann dedicates his study on "Witnessing emotion: Encountering Holocaust Survivors' Testimonies in Documentary Films" with a special emphasis on the emergence of affects and emotions when the witnesses are shown in spe-

cific cinematic procedures that make them into a cinematic witness to whom the spectator builds an affective relationship.

The role of the archive brings Régine-Mihal Friedman to a multilayered reading of footage that is historical as well as new: "Revisiting *Das Ghetto* (May 1942): *Breaking the Silence of the Archive* (2010)." The quest to read the historiographical materials in two ways – as signs of the past and as signs of a memory that again and again confronts one in a new way – remodels the material for each new round.

Sylvie Rollet looks in "Embodied Archives: The Torturers' Testimony in Rithy Panh's S-21" for ways in which the discourse of the witness and the affective performative re-enactment of historical events goes beyond the Holocaust time frame. It probes the forms and procedures that evolved against its background as global settings. Here media history shows the actual aspect, the transference of symbolic forms of technically mediated communication.

All contributions in this section are more or less telling a twofold story: the story of historical events that are narrated through testimonies and brought to the fore by using different media that are changing as time goes by. The complex interdependency between media history and the history of their technological performances and the facts that are given to us by testimonies, archival materials and historical footage shines through the variety of topics and methodological approaches as another historical fact.

Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann

WITNESSING EMOTION: ENCOUNTERING HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS' TESTIMONIES IN DOCUMENTARY FILMS

According to John Durham Peters, a witnesses' status in general is constituted through a specific ambiguity that is related to the "fragility of witnessing" (Peters 2001: 710). To describe this fragility Peters carves out three dimensions of the witness: first, the dimension of the agent bearing witness, secondly, the text of the testimony and thirdly, the audience who listens to the witness. This constellation of experience, communication and listening is reminiscent of the communication triangle of speech-act, agent and audience. From this follows Peters' definition of a witness as "the paradigm case of a medium: the means by which experience is supplied to others who lack the original." (Ibid.: 709) The witness mediates an absent event and makes it present. Thus it is supposed to have a privileged access to the past. The faculties that are therefore necessary are mirroring the constellation of witnessing: first of all, the faculty of memory, that is the ability to recall what happened at another place and another time, secondly, the faculty of narrating, to communicate these memories in form of a comprehensible (and sometimes even reproducible) narrative, and thirdly, turning to the side of the listeners, the faculty of imagination, which is according to Hannah Arendt "the ability to make present what is absent" (Arendt 1982: 65). In this regard the listeners do not only reflect "on an object [or the core and text of the witnesses account] but on its representation [the specific form of how something is said]." (Ibid.) They take a position that is distinct from that of the witness. Following Arendt one could state that the listener moves towards the position of the judge [referring to a juridical setting] or regarding historic events to the position of an historian: "who by relating [the past] sits in judgment over it". (Ibid.: 5) That implies a po-

sition from "where the standpoints of all others are open to inspection" (Ibid.: 43), which brings us back to imagination as "condition for memory". (Ibid.: 80) Regarding the status of the witness we can observe that it constantly shifts between the position of a passive observer and an active narrator. Thus Peters states that the witness has "two faces: the passive one of seeing and the active one of saying" (Peters 2001: 709) and points out that this "journey from experience (the seen) into words (the said) is precarious." (Ibid.: 710)

Now proceeding from these general assumptions about the status of the witness and its listeners (the communicative and imaginative dimension of testifying, the fragility of witnessing and its affinity to media) to the specific character of Shoah witnesses we first have to realize that there are certain distinctions. As an event without precedent, the Shoah did not only challenge concepts of progress and reason but also shatters the concept of witnessing; especially as the Shoah was an event without witnesses. Thus, Shoah witnesses are in the precarious situation that most of the perpetrators never admitted their crimes and on the other hand hardly any uninvolved spectator ever witnessed the events when they actually took place. Even more, the aim of the crime was to annihilate potential witnesses and to destroy all evidence. Following these specifics of the event, the Shoah witnesses' precarious status permanently oscillates between that of a disgraced victim and that of a retroactive witness that tries to make sense of a crime that challenges the boundaries of sense and ratio.

Additionally, we have to take into account that only a fractional amount of victims ever became witnesses. First of all, the vast majority could never testify because these people were killed. Secondly, we have to consider that the majority of surviving victims was never able to speak about their experiences and to tell their stories. Thus, only a minority of victims ever gained the speaking position of a Shoah witness either at a trial, as an historian, an author of biographies, an interviewee in documentaries or as an eye witness telling his or her story to the next generation.

Having clarified the specifics of Shoah witnesses, we can now turn towards the conditions and expectations of the audience within this specific trian-

gle of witnessing. Therefore audiovisual media is today the most important agent. We can assume that the recalling of personal memories is shaped by the setting of conversation, by the recording and especially through the selection of specific parts from an interview for the final version of a testimony. Furthermore, the making of such films is influenced by common expectations of the audience as well as through conventionalized stylistic patterns. This concerns the specific forms of addressing and the presentation as well as the triggering of emotional responses on the side of the witness as well as on that of the audience.

Here we need to be distinct again. The witnesses' emotional response is characterized through an actualization of conserved, previous emotions from the past or even a release of suppressed emotions for the first time as well as through 'primary' emotions such as sorrow about the loss of friends and relatives, fear of the returning of unbearable memories or pain during the tough act of remembering. In contrast, the emotional response of the audience is mediated through the recorded testimony and appears as immediate because of the specific conditions of cinematic perception. Thus, the spectator's emotions respond to the cinematic perception of emotions, which are exceedingly related to stylistic devices. These stylistic devices create a mode of re-experience, which is linked to specific responsive experiences by recalling one's own 'memories' on the spectator's side. On the one hand, these secondary 'memories' are linked to personal experiences if the film experience reminds the spectators of similar or identical experiences that they have had in their own life. Thus the audience tries to link the testimony to its own personal memories (which of course are often also exceedingly shaped by cultural conventions or interpersonally shared concepts). On the other hand, the emotional addressing can be linked to an earlier film experience that became part of the individual stock of emotions and experiences. Such media (or otherwise culturally shaped) experiences are creating assumptions of how a film or an audiovisual testimony about the Shoah should look like and what it should feel like. Such assumptions can modify in different periods of media history. Judith Keilbach, for instance, found in her seminal research on historical television in Germany that Shoah witnesses during the sixties had to accommodate to the sober mode of juridical discourses whereas ever since the 1990s more and more emotional expressions of the witnesses became an expected marker for a film to be perceived as being authentic (Keilbach 2008).

These assumptions and expectations are not only shaped through media but also by the specific socio-cultural and political context in which a society addresses the past. I argue that the specific epistemological challenges of the Shoah produce feelings such as unsettledness, uncertainty and disorientation out of a certain necessity. Out of this results a requirement that perceives the Shoah in a bearable manner in order to heal the wounds of the past and to get a closed and harmonic image of this unimaginable history. It is noticeable that, in a specific manner, the turn towards the surviving witnesses within audiovisual media since the 1980s has reinforced this requirement. The survivors' testimonies were perceived more and more as being a bearable surrogate for the shocking archive footage from the liberated camps and the Nazi films shot in the ghettos. Enhanced by feature films such as Steven Spielberg's SCHINDLER'S LIST the Shoah was told as story of survival with a positive ending, a return to life, which nevertheless included the exclusive offer of getting an insight into the abyss of brutality and evil. Regarding the stylistic forms of such attempts, the fragility and fragmentary composition of the cinematic as well as of the witness's narrative had to vanish just as compositions of failure, gaps, missing links and stylistically caused unsettledness that would create different emotional responses had to.

Witnessing and emotions in The Last Days

To elaborate these specific emotional responses to and the addressing through survivor's testimonies I will now discuss a prototypical documentary that is primarily based on accounts of Shoah witnesses. THE LAST DAYS, a documentary directed by James Moll in 1998 that won an Academy Award for best documentary feature, follows the fate of five Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust and tried to represent this devastating episode by adopting popular

modes of documentary filmmaking in order to involve the audience and especially address the younger generation: "Running only an hour and a half, 'The Last Days' has a beginning, middle and end. Instead of accruing an immense volume of detailed testimony elicited through a relentless interviewing process, the movie is edited with the precision of a Hollywood film and has a tastefully subdued musical score by Hans Zimmer. Like Mr. Spielberg's 'Schindler's List,' it even has what could be construed as a 'happy' ending." (Holden 1998) Thus the film, which was produced by Spielberg and was one of the first attempts to illustrate the importance of the Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive, follows the narrative described above and creates an historical access to the past by focusing on individual memories with a certain emotional impact. The latter is reinforced through the stylistic form of merging testimonies with archive footage and shots from the historical sites as well as with an emotionalizing musical score. In addition, through the film's narrative one follows the life stories of the survivors from cared childhood through the shattering catastrophe all the way to a relieving end.

However, the film is not primarily accessing the biographies of its protagonists in depth but elaborates the witnesses as being a firsthand medium into the past. It turns them, in the words of reviewer Stephen Holden, into "a shifting mosaic of voices". (Ibid.) Thus, the film creates the impression of immediacy by compounding the individual testimonies into a generalizing image of past events.

In a central sequence, in which Irene Zisblatt, Rene Firestone and Alice Lok Cahana are describing their personal memories of the deportation to Auschwitz-Birkenau, the montage is obviously merging the three witnesses into one single voice. One woman finishes a sentence that her predecessor has started (Ochayon 2014). The visual adjustment, on the one hand, interloops short testimony pieces into the image of a universal victim that is proving but, at the same time, also repeating the Nazi effort to de-personalize their victims. On the other hand, this generalized image of the deportation experience is also intended to enable access to these very specific, existential and cruel experiences. However, dissolving the different individual perspectives as well as voices is never finally possible as individual markers such as the face, clothes, certain personal objects or the tone of the voice will always thwart such an impression. By this means the testimony footage itself resists the generalized cutting.

But obviously this sequence creates a specific mood. The fast cutting creates tension and the feeling of disorientation. This tension endures during the report about the deportation until it is culminating in the word "Auschwitz" and the simultaneously edited photograph of the camp's gate.

Outstanding emotional responses of the survivors are included into this stylistically triggered mood. Following Greg Smith, emotion and mood have to be seen in close relationship: "To sustain a mood, we must experience occasional moments of emotion. Film must therefore provide the viewer with a periodic diet of brief emotional moments if it is to sustain a mood. Therefore, mood and emotion sustain each other." (Smith 2003) Overwhelmed witnesses create such emotional moments. Those moments are deliberately cut into the sequence and accompanied by certain visual accents. The camera, for example, focuses Irene Zisblatt's clenching hands when she is recalling her fear of losing her brother. In the following shot her voice stumbles and she covers her face with her hands. Such emotional expressions are enhancing the addressed mood but do not make aware the fragility of the testimony and therefore the shattering character of the event itself.

Rather, such scenes match with the audiences' expectation and assumption to meet traumatized people, which Judith Keilbach has perfectly described as a stylistic device. She states that such stylistic devices have in the meantime become conventionalized emblems of trauma (Keilbach 2008). On the other hand, these intense emotional moments tie in with the spectator's own emotional memories. Thus, many of these situations depict general human experiences. Both moments from the testimony of Zisblatt did, for instance, refer to her family. The reference to family relations is an important bridge that is being built in order to trigger emotional responses.

Furthermore, the interviews often try to focus on details as well as symbolic and symptomatic moments within the general narration of the events. In the

following sequence, Rene Firestone, for instance, recalls how she had to take off her bathing suit that she had taken with her on her way to being deported in order to have something reminding her of her childhood. The recollection of the bathing suit functions as a vivid detail that is a reference point within the unbearable catastrophe with regard to normal life. On the one hand, the spectators can connect it with objects that are, for them, in a similar way, also valuable as objects of memory. On the other hand, this special object is used to demonstrate the cruelty of the persecution. The adding of historic photographs even intensifies this narrative function. In this sense, the picture of young Rene in the bathing suit serves as a memory image that can also be adopted by the audience. The photograph, on the one hand, warrants the testimony (the bathing suit was real) and, on the other hand, serves as a definite illustration of an imaginary recollection. The later photograph of the shaved women in Auschwitz, on the contrary, indicates the brutal reality that disrupted these memories.

As THE LAST DAY is combining the testimonies of three female and two male survivors, gender-related expectations are also becoming obvious. Generally, emotional responses coming from women are anticipated a lot more. Those emotional reactions adapt to culturally imposed concepts of gendered emotions. The opposite would be the testimony of Tom Lantos in THE LAST DAYS. Lantos is always speaking in a very sober and coherent way about his experiences. However, meeting the expected gendered behavior could conflict with the canonized image of a Shoah survivor's testimony. Michele Barricelli, Juliane Brauer and Dorothee Wein, for instance, have highlighted in a report about the educational use of survivor's testimonies that the young spectators of such testimonies are often disappointed when the survivors do not openly express their emotions. Thus the authors concluded that this expectation seems to be related to the representation of witnesses in audiovisual media mainly as distributors of emotions (Barricelli, Brauer, Wein 2009).

Following this observation, it seems that in the specific case of Shoah witnesses, the expectation of explicitly emotional expressions predominates the expectations of gender-related emotional responses. Thus, a highly emotion-

al scene depicting the survivor Bill Basch getting overwhelmed by his memories from the camps meets the spectator's expectation much more than Lantos' historically coherent narration. Therefore, it is interesting that at the end of the film Lantos is explicitly marked as a 'professional' public speaker, because of his position as a US congressman.

Finally, I want to discuss a last sequence from THE LAST DAYS because it seems to me that this interview with Dario Gabbai, who was a member of the Jewish Sonderkommando in Auschwitz, is the most puzzling in the film and illustrates a different concept of emotional response. In the first part of this interview, which appears like a film within the film, Gabbai soberly related his biography, his first impressions of the crematorium and describes the work that was done by the Sonderkommando. His extremely gentle speech is accompanied by a dramatizing musical score and illustrated with archive photographs.

It is remarkable that, although Gabbai's emotional strain is clearly expressed by his nervously moving hands, the camera stays at a distance and does not focus on his hands with a close up. In addition, the use of archive footage in the film also illustrates Gabbai's memories with a tracking shot through the restored ruins of the crematorium. This deserted space, which serves as an allegory for the de-humanization of the victims, has to be related to the experiences of the witness through the audience's imagination. Thus, room to imagine that what is unimaginable is opened by transgressing the concept of pure illustration in favor of a communicational exchange between voice and image which are, however, both limited.

But what is even more striking is the sequence's continuation. In its second part, Gabbai recalls a specific incident when friends of him arrived in the killing zone. In contrast to the stylistic program of the whole film, the music score breaks off and from this tremendous and nearly unbearable point of the testimony on no further cuts interrupt Gabbai's memories.

In contrast to our expectations, Gabbai speaks quietly and very calmly about this extraordinary incident. His words are even more of a puzzle because we encounter a conflict between content and form. Thus, the apparently sober

but nevertheless deeply empathetic tone of his narration has an unsettling effect on the spectators. As a result, other emotional responses become possible, even because our expectations are thwarted: Disappointment turns into irritation. Irritation becomes uncertainty. Uncertainty leads to involvement. The modified involvement raises new questions. Therefore, especially because of the thwarting of our expectations, we become aware of the fragility of witnessing and find a new way to access the witness's testimony.

Regarding Peters assumptions about the witness as medium, in this case we can see that the experience is precisely supplied because of a reduction to the level of spoken testimony and the perception of the speaking witness that brings our attention towards its inherent forms of intermediation. In contrast to using the testimonies in order to create a certain mode for historical re-experience, the imparting character of the testimony becomes obvious. Thus, audiovisual media can also open up space for the spectator's confrontation with the witnesses' accounts and for using one's imagination instead of just narrowing the testimonies' fragility into definite and relieving narratives.

Conclusion

THE LAST DAYS presents different strategies with regard to using Shoah survivors' testimonies as a primary source for documentary films. Following Peters' assumption that the witness is a paradigm case of a medium, such films mediate the past in a dual sense. They use cinematic operations and devices to transform the testifying survivors into cinematic witnesses and adopt particular techniques that correspond with the historical narratives. These include constructing a universal victim out of different voices by montage or portraying the survivor of the 'Sonderkommando', Dario Gabbai, as a single voice speaking from the dead by avoiding any cutting and imparting the sequence as one long continuous take. That is to say that the recorded material and the content of its testimony request a certain cinematic depiction. These depictions then involve the audience in a particular way.

On the other hand, the witnesses themselves are acting as agents of these past events. Their voices, faces and gestures communicate particular emo-

tional responses towards their unbearable memories. Thus, the spectators are in a dual witnessing position, on the one hand responding to the emotional affects of the cinematic experience, on the other hand facing the survivors and their emotional responses. However, as stated above the survivors' presence as individual witnesses of the past simultaneously thwarts the anticipated or intended emotional addressing. Therefore the communication triangle remains fragile and the position of the spectator continues to be unstable. Finally, such fragility echoes not only the fragility of witnessing but also directly communicates the impact of the puzzling past itself.

REFERENCES

Peters, J. D. (2001). "Witnessing". In: Media, Culture and Society 23 (6), pp. 707–723, p. 710.

Arendt, H. (1982). Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy, ed. and with an interpretation by R. Beiner, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr. p. 65.

Keilbach, J. (2008). Geschichtsbilder und Zeitzeugen. Zur Darstellung des Nationalsozialismus im Bundesdeutschen Fernsehen, Münster: LIT-Verlag.

Holden, S.: The Last Days (1998). Film Review; In Hungary, the Final Days of the 'Final Solution', New York Times, February 5, 1999, http://www.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9B06E3D81E38F936A35751C0A96F958260.

Ochayon, S. S. (2014). The Last Days. Film Review. Yad Vashem e-Newsletter for Holocaust Educators, January 2014, http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/31/last_days.asp.

Smith, G. M. (2003). Film Structure and the Emotion System. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press.

Barricelli, M., Brauer, J., Wein, D. (2009). Zeugen der Shoah: Historisches Lernen mit lebensgeschichtlichen Videointerviews. Das Visual History Archive des Shoah Foundation Institute in der schulischen Bildung. In: Medaon 5, 9. 10.

Régine-Mihal Friedman

REVISITING DAS GHETTO (MAY 1942):
BREAKING THE SILENCE OF THE ARCHIVE (2010)

For Ronny Loewy, In Memoriam.

In our so-called age of testimony, which blurs boundaries between history and memory, the public and the private, the judicial and the personal, which moreover favors 'lens and visuals' over 'words and verbal images' – to use Elie Wiesel's phrasing (1977) – is it still legitimate, acceptable, to summon images taken by perpetrators to depict the plight of their victims? In bold contrast to Claude Lanzmann's response so forcefully expressed in his influential *Shoah* (1985), Yael Hersonski's *The Silence of the Archive/A Film Unfinished* (2010) deliberately draws on images from *The Ghetto (1942),* discovered in 1954 and since then recurrently quoted in most films documenting the Jewish tragedy.

It will be my contention that through her personal re-appropriation of this found footage, Hersonski confirms her sense of belonging to the generations of the aftermath, the children and grandchildren of survivors who have attempted in their own way to refute Paul Celan's desperate assessment: 'Nobody bears witness for the witness' (Celan 1971).

Eager to differently 'probe the limits of representation', in Saul Friedlander's terms, these 'vicarious witnesses' [1] have contributed to developing new sub-genres in the growing category of non-fiction cinema. Expressed with passionate artistic creativity, some of these endeavors, termed here "personal testimonial films", have retained the attention of the critics as well as the interest of the public. [2] Most poignantly, however, this ardent quest into the traumatic past of the survivor activates the process of transference, this Freudian notion having been redefined by Dominick LaCapra as 'the implication of the observer in the observed' (LaCapra 2001).

Partaking in the present concern with trauma together with other eminent scholars, LaCapra has distinguished between existential or structural trauma, recognizable in all societies but differently experienced individually, and the specificities of a historical trauma like the Holocaust (LaCapra 1998). Whilst for many years mourning as working-through was favored over melancholia as acting-out, current trauma studies emphasize that both notions must be reconsidered as necessary and interacting processes. However, the diverse types of memory recently discerned [3], in spite of some nuances, seem to draw from the distinction between 'deep memory' versus 'common memory', suggested by the French Resistance fighter and writer Charlotte Delbo in her *Days and Memory* (Delbo 1985). This most helpful heuristic tool was later adopted by distinguished Holocaust scholars such as Lawrence Langer (1991) and Saul Friedlander [4]. Traumatic memory is also substantiated and actualized in the personal testimonial films made in Israel. Most daringly indeed, they confront present injuries with more ancient ones – as shown in *Waltz with Bashir* (Ari Folman 2008) – the inherited ordeal hiding behind the latest and vice-versa: trauma begets trauma. But essentially, these works point, as Dori Laub (1992) has masterly shown, to a legacy of pain transmitted to those 'Children of Job' (Berger 1997) who 'bear the scar without the wound,' in Arthur Cohen's words. [5] Now, even more acutely, they bear the scar as well as the wound.

Furthermore, a fruitful distinction has been established by Gertrud Koch in her inspiring paper entitled "Being my Father's Father" (Koch 2010) in which she differentiates between "the ventriloquism of the second generation", still enclosed in their parents' grieving memories and Hersonski's more autonomous and liberated third generation. Indeed, the film is a vibrant homage to her grandmother, an underground fighter who survived the Warsaw ghetto, Auschwitz and Ravensbrück.

The Ghetto, which Hersonski chose to reconsider, belongs to the mass of filmic material devised and produced under the Third Reich that has passed into history as a cinema of deceit and delusion, mainly regarding the so-called 'truth genres'. These documentaries, short subjects, and newsreels were indeed so blatantly suffused with fascist ideology that academic research merely had

to expose the fallacy of some of its most dubious achievements. Not inadvertently, the same team of highly skilled professionals who shot and edited Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph des Willens/Triumph of the Will* (1935) and *Olympia* (1938) were later involved in Fritz Hippler's *Feldzug in Polen/Campaign in Poland (1940)*, as well as in his notorious *Der Ewige Jude/The Eternal Jew* (1940), the shooting of which began almost with the invasion of Poland.

From then and until the film *Theresienstadt* | 6, shot between 16 August and 11 September 1944, the persecution of the Jews was fastidiously documented by the perpetrators. The biggest and the most crowded of all the ghettoes erected in eastern Europe – the Warsaw Ghetto – became a theme park of sorts, drawing a strange kind of tourism seeking to memorialize it through the camera lens, whether by the after-duty soldier; the famed film director; or the official film unit, as took place between 30 April and 2 June 1942.

Some ten years after the eradication not only of the ghetto and its inmates but also of Warsaw itself, film reels were unearthed in a bunker of the former GDR. Simply entitled *Das Ghetto 1942,* labeled elsewhere *Secret Commando Affair*, it consisted of about an hour of roughly edited sequences, without credits or a soundtrack.

From the incongruent, repetitive images looms a strange dystopian society. Spuriously presented as being autonomous, the so-called Jewish Residential District is governed by the wealthy head of the Jewish Council and his *Judenrat*, whose omnipresent police force is seen harassing beggar children and the poor in the overcrowded streets. Conversely, recurring shots focus on food of all kinds: in street stands, markets, and delicatessens. Some people celebrate at tea parties served with exquisite china, meet in well-stocked cafes, smoke, dance, flirt, and sunbathe. Repeatedly, elegant women are confronted with their poverty-stricken counterparts dwelling in filthy and foul households. Such inequity is most clearly expressed when well-clad people are shown strolling on the streets, averting their gaze from the decaying corpses strewn all around. The repeated images of dead bodies being loaded one on top of another in open carts and then gliding down into a huge communal grave portend the atrocious and macabre visions yet to come.

Indeed, with the end of World War II, the liberation of the camps exposed the magnitude of the catastrophe to the Allied troops' horrified, almost incredulous gaze. Henceforth, the former recurring manipulations of a tragic reality through the camera lenses of the perpetrators appeared not only as a most despicable stratagem, but came to epitomize the plight of the Jews under Nazi coercion. Numerous images culled from *The Ghetto* inherently belong to our common 'memory of the offence', in Primo Levi's terms (Levi 1986). Henceforth, these 'indelible shadows' include the beggar woman in rags, roaming haggard through the streets with a baby in her arms. No less harrowing are the recurring visions of children sitting on the pavement, leaning one against the other, staring and waiting: small *musselmanne!* | 7

Countless documentaries have drawn on this found footage, its muteness offering an abiding source for reflection and interpretation. | 8 However, the decisive watershed occurred with *Le Temps du Ghetto/Times of the Ghetto* (1961) by witness, fighter, and survivor Frédéric Rossif, the first filmmaker to focus on the successive stages leading to the Holocaust. He compiled citations from most of the works mentioned above, though not always in the chronological order of the persecution. Thus, for example, shots filmed by Fritz Hippler's team | 9 in October 1939 for *The Eternal Jew*, when the walls of the ghetto were still to be erected, alternate with those of the May 1942 film unit. After two-and-a-half years of systematized starvation, of hard labor, the ghetto, ostensibly built to protect the Polish population – and their German invaders – from the Jews' infectious diseases, had actually turned into the 'Quarantined Contaminated Zone' the Nazis had pretended it to be. Yet, essentially, Rossif's film gives prime of place to the uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto, the desperate fight of its last inmates and their subsequent extermination.

At that time, however, and even if Michael Rothberg, alluding to the Eichmann trial, stresses that 1961 was a pivotal year in the post-Holocaust history (Rothberg 2004), its universal dimension was not yet an issue. To quote David Bathrick, 'The period prior to the 1970s has frequently been portrayed internationally as one of public disavowal of the Jewish catastrophe, politically and cinematically'. (Bathrick 2007) And Stuart Liebman comments: 'Coming

to terms with the Holocaust was not a priority in a postwar world. Early Cold War considerations entailed the downplaying of German atrocities. The victors of World War Two appeared unable or unwilling to understand the scope or significance of the Holocaust'. (Liebman 2010)

For Rossif, it was crucial to the reliability of his film that the austere narration should rest mostly on archival evidence. He is also the first filmmaker to bestow the duty of witnessing upon the victim-survivor. Some forty witnesses appear in brief shot-sequences, their livid faces emerging from the darkness behind them. Motionless, emotionless, they testify in often broken French, accented in accordance with their mother tongues, Yiddish or Polish. They speak in the present tense, as if they were still 'over there', still wounded, still mourning.

Half a century later, Yael Hersonski's endeavor in *A Film Unfinished* stems from a different but not less haunting conception. The overused footage of *The Ghetto* is not summoned only as historical evidence to sustain and illustrate the victims' predicament, but as a challenge for the young director to investigate the outside of the frame, to use a film to question a film.

She therefore does not even argue about the crude and too obvious main contention: the juxtaposition between the wealthy Jews and the deprived, which aims at stressing the total insensitivity of a corrupt upper class to the destitute of its own community. In her attempt to establish her own archeology and genealogy of knowledge, she is helped by new findings. In 1998, the film historian Adrian Wood discovered additional material from *The Ghetto,* comprised of outtakes from the film that reveal the scope of the fabrication. Another fragment, in color, also shows the almost ludic involvement of the cameramen. At least thrice, Hersonski deconstructs short scenes, exposing how many times they had been rehearsed: thus the notorious sequence of the indifference of the passersby to the dead bodies strewn all about had needed an entire afternoon of filming, to meet the requirements of the film unit. Keeping in mind the Hebrew title of Hersonski's meta-film, *The Silence of the Archive,* we may surmise that her enterprise was burdened by crucial questions: How to break the silence? How to reinstate the voice? How to make the mute images speak? For her re-contextualization of the original film, she chose to address a polyphony of testimonies. Those of the victims, like the educator Chaim Kaplan, whose diary, published as *Scroll of Agony* (Kaplan et al. 1999), had been smuggled out of the ghetto and saved in its entirety; other doomed eye-witnesses too: like the group of *Oyneg Shabbos* chroniclers headed by Emanuel Ringelblum. They wrote in Polish, in Yiddish, in Hebrew, to testify: of the hunger and the exhaustion, of the diseases spreading in the ghetto, of their awareness of imminent disaster and their own impending death. Foremost, they commented extensively on the impudent cameramen, day after day shooting the tragedy they were helping to perpetrate. Hersonski also addresses evidence emanating from the 'grey-zone', in Primo Levi's terms. The diary of Adam Czerniakow[10], the head of the ghetto's *Judenrat,* whose opulent home serves as the film set for the fraudulent scenes described above, relates them with a tragic irony and in minute detail until 23 July 1942, the day after the first mass deportation to Treblinka and the date of his own suicide.

The voice of the perpetrators necessarily finds its place in the film's thorough research. The identity of the chief cameraman, Willy Wist[11], was disclosed thanks to his entry permit, and he was consequently called to testify when in the late 1960s the German government prosecuted high-ranking SS officers. Hersonki uses transcripts of his two interrogations to reenact these scenes, performed by renowned German actors, without modifying one single word of the deposition. Wist had filmed Jewish women and men forced to undress and to enter the *Mikwe* together, the Jewish ritual bath, naked, an infamous episode commented on by the horrified chroniclers. His camera also shot the mass of emaciated corpses thrown into the communal pit and the bodies being doused with chloride and other chemicals. As usual with subordinates, Wist refers to the orders of the omnipresent SS and SA officers and is still reluctant to acknowledge the existence of an organized man-made mass-murder. However, in his weekly reports to Berlin, the SS officer Heinz Auerswald, "Commissioner for the Jewish Residential District", meticulously details how he is organizing the starvation of the ghetto. He also complains about his

own troubles, caused by the unrest spreading in the ghetto in the wake of rumors alluding to deportations and death by gas.

The film track constantly sustains Hersonksi's dialogic concept: the complex braiding and waiving of viewpoints and perspectives. However, she does not indulge in manipulating her archival material, even though modernist filmmakers and avant-garde documentarists consider found footage an inexhaustible source for formal experimentation. Sometimes though, she dares to stop the flux of the images, a slight re-framing disclosing the presence of the film unit at work in the background can be seen. More revealing is the lingering on a face, on a sustained gaze, even on a wink; this attests to the subject's awareness of the presence of the camera, his/her trouble, anger, uneasiness. The young cineaste's quite classical conception of documentary filmmaking is reflected in her use of extant devices – titles, voice-overs, contemporary interviews, re-enactments – yet amended in her own way. So, she entrusted the sober but grieving narration to the famed Israeli singer Rona Kenan, whose pure soprano voice, in the director's words, 'connotes sensitivity, intelligence and spirituality'. Besides, Hersonski also searched for survivors who could remember the presence of the film unit. The octogenarian eye-witnesses she found – then children in the ghetto – were prepared to cope with the screening of such disturbing material, willing to comment during the projection, and consented to have their own responses filmed|12.

In his rather severe critique of the film, Stuart Liebman, whose expertise concerning emergent Holocaust cinema in the period immediate following the war remains unequaled, contends that Hersonski did not answer the most imperative questions: 'What was the Nazis' purpose in devising this film?' and even more crucial: 'Why did the film remain unfinished?'. According to his erudite, well-informed hypotheses, he writes: 'There is evidence suggesting that the Warsaw images may have been conceived as part of an uncompleted grand film project called *Asia in Central Europe*, conceived to pillory the Jews in the most vicious racist terms'. He suggests, moreover, that these pictures may have been intended for a Museum of a Vanished Race, after the Jewish victims had all been exterminated (Liebman 2011).

Regarding these schemes, converging deductions have been advanced by German scholars and extensively developed in articles and reviews of *A Film Unfinished*. In order to define the specificity of this archival material, historian Dirk Rupnow summons up the two pseudo-documentaries quoted above for his comparison. Dealing with the first of them, *The Eternal Jew*, he cites passages from Goebbels' diary evoking the necessity to create a film archive for the Jews who are about to vanish (Ibid. Rupnow 2010). In his self-serving memoirs *The Entanglement*, Fritz Hippler stipulates that the newsreels he brought from Warsaw and displayed to Goebbels as early as 8 October 1939 were an incentive for the documentary and for the founding of an 'Archive for the Jews' (Hippler 1981).

However, in his book, as well as in his correspondence with me (Schoenberner 1960), Hippler denied any answerability regarding this 'undisguised invitation to genocide, to a people's massacre', in Gerhard Schoenberner's terms (Vande Winkel 2003), and pointed to Goebbels or even to Hitler, as the ones who were actually responsible (Ibid. Rupnow 2010). The '*Reichsfilmintendant*' maintained that with his team, he instigated filming the Jewish districts in Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin and Krakow, where the deported Jews from all over the new great Reich and the Polish *shtetls* were also herded. Rupnow emphasizes the perverse amalgamation of propaganda and anthropology in the three fake documentaries relating to the Jews, and details a three-stage process: Reality was first violated by the creation of a "penal colony" of sorts: the ghetto; then material is filmed to confirm and reinforce anti-Semitic prejudices; finally the images are used to legitimatize and implement the most barbaric measures (Margry 1992).

The third part of the triptych: Theresienstadt– this ante-chamber for Auschwitz – was presented as a kind of spa for the elderly and for 'prominent' Jewish personalities. It was duly 'beautified', therefore also 'de-populated', when the Red Cross, at long last, received permission to visit on 23 June 1944. Following the success of the hoax, as far as the gullible Red Cross delegation was concerned, and in order to benefit from the efforts invested in the new scenery, a film was made so as to deny the incessant rumors spreading about the

extermination of Jews in Nazi camps. |13 The images describe the epiphany of the Jewish parasite: the Jews' rehabilitation through physical work, sports, and artistic creation. Ten days after the last day of shooting, and beginning on 23 September 1944, most of the participants were shipped to Auschwitz in eleven transports, reducing the Theresienstadt population from 29,500 to 11,077. The last part of this filmic trilogy of doom has been ironically termed by the camp inmates as either *How Beautiful is Theresienstadt* or, even more well-known, *The Führer Donates a City to the Jews*. |14

Interestingly, the historian Anja Horstmann has also chosen to rename the untitled, unfinished film *"Das Ghetto"* according to the sardonic, cynical sobriquet proposed by its inmates. Hence, she relies on the memoirs of Ionas Turkov, heir to a famous dynasty of Yiddish actors, who dedicated some pages to the sequence filmed in the *Nowy Azazel* theatre, and then concludes:

Later, we learned that these pictures, like the others filmed by the Germans in the streets, the restaurants, the ritual baths, the cemetery, etc…were conceived for a propaganda film entitled Asia in Central Europe. This took place shortly before the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto. (Turkov 1995)

Horstmann has identified some more fragments that seem to belong to the same scurrilous Nazi project (Horstmann 2009). Even before this, *Asia in Central Europe* was the title also adopted by the sadly missed Ronny Loewy, film historian and project manager of a unique 'Cinematography of the Holocaust', who devoted an article to and a meticulous close-analysis of the film (Horstmann 2010/2011).

Moreover, Horstmann, as well as Rupnow, recall additional attempts to constitute an archive about the Jews, 'destined to vanish'. |15 For these researchers, the so-called 'decisive turn' of Stalingrad (February 1943) may explain why the Nazis gave up their sinister memorial scheme, thus left uncompleted. However, by then the death mills were operating at full capacity. From this time on, writes Sylvie Lindeperg |16, the problem for the Nazis would no longer consist of revealing the evil, "polluting" nature of the Jew, but of hid-

ing and eventually destroying – by all means possible – the processes of their calculated extermination, as Rupnow also firmly stresses.

It is my contention that Yael Hersonski's novel interpretation of the found material, the keen interest that her multi-awarded film has aroused, is not due to an 'inflated fascination for all what is related to fascism, WWII and the Holocaust', as Rupnow claims, too harshly perhaps (Ibid. Rupnow 2010). Even if the original texts by Ringelblum, Kaplan, Turkow, Rachel Auerbach and others are well-known nowadays, they provide, together with the survivors' testimonies, a necessary counterpoint to the cruel vividness of the images taken by the perpetrators and grant them a different perception, establishing what may be called 'the right distance' – if there is any at all. In her superb investigation of *Nuit et Brouillard/ Night and Fog* (Alain Resnais, 1956), Lindeperg makes us aware of the possible epistemological shifts in our reevaluation of the images of the Holocaust, a procedure constantly in progress and perpetually nurtured by new revelations. More importantly even, she speaks of "a changed gaze": The invention of a new perspective is what Yael Hersonski, by re-appropriation and re-contextualization, has undeniably achieved.

In his article 'After the Holocaust,' Aharon Appelfeld, another famed survivor and writer, stressed the ethical necessity of finding new forms of aesthetic expression 'to remove the Holocaust from its enormous, inhuman dimensions', and reached the following conclusion:

'Thence comes the need to bring it down to the human realm. . . to make the events speak through the individual and his language, to rescue the suffering from huge numbers, from dreadful anonymity, and to restore the person's given and family name, to give the tortured person back his human form which was snatched away from him' … (Appelfeld 1989)

REFERENCES

Appelfeld, A. (1989). After the Holocaust. In Lang, B. (Ed.). *Writing and the Holocaust*. New York: Holmes & Meier, p. 92.

Bathrick, D. (2007). Holocaust Film before the Holocaust: DEFA, Antifascism and the Camps. In *Cinémas: revue d'études cinématographiques / Cinémas: Journal of Film Studies 18* (1), p. 109.

Berger, A. L. (1997). *Children of Job, American Second Generation Witnesses to the Holocaust*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Celan, P. (1971). *Niemand zeugt für den Zeugen*. In the poem '*Aschenglorie*'. In *Strette & autres poèmes*. Paris: Mercure de France, pp. 48–49.

Delbo, C. (1985). La Mémoire et les Jours. Paris: Berg International.

Hippler, F. (1981). *Die Verstrickung/The Entanglement*. Düsseldorf: Mehr Wissen, pp. 180–181. My correspondence comprises 3 letters between December 1975 and February 1978.

Horstmann, A. (2009). "Judenaufnahmen fürs Archiv" – Das dokumentarische Filmmaterial "*Asien in Mitteleuropa*", *1942*. In *Medaon 4*, pp. 1–11.

Horstmann, A. (2010/2011). GHETTO (AvT) (1942). Unvollendete dokumentarische Filmaufnahmen aus dem Warschauer Ghetto. In *Filmblatt 44*, pp. 69–81.

Kaplan, C. A., Gutman, I., Katash, A. I. (1999). *Scroll of Agony, The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Koch, G. (2010). "Being my Father's Father". Generationenbezogene Erzählungen über den Holocaust. In Hennig, A., Voss, C., Witte, G. (Eds.). *Jetzt und dann – Zeiterfahrung in Film, Literatur und Philosophie*. München: Fink, pp. 35–58.

LaCapra, D. (1998). *History and Memory after Auschwitz*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 44.

LaCapra, D. (2001). *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. Ithaca: Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 101.

Laub, D. (1992). Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening. In Felman, S., Laub, D. (Eds.). *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 57–74.

Lawrence, L. (1991). Langer quotes Delbo in Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 6.

Levi, P. (1986). The Reawakening, translated by S. Woolf. New York: Summit, p. 182.

Liebman, S. (2010). Historiography/Holocaust Cinema: Challenges and Advances. In Frodon, J.-M. (Ed.). Cinema and the Shoah: An Art Confronts the Tragedy of the Twentieth Century, translated by A. Harrison and T. Mes. Albany: Univ. of New York Press.

Liebman, S. (2011). The never-ending story: Yael Hersonski's A Film Unfinished. In Cineaste 36 (3), p. 15.

Margry, K. (1992). "Theresienstadt" (1944–1945): The Nazi Propaganda Film Depicting the Concentration Camp as Paradise'. In Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television 12 (2), pp. 145–162.

Rothberg, M. (2004). The Work of Testimony in the Age of Decolonization: "Chronicle of a Summer", Cinema Vérité, and the Emergence of the Holocaust Survivor. In PMLA 119 (5), pp. 12–31.

Schoenberner, G. (1960). Der gelbe Stern. Hamburg: Rütten & Loening. Translation: The Yellow Star, New York: Fordham University Press [2004 and 2012].

Turkov, I. (1995). Azoi is es geven, first published in Yiddish, Bueno-Aires, 1948. In Rubinstein, O. (Ed.) So It Was / C'était ainsi 1939–1943 la vie dans le ghetto de Varsovie. Paris: Austral, pp. 185–189.

Vande Winkel, R. (2003). Nazi Germany's Fritz Hippler, 1909–2002. In Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television 23 (2), pp. 91–99.

Wiesel, E. (1977). The Holocaust as a Literary Inspiration. In Wiesel, E., Dawidowicz, L., Rabinowitz, D. McAfee Brown, R. Dimensions of the Holocaust. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, p. 7.

1 The phrase was coined by Fruma Zeitlin; see Zeitlin, F. (1998). The Vicarious Witness: Belated Memory and Authorial Presence in Recent Holocaust Literature. In *History and Memory 10* (2), pp. 5–42.

2 Internationally awarded personal testimonial films are, for example, *Because of That War* (Orna Ben-Dor, 1989); *Choice and Destiny* (Tsipi Reibenbach, 1993); *Don't Touch My Holocaust* (Asher Tlalim, 1994) and its twin film *Balagan* (1994) by the German filmmaker Andres Veiel; *The Last Card* (Sylvain Biegeleisen, 2007).

3 Traumatic memory has been summoned up as re-memory (Judith Hermann), received memory (James Young), prosthetic memory (Alison Landsberg), post-memory (Marianne Hirsch), disremembering (Janet Walker) and last but not least by Thomas Elsaesser.

4 Saul Friedlander quotes Langer in his illuminating 'Trauma, Memory and Transference'. In: Hartman, G. H. (Ed.) (1994). *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 254.

5 This much-quoted phrase regarding the plight of the second generation is from Cohen, A. A. (1981). *The Tremendum*. New York: Crossroads, p. 10.

6 Subtitled: *ein Dokumentarfilm aus dem Jüdischen Siedlungsgebiet/A Documentary from the Jewish Settlement Area*.

7 For the definition of the 'musselman' see Fackenheim, E. L. (1996). Jewish Philosophers and Jewish Philosophy, edited by M. L. Morgan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p.124; and also Agamben, G. (1999). Ce qui reste d'Auschwitz, translated by P. Alferi. Paris: Payot-Rivages, pp. 49–111.

8 Erwin Leiser was the first filmmaker to make use of this material for his Mein Kampf (1960). In their Polish Requiem for 500,000 (1963), Jerzy Bossak and Waclaw Kazmierczak again depicted the Warsaw Ghetto as a class society, pointing out, however, that only a tiny minority of these half-million segregated people belonged to the privileged.

9 Fritz Hippler, the "Reichsfilmintendant", cumulated important functions in the powerful Nazi film industry, and was considered as Goebbels' deputy at the Propaganda Ministry.

10 Czerniakow, A. (1999). The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom, edited by R. Hilberg. New York: Ivan R. Dee. According to Czerniakow's diary, the film team was comprised of eight people.

11 Rupnow, D. (2010). Die Spuren nationalsozialistischer Gedächtnispolitik und unser Umgang mit den Bildern der Täter. Ein Beitrag Zu Yael Hersonski's A Film Unfinished/Geheimsache Ghettofilm'. In zeitgeschichte-online, Oktober 2010. Retrieved from http://www.zeitgeschichte-online.de/film/die-spuren-nationalsozialistischer-gedaechtnispolitik-und-unser-umgang-mit-den-bildern-der

(The traces of the N.S. politics of memory and our relation with the images of the perpetrators). On Yael Hersonski's film Rupnow recalls that Willy Wist was interrogated twice, the first time in 1970, in relation to the SS officer Heinz Auerswald, the second time, in 1972, concerning another high ranked Nazi official: Ludwig Hahn.

12 Their reactions are at times banal and expected, at times illuminating and puzzling: 'Of course, there were "contrasts" in the ghetto'; 'With money, you could get everything'; 'Corpses were everywhere, you could not ignore them'; 'Flowers in the ghetto? We would have eaten them!' This last remark refers to the staged tea party in Czerniakow's affluent home. In the heated debate on "The Silence of the Archive" contained in Theory and Criticism, vol. 40 (2012) pp. 269–287, (in Hebrew), Hersonski was criticized for not having given the names of the survivors with their appearance on the screen, disclosing them only in the credits.

13 According to Dr. Eva Struskovà, head of the National Filmarchiv in Prag, no less than 3 films were made in Theresienstadt. See her important and illustrated article "Film Ghetto Theresienstadt: die Suche nach Zusammenhänge" in Loewy, R. and Rauschenberger, K. (Hg.) (2011). Der Letzte der Ungerechten: Der „Judenälteste" Benjamin Murmelstein in Filmen 1942–1975. New-York/Frankfurt: Campus, pp.125–157.

14 This was the title commonly used until the discovery of new material at Yadvashem in 1986 that I had the opportunity and the privilege to identify – some 10 more minutes from the original footage. Important as well: Schoenberner, G. (1972). Beiheft zum Film 'Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt'. Grünwald: Institut für Film und Bild. Also see: Friedman, R. M. (1988). "Theresienstadt": The Film about 'The Town which the Führer donated to the Jews'. In Remembering for the Future: The Impact of the Holocaust on the Contemporary World: Proceedings of the International Scholars Conference held at Oxford 10–13 July 1988. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

15 In her article, Horstmann recalls that Ronny Loewy gave an unpublished lecture entitled Asien in Mitteleuropa on 12/12/2009, p. 79, note 26.

I would like to express my thankfulness to Dr. Hanno Loewy whose generosity has permitted me to gain access to his late brother's unpublished material: a) Asien in Mitteleuropa, (12 pages). b) Die Bilder (4 pages). I am also most grateful for his illuminating remarks regarding the film's title. In July 1941, the "Propaganda Company" of the Wehrmacht (the PK) came to film the Warsaw ghetto but was later sent on to the newly opened Russian front. There was another project emanating from the SS in Prag where a Jüdische Zentral Museum was in the offing, but never completed.

16 Lindeperg, S. (2007). Nuit et Brouillard: l'Invention d'un Regard/Night and Fog: the Invention of a Gaze. In Frodon, J.-M. (Ed.). Le Cinéma et la Shoah. Paris: Essais/Cahiers du Cinéma.

Paul Frosh

SURVIVOR TESTIMONY AND THE ETHICS OF DIGITAL INTERFACES

Like most advertisements, Apple's 'iPad is' video commercials, aired in 2010 (the same year as the first iPad) were designed to promote a product. They were also, however, pedagogical texts, performing the necessary work of sensory and affective education among potential users who may not – in those early days – have understood what an iPad was for.

In these adverts, armless hands and handless fingers extend inwards from the sides of the image-frame to swipe, draw, type, scroll, tap and hold the device. Visual synecdoches of an off-screen phantom, these limbs without a body render the human operator literally marginal. The iPad itself is shown in close-up, centre-frame, its depiction interspersed with textually-rendered

epithets ('delicious', 'learning', 'playful', 'productive') that complete the opening declarative 'iPad is…', but that can be equally applied to the machine's virtual human operator. The commercials instruct viewers in the preferred use of their hands and their eyes, showing them what they can do to the device with their desire. Like early advertising for older screen technologies such as television (Spigel 1992), they are lessons in consumption and use. More particularly, they are tutorials in gesture and sensation, cognition and affect, utility and sociability; they are training programs for touching screens.

What is the relevance of such training programs, and more particularly, of the embodied experience of interacting with digital devices, for survivor testimony? The answer follows directly from the communicative structure of witnessing: if the testimonial condition possesses, as John Durham Peters (2001) argues, a double face – the transformation of experience into discourse for others – then the mechanisms and circumstances by which that discourse is rendered and received are central to the experience of the testimonial addressee, and to their ability to respond ethically to the testimony being given. Bearing witness is always mediated: in the context of *co-present* witnesses and auditors of the human body, particularly the voice and face, are the key agents of mediation, within a unified framing context – juridical, or religious, or technical – that define the status and roles of the various parties and of the witnesses' discourse. In the case of mediation by communication technologies, however, the framing context is radically destabilized as it is distended through time and space across at least two separate encounters: between a witness and a recording technology, and between a media device and an audience (Frosh and Pinchevski, 2014). The underlying intentions of the former encounter cannot be guaranteed to determine the communicative effects of the latter: the ethical engagement of an addressee does not emerge fully-formed and properly attired from the horrific character of the events recounted, the purposes of the witnesses themselves, or even from the overt historical, ethical and pedagogical missions of those who produce and document the giving of testimony and organize its dissemination. Hence, while

the testimony of a survivor may find suitable amplification from an iPad or other device deemed appropriate for 'learning', what kind of response is to be expected following interaction using a technology that is 'productive' or 'playful', let alone 'delicious'?

Recent thinking about the technical mediation of survivor (and other) testimony, especially video-based survivor testimonies, goes further. It argues that communication technologies constitute a 'media a priori' (Pinchevski 2012) that not only shapes the reception of testimony by audiences, but constructs the giving of testimony itself – producing its conditions of possibility, recognition and replication as a genre of discourse, as well as enabling its characteristic modes of reception and interpretation. In the case of video testimony, the technical apparatus generates an 'audiovisual unconscious' that facilitates the observation of trauma from inadvertently documented vocal, facial and gestural behaviors which are filmed, as a necessary part of the audiovisual apparatus, alongside the survivor's intentional verbal discourse: the very capacity for interpreting these behaviors *as* signs (or symptoms) of trauma depends upon their technological recording. Similar ideas animate Tod Presner's (2014) understanding of the role of computerized database technologies and archiving techniques, such as those employed by the USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive: although in this case Presner worries that the techno-cultural infrastructure of the computer database tends to flatten out, equalize and denarrativize the video testimonies in the archive, eliminating precisely those contingent qualities of affect and disturbance (silences, pauses, repetitions etc.) produced by the audiovisual unconscious, and requiring a corrective 'ethics of the algorithm', a conscious attempt to reconfigure the database 'against itself'.

The ethics of survivor testimony are heavily reliant, then, on the media technologies and associated cultural practices through which we 'aestheticize violence', as Kansteiner (2014) bluntly puts it. This aestheticization is not a retrograde attempt to beautify, sanitize or even glorify narratives of violence and suffering, but a recognition that ethical relations are shaped aesthetically; that is, by the sensuous, embodied interactions with the media

devices which construct and convey survivor testimony. Some of these in- teractions are willful and mindful: many, however, are ingrained and have become so habitual that they barely register on the consciousness of media users. And while these habits of use are themselves highly variable according to different contexts, their technically actualized range of possibilities and constraints – often referred to as the material 'affordances' of technologies (Hutchby, 2001) – can also be read off from an analysis of the devices them- selves, most particularly those physical and semiotic aspects which directly impinge on the interactive encounter with media users.

In the case of digital media such interactions between users and devices are mainly accomplished through the *interface*: the system by which relations between a user and a device are made visible, executed and experienced (Pold, 2005). |1 The interfaces most familiar to contemporary users of per- sonal computers are known generically as 'Graphical User Interfaces' (GUI): these integrate screen-based representations of windows, icons, menus, cur- sors and pointers as well as the input devices of mouse (or trackpad) and keyboard. The interfaces of touch-screen devices such as tablets and smart- phones, although by no means identical to traditional GUI systems, are based on the same principle of 'direct manipulation' of icons and objects located in a virtual onscreen space. The centrality of such interfaces to user experience does not mean that the deep data structures and computational processes of digital media – or their material, physical incarnations (chips, hard drives etc.) – are irrelevant: indeed, Presner and others (Manovich 2001, Kirschen- baum 2012) persuasively reveal their relevance for enabling and constraining distinct modes of encounter. However, as Chun (2011) argues, interfaces – es- pecially those based on 'direct manipulation' – also tend to mask or screen off many computer processes, making them invisible to the user while pro- viding the experience of user control. More to the point, Manovich (2013) makes a sharp distinction between the modernist, 'form follows function' GUIs of the early Macintosh and Windows systems of the 1980s and 1990s, and those designed from the late 1990s onwards, especially the introduction of the 'Aqua' interface on Apple's OS X operating system in 2001. The lat-

ter group of interfaces – which includes touchscreen systems for tablets and smartphones – manifests a design commitment to 'the aestheticization of information tools', whereby "using personal information devices is now con- ceived as a carefully orchestrated *experience* rather than a means to an end" (Manovich 2012: 279, italics in original). It is thus in relation to interface *ex- periences* that contemporary users' engagements with survivor testimonies are chiefly performed and their responses elicited.

What, then, might be the propensities of mainstream graphical user inter- faces, and how can we understand their potential implications for ethical response to survivor testimony? Bearing in mind that there will always be differences between operating systems and the interfaces they use, as well as between different generations of the same operating system, there follows a brief discussion of some of these propensities and possible consequences un- der two interconnected headings: attention and engagement.

Attention

Those who create and disseminate survivor testimony do so in a cultural context increasingly characterized as an environment of distraction, where both the nature of media technologies and the sheer quantity of commu- nicated messages seem to make it difficult to engage with an image or text with much intensity, or to attend to it for very long (Jackson 2008). Ques- tions of attention are, of course, bound up with more general historical shifts in modern structures of perception, sensation and representation (Benjamin 1936/1992, Crary 2002), and the management of attention and distraction was undoubtedly a factor in pre-digital display in the visual arts (Bryson 1983), cinema and television (Friedberg 1993; Ellis 1982; Frosh 2012).

Nevertheless, digital interfaces appear to exacerbate questions of attention to images and texts in new ways (Hayles 2007, McCullough 2013). On the one hand, the interface seems to provide an antidote to distraction: the re- sponsiveness of an image display to intentional, physically-initiated contact – whether through the action of a hand on a mouse, a track pad or directly touching the surface of a touch screen – is historically novel, making pos-

sible new forms of multi-sensory viewer engagement and exploratory involvement with images and texts (which I will discuss in the next section). However, since digital interfaces are gateways for interacting with the devices on which they appear, the standard viewing settings usually make visible pro-operative markers – icons, windows and menu-headings, for instance, located in taskbars or docks at the edges of the screen – that remain constantly in view as gateways to interaction with the device. The potentially distractive presence of these markers, even at the periphery of one's vision, is negatively recognized by the fact that full screen or 'focus' viewing modes are available to help users screen out potential interruptions by removing these indicators from view. Such optional focused viewing modes offer users approximations of immersive forms of 'transparent immediacy' (Bolter and Grusin, 1999) in an ideally engrossed encounter with a single text, as opposed to the *default* interface form of 'hypermediacy' which foregrounds the multitudinous indicators of the device's own functioning.

The default interface disperses attention towards multiple, simultaneous interactions with the device itself: it establishes a loop of continual alertness and responsiveness that is 'internal' to the engagement between the user and the machine. But the interface is also geared towards certain forms of *external* connectivity (via the internet, wireless infrastructures etc.): networked exchanges with other devices designed to facilitate social interactions with other people. Personal computers, tablets and smartphones are primarily designed around *both* perpetual 'internal' multitasking and perpetual 'external' connectivity, constantly interrupting their own ongoing operations through reminders, phone calls, text messages, e-mail announcements etc. |2 This combination means that digital interfaces operate in a default context characterized by a high level of interference, encouraging, in Linda Stone's phrase, 'continuous partial attention': constant readiness for the expected arrival of incoming stimuli, and for making the necessary response to those stimuli. The condition of continuous partial attention thus potentially undercuts the strength and duration of viewer attentiveness to any particular item shown on a digital device. |3

To clarify the implications for survivor testimony through an example: on my Apple iMac computer I accessed the USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive Online, and selecting – based on personal interest – video testimony from a former US soldier involved in the liberation of Mauthausen, proceeded to watch the interview (which was about 29 minutes long). Accessing the video in itself involved a complex but at least partially routinized process of gestural input via keyboard and mouse that included selecting and clicking on a browser icon, navigating (via a Google search) to the Visual History Archive page, inputting my username and password, and then navigating the archive itself – narrowing down and cross-referencing search categories – until I arrived at a screen offering a selection of video testimonies, from which I selected one. The bulk of the surface area of the computer screen on which this video then played was in fact mainly occupied by screen space and interface features *not* connected to the video, including the dock at the bottom of the screen and the menu bar at the top, windows for programs (such as Word) running behind the browser window, the iTunes miniplayer displayed over the contents of the left hand corner of the browser window (kept on top of the window-stack through a much earlier settings change made to the iTunes program). In addition, the browser window itself contained a whole variety of textual and graphic elements provided by the Shoah Foundation Archive – including menu headings for navigating the archive ('About Us', 'Search', 'Search History' etc.), a Google map showing geographical locations relevant to the video, and – below the video window – metadata lists connected to the film (Figure 1).

In order to focus on the video testimony itself, I clicked the icon at the bottom right hand corner of the video window to take me to a full screen display (Figure 2).

As can be seen from the screenshot of the full screen view, even here additional features and icons did not disappear entirely: visually and numerically represented metadata – current position in the video, length of the video, the picture at a particular point where my cursor was placed – as well as device and network operations, including playback, volume control, settings,
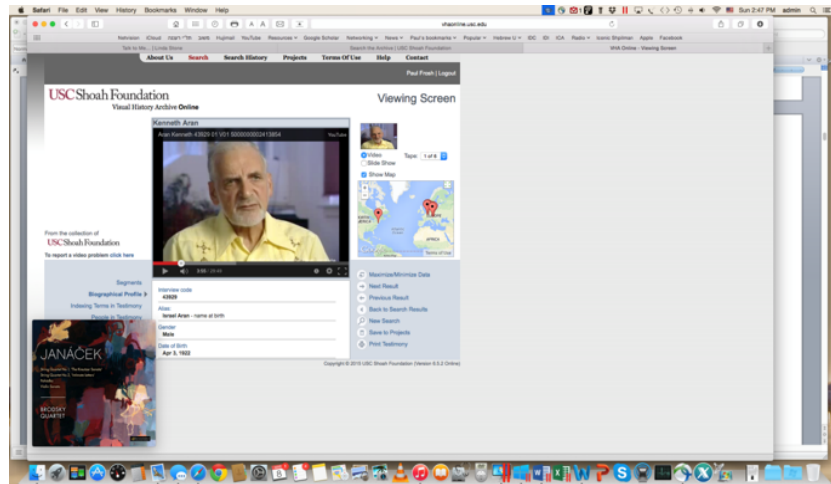
Figure 1: Screenshot of video on default webpage 2015–03–08 at 2:47:51 PM

Figure 2: Screenshot of full screen display mode 2015–03–08 at 2:49:25 PM

exit from full screen (at the bottom of the window) and a link to the video on YouTube (top right), were all made visible as soon as my hand made even the most minute movement on the mouse. The only way to get these icons and indicators to disappear was not to touch either the mouse or the keyboard at all. Of course, all of these features occupied the visual field alone: only a more serious prior intervention in my system settings could have disabled the tell-tale audio pings of my computer informing me – as I watched the testimony – that new e-mail messages had arrived.

The rationale for this somewhat pedantic verbal exposition is to show how 'continuous partial attention' is produced through the micro-aesthetics and kinesthetics of digital interface design. Attention is not a purely cognitive re-course or an attribute of consciousness; rather, attention is physically per-formed. The reference to kinesthesia – the sensation of bodily movement registered in consciousness (Noland 2009: 9–10) – emphasizes that contin-uous partial attention is a fundamentally *embodied* state that encourages and inculcates certain kinds of cognitive and emotional engagement. It also shows that more is at stake in this structure than a historical transition from cinematic and televisual single-frame displays to multi-window screen spac-es (Friedberg 2006), for it is clear that the introduction of Graphical User In-terfaces and the addition of the mouse (and later trackpad and touch screen) are important developments in the emergence of a new regimen of eye-hand-screen relations.

This new regimen recalibrates how we encounter what is screened. Rather than shifting between touching and viewing, we oscillate between different modes of attending that combine visual, gestural, and audial dimensions; between an 'operative' mode which constantly scans the potential function-ality of the objects displayed, and tends to linger on the surface and around the edges of the screen (and its windows) where indicators are most promi-nent and input most immediate, and a 'hermeneutic' mode which attends to the referential or symbolic meaning of what is shown, often moving beyond the screen surface into the virtual space behind it. Hermeneutic attention is based on the routine interpretive and perceptual practices of either 'taking

in' informational content (for instance, textual reading) or 'immersion in' a representational schema, while operative attention seeks out what can be 'done to' a displayed object – first, with regard to its general 'clickability' (or, on a touch screen, 'touchability': will it respond to touch at all), and second, to its capacities as a functional gateway (such as a hyperlink) or as an interface component (playback, pause, full screen). The designation 'operative' derives from Sybille Kramer's (2003) discussion of 'operative writing': the operative sign is a signifying unit – an image (interface icon), for instance, or a piece of text (such as a hyperlink) – that doesn't only work semantically but performs an autonomous function related to techniques of symbolic manipulation, dissemination and storage which 'are inextricably linked to corporeal routines' (Kramer 2003: 528). Attending to such operative signs therefore involves acquiring cognitive and sensorimotor skills that 'de-semanticize' and 're-semanticize' them, oscillating at speed between their particular referential and informational meanings and their responsive potentialities as hyperlinks or functional gateways (playback, pause, full screen, share). This operative dimension indicates a shift from a mode that emphasizes epistemological relations with texts or images (what do they mean? what knowledge or information do they impart?) to an interactional mode (how will this text or image respond to me? What connections to the world does it enable?). Thus operative attention is prospective, exploratory, and future-oriented, even if the ostensive semantic content it is accessing – such as survivor testimony – is primarily retrospective. It is infused with the kinaesthetic potential of what it sees, alert to the as-yet-undiscovered operable possibilities of displayed objects – possibilities shown by visual means such as the change in a cursor's shape (from an arrow to a hand, for instance), or in the color of a window or box, or in the appearance of a translucent screen overlay (for instance, in the case of a playable video image, an overlay containing a 'play' symbol). A routine, kinaesthetic materialization of the 'crisis-readiness' and constant vigilance of contemporary media-saturated culture (Frosh and Pinchevksi, 2009), operative attention is embodied in the hand perpetually resting on the mouse and in the eye-tracking of the roving cursor. It is fidget-

ing honed to the promise of device responsiveness: sensory restlessness as a system requirement.

Engagement

The attention structures of digital interfaces imply, then, transformations in the types of likely viewer or reader engagement from previous communicative contexts. In the case of the USC Shoah Foundation Archive, audiovisual testimonies designed to be engaged with on television or video monitors are now viewed (probably by a much broader public) on computers, tablets and even smartphones, a repurposing which seems to bode ill for traditional thinking about the ideal conditions for audience reception of survivor testimony. Even if, as I did in the USC archive, one purposefully seeks out a particular testimony, simply getting to that video testimony relies on an operative experience – with links, tabs, windows, icons – instantiated by the interface. Shifting then to a full screen view and adopting hermeneutic attention to a text – engaging at length with the face and voice of the other as they recount their narrative – appears to require an act of radical body-consciousness and sensorimotor restraint. Such conscious restraint is discontinuous not only with the interface as an overt experience in its own right (as Manovich describes it), but with the very corporeal attention structures – the impatience of the hand on the mouse constantly alerting the eye on the screen – that enabled one to locate and operate the video in the first place.

Are there, then, no dimensions of the interface's operative dimensions that might enhance, rather than deplete, experiences of intimacy, engagement and responsiveness to the discourse of others – to the testimonies of survivors and victims? It may be, in fact, that the difficulty in finding such dimensions results from expectations that intimate modes of engagement will be continuous with previous (cinematic and to a degree televisual) media practices rather than with the new aesthetics of the interface.[4] In contrast, perhaps the very embodied interactions demanded by digital interfaces nevertheless also make possible varieties of engaged connection and ethical responsiveness to testimony.

To begin with, digital interfaces and their input devices transform the status of the screen compared to previous media. Screens, both televisual and cinematic, have long been understood in terms of a paradox: the screen depicts a world to the viewer but also separates that world from the viewer (this is one of the traditional implications of the screen-as-window metaphor); as Stanley Cavell (1979) famously observed, the screen *screens off*, marking a distinction between representation *to* the audience and connectivity *with* the audience. Yet unlike the cinema or television screen, the screen of the digital device is not a barrier to relations with what it depicts, nor is it a window on a represented world, but a responsive surface that enables immediate sensory relations with it. This is true of computer screens using input devices like the mouse or trackpad, but it reaches its apotheosis in touch-screen displays. The integration of the hand and the eye in digital interfaces enables the reciprocal transfer of energies between viewer and medium – sensory, affective, social and ethical energies – that seem substantially different from other screen-based media. In the first instance pointing, sliding, swiping and tapping gestures all generate relations between the viewer and represented objects that appear simultaneously corporeal and causal: depictions of objects, as well as of other people and their worlds, materialize and disappear at the wave of a hand or the tap of a finger. Moreover, our gestures produce movements of texts and images in virtual space that are calibrated in direction and intensity – speed, pressure acceleration, duration – to mimic the motion of our hands 'on' those objects: the virtual motion of depicted objects seems not just to be caused by our gestures, but to continue them from physical into virtual space. We scroll or swipe slowly, and the 'page' or video frame we are 'touching' scrolls slowly. We witness a transfer of kinetic energy from our own bodies to the virtual objects 'behind' or 'on' the glass screen.

It is possible to describe this mediated sensory connection as 'haptic', importing the term from Laura's Marks' (1998) distinction between optical and haptic visuality in cinema and video. Like haptic visuality, the operative mode I have described is multisensory, it 'spreads over the surface of the image instead of penetrating into depth' (333) and 'is more inclined to move than to focus' (338): most strikingly, 'in haptic visuality, the eyes themselves function like organs of touch' (333). The emphasis on physical causality, in addition, allows us to comprehend the user's experience as one of heightened indexicality: not the indexicality of the photographic and cinematic trace of a past event (Doane 2007), but the indexicality of the pointing finger (appropriately, often of the *index* finger itself), of a deictic, context-bound relationship of co-presence between the user and the representation: 'If you can point,' ran an early Apple advert, 'you can use a Macintosh'. As Lorenz Engell (2013) observes, the deictic indexicality of the mouse (and in his account, the television remote control) manifests forms of user 'intention' and 'will' that 'are produced not as a given immaterial structure such as consciousness but rather through an interplay of energies within and outside the human body, such as technologies'. This interplay of reciprocal energies with depicted objects is experienced as a relationship of *live* engagement, incarnated most prominently in the cursor as "the tangible sign of presence implying movement" (McPherson 2002: 461).

Multisensory, co-present engagement with screened material is then a potential counterpart to the digital interface's operative condition. Always at risk of shifting users' attention away from a particular text or image, it also creates new possibilities for social and ethical exchange that mesh the representation of depicted others with felt connectivity between the viewer and those others via the device. In particular, given the operative possibilities of digital interfaces – what our hands can do to the representations that we see – and the continuous calibration that sets up an experience of deictic causality and live sensory extension between physical and virtual spaces, we can perhaps speak of an increasingly acute 'ethics of kinesthetics': the burden of response is now borne by the smallest movements of our restless fingers. What, for example, might it mean to relate to images of victims or survivors as screen icons to be tapped or as images to be scrolled away with a routine hand-gesture? In contrast, might our capacity to 'stay with' such images be intensified by their seemingly direct responsiveness to touch – and to immediate connectivity with other potential viewers? The gestural empowerment

of the viewer's hand in relation to media content on digital devices becomes visibly tied to a set of minutely embodied choices about that content, with implications for social relations (the possibility of feeling connected to the lives of strangers), understanding (the primacy of corporeal exploration acting as an agent of inquisitiveness and knowledge), and ethical responsiveness (the government of our conduct towards those strangers). Given what can now be done *to* an image or text, by my own hands and through a simple and almost cost-free act of volition, *not* exploring it further, or sharing it with others, becomes a social and ethical decision enacted in embodied contact with a depicted world. It is no longer a default limitation of media technologies – technologies which, in the past, kept me and my will at a screened distance from those bearing witness.

Conclusion

The attention and engagement structures of digital interfaces increasingly shape how individuals will be inclined to react and respond to survivor testimony. This means, in effect, that the 'media a priori' of audiovisual technologies no longer necessarily governs responses to the personal and collective histories they have so tellingly documented. The operative characteristics of digital interfaces and their embodiment in new regimens of eye-hand integration present distinct challenges to forms of prolonged, patient encounters with the discourse of survivors, constantly threatening to distract viewers or listeners whose primary sensory commitment is to the interactive possibilities of the device rather than to any particular content, however narratively or ethically compelling. At the same time, however, those very multisensory and deictic relations to digital screens that threaten distraction also potentially enhance engagement. This is, however, a different type of engagement to that privileged by earlier indexical recording technologies such as photography, audio, film and video recording. It is a shift from the indexicality of the trace and the ghost (the essence of the index as trace is that it presents an absence) – the representation haunted by a past forever preserved in its absolute distance and difference from the present – to an indexicality of deixis,

of embodied live connection between user and representation, to which current exploration and future discovery of the other are core. Loss and trauma, the guiding spirits of audiovisual ethical relations, give way – for better and for worse – to proximity and curiosity.

REFERENCES

Benjamin, W. (1936/1992). 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Arendt, H. (ed.) *Illuminations*. London: Fontana.

Bolter J. D. and Grusin R. (1999). *Remediation: Understanding New Media*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Bryson N. (1983). *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Casetti, F. and Sampietro, S. (2012). With Eyes, With Hands: The Relocation of Cinema Into the iPhone. In P. Snickers and P. Vonderau (eds.) *Moving Data: The iPhone and the Future of Media*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cavell, S. (1979). *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Chun, W. H.K. (2011). *Programmed Visions: Software and Memory*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Crary, J. (2002). *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Crogan, P. and Kinsley, S. (2012). 'Paying Attention: Towards a Critique of the Attention Economy', *Culture Machine 13*.

Doane, M. A. (2007). "The Indexical and the Concept of Medium Specificity". *Differences 18*(1), pp. 128–152.

Ellis, J. (1982) *Visible Fictions*. London: Routledge.

Engell, L. (2013). The Tactile and the Index: From the Remote Control to the Hand-Held Computer, Some Speculative Reflections on the Bodies of the Will. *NECSUS 2*(2), pp. 323–336.

Friedberg, A. (1993). *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, Berkeley, University of California Press, pp. 15–28.

Friedberg, A. (2006). *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Frosh, P. (2012). 'Indifferent Looks: Visuality, Inattention and the Composition of Strangers', pp. 171–190 in Rose, G. and Tolia-Kelly, D.P. (eds.) *Architectures of Visuality*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Frosh, P. and Pinchevski, A. (2009). Crisis-Readiness and Media Witnessing, *The Communication Review 12*(3), pp.295–304.

Frosh, P. and Pinchevski, A. (2014). Media witnessing and the Ripeness of Time, *Cultural Studies 28*(4), pp. 594–610.

Goldhaber, M. (1997). 'The Attention Economy and the Net', *First Monday 2* (4).

Hayles, N. K. (2007). 'Hyper and Deep Attention: The generational divide in cognitive modes', *Profession 13*, pp. 187–199.

Hutchby, I. (2001). Technology, Texts and Affordances. *Sociology 35*(2), pp. 441–456.

Jackson, M. (2008). *Distracted: The Erosion of Attention and the Coming Dark Age*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

Kansteiner, W. (2014). Genocide memory, digital cultures, and the aesthetization of violence. *Memory Studies 7*(4), pp. 403–408.

Kramer, S. (2003). 'Writing, Notational Iconicity, Calculus: On Writing as a Cultural Technique', *MLN 118* (3), pp. 518–537.

Kirschenbaum, M.G. (2008). *Mechanisms: New Media and the Forensic Imagination*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Manovich, L. (2001). *The Language of New Media*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Manovich, L. (2012). The Back of Our Devices Looks Better Than the Front of Anyone Else's: On Apple and Interface Design. In P. Snickers and P. Vonderau (eds.) *Moving Data: The iPhone and the Future of Media*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Marks, L.U. (1998). 'Video Haptics and Erotics', *Screen 39*(4), pp. 331–348.

McCullough, M. (2013). *Ambient Commons: Attention in the Age of Embodied Information*. Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press.

McPherson, T. (2002). Reload: Liveness, Mobility and the Web. In Mirzoeff, N. (ed) *A Visual Culture Reader*. London: Routledge.

Noland, C. (2009). *Agency and Embodiment: Performing Gestures/Producing Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Peters, J. D. (2001). 'Witnessing', *Media, Culture and Society 23*(6), pp. 707–724.

Pinchevski, A. (2012). The Audiovisual Unconscious: Media and Trauma in the Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies. *Critical Inquiry 39*(1), pp. 142–166.

Pold, S. (2005). 'Interface Realisms: The Interface as Aesthetic Form'. *Postmodern Culture 15*(2).

Presner, T, (2015). The Ethics of the Algorithm: Close and Distant Listening to the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive. In *History Unlimited: Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Spigel, L. (1992). *Make Room for TV*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Stone, L. Continuous Partial Attention. Retrieved from http://lindastone.net/qa/continuous-partial-attention/

1 The term 'interface' can also be extended retrospectively to refer to previous communications technologies: hence an on/off button on a pre-digital television set, or the contents page of a printed text book, can be described as interface components for their respective media.

2 Digital devices are also of course linked to information networks dedicated to monitoring and managing the very attention they seem to destabilize, directing it for largely commercial ends as part of an 'attention economy' (Goldhaber 1997, Crogan and Kinsley 2012).

3 Stone distinguishes continuous partial attention from multitasking. The latter, in her view, is motivated by productivity, whereas the former is motivated by the desire to be 'a live node on the network' and the constant alertness required of perpetual connectivity. http://lindastone.net/qa/continuous-partial-attention/

4 Lack of space prevents me from discussing Casetti and Sampietro's (2012) controversial contention that cultural experiences associated with previous media (such as cinema) have achieved sufficient sedimentation over time that they can be 'relocated' – intact – to new technological platforms (such as the iPhone).

An extended version of this chapter appears as 'The Mouse, the Screen and the Holocaust Witness: Interface Aesthetics and Moral Response' (2016) in the journal New Media & Society.

Judith Keilbach

MICROPHONE, VIDEOTAPE, DATABASE: REFLECTIONS ON A MEDIA HISTORY OF THE HISTORICAL WITNESS [1]

Historical witnesses are shaped by a whole constellation of forces: history, certainly, but also by the media landscape which is running parallel to it. The advent of the witness presupposes the specific historical composition of political, social, historical-cultural and gerontological aspects, in which media also play a central role. Media are a necessary prerequisite for recording memories; a specific media environment is needed to process and distribute interviews, and media events are often what trigger memories and the desire to bear witness. In works of recent years, witnesses have been primarily discussed in terms of their methodological value as facilitating a study of history, or in the context of historical culture, memory discourse and trauma research (Pollak 1988; Felman/Laub 1992; Jureit 1999; Cohen 2014; Shenker 2015). This essay, however, considers the ways in which media, in its own right, has shaped historical witnesses. Considering that depictions of witnesses in films and television (and the historical-political implications of these depictions) have been previously analyzed in depth (Keilbach 2003a, 2003b, 2007; Bösch 2008), this essay will assume a rather different angle: an initial attempt at a media history of witnesses that looks at the relevance of media constellations from the advent to the evolution of the figure of the historical witness. The following outline is limited to audio and audio-visual media, therefore bypassing written testimonies, though without intending to minimize their importance. Using four examples of different audio and audio-visual testimony recordings of former concentration camp prisoners, [2] the essay will seek to clarify the relationship between historical witnesses and media dispositives. [3] At the same time, the main argument put forward in this essay is that the media-based immediacy of the testimonies grants the witnesses authenticity as well as an affective power. Thereby, this 'immediacy' contributes significantly to contouring the figure of the historical witness.

Standing microphone

Film – along with photography – was the medium the Allies turned to in order to document the horrific scenes they found in the concentration camps (Brink 1998; Zelizer 1998). It is no surprise, therefore, that the testimonies of the first eyewitness were also captured on film. For example, interview scenes can be found in both *Memory of the Camps* (UK 1945), an unfinished film produced by the British Ministry of Information, for which Alfred Hitchcock briefly worked as an advisor, and *Nazi Concentration Camps* (George Stevens, USA 1945), which was presented as evidence at the Nuremberg Trials (Douglas 1995). Sound recordings such as these were the exception, however, because they were technically difficult to produce, and the format of the interview was not yet established in documentary films. In what follows I will look more closely at the dispositive structure of the recording apparatus. As we will see, the technical conditions for recording sound on film resulted in a specific type of testimony.

A variety of witnesses are interviewed in both films. Where *Memory of the Camps* includes brief statements made by members of the British Army who emphasize the incomprehensibility of the events in the camps, *Nazi Concentration Camps* features two former concentration camp prisoners who speak about their own experiences prior to the liberation. The two survivors describe events and situations they experienced first-hand, so their statements are considerably different than those of the liberators. For example, Jack H. Taylor, a US Navy lieutenant who was captured by the Gestapo in Austria in 1944, says that he was hit many times during his arrest and was then interned in the Mauthausen concentration and extermination camp, "where we have been starving, beaten and killed." He shows the dog tags of two of his American comrades who were murdered in the gas chamber, and upon

request he lists the different ways in which people were killed in the camp. The use of the pronouns "I" and "we" make it clear that he is talking about his own experiences.

The second testimony takes on a less personal narrative: a female doctor who is not introduced by name and who was interned in Bergen-Belsen describes the sanitary conditions in the camp. She talks about the lack of food and medicine, and provides an account of lethal injections and medical experiments on the prisoners. Her German testimony is translated into English by the male voice of the film's voice-over. The translation is spoken over the doctor's statement, making her words largely unintelligible. The wording of her testimony is changed as well: all grammatical indicators of her personal involvement are erased, transforming her first-hand account into a neutral description of a situation. An example of this is while she describes the cruelty of the SS men in a medically urgent situation in terms of "*man wollte uns keine Medikamente geben*" ("they didn't want to give us any medicine"), the voice-over translates this as "no medicines were available," and when she says "*man hat mit uns Experiment gemacht*" ("they did experiments on us"), the voice-over says "she adds that various medical experiments were done on the prisoners." |4

The films shot in the liberated concentration camps were usually without sound as most cameras in use at the time were not capable of recording sound. |5 The audio track for documentary films (voice-over commentary, music and ambience sound) would be recorded in a studio and added to the footage later. This explains not only the silence that is commonly found in documentaries when footage from the liberated camps is used – which often feels like shocked muteness in the face of the terrible scenes – but also the sparse statements from witnesses. In order to capture their testimony, it was necessary to have both a special camera that could record audio signals (an optical or magnetic soundtrack) and a suitable microphone which was placed in front of the witnesses.

The effects of these apparatuses are clearly manifested in the form and content of the testimonies. In the case of the two mentioned films, the witnesses are not conversational partners in an interview situation; rather, they are giving public statements. They are placed in front of a carefully selected background and are required to speak into a microphone, with the frontal placement of the sound equipment forcing them to look directly into the camera. In the film *Nazi Concentration Camps*, the witnesses also play a representative role in that, for the audio recording, the two former prisoners who make statements are positioned in front of their fellow prisoners, who stand behind them as if in a group photo. Considering this placement, it is no surprise that the two prisoners frequently use the plural form ("we were starving," etc.) and speak on behalf of the prisoners collectively. At the same time, such an arrangement, which resembles that of a public speech, places expectations on the speakers which they attempt to fulfill – either by making a little joke, as Jack H. Taylor does at the start of his testimony when he says "I'm from Hollywood," and then adds, "believe it or not, this is the first time I have ever been in the movies," or by trying to mention as many different situations and incidents in the camps as possible in a compressed form. Even the formal words of thanks to the Allied soldiers at the end of the testimonies can ultimately be attributed to the public speaking situation. It is obvious that such a situation is conducive neither to the type of intimate descriptions of feelings that we find in films with witnesses today, nor to the kind of precise depiction of historical events that historians often require from eyewitnesses. As mentioned earlier, these sound recordings are exceptions. It is still not clear whether this was because the technical effort made it difficult to conduct interviews, or because filmed testimony of Holocaust survivors seemed no longer necessary once legal proceedings were underway. But even though such interviews soon stopped being filmed, they still took place – just with the help of another medium.

Wire recorder

David Boder, a psychology professor at Illinois Institute of Technology, bemoaned the lack of witness accounts in the media early on. |6 Regarding the rarity of recorded interviews, as described above, he stated:

I could not have helped observing that while untold thousands of feet of film had been collected to preserve the visual events of war, practically nothing had been preserved for that other perceptual avenue, the hearing. (Boder 1949: xii)

While the newspapers and cinema screens were filled with photos and films showing the visible evidence of the events in the camps, Boder was interested in the aspects that were not conveyed through pictures: the speech of the victims and their personal experiences. This interest was undoubtedly a result of Boder's field of work, as he had studied the psychology of language since the mid-1920s. | 7

In the summer of 1946, Boder travelled to Europe to conduct interviews with former concentration camp prisoners in various DP camps. In his luggage he had a wire recorder and 200 carbon spools. This apparatus, a predecessor to the tape recorder which could record sound, had been developed a few years earlier by Boder's colleague Marvin Camras at the Illinois Institute of Technology. The device was based on a magnetic recording technique that used a fine wire wound in a spool as sound storage. For Boder, the wire recorder was the ideal medium for making the past experiences of his interlocutors accessible to others:

The magnetic wire recorder […] offered a unique and exact means of recording the experiences of displaced persons. Through the wire recorder the displaced person could relate in his own language and in his own voice the story of his concentration camp life. (Boder 1949: xi)

Immediacy played an important role in Boder's project. It was critical to Boder that the witnesses be able to use their mother tongue so that they could formulate their testimony "authentically," without being hindered by the limits of their foreign language skills. In addition to overcoming language barriers, Boder tried to make the recording equipment inconspicuous, and avoided influencing his interviewees through his own reactions—which meant that, in keeping with the traditional psychoanalytic setting, he sat behind them (Rosen 2010: 175). Considering this effort to ensure immediacy, it

is no surprise that no one else was allowed to be in the room during the interviews and no preparatory notes were made beforehand. Furthermore, Boder always spent no more than a few days in each camp, which he explained was in part due to the fact that, if he would stay much longer, "the narratives would begin to show signs of preparation and lose their spontaneity" (Boder 1949: xii).

He chose his interviewees by dining with a group of displaced persons in the evening and then asking for volunteers for his project. In doing so, he made it clear that he was interested not in exceptional experiences but rather in "average stories." "I wanted the rank and file experience," he explained in retrospect, reflecting on his concern for recording representative experiences. The wire recorder was accorded special meaning during these first encounters with the witnesses:

After the meal I would ask [the DP's] to sing and, with their knowledge, I recorded the songs. When I played these back, the wonder of hearing their own voices recorded was boundless. (Boder 1949: xii)

With this 'ethnologist's trick' not only did he garner attention and authority among his hosts, he was also able to explain the connection between the apparatus and his project and convince them of its usefulness. By exposing his conversational partners to the recording device prior to the interview, he ensured there was less distraction during the interview itself.

At the start of the interviews, Boder would explain that people in the USA wanted to know more about the experiences in the concentration camps, and that the personal account of his interlocutor would help paint a clearer picture of this. He would then ask his interviewees to briefly introduce themselves and suggest that they use the outbreak of the war as a starting point for describing the course of their lives. He frequently intervened during these descriptions in order to steer the interview in a certain direction by asking specific questions or encouraging the interviewee to keep speaking. This basic constellation resulted in a specific type of testimony which revolved around

information concerning individuals and their life stories. The interviewees listed places, activities and family members. Emotional moments, by contrast, are rare in these interviews. In the seven transcribed interviews that Boder published in 1949 under the title of *I Did Not Interview the Dead*, there are occasional hints that the interviewees were fighting back tears or found it difficult to keep speaking, despite the fact that Boder's questions were in no way designed to elicit these reactions. On the contrary, he always directed the conversation back to the factual level or tried to adopt an optimistic outlook by, for example, asking the displaced persons about their future plans near the end of the interview.

During the first year following the liberation of the concentration camps, the emotional aspect of the survivors played a secondary role in Boder's interviews. Instead, conversations were primarily meant to take stock of the situation. The aim was to gain an overview of events, ascertain the whereabouts of family members and provide information about the fate of acquaintances whose relatives might be searching for them. The displaced persons did not describe in detail the horrific situations they had faced, nor did Boder ask them to recall their thoughts and feelings. But the interviews involved emotional moments nonetheless, a fact that Boder felt needed to be explained in the foreword to his book: he emphasized that his interviewees had not had access to books, radio broadcasts or religious services for many years, and that they often could not even converse with their fellow prisoners in their mother tongue. He went on to say:

It is no wonder that their language habits show evidence of trauma. Moreover, the emotional states aroused by the recollection of episodes of such unparalleled stress definitely contributes to the peculiar verbal structure and the discrepancies in time and place found on occasion in the narratives. (Boder 1949: xiv)

Indeed, David Boder's initial work in Europe was born of an interest in the psychology of language. However, while it was the linguistic characteristics of traumatic experiences that had first attracted his attention, once faced

with the reality recounted by the survivors Border's focus appears to have shifted away from linguistics and trauma for a while. After returning to the USA, Boder became occupied with transcribing the interviews and publishing them, [8] his goal being to make the interviews easily accessible, rather than making a linguistic study of them. [9]

However, in the transition from sound recordings to writing, the interviews lost the very dimension that the wire recorder had so clearly accentuated: neither the quality of the voice nor the immediacy, speed, fleetingness or duration of the testimonies could be captured in writing. Hesitations, emphases and moments of silence were lost in the transcription. Nonetheless, in reading the transcribed interviews, their original media constellation shows through: the testimonies are not summarized but are reproduced in full. The interplay of questions and answers is captured, as are incomplete or grammatically incorrect sentences, unintelligible words and moments in which the conversational partners interrupt one other. While these features indicate that the published texts are based on spoken language, the content makes it clear that the interviews were neither held in public nor did they address a wider audience. The wire recorder created a conversational situation where it was possible to describe personal things without having to present oneself to others.

The interviews languished in obscurity for a long time. Wire recording technology soon became obsolete, and the transcribed interviews were considered too personal by historians and too reportorial by psychologists, so neither historians nor trauma researchers made use of them. The fact that David Boder's interviews are now receiving more attention is in part due to the fact that copies of the audio recordings were found several years ago, and in part due to the cultural significance attributed to this discovery. In its own right, the weight attributed to the discovery of Boder's recordings is not only down to the renewed interest in the narratives of Holocaust survivors; more than that, it has a lot to do with the current state of media technologies: the 118 sound documents have been digitized, classified and added to a database, where they can now be easily accessed online.

Two-inch magnetic tape / television

While survivor testimonies were largely ignored in the early post-war years, this situation changed in 1961, with the start of the Eichmann trial. The trial in Jerusalem marked what would later become an understanding of the genocide that had taken place as the Holocaust. Moreover, it established remembrance as a constitutive moment of Jewish identity and contributed to an understanding of the Holocaust as a discrete event (Levy/Sznaider 2006: 120ff). At the same time, the trial brought forth the "advent of the witness" (Wieviorka 2006: 56ff). The creation of the witness as such was made possible by increasingly globalized media and news networks, as well as by the establishment of a new media technology: the two-inch magnetic tape recording. Holocaust survivors had testified as witnesses in previous Nazi trials, but the status of their testimonies changed dramatically with the Eichmann trial. While they had previously been called to the witness stand primarily to verify trial-related evidence, their function in the Eichmann trial was to bring history to life. Ultimately, the purpose of the trial was not only to convict Adolf Eichmann for his Nazi crimes, but also to bring about a concrete understanding of the historical events. |10 To this end, a hundred and ten Holocaust survivors were called to take the stand as "background witnesses," whose testimony helped paint a picture of the course and scope of the genocide. However, their descriptions rarely contributed to ascertaining the truth behind the charges against Adolf Eichmann, as the witnesses frequently spoke about events they had experienced in countries and concentration camps outside of Eichmann's sphere of influence. |11 The Holocaust survivors who testified in the Eichmann trial did so not as legal witnesses, but as *historical* witnesses.

Along with this shift, the trial turned a spotlight on the experiential dimension of events. In contrast to the abstract facts about railway timetables or numbers of deportations – data gleaned from the written evidence in the Eichmann trial – these witnesses talked about personal experiences. Attorney General Gideon Hausner had chosen the witnesses based on the testimonies they had previously given to the Yad Vashem memorial (Yad Vashem had

been collecting accounts from Holocaust survivors, first in written form and later on audio tape, as early as 1946, before the memorial's official founding). |12 On the witness stand, the survivors were told to precisely describe "every horrifying detail of the atrocities they had endured" (Segev 1991: 347). The memory of the horrors they had been subjected to often emotionally overwhelmed the witnesses. |13 Their detailed descriptions also provoked the imagination of the listeners, some of whom fainted in the courtroom. This emotional effect can be attributed not only to the intensity of the situations described, but also to the physical presence of the witnesses and the immediacy of their oral accounts, giving their words particular power.

The Eichmann trial changed the status of Holocaust memories, and gained tremendous value through the authorization of legal discourse. Annette Wieviorka, in *The Era of the Witness* (2006), writes that the Eichmann trial "freed the victims to speak," while simultaneously creating a "social demand for testimonies" (Wieviroka 2006: 87). Recordings of the survivors' testimonies circulated on the radio, in films and on television, and the immediacy of these media was particularly suited for emphasizing the emotionality of the accounts. At the same time, more and more survivors who wanted to tell their stories stepped forward over the course of the trial. This creation, circulation and reproduction of witness testimonies was, on the one hand, associated with the historical-political and identity-related goals of the Eichmann trial, but on the other can also be traced back to the specific media constellation that drew attention to the witnesses in the first place.

The Eichmann trial can be considered to have been a global media event, publicized in the press and, most importantly, through television (Dayan/Katz 1992). Even before the trial began in Jerusalem, the *New York Times* predicted that it would attract special attention "because what will be one of history's most celebrated trials will be the first to be televised on home screens around the world" (Jack Gould in: *The New York Times,* October 4, 1961, quoted in Shandler 1999: 91). The "globalization" of television alluded to here started in the 1960s, when news broadcasts, political programs and documentaries began, with increasing numbers, to cover events happening beyond

national borders. Satellite technology was an important prerequisite for this, making it possible to transmit television signals between stations that were far apart. The first television satellite was launched into space in the summer of 1962, but even before it began operating television broadcasters were testing the possibilities of this new technology – and the Eichmann trial was the ideal test case.

At the time of the Eichmann trial, television did not yet exist in Israel, |14 and so numerous television stations from different countries requested permission to set up their own cameras in the courtroom to produce footage themselves. There was not enough space to accommodate cameras from every interested country, so the Israeli government contracted Capital Cities Broadcasting Corporation to produce and distribute footage of the Eichmann trial. Capital Cities, which at the time was still a small company with just a handful of television stations scattered across the USA, documented the trial on a non-profit basis. |15 The director was Leo Hurwitz, who had produced political documentaries in the 1930s and 1940s (i.e. *Heart of Spain, Native Land, Strange Victory*) and later worked anonymously (as he had been placed on McCarthy's blacklist) for the CBS culture magazine, *Omnibus*.

What made the trial documentation special was the fact that Capital Cities did not record on film, but instead used video tapes: a relatively new technology that reduced the production and distribution time significantly. Video tape recording had been introduced in the second half of the 1950s, when the American television networks began to record live transmissions on two-inch magnetic tape during broadcast so that the recordings could be replayed at the same local time in different time zones. Capital Cities adopted this technology for the Eichmann trial: four video cameras were set up in the courtroom, and their footage was mixed "live" under the direction of Leo Hurwitz. The resulting end signal was not broadcast live, however, but was instead recorded on two-inch magnetic tape. |16 These recordings were then used to compile videotapes with selected scenes from each day. These tapes were flown to London and New York for further distribution to all television stations that covered the proceedings (Shandler 1999: 93ff; Lindeperg/Wie-

viorka 2015). So while the Eichmann trial was not broadcast live, the short production time for the coverage – resulting from the combination of video technology and rapid transport – approximated the immediate television reports that would soon be made possible by satellite technology.

This (approximated) temporal immediacy was entangled in a peculiar way with both the characteristics of the medium of television and with the unique aspects of the legal proceedings. As a medium received at the home front, television encourages an attitude from the viewer that could be described as intimate toward people on the screen, and the serial structure of television supports this sense of familiarity. The television coverage of the Eichmann trial put an additional emphasis on this intimate relationship, because in no other medium were feelings so clearly expressed and so immediately accessible as in the televised testimonies of the emotionally affected witnesses. In this respect, the Eichmann trial can be seen as having made it possible for the specific properties and potential of television to unfold.

In addition to its live character, it was this intimacy that differentiated television from other media. Therein it is no surprise that particular attention was paid to the emotional witness testimonies when television stations compiled their reports. At the same time, this unusual intimacy with "authentic" people and the spectacle of emotions (which stood in contrast to Eichmann's emotional impassivity), sparked a demand among viewers for more witnesses. Annette Wieviorka has described the social dimension of this demand (Wieviroka 2006: 87), but in addition I want to stress its media component: the circulation of witness testimonies predicated the interest in witnesses that followed the Eichmann trial. This circulation was initiated and intensified by television, not least due to the prompt coverage and intimacy of the testimonies that emphasized the properties of television as a medium.

Video recorder
While media institutions such as television networks and the "propaganda departments" of the Allies were the first to produce, distribute and popularize the figure of the (historical) witness, it was a grass-roots movement that

gave the figure of the witness another dimension: at the end of the 1970s in New Haven, Connecticut, the Holocaust Survivors Film Project was founded. |17 From the perspective of social and media history alike, it is no coincidence that this project was founded at this point in time. In the USA, issues dealing with certain communities and identity politics were at the forefront of society, and "Jewish identity" was being shaped by the shared experience of the Holocaust. |18 In the meanwhile, historical interest in the Holocaust had grown steadily in the 1970s, a development reflected in the USA by a growing number of seminars and university courses on the subject (Novick 2000: 188). In the spring of 1978, on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel, US President Jimmy Carter announced that a commission would be founded to plan a memorial for the victims of the Holocaust – another event that pointed to the growing awareness of the Holocaust in American society. This is the historical-cultural context in which the four-part television mini-series *Holocaust* (NBC) was produced, broadcast in April of 1978, and often described as the trigger for wider public engagement with the Holocaust (Shandler 1999; Knilli/Zielinski 1982).

Alongside the growing cultural relevance of the Holocaust, it was above all the establishment of a new media technology that made the Holocaust Survivors Film Project possible. From the mid-1970s on, video recorders – previously used exclusively in television production – became available on the consumer market. |19 It was soon possible to buy video cameras which enabled "amateurs" to produce video recordings. This "new" recording process had an advantage over the small-gauge film that amateurs had worked with up until that point, as it was both cheaper and easier to use. Unlike film, video technology also made it possible to record over a longer time without interruption, not an irrelevant addition when it comes to creating an intimate, intensive interview situation.

The Holocaust Survivors Film Project took advantage of this new technology. The two project initiators were journalist Laurel Vlock, who had interviewed Holocaust survivors for a television documentary about Yom HaShoah and experienced the intensity of such discussions first hand, |20 and psychoana-

lyst (and child survivor) Dori Laub. Both felt that the new medium was particularly suited for giving the survivors the opportunity to bear witness to events that they had likely not spoken of for decades. Conducting the video interviews gave survivors a voice (much like David Boder's wire recordings), as well as a physical identity, whereby this visual aspect in particular was important to the reception of the recordings. As argued by James E. Young in *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narratives and the Consequences of Interpretation* (1988), the videos, "by showing us whole human beings, however inwardly scarred they are," work to "rehumanize the survivors, and in so doing, rehumanize the murdered victims as well" (Young 1988: 163) |21 Furthermore, they make visible the process of "the entry of memory into language, the search for the right words" (Young 1988: 160) as well as that of "*not* telling a story" and "the choice of whether to go on or not" (Young 1988: 161) In this respect, the recordings do not document the experiences of the survivors; however, the visual component enables the viewer to perceive the act of bearing witness. It is thereby no surprise that video interviews prompted a deeper reflection on both the events described and the very process of remembering and bearing witness (Langer 1991; Young 1988; Jureit 1999).

The interviews for the Holocaust Survivors Film Project were generally not conducted in the homes of the Holocaust survivors but in other spaces that had been set up as a "studio." Next to the interviewer there was always at least one other person present to operate the video camera, made necessary due to the close-up shots, which required one to move the camera in order to follow the movements of the interlocutors, keeping them in frame. Despite the unfamiliar environment and the obvious presence of the camera, which might be expected to cause a certain sense of irritation or reticence, many of the testimonies are remarkably open and intimate. This can be attributed above all to the nature of the interview: the interviewers rarely interrupt the survivors' accounts in an attempt to steer their testimony in a particular direction, and do not insist on a chronological narrative or information about particular individuals, as David Boder did. Instead, the aim of the Holocaust Survivors Film Project was to give the survivors – whose stories no one had

wanted to hear, or who had remained silent for a long time – a chance to talk about their experiences. Thereby the video interviews had not only a historiographical, but also a significantly therapeutic function: an approach that can be traced back in part to the psychoanalytic expertise of Dori Laub, who had previously treated numerous Holocaust survivors and their children. Although the Holocaust Survivors Film Project used an interview method that involved as little intervention as possible, the interviewers still played a key role in the production of the testimony. Dori Laub explained this paradox in referring to the trauma of the survivors, who themselves questioned the credibility of the fragmentary memories and flashbacks that haunted them, and who also feared having to relive the events they remembered. The Holocaust survivors were all the more unsure of the factuality of events because the Holocaust was an event without witnesses (Laub 1992). It was not just the lack of "neutral" observers, the silence of the perpetrator witnesses and the systematic murder of victim witnesses that would make testimony impossible, but above all it was the structure of the event itself:

What precisely made a Holocaust out of the event is the unique way in which, during the historical occurrence, the event produced no witnesses. Not only, in effect, did the Nazis try to exterminate the physical witnesses of their crime; but the inherently incomprehensible and deceptive psychological structure of the event precluded its own witnessing, even by its very victims. (Laub 1992: 80)

The perfidiousness of the Nazis' extermination policy, according to Dori Laub, could be found in their ability to make the victims doubt the reality of their experiences. In order for the act of bearing witness to be possible, an empathetic listener is required: that is, a person who can help the victim bring to mind the traumatic experiences and who can confirm the factuality of the unbelievable events (Laub 1992). Video interviews, according to Dori Laub, are comparable in function to an empathetic listener. They "provide a listener to trauma" that activates the memory and creates the possibility of re-externalizing the event (Laub 1992: 70). The (video) camera is therein cen-

tral to the therapeutic process that is always implicit in the interviews for the Holocaust Survivors Film Project.

The interviewees who emerge from this concept of the interview are not historical witnesses who (can) contribute significantly to the reconstruction of historical facts. Their statements are often incoherent, associative and full of breaks, gaps and repetitions. | 22 They usually do not bring forth any facts relevant to historical scholarship, as the memories of Holocaust survivors often cannot stand up to historical scrutiny. For example, Dori Laub describes the testimony of an eyewitness to the uprising in Auschwitz. In it, the witness vividly recalls the explosion of four chimneys (Laub 1992: 59ff). In fact, only one of the four chimneys was actually blown up. Although the historical facts are not correct in the testimony – meaning that the memory is empirically "false" – Laub stresses the historical truth of this account by interpreting it as a way of testifying that resists and "[bursts] open the very frame of Auschwitz" (Laub 1992: 62). The witnesses in the Holocaust Survivors Film Project primarily offer an insight into the process of remembering and creating meaning; the videos themselves "might, therefore, be thought of as helping to create, after the fact, the missing Holocaust witness, in opening up the historical conceivability (the retrospective condition of possibility), of the Holocaust witness" (Laub 1992: 85).

While the video camera may trigger a process of remembering on the part of the witnesses, the recordings also have a special effect on the viewers. The camera not only captures the testimony of the survivors, it enables us to see their emotional involvement. The witnesses' search for words, their gestures and facial expressions all highlight the immediacy of the process of remembering, and can elicit a special kind of affective sympathy in the viewer. The close-ups in particular, James Young argues, "affect us viscerally, evoking, parasympathetic responses over which viewers have little control" (Young 1988: 163). It is this ability to create a sense of unmediated affectedness that makes the interviews so powerful, and so attractive to cinema and television. Considering the power of this medium, it is no surprise that the video interviews were used in other contexts as well. As early as 1980, a television docu-

mentary produced by Laurel Vlock with the name of *Forever Yesterday* (1980) used excerpts from the interviews that had been conducted for the Holocaust Survivors Film Project. | 23 Interviews with (historical) witnesses are now a permanent fixture in films and television shows about the Nazi era, although the emotional moments during the process of remembering increasingly feel formulaic. This, too, can be considered a media-based (though not media-specific) effect, as oftentimes the format of witness testimonies from films and television shows shapes the behavior of the historical witnesses who speak out today.

(A glimpse at) Databases

While the proliferation of video cameras as a consumer technology facilitated the emergence of video testimonies, it is moreover the large-scale collection of these testimonies that has shaped their current pervasiveness. Today the Shoah Foundation holds the largest collection of Holocaust testimonies. The initiative was started by Steven Spielberg in 1994, after Holocaust survivors working as extras on the film set of *Schindler's List* expressed their desire to report on their own experiences in the camps. The foundation aimed at collecting at least 50,000 testimonies within five years. | 24 Between 1994 and 1999, nearly 52,000 interviews with Holocaust survivors and witnesses were recorded in fifty-six countries and in thirty-two languages. From a media studies perspective, this sheer number brings up new questions relating to databases, storage capacities and data compression. Unlike the above-mentioned media constellations, these technologies do not affect the creation of testimonies, but they do regulate their searchability and accessibility.

For the Shoah Foundation, with its goal of 50,000 interviews, the importance of a database was clear from the outset. In order to make the interviews' content searchable, a cataloguing and indexing system was developed. This so-called Testimony Catalogue lists personal information (name, place of birth, family, religion), relevant places (ghettos, camps) and general experiences (hiding, resistance, flight, forced marches), all information taken from questionnaires filled out by the interviewees in preparation for the interview. The

testimonies are additionally indexed with the help of a thesaurus comprising 50,000 terms. During the indexing process, the video recordings are divided into one-minute segments, which are then assigned one or more relevant terms by a historical content analyst or indexer. Using a keyword search, and through the search terms' links to the time codes, thematic passages from the interviews can be called up to the precise minute.

In order for the database to function, the keywords need to be standardized. This means that the indexing thesaurus can only exist in one language. Since the thesaurus of the Shoah Foundation's database is composed of English terms, every interview that was not conducted in English but in another language had to be transferred into English keywords. It is only through this translation that any witness testimony can be found at all. The prerequisite for access to the archive of 52,000 interviews in thirty-two languages is thus the use and knowledge of its standard language, English.

As the logic of the database is based on segmentation, it favors users who do not view entire testimonies but only fragments of them. During the analog era, videotapes required linear playback, which stands in sharp contrast with the ability to search fragments of interviews by means of keywords. This implies a change in attitude when watching the testimonies. There is a difference between inserting a videocassette into a VCR, and preparing to watch a video about which one only knows that it will contain the testimony of a Holocaust survivor, and clicking a keyword that triggers a brief interview excerpt. In the latter case, one is surely less likely to listen intently in the way that viewers are often thought to do when faced with Holocaust survivor testimony.

James Young argues that video testimonies show "whole human beings" (Young 1988: 163). Given the interviews' segmentation to make them searchable in the first place, and in light of the possibility of accessing only fragments, this statement is questionable. In the digital age, Holocaust testimonies are changing once again. They are prevailing as sound bites in films and on television, or are available as searchable segments to be streamed by a computer. Just as wire and videotape recorders facilitated certain forms of Holocaust testimonies, it is being able to afford a particular media technology that is

transforming them once again. Therefore, to get a better understanding of these testimonies and their changing nature, it is necessary to study not only their political, social and cultural context but also the media-technological conditions and constellations that made their recording, use and dissemination possible in the first place.

REFERENCES

Arendt, H. (2006). *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Penguin Classics [1963].

Boder, D. P. (1949). *I Did Not Interview the Dead*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Bösch, F. (2008). Geschichte mit Gesicht. Zur Genese des Zeitzeugen in Holocaust-Dokumentationen seit den 1950er Jahren. In T. Fischer / R. Wirtz (Eds.). *Alles authentisch? Popularisierung der Geschichte im Fernsehen*. Constance: UVK, pp. 51–72.

Brink, C. (2014). *Ikonen der Vernichtung. Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern nach 1945*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Cohen, S. K. (2014). *Testimony and Time. Holocaust Survivors Remember*. Yad Vashem: Yad Vashem Publications.

Dayan, D., Katz, E. (1992). *Media Events. The Live Broadcasting of History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Douglas, L. (1995). Film as Witness. Screening Nazi Concentration Camps Before the Nuremberg Tribunal. In *Yale Law Journal 105* (2), pp. 449–481.

Douglas, L. (2004). Trial as Documentary. Images of Eichmann. In L. J. Moran et al. (Eds.). *Law's Moving Image*. London 2004, pp. 95–106.

Felman, S., Laub, D. (1992). *Testimony. Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. New York / London: Routledge.

Geoffrey H. (1996). *The Longest Shadow. In the Aftermath of the Holocaust*. Bloomington / Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Jureit, U. (1999). *Erinnerungsmuster. Zur Methodik lebensgeschichtlicher Interviews mit Überlebenden der Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager*. Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag.

Keilbach, J. (2003a). Zeugen der Vernichtung. Zur Inszenierung von Zeitzeugen in bundesdeutschen Fernsehdokumentationen. In E. Hohenberger, J. Keilbach (Eds.). *Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit. Dokumentarfilm, Fernsehen und Geschichte*. Berlin: Vorwerk, pp. 155–174.

Keilbach, J. (2003b). Zeugen, deutsche Opfer und traumatisierte Täter. Zur Inszenierung von Zeitzeugen in bundesdeutschen Fernsehdokumentationen über den Nationalsozialismus. In M. Zuckermann (Ed.). *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte XXXI. Medien – Politik – Geschichte*. Göttingen: Wallstein, pp. 287–306.

Keilbach, J. (2007). Witnessing, Credibility, and Female Perpetrators: Eyewitnesses in Television Documentaries about National Socialism. In V. Apfelthaler, J. Köhne (Eds.). *Gendered Memories. Transgressions in German and Israeli Film and Theater*. Vienna: Turia + Kant, pp. 101–112.

Knilli, F., Zielinski, S. (Eds.) (1982). *Holocaust zur Unterhaltung. Anatomie eines internationalen Bestsellers*. Berlin: Elefanten Press.

Langer, L. (1991). *Holocaust Testimonies. The Ruins of Memory*. New Haven / London: Yale University Press. 1991.

Laub, D. (1992). An Event Without a Witness. Truth, Testimony and Survival. In S. Felman, D. Laub. *Testimony. Crisis of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. London / New York: Routledge, pp. 75–92.

Laub, D. (1992a). Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening. In S. Felman, D. Laub. *Testimony. Crisis of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. London / New York: Routledge, pp. 57–74.

Levy, D., Sznaider, N, (2006). *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Lindeperg, S., Wieviorka, A. (Eds.) (2015). *Le moment Eichmann*. Paris: Albin Michel.

Newman, M. Z. (2014). *Video Revolutions. On the History of a Medium*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Novick, P. (2000). *The Holocaust in American Life*. Boston / New York: Mariner Books.

Oren, T. (2004). *Demon in the Box. Jews, Arabs, Politics, and Culture in the Making of Israeli Television*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Pollak, M. (1988). *Die Grenzen des Sagbaren. Lebensgeschichten von KZ-Überlebenden als Augenzeugenberichte und Identitätsarbeit*. Frankfurt / New York: Campus Verlag.

Rosen, A. (2009). *Early Postwar Voices. David Boder's Life and Work*. http://voices.iit.edu/david_boder (2009), accessed on January 11, 2009.

Rosen, A. (2010). *The Wonder of Their Voices. The 1946 Holocaust Interviews of David Boder*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Segev, T. (1991). *The Seventh Million. The Israelis and the Holocaust*. New York: Picador.

Shandler, J. (1999). *While America Watches. Televising the Holocaust*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Shenker, N. (2015). *Reframing Holocaust Testimony*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Sivan, E. (2000). Ideologie allein reicht nicht aus, um ein Verbrechen zu begehen. In *Film & TV Kameramann 49* (4), pp. 8–16.

Starr, L. M. (1980). Oral History in den USA. Probleme und Perspektiven. In L. Niethammer. *Lebenserfahrung und kollektives Gedächtnis. Die Praxis der "Oral History"*. Frankfurt: Syndikat, pp. 27–54.

Wasser, F. (2001). *Veni, Vidi, Video. The Hollywood Empire and the VCR*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Weigel, S. (2000). Zeugnis und Zeugenschaft, Klag und Anklage. Die Geste des Bezeugens in der Differenz von ‚identity politics‘, juristischem und historiographischem Diskurs. In *Zeugnis und Zeugenschaft* (Einstein Forum annual). Berlin: Akademie Verlag,, pp. 111–135.

Wieviorka, A. (2006). *The Era of the Witness*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.

Winston, B. (1996). *Technologies of Seeing. Photography, Cinematography and Television*. London: British Film Institute.

Yablonka, H. (2004). *The State of Israel vs. Adolf Eichmann*. New York: Schocken.

Young, J. E. (1998). *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust. Narratives and the Consequences of Interpretation*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Zelizer, B. (1998). *Remembering to Forget. Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.

Zielinski, S. (1985). *Zur Geschichte des Videorecorders*. Berlin: Spiess.

Zuckermann, M. (1998). *Zweierlei Holocaust. Der Holocaust in den politischen Kulturen Israels und Deutschlands*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.

1 This article is a translation of "Mikrofon, Videotape, Database. Überlegungen zu einer Mediengeschichte der Zeitzeugen" in: Martin Sabrow/Norbert Frei (eds.) *Die Geburt des Zeitzeugen*, Göttingen 2012, originally published in 2010. Newer research literature is added in the footnotes where possible. Thanks to Yael van der Wouden for helping me revise the paper.

2 The preliminary nature of this outline also means that it foregoes a more precise definition of different types of "witnesses", something that is necessary, however, in terms of both their rhetoric and the different forms of knowledge that they produce.

3 A media history such as this was foreshadowed by Louis M. Starr, who pointed out that interviews with witnesses which, at the end of the 1940s, were still being transcribed on the basis of notes, without wire or tape recorders, did not continue to be systematically conducted in the same way; cf. Starr 1980: 31.

4 While mentioning the profession of the two witnesses highlights their credibility, a gender-specific hierarchization of the statements is also apparent.

5 Regarding the history of the sound film camera, cf. Winston 1996.

6 For more about David Boder see Rosen 2010.

7 Cf. the article he published in 1940: "The Adjective-Verb Quotient: A Contribution to the Psychology of Language" in: *Psychological Record*, 3 (1939/40), pp. 310–343.

8 Boder describes his transcription procedure as follows: "By the use of two Peirce Wire Recorders with stop and start controls I listened on one machine to the original, sentence by sentence, and then dictated the English translations on the other machine. Typists then transcribed the material from the translated recordings" (Boder 1949: xiii).

9 Nonetheless, he did continue to study the psychology of language. To this end, he interviewed not only Holocaust survivors but also victims of the floods in Kansas City in 1951 in order to compare the effects of different traumatic experiences (Rosen 2009).

10 Regarding the historical-political importance of the trial, see for example Wieviorka 2006; Segev 1991; Zuckermann 1998; Yablonka 2004.

11 Hannah Arendt addresses this "right of the witnesses to be irrelevant" in her report on the Eichmann trial, pinpointing one of the main legal criticisms of the witness testimony, which relates above all to the interpretation of the rules of procedure (allowing "background witnesses" who do not address the matter at hand). Cf. Arendt 2006 [1963]: 225.

12 Annette Wieviorka says that there was "a veritable casting call" for witnesses, and she points out that the selection obeyed a "double imperative, historical and sociological", in as much as Hausner ensured that there were accounts from all territories occupied by the Nazis and that witnesses from all social strata were represented; cf. Wieviorka 2006: 71, 73.

13 These statements therefore deviate from the juridical concept of testimony, which is based on rational and not emotionally led statements. Regarding the problem of juridical testimony in relation to the Holocaust, cf. Weigel 2000.

14 Television broadcasting started only in the late 1960s. For a discussion of the debates before television was introduced see Oren 2004.

15 The footage was sold to 38 countries, with the three American networks alone paying $50,000 each for a daily, hour-long compilation of the events on each day of the trial. The proceeds from these sales were then donated to a charitable Israeli organisation; cf. Shandler 1999: 91; Douglas 2004.

16 However, a closed-circuit system that was set up in a neighbouring building allowed some hundred viewers to see a live broadcast; cf. Shandler 1999: 90f. Because the copyright situation was unclear, the videotapes were initially divided up between the New York production company and the Israeli client; from 1977, all of the videos were stored in poor conditions in the archives of Jerusalem University. In the mid-1990s, filmmaker Eyal Sivan started to research, catalogue, restore and digitally copy the tapes for his film *The Specialist*; cf. Sivan 2000. Today the trial can be watched on YouTube.

17 The Holocaust Survivors Film Project led to the creation of the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies which has been housed at Yale University since 1981. The foundation of the film project has often been described as a direct response to the television series *Holocaust*, a fictional account which, according to Geoffrey Hartman, was considered by many survivors to present "a sanitized and distorted version of what they had suffered"; cf. Hartman 1996: 21.

18 Regarding the integration of Jewish survivors into US society and the shift in the significance of the Holocaust, cf. Novick 2000.

19 Regarding the history of the video recorder, cf. Wasser 2001; Zielinski 1985; Newman 2014.

20 Cf. the short profile of Laurel Vlock on the homepage of the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies: http://web.library.yale.edu/testimonies/about/founders, accessed on 18 December 2015.

21 Young's argument here relates to the ethical question of whether certain forms of representation reproduce the dehumanization of the victims.

22 Regarding the linguistic characteristics of the testimonies, cf. Young 1988.

23 Interviews with Holocaust survivors were found in earlier television shows as well, e.g. *Mendel Schainfelds zweite Reise nach Deutschland* (Hans-Dieter Grabe, ZDF 1972) or *Geschiedenis van een Plek* (Hans Verhagen and Armando, VPRO 1978), a Dutch documentary about the Amersfoort concentration camp, which was kindly brought to my attention by Andreas Schneider. The systematic recording of interviews provides very different resources for the production of films, however. This is especially apparent in the use of interviews from the archive of the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, from which a total of eleven films have been made.

24 To achieve this, the Shoah Foundation hired 1,000 videographers and trained 2,300 interviewers who interviewed witnesses in 56 countries and 32 languages.

Sylvie Lindeperg

JUDICIAL TRUTH AND CINEMATOGRAPHIC TRUTH — FILMED COURTROOM TESTIMONIES: THE CASE OF THE EICHMANN TRIAL

The Eichmann trial can be considered to be the first major collection of survivor testimonies filmed. Annette Wieviorka has shown that it marked what she terms the "advent of the witness" (Wieviorka 2006). It also established the advent of filmed eyewitness testimony.

The Eichmann trial was the first trial ever recorded entirely on video. It was filmed by the American documentary filmmaker Leo Hurwitz for a New York company called Capital Cities Broadcasting Corporation, with the aim of providing images to TV networks around the world. The technical feat and formal devices entailed in the filming contributed to shaping the event and giving it wide media coverage outside of Israel. The footage also helped fix a mental image of the trial, filtered by the nature and processes specific to the medium, and build the memory of the Jewish genocide.

I shall analyze the following two phases: the filming of the trial, which I studied together with Annette Wieviorka [1]; and the uses that were made of the images, which played the role of a matrix in terms of remembrance and on a cinematographic level as well.

1. The role of the witness on the judicial stage.

In the Eichmann trial, in contrast to the Nuremberg trial, witnesses played a major role. In Nuremberg, prosecutor Justice Jackson had decided to base the accusation mostly on written documents, which were deemed more reliable. Witnesses did testify and some of them had a lasting impact – such as Marie-Claude Vailland-Couturier, whose testimony was partially filmed. But they were not called to the stand to give an account of history. They were

summoned to give specific information about documents, to fill these out by adding their comments and to shed light on them in order to prove facts during the production of evidence | 2.

In Jerusalem, in a very different context, chief prosecutor Hausner adopted another strategy altogether. The trial was not only about trying a criminal but also about meting out justice for the past, more than 15 years after the events took place. To ensure that the memory would be passed on, Hausner constructed the trial based on the statements of one hundred and eleven survivors. These testimonies were intended to touch people's hearts. For the prosecutor, this meant:

"… asking each of them for a tiny fragment of what he had seen and lived through (….). Put together piece by piece, the successive testimonies of different people who had gone through different experiences would yield an image eloquent enough to be recorded." (Hausner 1966)

Thus the principle of a large polyphonic account was established that was supposed to offer, in Hausner's words, an *image* of the past. As Shoshana Felman puts it, in contrast to the Nuremberg trial, the account placed the expression of human vulnerability and the witnesses' fragility at the heart of the judicial machinery | 3. The prosecutor, intent on recounting the whole history of the persecution of the Jews, sometimes chose to hear witnesses who had only a slight connection with the accused, thereby losing sight of the very essence of legal proceedings – proving the defendant guilty. This was one of the many criticisms leveled by Hannah Arendt (1976).

All the survivors chosen by Hausner had already testified in other contexts, but this was the first time they were being filmed. The images brought out the full effect of this long account, told in a chorus and imparted with a white-hot intensity. This turned the procession of survivors into real flesh and blood characters.

The emphasis on eyewitness testimonies was reflected in the architecture of the courtroom, the auditorium of the future Jerusalem theater, Beit Ha'am.

The space was arranged in such a way that the defendant's dock faced the witness stand.

Based on this spatial layout, Hurwitz constructed his own perspective and interpretation of the trial.

2. Leo Hurwitz in Jerusalem: filming the trial

The only restriction imposed on the filmmaker in positioning his cameras was that they had to be concealed so as not to disturb the proceedings. Hurwitz set up two of them facing each other. The first camera was placed on a track behind the glass booth Eichmann sat in, facing the witness stand. The other one was concealed in the wall on the opposite side, its back to the witnesses, in line with Eichmann.

So the confrontation between the accused and the witnesses was reinforced by the face-to-face position of the two cameras. This arrangement was one of the key elements of dramatization in the filming of the testimonies. I would now like to take a look at the main formal devices used in the filming.

During the trial, Hurwitz focused on constructing a confrontation between the accused and the witnesses by means of images and editing. To do so he used the shot/reverse shot technique. The choice of shots of Eichmann taken
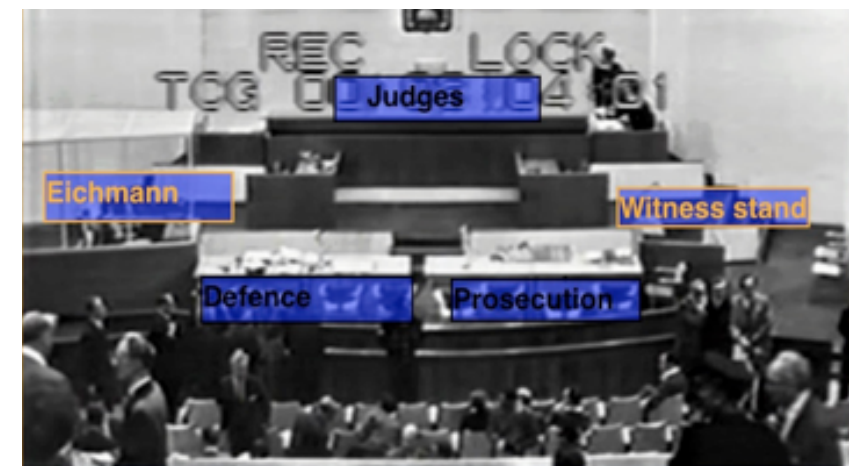
during the testimonies given by the survivors – most of whom had never seen or even known the accused – reinforced Hausner's interpretation of the trial: the shot/reverse shot contributed to making Eichmann personally accountable for all the tragedies being recounted in the courtroom.

Yet a closer look at the shots reveals that the face-to-face arrangement was sometimes very artificial. Some of the survivors, completely absorbed in the painful accounts they are giving, do not even look at Eichmann. And most of the time the accused remains impassive and ignores them. This was a disappointment to the production crew's expectations.

The second formal device Hurwitz used appears to be more spontaneous. It is based on the observation of the trial and his desire to capture its distinctive characteristics in action. As the hearings proceeded, Hurwitz became the witness of an unfolding event and recorded the signs of that event – the effects and the shock produced on the audience by the testimonies. He conveys this by taking cutaway shots of both the audience and the court, showing their attentive, sometimes deeply upset, faces | 4.

The emotion expressed by the participants and onlookers during some of the testimonies echoes the emotion stirred up in Hurwitz in the control room. Hurwitz confided this to his wife Jane in a letter written in May after two trying days of shooting, during which Rivka Yosselevska, speaking in Yiddish, had told the court how her little girl was killed before her eyes. She herself had been shot and thrown alive into a ditch full of corpses but managed to crawl up out of the pit. "The daily testimonies of the trial are frequently devastating," Hurwitz writes. "I fear often that tears will close my eyes and that I will not be able to see the monitors to direct the program. | 5"

"And yet," he adds, "in all this overwhelming feeling, there is a curious relief. It is the catharsis that the witnesses have in at last relating their ungraspable experiences to the world. They stand at the loudspeaker of history and each one of them revenges himself by his clarity, his recall and his full statement of feeling."

The choice of the term catharsis can be understood in the psychoanalytic sense (with which Hurwitz was familiar), in that the testimony given dur-

ing a courtroom hearing appears as the means by which witnesses manage to overcome the trauma through the words they utter. But by underscoring the fact that the witnesses are confiding "to the world," Hurwitz summons up the Aristotelian definition of catharsis, whereby theatrical (or judicial) performance produces effects on the spectator's soul and passions.

As French jurist Antoine Garapon writes, "A trial does not simply offer a forum for survivors' suffering: it appoints these sorrowful beings as victims. And by recognizing them as such, it paradoxically liberates them from this inferior condition." (Garapon 2002)

So as the hearings proceeded, Hurwitz discovered the unplanned part of the judicial event and gave it a place in his staging. Instead of emphasizing a face-to-face encounter between witnesses and television viewers, Hurwitz's staging gave preference to a triangular exchange of looks. By showing the faces of the audience in the courtroom, he gave a third dimension to the viewing and listening experience, highlighted the affects it produced, and dramatized the perception of the testimonies, which by then had become an integral part of the event. At the same time he shifted the trial on to another stage, namely the reception of the trial in Israel and the unforeseen upheaval it brought about.

This remark leads me to the subject of the many uses that have been made of these images.

3. Recording and uses: between art, memory and imagination.

The images shot by Hurwitz that were selected and sent abroad from Israel were first put into a new context and re-emplotted during the trial by foreign TV networks, especially in the U.S. and West Germany. (Shandler 1999) Yet in Israel, the Eichmann moment was above all an oral one: an event of words and language. Given that television did not exist in the country at the time, Israelis followed the trial on the radio (Pinchevski, Libes, Herman 2007). In Israel, contrary to the U.S., the word prevailed over the flesh. And in fact the legal term *hearing* indicates that speaking and listening constitute the main elements of the judicial stage – facts that filming alters profoundly.

This centrality of language, of words that are uttered and listened to, comes up in several Israeli films. One of these is *The Eighty-First Blow,* a 1974 film directed by the poet Haïm Gouri, who covered the Eichmann trial (Gouri 2004). His documentary is a compilation film that uses archival images as well as the shots Gouri filmed in the ruins of Birkenau, and matches them with sound recordings of eyewitness testimonies from the Eichmann trial. One of these was the testimony given by Rivka Yosselevska.

The dissociation of image and sound carries over the conditions of the trial's reception in Israel and, at the same time, underlines the power of the witnesses' words to embody the event; it carries over that power and rearranges it. This mechanism is faithful to Hausner's purpose in the sense that the litany of voices from beyond the grave produces an "image of the past, an image of the truth". At the end of the film, over the shots of a deserted, devastated Birkenau, Gouri also brought into play his own vision of the victims, whom he described while covering the trial as the "one hundred and eleven proxies, each taking his or her turn on the witness stand and leading us across the desolate landscape." (Ibid.) Yet in the passage on Yosselevska, the filmmaker supported the witness's words with photos of mass shootings carried out by the Einsatzgruppen in the Soviet Union. In choosing to do so, he took the risk of "illustrating" this deeply moving testimony rather than allowing the spectators to use their imagination.

Five years later, David Perlov carried over the dissociation of voice and image again, using the archives of the trial in another form. In 1962, Perlov had concluded his first short film project, *In Thy Blood Live*, a film about the destruction of European Jewry, with several images of the Eichmann trial, which had just ended. In 1979, in his film *Memories of the Eichmann Trial,* Perlov studies the memory – or rather memories – of the trial in Israel, which by then had been stratified by the passage of time and the emergence of a new generation. Thus, 18 years later, he in turn filmed some of the witnesses who had testified at the trial. We see Henryk Ross, who photographed the Lodz ghetto and again Rivka Yosselevska, who is confronted in the film with the testimony she had given in Jerusalem: We hear her speak but are not shown the im-

ages. Perlov's camera is riveted on Yosselevska's face in a still shot. It picks up the effects of the spectral voice on the face of the former witness, making the voice's reverberations and effects resound in the present.

In this sequence there is an echo of Hurwitz's staging. But here, instead of the third person – the shots of the audience listening – we are shown the witness herself listening to her own testimony. Then, to the filmmaker's question, "Can you stand listening to this?", Yosselevska replies – after a moment of silence – "You can see that I am still alive," switching from Yiddish to Hebrew, from the language of exile to that of Israeli citizenship. The witness is thus split into her past status and her present one – two conditions that the cinema undertakes to link together in order to allow the victim to engender the witness, while at the same time acknowledging the painful and fatalistic fact of survival.

In many respects, Perlov's film foreshadows Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*; the lineage is obvious in the scene where he asks Henryk Ross to re-enact for the camera the manner in which he secretly photographed the ghetto Jews|6. Perlov was also one of the first to initiate the transition of the Eichmann trial to art, when the trial was put at the service of another form of truth – cinematographic truth, understood as the power of embodiment, elucidation and revelation.

I shall conclude with the last use that was made of Hurwitz's footage – a more political usage, which sanctioned the radical reversal of the relation between language and image, in other words between listening and watching. Starting in the late 1970s and more extensively as time went on, Israeli television took over Hurwitz's shots and used them to buttress the state of Israel's policy of remembrance and legitimation, a policy based on laying claim to the suffering of the Jews. Israeli television documentaries and broadcasts on the subject made drastic selections from among the testimonies. One of the testimonies – that of the writer Yehiel Dinur – was repeatedly presented as iconic. Dinur, better known as Ka-Tzetnik, fainted at the witness stand before he was able to testify about Auschwitz. In his account of the trial, Gouri describes the powerful symbolic meaning of this key moment and the emotion
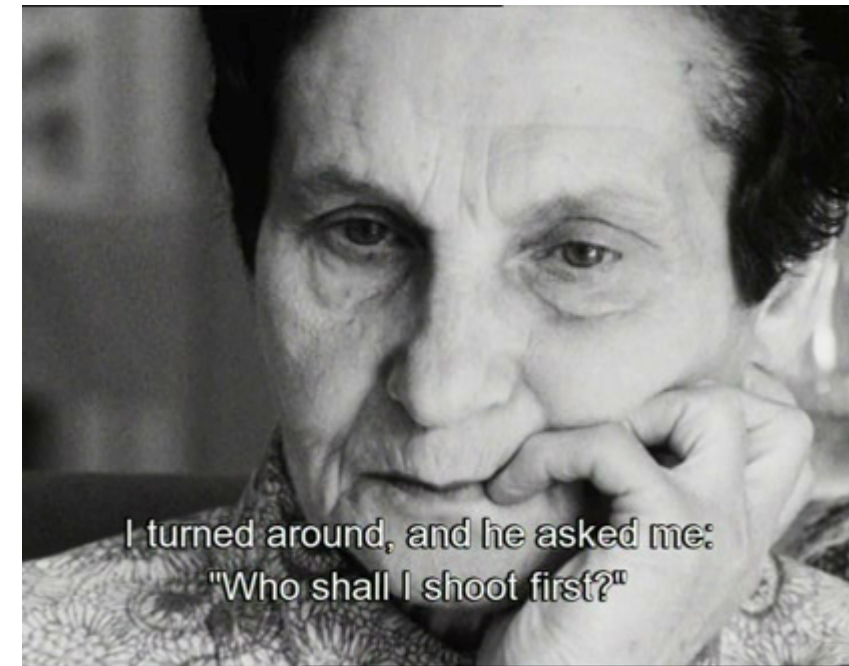
it aroused in him. Hannah Arendt, in contrast, considered Dinur's collapse a grotesque episode; she saw in it the height of confusion between literary order and judicial order, the patent mark of the trial's inability to establish and describe events in juridical terms. The choice of this image to epitomize the trial led to the event being pulled over into the visible realm so radically that it symbolized the very failure of language to express the trauma. In this sense Dinur's testimony could exist in time and produce all its effects because it was filmed.

It was in reaction to the way he felt that the State of Israel had instrumentalized the images of the trial that Eyal Sivan created the sequence of witnesses in his film *The Specialist* and deliberately left out Dinur's testimony|7.

Shoshana Felman, for her part, proposes to pull the image of Dinur's blackout over into the poetic realm, considering it in the strongest sense as a *lieu de mémoire* (site of memory) of the trial. She defines this moment as "an enig-

matic kernel of collective memory, a memory that keeps returning but whose power of surprise does not wane, and whose meaning cannot be completely grasped. 'Our memory,' writes Valéry, 'repeats to us the discourse that we have not understood. Repetition responds to incomprehension. It signals to us that the act of language could not be accomplished.|8'"

The image of Dinur fainting is the "crystal of the event", to use the expression coined by Walter Benjamin (1999). In its very essence it brings to light the vulnerability of the witness and the powerlessness of language. But it also sanctions the triumph of what is visible, the dramatizing of history and the representation of suffering as something spectacular – all of which are imposed by television and which greatly contributed to shaping the memory of the event.

All these various uses were possible thanks to, or because of, the formal achievement of Leo Hurwitz's work, which surpassed the ambitions of a mere recording, revealing to us a filmmaker's perception of the event that he was filming.

Sylvie Lindeperg (Translated by Pauline Haas Hammel)

REFERENCES

Arendt, H. (1976). The Origins of Totalitarianism [1951], New York: Harcourt Inc.; Arendt, H. (1963). Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil. New York: Viking.

Benjamin, W. (1999). The Arcades Project, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 461.

Garapon, A. (2002). Des crimes qu'on ne peut ni punir ni pardonner. Pour une justice internationale. Paris: Odile Jacob, p. 264

Gouri, H. (2004). Facing the Glass Booth: The Jerusalem Trial of Adolf Eichmann. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Hausner, G. (1966). Justice in Jerusalem. New York: Harper and Row, p. 292.

Pinchevski, A., Liebes, T., Herman, O. (2007). "Eichmann on the Air: Radio and the Making of an Historic Trial". In Historical Journal of Film Radio and Television 27 (1), pp. 1–26.

Shandler, J. (1999). While America Watches. Televising the Holocaust, New York/Oxford : Oxford University Press.

Wieviorka, A. (2006). The Era of the Witness, translated by Jared Stark. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

1 Sylvie Lindeperg, Annette Wieviorka, *Univers concentrationnaire et génocide. Voir, savoir, comprendre*. Paris, Fayard/Mille et Une nuits, 2008, chapter 3 and "Les deux scènes du procès Eichmann", in *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, November-December 2008, n°6, pp. 1249–1274, translated into English by Pauline Haas Hammel, in "The Two Stages of the Eichmann Trial", in *Concentrationary Memories. Totalitarian terror and cultural résistance*, London, I. B Tauris, 2014, pp. 59–82.

2 See Wieviorka, A. (1989). *Le Procès Eichmann*. Brussels: Editions Complexe; Yablonka, H. (2004). *The State of Israel vs. Adolf Eichmann*. Translated from Hebrew by O. Cummings with D. Heman. New York: Shocken Books; S. Felman, "Trauma in the Courtroom ", keynote address at the colloquium "Le procès Eichmann: réceptions, médiations, postérité", 7–9 June 2011, INHA, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. Text published in S. Lindeperg and A. Wieviorka (Eds.) (2016). *Le Moment Eichmann*. Paris: Albin Michel, pp. 189–199.

3 Shoshana Felman, "Trauma in the Courtroom".

4 The other function of the shots taken of the audience was to avoid the dramatic breaks that resulted from the non-simultaneous translation. Witnesses had to stop speaking at regular intervals and when they spoke in a foreign language, the time it took to translate their accounts created a pause on the stage, while attention and the strain of listening shifted to the courtroom.

5 Letter from Leo Hurwitz to his wife Jane, 9 May 1961, Hurwitz archives, George Eastman House, Rochester, carton C043.

6 The relation with Lanzmann's *Shoah* and the influence of the Eichmann trial on that film are reflected in the choice of witnesses. Lanzmann used Hausner's "casting" to choose the first circle of his witnesses. Some of them are featured in the film – Simon Shrebnik, Mordechaï Podlebnik and Itzhak Zukermann are examples. Others – like Ada Lichtman and Hansi Brand -- appear in the daily rushes. There were others, including Rivka Yosselevska, that Lanzmann unsuccessfully tried to talk into appearing.

7 In his commitment to "counter propaganda", he also felt authorized to manipulate them in such a manner that he distorted their meaning. See Sylvie Lindeperg, Annette Wieviorka, *Univers concentrationnaire et génocide*, op.cit, p. 111–112.

8 For Felman, the witness is "retraumatized" in the sense whereby "the trial re-enacts the trauma", S. Felman, "Trauma in the Courtroom". See also Felman, S. (2002). *The Juridical Unconscious: Trials and Traumas in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Michael Renov

THE FACIAL CLOSE-UP IN AUDIO-VISUAL TESTIMONY: THE POWER OF EMBODIED MEMORY

The non-indifference of responsibility to the point of substitution for the neighbor is the source of all compassion. (Emmanuel Levinas, *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence* [166])

I am ordered toward the face of the other. (Levinas, *OtBoBE* [11])

Close-ups are film's true terrain … the magnifying glass of the cinematograph brings us closer to the individual cells of life, it allows us to feel the texture and substance of life in its concrete detail … [it] enables us … to see the minute atoms of life … For what you truly love you also know well and you gaze upon its minutest details with fond attentiveness. (Béla Balázs, *Visible Man* [38–39])

In the remarks that follow, I take as my object of examination audio-visual testimony both as free-standing recordings of life stories of Holocaust survivors collected by, among others, the Shoah Foundation, the Fortunoff Archive at Yale University and Yad Vashem, and as testimonial interviews or first-person confessional accounts contained in the documentary film. I am particularly interested in the functions and effects of the facial close-up or medium close-up that is the framing template for a lot of testimonial footage. If the testimonial close-up is my object, the inspiration for this inquiry is to be found in the writings of two notable 20th century Jewish European intellectuals: Béla Balázs and Emmanuel Levinas. The pairing is entirely my own in that these two men lived and wrote, so far as I know, entirely unaware of one another and with few if any shared affiliations or scholarly overlaps. Both pioneered important and influential strands of thought (early film the-

ory in the case of Balázs, ethical philosophy in the case of Levinas). Both were formed amidst powerful intellectual debates going on across Europe before and after World War I: Balázs in dialogue about modernity, culture and revolution with Karl Mannheim, Georg Lukács and Béla Bartók among many others of the central European café society; Levinas studying and in conversation with philosophers Maurice Blanchot, Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger in Germany and France. A generation apart (Balázs born in Hungary in 1884, Levinas in Lithuania in 1906), they shared an appetite or perhaps even an obsession for a deeper understanding of their time and for the broader human condition. They both fought briefly in and were shaped by the experience of two world wars: Balázs in the Hungarian army during World War I, Levinas in the French army during World War II and as a German prisoner of war for nearly five years.

I will return to the ideas of Balázs and Levinas shortly as my intent is to show how these two thinkers can help us better understand the profound impact audio-visual testimonial material can have on its audience. But I want to begin by offering some description of the material in question. It would be a mistake to generalize too broadly in describing the structure or aesthetic conditions of Holocaust testimonies of the Shoah Foundation as well as the Fortunoff and Yad Vashem projects. (It is even less likely that any over-arching assessment can be made of the testimonial trope in the documentary film given its prevalence.)

Nevertheless, with regard to Holocaust testimony institutionally produced and archived, methodologies for eliciting testimony, duration of the material produced and content standards (e.g. formulas for inclusion of overall life events, pre- and post-Holocaust family life, the sharing of artifacts) may vary. But it is generally true that aesthetics are downplayed. In the case of the Shoah Foundation interviews, the cinematographers were instructed to maintain a constant medium close-up or mid-chest frame line and to avoid zooms or re-framings except in unusual circumstances. The same embrace of a zero degree style can be found in most testimonial sequences in documentary filmmaking and this for a good reason.

The films of Errol Morris are a notable exception in that Morris frequently opts for boldly colored backgrounds and occasionally canted angles for his interviews. Yet we know that Morris believes in the power of direct address achieved through the Interetron, a teleprompter-like device of his creation that allows the interview subject to maintain eye contact with Morris while looking directly at the lens. The eye contact between subject and filmmaker is extended to the audience so that we too gaze into the eyes of the subject. The close-up compositions and direct-to-camera eye lines intensify the sense of a face-to-face encounter.

But in general, for testimonial footage, formal elements, not just framing but lighting, mise-én-scene and musical accompaniment, if obtrusive, are thought to distract the eye or ear from the testimonial being related which is often fragile, painful, elliptical. The emphasis is placed on maximum receptivity and open listening which is felt to be at odds with formal or stylistic elements that may seem to take center stage. And yet I want to argue that the close-up – not the even-keeled, pseudo-objective medium shot but rather the facial close-up – is the compositional choice best suited to strengthening the bonds of engagement and compassion that may arise from audio-visual testimony. The prospects for empathy and even spurs to activism in genocide prevention may well be strengthened through the use of the close-up, the cinematographic magnifying glass once extolled by Balázs.

Let me take an example from a very brief excerpt from a Shoah Foundation testimony as a way of delving into this analysis. This interview with Jakab Farkas was conducted in 1997. A survivor of Birkenau and the final forced march as the Soviet Army advanced, Farkas had earlier escaped death by selection by jumping three times from the roof of his barracks – the first two attempts resulted in his recapture and beating. Farkas survived the death of his parents, habitual brutality, desperate hunger and disease, and the destruction of his village, indeed of his whole life. Living in Pennsylvania in 1997 as a hard-working American and family man, he displays an armored implacability that is familiar from Rod Steiger's portrayal of Nazerman, the pawnbroker in the 1964 Lumet film of that name. He speaks of the hardships and depriva-

tions with little outward signs of emotion. But it is in response to questions about his parents that the traumatic memory erupts and finds its embodiment. We learn early on that no photographs of his parents have survived. They are represented *only* in memory. Farkas's reply to the interviewer's gentle query, "Tell me about your mother," stands as testimony not only to his own experience but to the power of the audio-visual to render sensible the experience and memory of those who have suffered beyond measure. "Words cannot describe her," he says as he pauses to wipe away his tears and regain his composure.

Although we see Farkas only in medium close-up, our attention is drawn to his face, his mouth, and to his eyes. The involuntary responses of his body (available to the eye and ear of the spectator) emerge as a rich and multimodal expression of memory and emotion that words alone cannot capture. If we only had a written transcript of the interview available, then the tearful eye and the tremulous voice would be entirely insignificant and escape detection. As Balázs says, the close-up is "the deeper gaze," the "magnifying glass" that provides a window into the mysterious inner workings of the soul. In his book *Visible Man*, published in 1924 and thus one of the earliest and most sophisticated investigations of the still nascent filmic medium, Balázs wrote that the close-up offers access to facial expressions "more 'polyphonic' than language."[1] In his effort to isolate and examine the specific character of the cinema in contradistinction to the already existing arts (which, as a man of culture, Balázs knew well), the Hungarian cultural theorist was not alone. Others, such as the perceptual psychologist and film theorist Rudolf Arnheim in his 1932 volume *Film As Art*, sought to distinguish the defining characteristics of the silent cinema that allowed it to incorporate and even supersede its aesthetic predecessors. This appeal to particularism, the defining characteristics of a given art form, is a recurring tactic for theorizing the various strains of modernism that arose in Europe between the wars.

In his claim that facial expressions are "more 'polyphonic' than language," Balázs resorts to the rhetoric of comparison and supersession (familiar from Ricciotta Canudos 1911 manifesto that claimed that the cinema synthesized

the six arts defined by Hegel – dance, architecture, poetry, sculpture, painting, music – emerging as the seventh and "liveliest" art.) And yet I would argue that the reference to polyphony is more than a thin analogy for Balázs who contrasts literary inscription with the intuited understanding derived from human expression writ large across the screen. It should be recalled that Balázs had more than a passing acquaintance with music, given his experience as the librettist for Béla Bartók's only opera, *Bluebeard* (1918) as well as for Bartók's ballet *The Wooden Prince* (1916).

The succession of words resembles the successive notes of a melody. But a face can display the most varied emotions *simultaneously*, like a chord, and the relationships between these different emotions is what creates the rich amalgam of harmonies and modulations. These are the chords of feeling whose essence is in fact their simultaneity. Such simultaneity cannot be expressed in words. [2]

Balázs here points to a complexity of affect and emotional display that outstrips the capacity of language as a linear signifying system. One might see this pronouncement as little more than a restatement of the platitude that "a picture is worth a thousand words" but it is a far more nuanced claim. Balázs writes at length about scenes from silent films of the day starring his favorites, Asta Nielsen, Lillian Gish and Pola Negri. Shot in close-up, these heroines of the early screen were capable of expressing a depth as well as a multiplicity, and indeed even a simultaneity of emotion that convinced the Hungarian critic of the cinema's unique character. In writing about Gish's performance in D.W. Griffith's *Way Down East*, Balázs suggests that:

We would need many printed pages to describe the storms that pass over this tiny, pale face. Reading them would also take up much time. But the nature of these feelings lies precisely in the crazy rapidity with which they succeed one another. The effect of this play of facial expressions lies *in its ability to replicate the original tempo of her feelings.* That is something that words are incapable of. The description of a feeling always lasts longer than the time taken by the feeling itself. The rhythm of our inner turbulence will inevitably be lost in every literary narrative. [3]

Balázs was convinced that the cinema's truest vocation was in the film's capacity to depict facial expression with great subtlety and in exquisite detail, "isolated from any context that might distract our attention … something that is not possible on the stage." [4]

Take for example the image of Anne Hathaway as the tortured Fantine in *Les Miserables*, a performance for which she has received much fanfare. Indeed, the critical response to Tom Hooper's cinematic adaptation of the much-loved play has often focused on his use of close-ups of actors (in fact, movie stars not normally known for their vocal talents) straining to sing very demanding numbers. In a recent interview, Hooper defended his choice of the close-up:

In "I Dreamed A Dream", there was a close-up of Anne that we used but there were two other cameras shooting from other perspectives. The tight close-ups won out in the cutting room because, over and over again, the emotional intimacy was far more intense than when you go loose. In fact, in the case of "I Dreamed A Dream," for a long time we were using a mid-shot of her at the beginning of the scene followed by a very slow track and maybe in the last quarter of the scene it was a medium close-up … Eddie Redmayne … said to me: "Why aren't you using that close-up that you're using in that teaser trailer?" He was talking about the way you see all the muscles in Anne's neck work as she sings and the raw power of that, and I thought, *God, that's interesting.* So, it was actually Eddie's suggestion to re-examine that scene, and the moment we put that close-up in, the film played in a completely different way. The level of emotion went up about a hundred percent. [5]

Elsewhere Hooper talks about *Les Miserables* audiences standing and applauding at the film's conclusion in a manner rarely seen in movie theaters. (A bit of this occurred among the usually jaded audience at the Hollywood Arclight Theater the night I saw the film.) The filmic version of the play – in part via the use of close-ups – leverages some of the live performance's rawness while offering greater access to the physicality of performance than what is possible on the stage. Hooper's language choices from the interview

echo Balázs's description of the close-up ninety years before – tight vs. loose, raw power, emotional intimacy – that may be leveraged to produce a greater audience impact.

Let us transpose these notions of "inner turbulence" and emotional intimacy to the terrain of Holocaust testimony. For Balázs had in mind the dramatic performances of silent cinema goddesses, not survivors of trauma. And yet the language of simultaneous, conflicting, "fugitive" emotion is well-suited to an analysis of survivor testimony. Here too gesture or embodiment – especially facial expression – displays a capacity to convey memory, suffering and trauma outside of and beyond language. In a second book, *The Spirit of Film* (1930), Balázs wrote in detail about what he called "microphysiognomy" – the domain of brow, eye, chin, flared nostril – and the emotive potential the close-up can unleash. "In directing its aim in close-up at those minute surfaces of the face that we ourselves do not control, the camera can photograph the unconscious."|6 Photographing the unconscious may offer access to the otherwise inaccessible, that which lies beneath consciousness and evades language. This is far from Freud's talking cure; in fact it is no cure at all. But I would also want to argue that the close-up can offer something more than the mere spectacle of suffering. It can afford "proximity" to the other, a visceral and enduring (if archived) vehicle for understanding and ethical encounter.

Moreover, according to Balázs, the close-up can take us out of the time/space continuum and into another register of experience. "For the close-up does not just isolate its object … it raises it out of space altogether. No longer bound by space, the image is also not bound by time. In this psychological dimension of the close-up, the image becomes concept and can be transformed like thought itself."|7 Here Balázs is thinking of the way that the close-up plucks the object out of its spatial surroundings, intensifying our perception of the dramatic proceedings. The same can be said for the close-up's relation to temporal continuity: in arresting our attention, the object is temporarily removed from the linearity of time's passage, at least on a psychological level. This was especially so in the silent cinema in which the close-up could

produce a kind of tableau vivant (a frozen moment), rendering visible an excess of emotion that existed beyond the flow of narrative.

Photographing the unconscious, providing the deeper gaze, accessing the human soul, arresting continuities of time and space: herein lie the special possibilities the close-up may provide for the audience of survivor testimony. Without question, we long for language as well, to absorb the narratives, to hear the concrete details of the eye witness, in short to know something about the content of experience. But the embodiment of experience, the gestural repertoire and microphysiognomy of the survivor – these are best represented via the visual register with the close-up emerging as a device particularly well suited to producing a visceral understanding and possibly engagement for audiences. The close-up should not be considered as a replacement for language (indeed the close-up is often of one speaking so that the saying and said are intertwined) but rather as its vital supplement. Too frequently its possibilities have been ignored.

But I have yet to speak of the Levinasian order. Why invoke the name of the great ethicist and Holocaust survivor? Emerging from the ranks of phenomenology, Levinas sought to revise existing notions of ontology ("being") that privileged (as in the cogito) the sovereign order of the self as originary, the bedrock of Western thought from which all else followed. In a series of books and essays, Levinas mounted an argument for the primacy of being's *other* and in so doing focused on the "otherwise than being." According to this view, the primacy of the self is overturned by a primordial responsibility for the other that is said to predate being and indeed be its very precondition. Subjectivity is said to have an antecedent structure which is a relationship with the good, which is over and beyond being.|8 Ethics replaces ontology as the first philosophy. According to this view, self and other are inextricably bound up in one another. The subject is figured as a kind of existential Moebius strip: "Its bending back upon itself is a turning inside out. Its being 'turned to another' is this being turned inside out. A concave without a convex."|9 The responsibility one bears for the other is unlimited and "comes from the hither side of my freedom, from a 'prior to every memory' … prior to or be-

yond essence."[10] Reductively stated, justice (responsibility to the other) trumps freedom (the majestic primacy of the self). Indeed, the "for another" of which Levinas writes is understood to be an act of substitution (you for me/me for you) that founds all of signification, the process through which one thing comes to stand for another. We are, says Levinas, a *hostage* to the other and are, through our obligation, commanded and ordained to approach the other, to make him our neighbor. His philosophical writing approaches the condition of poetry: "… [Regarding] responsibility … I am obliged without this obligation having begun in me, as though an order slipped into my consciousness like a thief, smuggled itself in."[11] This responsibility, the source of goodness and thus of Levinasian ethics, is "incumbent on me without any escape possible."[12]

Levinas thus writes of the necessary "exposure to outrage, to wounding," a vulnerability beyond protection, an involuntary election, an offering of oneself even in the "uncoveredness of suffering,"[13] an "exposure to traumas,"[14] a "denuding beyond the skin, to the wounds one dies from, denuding to death,"[15] the duty to satisfy "an unpayable debt."[16] An important notion for Levinas is "proximity," a "distance diminished"[17] by which he means the necessity for a nakedness, an exposure that arises from a face-to-face with the other. In that face-to-face, the "*toward another* culminates in a *for another*."[18]

I would propose that the Balazsian close-up is the cinematic figure that best effectuates the proximity and exposure to wounding, the demand to answer the call to become the one-penetrated-by-the-other[19] in Levinasian terms. As we consider the ethical necessity of opening ourselves up to audio-visual testimonies, the close-up may well be our best means for engaging with what Levinas has called "the supreme concreteness of the face of the other man."[20]

I want to conclude by talking about a documentary film called *Rebirth* produced by Jim Whitaker in 2011 that follows the recovery of five survivors of the 9/11 tragedy in New York. Shot over an eight-year period, the film sets out to document the uneven, incomplete, sometimes reversible process of hu-

man healing even as it documents through time lapse photography the physical reconstruction at Ground Zero. In one remarkable sequence near the end of the film, a young man, Nicholas Chirls, speaks of his mother, a Cantor Fitzgerald employee who had worked on the 103rd floor of one of the Twin Towers and had perished that September day. Now a young adult, Chirls is filmed in facial close-up against a black backdrop. The close-up is our entrée into this young survivor's experience, his unique, concretely imaged suffering. As imaged, Chirls conveys a sense of irreparable loss in a manner that exceeds what words alone can express and is thus exemplary of the emotional and ethical force of the close-up.

Chirls recounts a dream in which he is reunited with his mother and embraces her, burying his face in her hair. In the course of this telling, Whitaker cuts away to home movie footage of Chirls as a young boy with his mother, both in a celebratory mood, in one another's arms, as if to reinforce the deeply physical ties that had once bound them. In another adjacent and strategic cutaway during the course of the dream's recountal, we are shown Chirls some years later, post-9/11, walking across a college campus, alone and isolated, motherless. The return to the facial close-up of the suffering subject and the recitation of the dream also bring a return of the present time of the shooting. The sequence is a swirl of time images. Now, in the present tense of the telling, the subject's face in close-up, contrasted against black, is uncannily illumined, Chirls' blue eyes the target of our attention. An eye light (a small light strategically focused directly on the actor's eye) of the sort used in Hollywood's classic era to intensify our gaze, draw attention to the glisten of a tear or signal a scene's heightened emotion can be seen reflected in the subject's iris. Documentary films rarely choose (or can afford to) deploy this element of Hollywood mise-en-scene. But filmmaker Whitaker is also the producer of such big budget films as *American Gangster* (2007) and *Cinderella Man* (2005). Nicholas Chirls' recounting of a dreamed reunion with his mother is rich with sensory cues. The smell of the mother's hair is the olfactory equivalent of Proust's madeleine, a memory reflex that allows the past to erupt in the present. But it is the facial close-up that carries the weight of this scene of remem-

brance and, perhaps, recovery. The close-up becomes a figure of heightened engagement and of the reinforcement of diverse strands of empathy that link us to five 9/11 survivors across the 105 minutes of the film's duration. Whitaker opts for the facial close-up in this sequence as well as throughout the film for reasons that I hope have become clear through my elaborations. In this excerpt and throughout the film, we are asked to bear witness to much more than words can say, to the expression of grief and emotion – polyphonic, turbulent, exposing us to a vulnerability beyond protection, to the wounds one dies from.

1 Balázs, B. (2010). *Béla Balázs: Early Film Theory,* trans. Rodney Livingston, ed. Erica Carter. New York: Berghan Books, pp. 41, 34.

2 Balázs, 34.

3 Balázs, 35.

4 Balázs, 37.

5 Digiacomo, F. (2012). "Tom Hooper Defends His Les Miserables Close-Ups & Reveals Who's the Bigger Musical Geek: Jackman or Hathaway," *Movieline,* December 25, 2012, http://movieline.com/2012/12/25/tom-hooper-interview-les-miserables-defends-close-ups/, accessed January 21, 2013.

6 Balázs, 103.

7 Balázs, 134.

8 Lingis, A. (1981). "Translator's Introduction, *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence,* trans. Alphonso Lingis.The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, xii.

9 Levinas, 49.

10 Levinas, 10.

11 Levinas, 13.

12 Ibid.

13 Levinas, 15.

14 Levinas, 48.

15 Levinas, 49.

16 Levinas, 52.

17 Levinas, 16.

18 Levinas, 18.

19 Levinas, 49.

20 Levinas, 59.

Sylvie Rollet

EMBODIED ARCHIVES: THE TORTURERS' TESTIMONY IN RITHY PANH'S S-21

Rithy Panh's documentary films, almost entirely[1] focused on the aftermath of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia (during which time he saw all of the members of his family die of starvation or exhaustion, one after another), seem unavoidable in the context of a reflection on the preservation of the survivors' memories in video testimonies. However, his approach in *S-21: The Khmer Rouge Death Machine* (released in 2003) distances itself radically from the normal documentary practices, which are mainly based on the victims' testimonies, by letting the executioners speak in his film.

A triple shift

The film affects a first shift due to the specificity of the Cambodian Genocide[2]. Unlike the Holocaust, social 'cleansing' planned by the Khmer Rouge was not intended to "destroy an ethnic, racial or religious group" as such, but to establish a line of demarcation *within* Cambodian society, between the peasants, supposed to be the personification of the original purity of the 'Khmer race', and the other corrupt elements (intellectuals, storekeepers and city-dwellers in general). The deportations and executions of 'class enemies' were quickly followed by a long series of purges intended to fight the 'internal enemy' who had supposedly slipped into the executive ranks of the regime. Fourteen thousand such internal enemies were detained, tortured and executed in 'S21'[3], which is the code name of the detention center in Phnom Penh that was operated by Comrade Duch (who was convicted and sentenced in the first trial of the Khmer Rouge leaders which began in 2009 in Phnom Penh[4]). Of course, the Khmer Rouge kept the place of detention secret throughout the entire time it was in operation[5]. But, because they wanted to 'prove' their victims' guilt, they accumulated thousands of "confessions"

from the detainees, as well as photographs of arriving prisoners. Therefore, it is not the lack of archives which justifies Rithy Panh's undertaking, but the opposite: because the Khmer Rouge wanted to change the memory of their victims, the first aim of the film is to reconstruct a counter-memory of the genocidal events that took place. That is why – and this is the second shift the film effects – it seems necessary for the filmmaker to reverse the gaze and focus on the perpetrators instead.

This reversal must be understood in all of its implications. Victims become 'something other than men' in the executioners' eyes. So, that what remains today of that gaze must be made manifest through the words, gestures, and reactions of former Khmer Rouges. But this gaze must itself be reversed in order to make evident that not just the victim was dehumanized, but the torturer as well. However, this 'discovery' cannot be made without the agreement and the participation of those who were made into the instruments of the death machine (and this is what is radically different in *S21* when compared to Claude Lanzmann's film, *Shoah*).

A chance meeting on the set of *Bophana, a Cambodian Tragedy* inspired the filmic device used in *S21*: Vann Nath, a painter and survivor, suddenly finds himself in the presence of one of his torturers, Him Houy. He went to the former guard and, according to Rithy Panh, "took him by the shoulders and brought him to look at his paintings. He led him from one canvas to another asking if the atrocities depicted in the paintings honestly reflected what prisoners had endured". (Panh 2003) If the initiative indeed comes from the filmmaker, the shooting of the film was made possible because the survivor himself wished to question his executioners. More than a key witness, Vann Nath is the alter ego of the filmmaker, who is neither filmed nor recorded. Both want to 'understand' the process of dehumanization – in other words, the transition from humanity to inhumanity – that affects the executioners as much as the victims.

The filmic device is linked to this position. The surviving detainees, executioners and prison staff are not only gathered in one place, they are also filmed in a single camera movement (rather than a shot-reverse-shot which

would put the two groups opposite of each other),and there is no voice-over commentary. In this way, the film not only affirms their common membership in the human race, but reveals the fact that the inhuman camp machine was accepted and implemented by men.

The filmic device also involves a third shift. It is not only a question of reconstructing and archiving another memory of the genocide, but also of rebuilding, here and now, the social link that was destroyed by the amnesia that covers this period. In fact, in the words of Rithy Panh, there is a close link "between lack of remembrance and the contradictions that Cambodian society is faced with today: violence, impunity and fear". (Panh 2004)

The question confronting the filmmaker is twofold. What could have turned those small farmers and young Buddhist soldiers (for whom compassion is a cardinal virtue) into merciless instruments of the killing machine? And, how were they able to forget this 'act' immediately after the collapse of the regime, as if nothing had happened? The film's premise is that there can be no sustainable reconstruction of a social link unless the executioners themselves recover not only their memory but also the compassion that the Khmer Rouge machine took from them. However, as Rithy Panh reminds us, including perpetrator and victim within the scope of a common humanity does not confuse them, or make them interchangeable[16]. Giving the executioners back their humanity is to give them their free will, that is, to confront them with the choices they could have made but did not make. It is also a way of restoring their uniqueness and therefore of going against the anonymity which they willingly hid behind, trying to pass off as 'performers', caught in the cogs of a huge machine.

With regard to this project, it is necessary to question what the presence of the camera actually does: which is to create a gap between the memory of the witnesses and the filmic images and recorded sounds.

Witness' memory and filmic memory

Regarding the reconstruction of memory, the collection of the guards' testimony is the centerpiece of the filmic device. However, as we know, the tem-

porality of testimony cannot be that of memories – that is, of 'storytelling'. In fact, to be told a story requires a narrator or, in other words, a 'subject' who is capable of analyzing the situation at the time he is living through it. Now, on the contrary, the executioner can only be a torturer on the condition that he gives up that which makes him a man: thought. In this sense, the executioner properly becomes a 'witness' only when his speech, for himself as well as for us, makes him, at the present time, the author of a story. It is now, in the scene offered by the film, in the presence of the camera, in *our* presence, that testimony about the event and 'subject-witness' are (inseparably) constructed together.

But if the witness cannot 'remember', how can his amnesia be ended (an amnesia that is part of the process of dehumanization)? The challenge of the film is to initiate the process of remembering. For this, three conditions must be met: a confrontation with the written and photographic archives, of course, but also a return to the places where the killing occurred, and even, the mimicking of gestures of the past. Indeed, Rithy Panh presumes that the repetition of a situation (that was undergone more than it was experienced) will provoke a 'flashback'. His hope is that a new speech will come out of the witness' (newfound) emotion.

This is why it's necessary to examine the sequence where Prak Khân, describes how, as a member of the interrogation group, he was in charge of the torturing. It is to be noted that the torturer, who had hitherto disguised his role, recognizes it when faced with the archival document that accuses him of being said torturer. In this scene, where he is ordered by the filmmaker to read the Khmer Rouge's instructions out loud, Prak Khân reads the document in a loud voice, articulating instructions like a soldier under orders, his finger following the sentences line by line. His face, focused on reading, shows no emotion. Above all, his diction, jerky and monotonous like a robot, gives the impression that he has not yet become a 'subject' assuming what he says. Somehow, something like an 'embodied archive' of dehumanization appears in his speech. To put it more exactly, his 'testimony' makes perceptible both his imminent return to humanity *and* his existing inhumanity. What

we see emerging here is what I would call a 'memory without a subject'. I want to now focus on the moment when he describes his former internal partition: "When I raised my hand, my heart did not stop my hand or my foot from hitting", he says. Right then he joins the gesture to the speech. Locating in his body the different instances of human will, the former torturer then makes the operation of the totalitarian machine visible: by eliminating the reflexive distance, it reduces men to mere corporeal machines of obedience. This 'embodied memory' is what the cinema allows us to explore; as Rithy Panh puts it: "There are several degrees of memory […] and a memory that can really be explored in a film is the body's memory, the memory of gestures." "How do bodies remember?", wonders the filmmaker and then adds: "it's the former Khmer Rouge who showed me the way: Poev tried to explain to me in his village what his job in the prison 'S21' was and he could not form sentences to say it. Every time a gesture came which extended the sentences|7." By making Poev repeat his actions, Rithy Panh hoped to circumvent the difficulty of describing his former role in the prison. The restaging was therefore supposed to give him a representative distance. But what happens in the presence of the camera is quite different. The purely descriptive commentary of his actions gradually gives way to insults and threats he *once* made to inmates, but that he addresses *today* to empty cells. One has the feeling that the repetition guarantees neither distance nor mastery of the past. It is, on the contrary, the past itself which again takes possession of his body and speech.

More exactly, the silent presence of the camera seems to reestablish his relationship with *Angkar*, the invisible 'organization' who spied on everyone at all times. One has the impression that in the camera's gaze, he returns to his former obedient self, but remains unable to introduce the distance required to historicize his past experience. In other words, his past dehumanization becomes visible as an involuntary recollection, that of a 'body archive', which retains a reproducible imprint of obedience.

Both sequences staging Prak Khân's and Peuv's testimonies are enlightening because they allow us to see the radical gap between the memory of the ex-

ecutioners and that of Vann Nath, the surviving painter. Since the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, he put his talent as a painter in the service of preserving the memories of the atrocities committed at 'S21'. His painting allows him to produce a representation of the past – both *for himself and for us*. On the contrary, the image of the dehumanization of the guards exists *only for us*. It is in this gap that something of the ever-present genocidal fracture can appear.

One of the best indicators of this gap is the impossible exchange of gazes between the painter and the guards. Indeed, the guards keep their eyes obstinately lowered. It is as if they could not separate themselves from the place that was once theirs, when they were subjected *to* the gaze of power, but never the subjects *of* the gaze *on the* power. The filmic device shows its limit here as well as its paradoxical effect. If the guards cannot meet the gaze of Vann Nath, it is because the painter's age gives him authority over the younger 'S21' employees. In other words, the restoration of the traditional order allows Vann Nath to take the place of the former Khmer Rouge! Today, as in the past, the guards cannot be the subjects but only the objects of the gaze.

This leads us to a paradoxical situation: in seeking to access the 'past-present' memory of the genocide through the body archive of the executioners, the filmic device, while reversing the conditions of the former fracture, renews part of its effects.

REFERENCES

Panh, R. avec Chomeau, C. (2003). La Machine khmère rouge. Paris: Flammarion, pp. 48–49.

Panh, R. (2004). Je suis un arpenteur de mémoires. Cahiers du cinéma, N° 587, p. 16.

1 Put into alphabetical order: *Site 2* (1989), *Cambodia: Between War and Peace* (1991), *Bophana : A Cambodian Tragedy* (1996), *S-21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (2003), *Duch, Master of the Forges of Hell* (2011), *The Missing Picture* (2013).

2 2 million people – that's 20% of the population – died of exhaustion, hunger or were executed between 1974 and 1979.

3 Only seven detainees (two of which appear in Rithy Panh's film) survived. When KAING Guek Eav's (also known as 'Duch') trial began in February 2009, some 30 years af-

ter the end of the Khmer Rouge's regime, only three of them were still alive and were called to testify.

4 See the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia's official website: http://www.eccc.gov.kh/en

5 Apart from the leaders of the Communist Party, only the guards and torturers who worked at S21 knew of its existence and they were not allowed to associate with the general population. See Chandler, D. P. (2007). *S21 ou le crime impuni des Khmers rouges*. Paris: Autrement.

6 The filmmaker writes, "the torturers' and victims' process of memory cannot be situated at the same level" (Panh, *La Machine khmère rouge*, p. 232). However, he says that there "comes a moment when victim and executioner need each other in order to continue the process of memory" ("La Parole filmée. Pour vaincre la terreur", *Communications*, N° 71, 2001, p. 383).

7 Rithy Panh, communication to the symposium "Medusa: or how to show what we could not see", François Niney dir., CRAC of Valence, December 2004.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

Nicolas Apostolopoulos, who was born in Athens, Greece, is the founder and managing director of the Center for Digital Systems (CeDiS), the Competence Center for e-learning, e-research and multimedia at the Freie Universität Berlin. He has initiated and conducted many national and international research projects focused on e-learning, multimedia repositories and collaborative learning environments, all supported by third party grants and funding. "Networks of integrated e-learning environments", "didactic aspects of multimedia teaching and learning systems", and "problem oriented e-learning" represent the core areas of Apostolopoulos' work in research and teaching. He is Honorary Professor of Media-based Didactics at the Department of Education of the Freie Universität Berlin. Apostolopoulos is a member of the Expert Group of the German Commission for Unesco.

Sigal Arie-Erez studied Humanities and International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Afterwards she received a Beth Joles research scholarship in Amsterdam, Netherlands. Since 1999 she has been working in Yad Vashem's Archives Division, at first as Director of the Yad Vashem Pages of Testimony Digitization Project. In the following years she became inter alia a specialist on documentation from the Netherlands and Belgium. Since 2007 she has been Director of the Registration Department at the Archives Division of Yad Vashem.

Suzanne Bardgett joined the IWM straight from Durham University, where she had studied Modern History, and worked on various exhibitions, publications and education projects before joining the IWM's Directing Staff in 1983. She was founder/editor of the Imperial War Museum Review, the Museum's annual journal of articles about the collections which ran from 1986 until 1996. From 1995 to 2000 she led the team that created the Holocaust Exhibition. She subsequently directed the exhibition "Crimes against Human-

ity: An Exploration of Genocide and Ethnic Violence" and from 2004 to 2007 facilitated a Bosnian team's creation of the Srebrenica Memorial Room at Potocari in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since 2008 she has been leading a program to reinvigorate research at the Imperial War Museum. She has published numerous articles and edited two books: *Belsen 1945: New Historical Perspectives* (2006), and *Survivors of Nazi Persecution in Europe after the Second World War: Landscapes after Battle – Volumes 1 and 2* (2010).

Michele Barricelli is professor of the Didactics of History and Public History at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. He teaches and publishes on models as well as competencies of history learning, empirical research into teaching and learning, the narrativity of history, contemporary history in the classroom (National Socialism, German Democratic Republic), and intercultural history learning. He also conducts research on work with eyewitnesses and video interviews as well as exploring didactic issues in connection with Oral History and history teaching. He is the author of a wide variety of publications and essays, including *Schüler erzählen Geschichte. Narrative Kompetenz im Geschichtsunterricht* (2005).

Douglas A. Boyd serves as the director of the Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History at the University of Kentucky Libraries. Boyd managed the IMLS grant project Oral History in the Digital Age, establishing current best practices for collecting, curating and disseminating oral histories. He led the team that envisioned, designed and implemented the open source OHMS system (Oral History Metadata Synchronizer), which connects textual searches to correlating moments in the audio or video files online. Previously, he established and administered Digital Programs for the University of Alabama Libraries, served as the Director of the Kentucky Oral History Commission, and prior to that worked as the Senior Archivist for the oral history collection at the Kentucky Historical Society. Doug Boyd received his PhD. and M.A. degrees in Folklore from Indiana University and his B.A. degree in History from Denison University in Granville, Ohio. His recent publications include *Achieving the*

Promise of Oral History in a Digital Age, and a chapter in *The Oxford Handbook to Oral History* (2011), and he is the author of the award-winning book *Crawfish Bottom: Recovering a Lost Kentucky Community* (2011).

Werner Dreier is the founding director of _erinnern.at_, an institution for teacher training and the development of learning material on behalf of the Austrian Ministry of Education. He is a member of the education working group of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research. He has published a wide range of articles in the field of historical-political education on National Socialism, the Holocaust and anti-Semitism.

Franciska de Jong has been a full professor of Language Technology at the University of Twente since 1992. She is also affiliated to the Erasmus University in Rotterdam, where she is the director of the Erasmus Studio. She studied Dutch Language and Literature at the University of Utrecht, did a PhD in Theoretical Linguistics, and in 1985 started to work on language technology at Philips Research, where she focused on machine translation. Currently her main research interest is in the field of multimedia indexing, text mining, semantic access, cross-language retrieval and the disclosure of cultural heritage collections (in particular, spoken audio archives), and she coordinates a research program in this area within the Human Media Interaction group. She is frequently involved in international program committees, expert groups and review panels, and has initiated a number of EU projects. Since 2008 she has been a member of the governing board of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann is a lecturer for Film and German Studies at the Department of Communication and Journalism and the DAAD Center for German Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He received his doctorate from the Freie Universität Berlin and was senior researcher at the Film University Konrad Wolf Babelsberg and a postdoctoral fellow in the program "Media of History – History of Media" at the Bauhaus University Weimar and at the International Institute of Holocaust Research Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. He is author of a German-language monograph on cinematic narration of the Holocaust (Bielefeld 2011) and recently co-edited "Docudrama on European Television: a Selective Survey" (London 2016).

Nadine Fink is a lecturer and research fellow at the University of Teacher Education Lausanne (History and Citizenship Education). She is the co-editor of *Didactica Historica. Swiss Journal for History Teaching* and a member of the board of the International Research Association for History and Social Sciences Education (IRAHSSE). The main focus of her research is on teaching and learning practices in history, relations between memory, history and identity, as well as oral history. A recent publication is *Paroles de témoins, paroles d'élèves. La mémoire et l'histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, de l'espace public au monde scolaire*. Berne: Peter Lang, 2014.

Régine-Mihal Friedman has taught in the Department of Cinema and Television at Tel-Aviv University. She has written extensively on the testimonial films of the second and third generation of the Shoah, on Israeli cinema, on art in film, on the representation of women and of the Jew on the screen. Her PhD. thesis on the image of the Jew in Nazi cinema, published as *L'Image et son Juif* (1984), is still considered as a central reference work within the academic community.

Paul Frosh teaches in the Department of Communication and Journalism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His research spans visual culture, media aesthetics, cultural production, media witnessing, and moral concern. His books include *The Image Factory: Consumer Culture, Photography and the Visual Content Industry* (2003); *Meeting the Enemy in the Living Room: Terrorism and Communication in the Contemporary Era* (2006, in Hebrew, edited with Tamar Liebes); *Media Witnessing: Testimony in the Age of Mass Communication* (2009, 2nd edition 2011, edited with Amit Pinchevski); and *Democracy and Commu-*

nication: Mutual Perspectives (2009, in Hebrew, edited with Anat First). He is currently engaged in a large-scale investigation of iconic photographs and Israeli collective memory. In addition, he writes about selfies, tagging and other aspects of digital photography.

Diana Gring works as a curator at the Bergen-Belsen Memorial with special responsibility for audio-visual media, witness testimony and oral history. She was prominently involved in developing the media concept and producing the audio-visual testimonies as well as video points for the new permanent exhibition (opened in 2007) at the Bergen-Belsen Memorial. She studied History and Political Science and worked as a historian, director of documentary films and visiting lecturer. She also had an additional training in psychotraumatology. Currently she is working on a publication and a special exhibition about children in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

Geoffrey Hartman was Sterling Professor of English and Comparative Literature emeritus, faculty advisor and a founder of the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University. He has been a visiting professor at Bar Ilan, Dartmouth, Princeton, Cornell, Potsdam, Bologna, Konstanz, and the Hebrew University among others. He has received honorary doctorates from Queens College, the Hebrew Union College, and the University of Konstanz. His many books include *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*, *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory*, *The Unremarkable Wordsworth,* and *The Eighth Day*, as well as being a finalist for the 2014 National Jewish Book Prize in poetry. Professor Hartman died in March, 2016.

Gertrud Koch teaches Cinema Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin. She was visiting professor and scholar at Columbia University, NYU, Washington University, at UIC, UPenn, the Getty Research Center in Los Angeles, the Sorbonne III in Paris, and many others. Her many books and articles deal with aesthetic theory, feminist film theory, as well as questions of historical representation. She has written books on Herbert Marcuse and Siegfried Kra-

cauer, the latter published in English in 2005 by Princeton UP, on feminist film theory and on the representation of Jewish history. She has edited volumes on Holocaust representation, perception and interaction, as well as on art and film theory. She is the co-editor and board member of numerous German and international journals, such as *Babylon, Frauen und Film, October, Constellations,* and *Philosophy & Social Criticism*. She is currently working on a book about the aesthetics of illusion in film and the other arts.

Judith Keilbach is assistant professor of Television Studies in the Media and Culture Studies Department of Utrecht University with a PhD. in Film Studies from the Freie Universität Berlin. Her research focuses include the transformation of television, television history and theory, the relation of media technology and historiography, archives, as well as media events. Her book on *Geschichtsbilder und Zeitzeugen* (Historical Images and Witness) analyzes how German television documentaries represent the National Socialist past. Her current research project focuses on transnational media events with the Eichmann trial as one case study.

Bea Lewkowicz is a social anthropologist and oral historian. After having studied in Cologne and Cambridge, she received her PhD. from the London School of Economics. Her thesis on the Jewish Community of Salonika was published in 2006 as *The Jewish Community of Salonika. History. Memory. Identity*. She has co-directed the AJR Refugee Voices Audio-Visual Testimony Archive and is currently the director of Sephardi Voices UK. She has directed and produced many testimony-based films for projects and exhibitions, among them Refugee Experiences, on permanent display in the re-opened history gallery of the Jewish Museum London. In 2011 she curated the photographic/video exhibition *Double Exposure: Jewish Refugees from Austria in Britain,* which was shown in London and Vienna.

Sylvie Lindeperg is a historian and a member of the Institut Universitaire de France. She is professor at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne where

she runs the CERHEC (Center for Studies and Research in History and Aesthetics of Cinema). She is the author of several books, including: *Les Ecrans de l'ombre*; *Clio de 5 à 7*; *Univers concentrationnaire et génocide* (with Annette Wieviorka); *D'Arusha à Arusha* (with Thierry Cruvellier and Christophe Gargot); *La Voie des images*; *Nuit et Brouillard. Un film dans l'histoire* published in English, Spanish and German (as *Nacht und Nebel. Ein Film in der Geschichte)*. Last book published: *Le Moment Eichmann* with Annette Wieviorka. She is the author of Jean-Louis Comolli's film *Face aux fantômes* and Ginette Lavigne's *Traces filmées de la Résistance*.

Freddy Mutanguha is head of country for Aegis in Rwanda and director of the Kigali Genocide Memorial (for which Aegis is responsible). He survived the 1994 genocide as a teenager. As an orphan head of household, he worked his way through school to become one of the leading advocates for peace and human rights education, inspiring the next generation of Rwandans to create a more stable future. A graduate of the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology, he helped to found AERG, Rwanda's student survivors association, and went on to become Secretary General of IBUKA, the national umbrella association for Rwandan genocide survivors. Freddy Mutanguha lectures internationally about the impact of the genocide and about post-conflict reconstruction.

Katharina Obens graduated in Psychology at the Freie Universität Berlin. She has teaching and work experience in research on historical understanding as well as the evaluation of educational achievement, in education with video testimonies of Nazi survivors, and in social psychological research on the impacts of the Holocaust, as well as in psychoanalysis, empirical social research, and Holocaust trauma. She is doing her PhD. at the Department of Psychology of the Universität Bayreuth; her research topic is "Reception of Holocaust-Survivors' Narratives in German Education" with Prof. Carlos Kölbl. Recently she has been working on an evaluation of museum education programs at the Jewish Museum Berlin, and also as a freelance consultant at

the Center for Digital Systems (CeDiS) at the Freie Universität Berlin, as well as on behalf of the Topography of Terror Documentation Center, on the design and implementation of educational programs with video testimonies, entitled "Stimmen der Opfer am Ort der Täter". Currently she is working for LERNKULTUR – The Institute for Educational Research and Evaluation in museums such as the Naturkundemuseum Berlin and the "Museum des Ortes" (Stiftung Humboldt-Forum im Berliner Schloss). Her latest publication is „Täterinnenbilder: Geschlecht und Emotion in der Rezeption von Zeitzeug_innen-Erzählungen durch Schüler_innen", in: Andreas Hechler/ Olaf Stuve (Eds.): *Geschlechterreflektiert gegen Rechts bilden!* (2015).

Michael Renov is professor of Critical Studies and vice dean for Academic Affairs at the School of Cinematic Arts at the University of Southern California. In 1993, Renov co-founded Visible Evidence, a series of international and highly interdisciplinary documentary studies conferences that have, to date, been held on four continents. He is one of three general editors for the Visible Evidence book series at the University of Minnesota Press. In 2005, he co-programmed the 51st annual Robert Flaherty Seminar, a week-long gathering of documentary filmmakers, curators and educators, creating 20 screening programs and filmmaker dialogues on the theme of "Cinema and History". He has taught graduate seminars at the University of Stockholm and Tel Aviv University and has led documentary workshops in Jordan for the Royal Film Commission and in Cyprus. Renov's teaching and research interests include documentary theory, autobiography in film and video, video art and activism as well as representations of the Holocaust. He has recently published the following books and articles: *Cinema's Alchemist: The Films of Peter Forgacs*, with Bill Nichols (2011) and the *Handbook on Film Studies*, with James Donald (2008).

Sylvie Rollet is professor in film studies at the University of Poitiers (she previously taught at the Sorbonne Nouvelle University). She is jointly responsible for "Theaters of Memory", an inter-university (Paris 3/Paris 1/Paris 8)

research program on the relationship between moving images and memory. Her research focuses on the relationship between cinema and the memory of collective catastrophes of the twentieth century. She is the author of *Une éthique du regard: Le cinéma face à la Catastrophe, d'Alain Resnais à Rithy Panh* (2011) and *"Voyage à Cythère": La poétique de la mémoire d'Angelopoulos* (2003). She has also edited four collections of essays: *Béla Tarr: De la colère au tourment* (2016), *Paysages et Mémoire: Cinéma, photographie, dispositifs* (2014), *Théâtres de la mémoire, mouvement des images* (2010) and *Angelopoulos au fil du temps* (2007).

Günter Saathoff was put in charge of the overall responsibility for cooperation with partner organizations and the payments programs for slave and forced workers under the National Socialist Regime of the Foundation EVZ in 2000 before being appointed to the board of directors. Mr. Saathoff has been Co-Director of the Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future" ("Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft", EVZ) since October 2003. Since the conclusion of the payments programs in 2007, he has been primarily responsible for the foundation's international funding programs in the following fields: coming to terms with National Socialist injustice, the culture of remembrance, Jewish life in Germany, and the international schools and youth encounter programs.

Stef Scagliola is a senior researcher at the Erasmus School for History, Culture and Communication and at the Erasmus Studio for e-research, both based in Rotterdam, Netherlands. She is specialized on military cultures, oral history related to experiences of war and the e-humanities. She has published on the way Dutch society has coped with the decolonization war with Indonesia (1945–49) and with more recent international peace operations. From 2007 to 2011 she was the curator of a large-scale oral history archive with life stories of various generations of Dutch veterans. These sources are enriched with extensive meta-data and were used for several innovative digital applications, such as an enhanced publication and an annotation tool with speech retrieval. She is currently responsible for the multidisciplinary research agenda of the video-oral history project Balkan Voices (www.balkanvoices.org) with testimonies on war and detention in various regions of former Yugoslavia. With the support of the Hague Institute of Global Justice, a pilot study on restorative justice is being conducted on the basis of a subset of this collection.

Edward Serotta is a European-based American journalist who began working on Jewish themes in Central and Eastern Europe in 1985. Over the next fifteen years he published three books on Jewish life – *Survival in Sarajevo* (1994); *Jews, Germany, Memory* (1996) and *Out of the Shadows* (1991). During these years, he produced four documentary films for ABC News Nightline. During the Bosnian war he filed as a freelancer for Time Magazine, Die Zeit and Süddeutsche Zeitung Magazine. His photographs are now in the permanent collections of several important museums in the United States and Israel. In 2000, Edward Serotta founded Centropa, a Jewish historical institute that uses new technologies to preserve Jewish memory in Central and Eastern Europe. Centropa was founded in Budapest and in partnership with Dora Sardi and Eszter Andor, two young Jewish historians who wanted to preserve their grandparents' stories and old pictures for their children. Centropa is headquartered in Vienna, with offices in Washington and Budapest. With a digitized archive of more than 1,200 family stories and 22,000 photographs, Centropa is working with more than 300 schools in 15 countries, as well as conducting international summer programs for up to 75 teachers. Edward Serotta continues to contribute to various books and periodicals, such as *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*.