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On Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency

Suzana Milevska (Ed.)

Sternberg Press

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Publication Series of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna
Eva Blimlinger, Andrea B. Braidt, Karin Riegler (Series Eds.)
Volume 16

On the Publication Series

We are pleased to present this new volume in the publication series of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. The series, published in cooperation with our highly committed partner Sternberg Press, is devoted to central themes of contemporary thought about art practices and art theories. The volumes in the series are composed of collected contributions on subjects that form the focus of discourse in terms of art theory, cultural studies, art history, and research at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, and represent the quintessence of international study and discussion taking place in the respective fields. Each volume is published in the form of an anthology, edited by staff members of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Authors of high international repute are invited to write contributions dealing with the respective areas of emphasis. Research activities, such as international conferences, lecture series, institute-specific research focuses, or research projects, serve as points of departure for the individual volumes.

With *On Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency* we are launching volume sixteen of the series. Suzana Milevska, the editor of this publication, was Endowed Professor for Central and South Eastern Art Histories at the Academy from 2013 until 2015. This professorship is realized in cooperation with ERSTE Foundation, and we are very happy the symposium that Milevska organized as part of her term as professor at the academy can now be published in the form of proceedings. The editor has not only collected papers that were given at the conference, but has asked additional contributors to participate in the collection, which focuses on a topic that is very central to the Academy's discursive agenda.

Politics of memory and practices of reconciliation have been—especially since the late 1980s—an issue of particular concern within the arts. Whereas the close examination of how societies and nation-states deal with and remember the atrocities of National Socialism has been a source for much productive artistic practice and artistic research in the last decades, the question of how shame—in addition or in opposition to the paradigm of guilt—is dealt with has been largely neglected. Milevska takes up the notion of "productive shame" as developed by Paul Gilroy, and has asked the contributors to this volume to analyze the paradigm from many different angles and within numerous concepts. Central to many of the articles is the question of how shame and agency can be linked, and of how the difficult matter of reconciliation must be considered in this relationship.

We would sincerely like to thank Suzana Milevska for the huge editorial effort she put into the realization of this publication. In a very ambitious time frame she succeeded in putting together this book that—in our mind—will help us to better understand the complex "triangulation," as Milevska puts it, of shame, reconciliation, and agency, and what role art and artistic research can play.

The Rectorate of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna
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Introduction On Productive Shame Triangulations of Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency

Suzana Milevska

Shame usually implies something negative; it has been mainly linked to a certain *personal* traumatic experience of loss, absence, or lack. It stands both as a word for vulnerability because of being uncovered, and for trying to conceal the shameful parts.[1] Shame is thus inevitably related to the gaze of the other. It also often marks the emergence of a profound individual fear from not belonging to community. The moment of revelation that the subject does not fit the conventional representation and the expectations of *others* becomes instrumental for constructing the socialized subjectivity.

In his seminal book *Postcolonial Melancholia,* Paul Gilroy made a distinction between "paralyzing guilt" and "productive shame," thus entrusting shame with certain affirmative features, as potential for overcoming the collective affect of guilt.[2] This volume is obviously profoundly indebted to Gilroy for this concept and also for his looking at collective shame as an agency capable of prompting affirmative multicultural nationality and society. Shame is put in opposition to the conservative overidentification with the past as a form of national pride, which is usually based on phobia from exposure to otherness. In the context of the postcolonial critique of the long and still praised British colonial history, Gilroy wrote about the need "to transform paralyzing guilt into a more productive shame that would be conducive to the building of a multicultural nationality that is no longer phobic about the prospect of exposure to either strangers or otherness."[3] More importantly, he emphasized "the painful obligations to work through the grim details of imperial and colonial history."[4] However, in the context of the European past in the twentieth century, there is still very little written about the positive potentialities of shame as a movement of a certain epistemic agency that may prompt the overcoming of the initial traumatic experience of facing and looking at truth. In Gilroy's writing, this traumatic event is usually the truth about the fragmentation of the empire because of both the loss of the territory of the historic British colonies and the loss of power in more general terms.[5]

However, Gilroy does not make it very clear how to deal with shame and/or distance from the burdened past without the "paralysis" contained in his understanding of the relation between guilt and shame. Therefore, the symposium "On Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency" attempted to

1 Sarah Ahmed, "The Politics of Bad Feeling," *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal 1* (2005): 76.
2 Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 99.
3 Ibid., 99.
4 Ibid., 99–100.
5 Ibid., 87–95.

develop this concept further through cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary reflections on shame in such frames of postcolonial theoretical and critical discourse.[6]

Among the main aims of the symposium were to question the ontological dimension of guilt and shame in terms of subjectivity and cultural analysis of the post-trauma suppression of memory, on the one hand, and to search for methods for overcoming the self-perpetuating vicious circle of relentless clinging to ontology and genealogy of shame, on the other hand. Furthermore, the symposium prompted a discussion on shame in the context of analysis of visual culture phenomena, public memorial art, and contemporary visual arts. Most importantly, it offered a selection of artistic and humanist research projects that dealt with the issues of "unrepresentable" guilt and shame in the context of performative, collaborative, and participatory art practices.

This publication gathers the symposium's proceedings (and added a few additional contributions) in aiming to address how ethnic difference, racialization, and internalized racism, class, gender, and sexuality-related affects intersect and shape the (im)possibility for thinking about reconciliation. These topics are introduced through various theoretical contexts and through the context of artistic practices that develop specific artistic research methodologies, and strategies of communication with nonprofessional participants and collaborators.

To better understand the complexity of negotiating reconciliation in different societies and cultures, as well as to understand the ethical and methodological issues related to art-based research projects, the invited writers and artists propose various historic and theoretical frameworks (history of memory, postcolonial and decolonial studies, feminist and queer theories of transversiality and intersectionality, theories of agency, etc.).

Trust in the potentials of empowerment, subjectivity, recuperation, and agency of friendship and solidarity are needed more than ever, but there are no available universal models, despite what the designated institutions and "agencies" of reconciliation try to make us believe. The reader, therefore, focuses on various specific models exercised in history, theory, art, and culture, and asks how humanist sciences and art-based research could help conceptualization of the transformative societal processes of rapprochement, restitution, reconciliation, conflict resolution, and social transformation and change.

Geopolitical Triangulation of Topology of Shame

In terms of the geopolitical scope of questioning various invariants of shame particularly relevant for this publication is contextualizing cultural shame in the

Fig. 1
"In Nuremberg and elsewhere," cartoon, published in the Austrian newspaper *Neues Österreich*, July 20, 1946.

case of Austria. Until recently (until the late 1980s and 1990s, e.g., Waldheim affair that stirred up in 1986–92) the idea of the country as "the first victim" of the Nazi regime and the interpretation of the Allies as occupiers were still undisputed in official Austrian history. In the context of a certain collective amnesia, mourning the lost colonial power and pride, shame still remains predominantly in the realm of personal "privilege" of the survivors, the second and third generation—the descendants of the victims and perpetrators (fig. 1). However, in more recent years some developments started to emerge and offer some strategies on how to overcome the vicious circle behind the trope of victimhood.[7]

6 The two-day symposium "On Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency" took place at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, April 3–4, 2014. The symposium was initiated and curated by Prof. Dr. Suzana Milevska, Endowed Professor for Central and South Eastern Art Histories, in the context of the course on Central and South Eastern Art Histories, and was realized in a partnership between the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna and the ERSTE Foundation.

7 Until recently, Austria presented itself as the first collective victim of national socialist Germany after 1945. This interpretation of history was supported by the Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943. It is important to state that in this document, the Allies still held Austria responsible for its participation in the Second World War on the German side. See the Joint Four-Nation Declaration, Moscow Conference, October 1943, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/moscow.asp. See also: Wolfgang Neugebauer, "Opfer oder Täter" (Victims or perpetrators), Vienna, 1994. Quoted in "Victim Myth," Demokratiezentrum Wien, http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/en/knowledge/stations-a-z/the-victim-myth; and Eva Blimlinger's contribution in this volume, 60–77.

Today it becomes very important, although more difficult, to discuss the historic memories and the amnesia of traumas (e.g., shame from historic atrocities) as its repressive mechanism in the context of widely spread anti-Islamist riots with neo-Nazi roots in Germany and Austria. Moreover, these topics are easily recognizable in the context of the Eastern European denial of the local involvement in the Holocaust and the toleration of monuments dedicated to historical figures with Nazi backgrounds in the EU,[8] the ignorance of anti-Fascist events and figures from the past, and the even more frequent destruction of anti-Fascist monuments and vandalizing of Jewish memorial sites and cemeteries.

The amnesia of anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi politics became much clearer, particularly after the inconceivable atrocities of the conflicts in "brotherhood and unity"-oriented ex-Yugoslavia, and after the recent increase of xenophobia, racism, and ethnic conflicts all around Europe. This book therefore addresses shame with a comparative cultural approach toward the geopolitical contexts of the troubles with collective memory and past that was revealed in the recent ideologically driven rewritings of history of the Second World War and other periods.

One of the main motivations behind this focus is that lately the anti-Fascist victory has hardly been celebrated in many countries of the "former East," as this part of the historic past has been tendentiously suppressed and replaced with celebrations of the local national liberation events from more distant past (e.g., from the Ottoman past in some of the Former Yugoslav Republics) or more recent neo-nationalist myths.

Among the three cultural extrapolations of this triangulated geopolitical map of shame, this book also suggests a limited look at the postcolonial transition in African countries (particularly in Rwanda and South Africa), struggling to come to terms with the colonial powers' induced traumas from the past is yet overshadowed by the local atrocities and the inner conflicts with the new power regimes. The roles of the colonial regimes from the past, the current international "vigilantes" of human rights, agencies of reconciliation and other legal and not so legal institutions and the local leaders of liberation movements with their newly gained powers are intertwined and crucial for inducing and imposing shame and even for legitimizing the right to feel ashamed.

Far from aiming to encompass the complexity of shame in its entirety, the publication draws such a triangulated, fragmented geopolitical map in the attempt to reveal the points of intersection and departure through the comparison of different cultural contexts, where shame appears in all sorts of disguises. As it turns out, the transfer of responsibility and blaming and shaming the other is still a more widely accepted "strategy" on all sides of history than the committed collective work toward the acknowledgment of one's own role in the

Fig. 2
German soldiers watching footage of concentration camps, 1945

troubled past (fig. 2).[9] The vast gray area between the negative shame as something profoundly hidden and suppressed and the shame that would be positive and productive is still waiting for more profound interpretations, and the issue of how guilt, shame, and pride contradict and intertwine on the level of subjectivity and collectivity still remains an insufficiently explored area. Therefore it is indispensable that new strategies are urgently needed in order to confront the fear of the sublime of the political authority and its power to incite negativity and fragmentation of memory for whatever ideological reasons.

8 The arrival in Rotterdam of the world's biggest ship, the *Pieter Schelte*, named after a Dutch officer in the Waffen-SS (shortly before Jews were targeted and killed in Paris, and the seventieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz), is an example of how continuity with the Nazi past is established through various subtle and not so subtle strategies including naming. Despite the protests of the leaders of Jewish communities and Holocaust memorial groups in Britain and the Netherlands, the ship wasn't renamed. See Ed Vulliamy, "Jewish Outrage as Ship Named after SS War Criminal Arrives in Europe," *Guardian*, January 24, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/24/pieter-schelte-worlds-biggest-ship-ss-officer.

9 See the cartoon titled "In Nuremberg and elsewhere," with the caption: "But he ordered me to do it!" published in *Neues Österreich*, July 20, 1946, "Victim Myth," Demokratiezentrum Wien, http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/en/knowledge/stations-a-z/the-victim-myth.html.

Shame, Scopophilia, and Truth: Personal versus Collective Guilt and Shame

Shame in psychoanalytical terms is mainly interpreted by linking its advent to a lack, an absence: to the presupposed "wound" and fear of "castration," sublimation and repression on individual level.[10] However, shame has always two aspects: one is related to such intrinsic mental functioning on an individual level (e.g., as anxiety about mental disintegration), and the other is shame in social terms. The second relates to a certain anxiety about being different and excluded that comes about because of different appearances and/or for not being able to make alliances with and within the group. In the core of the paradox of shame is thus a certain traumatic feeling of absence that cannot be supplemented or compensated on the level of subjectivity by any simple operation of revelation of truth because there is a lack that has always already been there beyond the realm of the visual field.[11]

This interpretation is nevertheless very restrictive and was often questioned, since it offers a very strict determining frame based in the realm of the symbolic that is specific to the context of psychoanalytical theory and practice. Starting from the recurring dream of being caught without wearing any clothes to the revelation of being ashamed of the "wound," standing in for a penis in the context of Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalytical tradition (although with certain differences), shame is all about lack or loss and uncovering the "naked" truth of different sexes.[12] To a certain extent, shame was among Freud's most overlooked and underinterpreted concepts, and many other psychoanalysts reduced it to solely a pathological affect linked to the ideal ego and opposed to the guilt associated with the oedipal superego.[13]

However, in psychoanalysis there have also been attempts to look at shame as a concept that should be understood as essential to the understanding of the social dynamics and bonding, since in traditional societies shame protected people from engaging in nonhuman actions and intergenerational secrets.[14] A different perspective on shame was brought in through the writing of female psychoanalysts, though. Julia Kristeva's interpretation of shame puts it in relation to *abjection* and construction of female subjectivity, while Susan Bardo, Gershen Kaufman, Elizabeth Grosz, or Sandra Bartky all looked at shame in terms of *embodied shame*: as a part of the patriarchal cultural practice of devaluing and shaming women's body, loathing, and self-loathing.[15] Most recently, Sara Ahmed had drawn attention to the physicality of shame. According to her "shame also involves the de-forming and re-forming of bodily and social spaces, as bodies 'turn-away' from the others who witness the shame."[16]

The shameful feeling at the moment of perceiving and disclosure of difference has a long tradition of representation in visual culture and art. In the context

of religious thought, both in Jewish and Christian tradition, shame is closely linked to the relation between perceiving and knowing, particularly to the first moments of the awareness of gender and sexual difference, the primal sin and the "fig leaf."[17] In contemporary societies this has also been related to a certain internalized shame by an individual that is perceived as *different*, as a certain shame of either *lacking* manhood if being a woman, or differentiated via one's own sexuality outside of *normativity*, for example, as homosexual, lesbian, or transgender "other."

There are mainly three different kinds of social shame depending on the ones who incorporate the shame of a crime: the perpetrator, the victim, and the witness to the shameful event that related to someone else. Therefore, the role of the third person—the witness—brings in the societal aspect of shame and thus shame is particularly linked to a sense of anxiety about not being fully accepted, distancing oneself" bevor or even being excluded or even being excluded by the community: "shame is then a stain on the immaculate self."[18]

There are different kinds of shame among the victims themselves, according the different contexts and events such as class, race, and ethnic mixing in hierarchical contexts, gender and sexuality (e.g., rape, defloration), or other experienced acts of violence.

10 Sigmund Freud linked shame to the forces of repression occurring when an object of pleasure becomes an object of modesty, disgust, or shame. Sigmund Freud, "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality" (1905), in *A Case of Hysteria, Three Essays on Sexuality and Other Essays*, ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1978), 7.

11 Claire Pajaczkowska and Ivan Ward, "Introduction: Shame, Sexuality and Visual Culture," in *Shame and Sexuality: Psychoanalysis in Visual Culture*, ed. Claire Pajaczkowska and Ivan Ward (London: Routledge, 2008), 1–25.

12 This leads to the ancient Greek word truth (λήθεια), which is etymologically linked with disclosure and revealing—the state of not being hidden and the unveiling of truth was often linked with representation of truth as a veiled woman that resonates with shame (and thus with the original provenience of the veil in the Islam religion and culture as a curtain or partition that prevents men from seeing the women of Mohammed).

13 Phil Mollon, "The Inherent Shame of Sexuality" in *Shame and Sexuality*, 24.

14 For example, the psychoanalyst Imre Hermann described shame as a "social anxiety" linked to attachment. Shame defined in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2008, http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Shame.aspx.

15 J. Brooks Bouson, "Introduction: Embodied Shame: The Cultural Shaming of Women," in *Embodied Shame: Uncovering Female Shame in Contemporary Women's Writings* (Albany, NY; SUNY Press, 2009), 1–19.

16 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Rutledge), 103.

17 Pajaczkowska and Ward, "Shame, Sexuality and Visual Culture," 7.

18 Ibid., 7–8.

Coping with shame involves both naming it and reinforcing the secondary processes to limit its disintegrative effects. It can be masked, mistaken, or consciously replaced with other different affects, especially by resignation, anger, guilt, or hate. The difference between guilt and shame has been often overlooked, but the psychoanalyst Martin Wangh gives an interesting example for making this distinction through the behavior of Eichmann during the Nuremberg trial of his involvement in Nazi regime: according to Wangh, Eichmann did not show any remorse or guilt for his responsibility for the Nazi war crimes and the Holocaust, but felt ashamed when warned of not following the procedures and rules of the court.[19]

However, this volume addresses the potentiality to turn shame into an affirmative agency that may start with collective shame from the deeds of the antecedents, by way of distancing ourselves from others who did crimes on our behalf. Thus shame could hopefully lead to reconciliation and to forgiveness as an agency for starting anew.

Collective Memory and Materiality of Race and Shame

The problem of understanding nationalism and racism in the countries of Eastern Europe where racist statements and legal structures are tolerated practices even on the highest official level is related to the issue of internalized racism that is not even perceived as such.[20] It is particularly important to reflect on racism in this context because this is not shame based on racialized distinctions in the visual field. It is more complex and difficult to define this shame through the existing theoretical frameworks of analysis of black racism or critical whiteness, since it falls somewhere between the two.[21]

We owe to Hannah Arendt the contextualization of race within her detailed economic analysis of imperialism. In her *The Origin of Totalitarianism* (first published in 1948), Arendt offered a historic materialist approach toward the phenomena of race, racialization, racism, mostly in the anti-Semitic context of Nazi Germany.[22] She pointed to the importance of acknowledging that the relation between imperialism and racism has a historic materialist background in contrast to the otherwise essentialistically conceived racism, as if it is based purely on biology. In Arendt's view, racist ideologies and even culturally embedded humanism helped to legitimize the imperialist conquest and exploitation of foreign territories and the interpersonal acts of physical domination that accompanied colonization.

Nationalist and racist outbursts of hatred usually conceal this provenience of race in a nation-state as driven by territorial and materialist interests (i.e., for acquiring unpaid labor). This resonates with Arendt's analysis because for her, anti-Semitism could not be understood as separate from the formation of the nation-state itself. This is actually only an excuse for the collective actions undertaken against the *different* for some aims of various backgrounds, mainly the economic and territorial interests rather than the mystified hatred.[23] Shame and pride are reciprocally and undoubtedly connected with *belonging* or *not belonging* to a certain state and its politics.

Already with Arendt it was possible, therefore, to see that racism is not only a pathology of some individuals, but a process, at once ideological, political, and economical, that was constitutive of European capitalist modernity as such. What returns in racism for Arendt is simply the *raison*. More recently, some analysts reflected on the intersection between race, property, and labor in the early stages of the formation of the United States, particularly in the context of comparison between exploitation of African Americans as slaves and the disappropriation of land from the First Native Americans, or on the return of race in neoliberal societies and the relation between neoliberalism and multiculturalism.[24]

The partial censorship of Sanja Iveković's work *Disobedient (Reasons for Imprisonment)* (2012), posters that—in an artistic way—tried to show the connection between the labor camps and contemporary corporations' wealth is one of the concrete examples of the limitations of such discussions even today, and

19 For Wangh, this was related to a complicated operation of suppression of the ego from the superego. Martin Wangh, "National Socialism and the Genocide of the Jews – A Psychoanalytical Study of a Historical Event," in *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* (1964): 45. Quoted according to Pajaczkowska and Ivan Ward, in ibid., 5.

20 For example, the definition of anti-Semite as "someone who hates the Jews more than necessary," published in the 2006 textbook on political theories in antiquity by the Faculty of Law, University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Skopje, speaks volumes (see page 143). Gjorgje Ivanov, one of the co-authors of the textbook, is a professor at the Faculty of Law and the current president of the Republic of Macedonia. See: https://macedoniamysteries.wordpress.com/2014/07/24/macedonia-president-gjorge-ivanov-antisemitism-means-hating-jews-more-than-necessary/.

21 During the conference "Translating Class/Altering Hospitality," CATH, Leeds, 2002, more precisely after his keynote speech and during the Q/A session, Paul Gilroy mentioned passim the growing racism in Eastern Europe that he found relevant and connected to his arguments in terms of solidarity, although not related to skin color.

22 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1962), 503–4.

23 Ibid., 504.

24 For more recent extrapolations on the links between dispossession of land and slavery motivated racism, see Tanya Maria Golash-Boza, *Race and Racisms: A Critical Approach* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); for an in-depth discussion about neoliberalism, multiculturalism, and racism, see Angela Mitropoulos "The Materialisation of Race in Multiculture," *darkmatter – on the ruins of the imperial culture, an international peer-reviewed journal*, February 23, 2008, http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2008/02/23/the-materialisation-of-race-in-multiculture/.

even in contemporary art circles and institutions. *Disobedient (Reasons for Imprisonment)* consisted of six offset print posters that were presented on advertising columns in various public spaces in Kassel and in different institutions. The text on the posters cited the "legitimate" reasons that could lead to the imprisonment of disobedient individuals or groups of people during the Nazi era (prior and during the Second World War), such as "listening to the radio at his working place" or "refusing a night shift assigned to him." Couplings of posters reflected the specific reasons for the internment of men and women.

The work offered another, even more radical revelation: at the bottom of the posters were the logos of seven large German or global brands that profited from anti-Semitism and from the Holocaust. According to Iveković, she had to redesign the logos in order to avoid copyright infringement or other lawsuits. The eighth logo that Iveković had intended to reveal as Volkswagen, one of the major sponsors of documenta 13, was left blank after her proposal to reverse the logo by 180 degrees was refused by the organizers of documenta 13. This empty space ended up providing a spur for impromptu activist and "voluntary participation" actions. During the opening days of the exhibition, some of the empty circles became a provocation for "participatory graffiti" by the audience (figs. 3, 4).

Fig. 3
Sanja Iveković, *Disobedient (Reasons for Imprisonment)*, 2012

Fig. 4
Sanja Iveković, *Disobedient (Reasons for Imprisonment)*, 2012

By changing the logos and leaving the eighth logo blank, points to how the artistic and institutional strategy to name, brand, and shame the continuation of the National Socialism into a post-Nazi space hits the wall: the largest exhibition in the world and its curator could not take the risk to breach a kind of unwritten, ongoing agreement on silence about "accumulation by dispossession" that ultimately enabled the exhibition and even supported (even indirectly) this work.[25] The work revealed that the artist was allowed to criticize the most sensitive secrets from the past as long as her revelations did not did not try to establish the continuity of the past with its consequences in the present.[26]

25 David Harvey, "The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession," in *Socialist Register 2004: The New Imperial Challenge*, ed. Leo Pantich and Colin Leys (London: Merlin Press, 2003), 63–87, 74.

26 Suzana Milevska, "Pushing the Limits of Institutional Recuperation: Sanja Iveković's Works Challenging Post-Nazi Context and Racism," in *Sanja Iveković: Unknown Heroine-Reader*, ed. Helena Reckitt (London: Calvert 22 Foundation, 2013), 88–110.

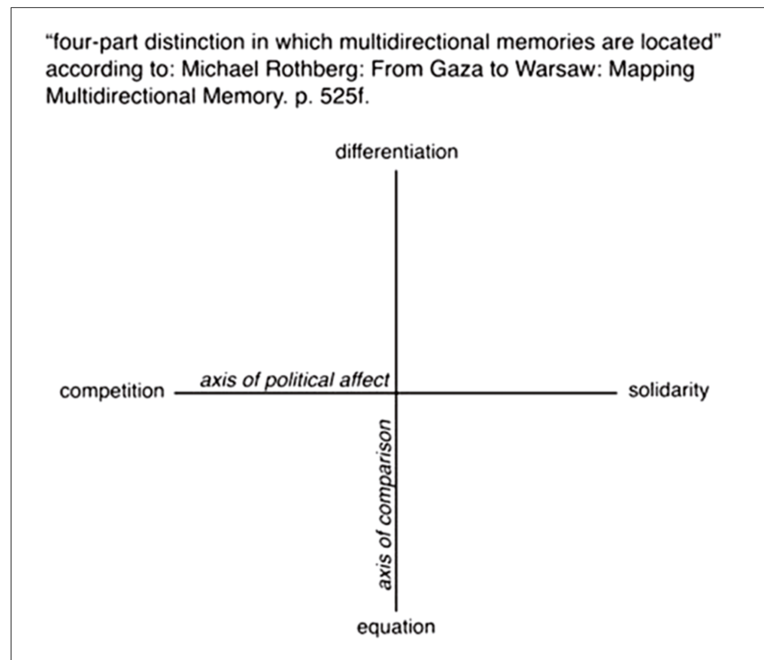

Fig. 5
Diagram of "multidirectional memories,"
Lesekreis meeting, 2014

Multidirectional Memory and Multidirectional Shame

Michael Rothberg made a case arguing against commeasuring and competition of different negative memories that set victims against each other. Perhaps the concept of *multidirectional memory*, which Rothberg discussed in many different books and texts,[27] could help a certain conceptualization of *multidirectional shame*:

> While that endemic conflict plays a significant role in my analysis, my aim is a more general mapping of the range of forms that public memory can take in politically charged situations. By mapping that discursive field, I arrive at a four-part distinction in which multidirectional memories are located at the intersection of an axis of comparison (defined by a continuum stretching from equation to differentiation) and an axis of political affect (defined by a continuum stretching from solidarity to competition—two complex, composite affects). Although schematic, such a map can pro-vide orientation for an exploration of political imaginaries in an age of transcultural memory.[28]

Often antagonistic logic, imprecise generalizations, equations, symmetries, and analogies end up in competitive comparisons and are often found even in most profound writings, for example, about decoloniality, black pessimism, Israeli–Palestinian case, and the Holocaust and other genocides. More specifically, this led Rothberg to call for a "differentiated solidarity" and to argue that "a radically democratic politics of memory needs to include a differentiated empirical history, moral solidarity with victims of diverse injustices, and an ethics of comparison that coordinates the asymmetrical claims of those victims."[29] For example, he critically reflects on the transnational discourses of solidarity with Palestinians because although he stands for the urgent need of solidarity while the practice of occupation and blockade continue, he questions the forms this solidarity takes exactly in terms of putting the victims on both sides in rivalry.

While painstakingly reading the W. E. B. DuBois's accounts of his visit to the Warsaw ghetto (in the text "The Negro and the Warsaw Ghetto"), Rothberg acknowledged the influences from Du Bois's reflections on the Holocaust and the possible comparisons between different atrocities.[30] Therefore, he issued an important warning about any ultimate victimhood: "Working through the implications and particularities of genocides needs to be separated from a discursive sacralisation of the Holocaust that legitimates a politics of absolutism."[31] This warning is particularly relevant for the discussion in the context of memorials dedicated to Holocaust, counter-monuments, and issues of representation in art of the Holocaust or other genocides.

Neoliberalism, Racism, and Protocols of Shame

Particularly important for understanding the recurrence of racism today is the linkage between racism, shame, and the more recent well-known neoliberal appropriative methods: strict protocols for citizenship and *belonging*, security

27 Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); Michael Rothberg, "Between Paris and Warsaw: Multidirectional Memory, Ethics, and Historical Responsibility," in *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe*, ed. Uilleam Blacker, Alexander Etkind, and Julie Fedor (New York: Palgrave, 2013); Michael Rothberg, "Remembering Back: Cultural Memory, Colonial Legacies and Postcolonial Studies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies*, ed. Graham Huggan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 359–79.
28 Michael Rothberg, "From Gaza to Warsaw: Mapping Multidirectional Memory," *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 523–48.
29 Ibid., 526.
30 Ibid., 525–48.
31 Ibid., 540.

measures, regeneration for tourism and creative industries, strict policies against travelers, refugees, and *sans papiers*, etc., that all lead to certain disappropriations and thus shaming. The urgency to react against racialization of Europe and act in solidarity with the communities that are undermined, marginalized, and even whipped out from territories they have lived in for a long time (think of Roma all over Europe, Albanians from Serbia, even Serbs from Croatia). The unknown and suppressed facts about the under-researched Roma Holocaust, the wars in Yugoslavia, secretive sterilization of Roma and Sinti in Slovakia and Czech Republic or the Hungary National Guard are just a few most obvious examples that reveal the possible entanglements and causal relations between the long-suppressed, forgotten, and carefully regulated truths from the past, and the new *protocols of shame* that are issued and proliferated time and again by different governments and institutions.

However, to recognize the historic sources of the reawakened conservatism, nationalism, and racism that today obviously operate under the auspices of neoliberal capitalism and cause the present *shameful* condition of Roma and other "racialized" minorities and to tackle them through vigorous actions, is not easy. Similar to Arendt's arguments regarding the fraudulent "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" (forged around 1900), any *protocols* actually presuppose and project a kind of difference and danger that gives way to a justification of the newer and stricter regulations on the one side, and shame on the other side of the protocol.[32]

The state protocols seem to exclude Roma and other minorities and immigrant communities through similar strategy as in the past by introducing new protocols that are constantly being issued, specifically targeting certain communities and keeping them outside of *belonging*. By doing so, the neoliberal state produces a vicious circle action with which it first proclaims the targeted community as exceptional population that doesn't belong to the nation (directly related to the collective shame), and then creates exceptional *protocols* that leave these people outside of normality and common rule, as a kind of *sealing* of all stereotypes and prejudices.[33]

The question of what is race if not biology lurks behind any attempt to discard the essentialist views on race. Some theorists are not ready to abandon the importance of the issue of visible difference entailed in skin color, despite of the findings of the Genome Project in 2000, exactly because they refer to race as a cultural and not biological concept from the outset of its conceptualization.[34] The problem of understanding racism in countries where racism is not only an issue of visual distinction is more difficult to be tackled, and Eastern Europe is such an example, with the rise of anti-Semitism and anti-Romaism among local populations.

Gilroy also points out the danger of identification based on "sameness." In the conversation with Tommie Shelby, "Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia," Gilroy interpreted the notion of racial identity: "I've always tried to unpack the notion of identity significantly. So when you say racial identity, I immediately triangulate it: there's the question of sameness; there's the question of solidarity (which we've already dealt with); and there's the issue of subjectivity. So, identity can be unpacked into at least three quite discrete problems, which are usually lumped together when we speak of identity."[35] On this axis between sameness and difference, issues of nationalism, race, and racism have shaped the visual field of contemporary society and made the issue of representation relevant on many different levels and registers than discussed in art history and aesthetics.

Victims/Perpetrators/Witnesses: Shame as Agency of Reconciliation and Forgiving

Jean Améry's efforts to preserve the memory of his personal experiences of the Holocaust as a Nazi victim, focused on writing as a method to preserve the memory of the lived-through terror, torture, and horror. His meticulous depictions of the events in a phenomenological and philosophical way, with what he skeptically characterized as "a scant inclination to be conciliatory" borders with certain performativity (e.g., when he describes how he sees his prisoner number each morning when he wakes up). His statement, "For nothing is resolved, nothing is settled, no remembering has become mere memory," however, resonates with skepticism in the possibility of forgetting and forgiveness.[36] Améry showed distrust in politics of reconciliation of his contemporaries and tried to push for a more careful approach toward understanding the negative feelings among Nazi victims and for acknowledging the guilt among his German

32 Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 360.
33 The controversial expulsions from France of nearly one thousand Roma to Romania and Bulgaria based on a personal memo from the French president Nicolas Sarkozy and following the French government's orders based on the newly introduced strict security bill Loppsi 2, are some of the most obvious examples how protocols are put at work. See: "France: New Law on Internal Security, Loppsi 2," *Library of Congress*, http://www.loc.gov/lawweb/servlet/lloc_news?disp3_l205402583_text.
34 Carl Zimmer, "White? Black? A Murky Distinction Grows Still Murkier," *New York Times*, December 24, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/25/science/23andme-genetic-ethnicity-study.html?_r=0.
35 Tommie Shelby, "Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia: A Conversation with Paul Gilroy," *Transition – An International Review* (2008), http://www.transition-magazine.com/articles/shelby.htm.
36 Jean Améry, *At the Mind's Limits Contemplations by a Survivor on Auschwitz and Its Realities*, trans. Sidney Rosenfeld and Stella P. Rosenfeld (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), xi.

co-citizens, but he was aware that what makes the reconciliation so difficult is exactly the ontological understanding of guilt, so he looked it in a phenomenological way.[37]

In this respect, Primo Levi, Giorgio Agamben, and Gilles Deleuze reflected with relevant accounts of the relation between shame and victimhood. While trying to explain the denial and amnesia that "paralyzes" the speaking and mnemonic faculty, they pointed to the circular movement that transferred shame on the victims' account: what happened in concentration camps was a prompted guilt and shame simply for staying alive. Agamben called this "the aporia of the proxy witness": the survivors' testimony as "a potentiality that becomes actual through an impotentiality of speech [...] an impossibility that gives itself existence through a possibility of speaking."[38]

By internalizing this unique trauma as a "crime" committed indirectly toward the others who didn't make it, the eventual public condemnation of the active perpetrators' crime was suppressed and in a strange move replaced by one's own personal guilt and shame. Deleuze referred to this, after reading Levi:

> I was very struck by all the passages in Primo Levi where he explains that Nazi camps have given us "a shame at being human." Not, he says, that we're all responsible for Nazism, as some would have us believe, but that we've all been tainted by it: even the survivors of the camps had to make compromises with it, if only to survive. There's the shame of there being men who became Nazis; the shame of being unable, not seeing how, to stop it; the shame of having compromised with it; there's the whole of what Primo Levi calls this "grey area."[39]

However, Gilroy has been rather skeptical when discussing both Arendt's and Agamben's contribution to the critical discourse of racism. Moreover, he stated that they both distasted analyzing racism in details and because of their complex and critical relations to the idea of the human that according to Gilroy could diminish the possibilities for political actions, particularly when such positions are used to relativize the political discourse and activism in the context of human rights and diminish the political and strategic processes from which all rights derive.[40] Gilroy was particularly critical of Arendt's take on US civil rights activist movements (by interpreting it as ideological rather than metaphysical).[41]

In 2000 the German artist Alfred Ullrich (Vienna born, of Sinti/Roma mother and German father) documented his first performance entitled *Pearls before Swine* (May 13, 2000). The performance took place in Czech Republic in front of the former Roma concentration camp Lety, which was initiated and run solely by Czechs in World War Two. Since the 1970s, the site has housed a swine farm.

Figs. 6–7
Alfred Ullrich,
Pearls before Swine, 2000

In a series of photographs the artist threw pearls from a necklace belonging to his sister onto the ground through the farm's locked gate and in front of the memorial stone in homage to his relatives and other Roma who were interned in various concentration camps (figs. 6, 7).

The artist's action and the title of the work point to the long-forgotten site (until the US-born self-made historian Paul Polansky started searching for survivors and made interviews with them in the 1990s[42]), and to the disturbing attempt by the Czech government to overwrite the history and existence of the Lety site.

37 Perhaps Améry's brutal destiny and his suicide speak most accurately of his difficulty to find a way to forgive: at his time his delusion was interpreted as linked with his failed attempts to see any signs of remorse and shame around.
38 Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive* (New York: Zone Books, 1999), 146.
39 See Gilles Deleuze, "Control and Becoming," *Negotiations 1972–1990*, trans. Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 172; also quoted in Milevska and Saldanha, "The Return of Race," 240.
40 Paul Gilroy, *Race and the Right to Be Human*, Oratie, Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, September 3, 2009, 18–20.
41 Ibid., 19.
42 Also listen to several statements by Paul Polansky, an American amateur historian, who made interviews with the last survivors of Lety. See the interview with Paul Palansky: "Pig Sick: The Untold Story of the Czech Romany Holocaust," YouTube, video, 9:51, posted by "Travellers' Times," January 26, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zA3ExcqZBfE; see also http://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/list.aspx?c=00619EF1-21E2-40AA-8D5E-F7C38586D32F&n=D1132229-92E2-470B-BD3E-965C5735D117.

Instead of acknowledging the past, Ullrich's performance at Lety stands for a personal protest against the desire to erase and eradicate any public memory related to the concentration camp and the horrors that took place there by simply covering it up with a different kind of "dirt." Thus the reasons for shame continue, only now shame is related to the desecration of the memory of Roma who suffered there.[43] Ullrich made another work related to the Holocaust in 2014 titled *BLACKOUT* (obviously related to the German practice of issuing *Persilschein* as a way to prove one's own lustration), which presented yet another of his critical views on shame and the use of "hygienic" metaphors in the context of proving one's own innocence and distance from any wrongdoings (fig. 8).

Fig. 8
Alfred Ullrich, *BLACKOUT*, 2014

Forgiving, Solidarity, and Shame

Hannah Arendt also dealt a lot with "collective guilt" and "collective forgiving," and issued a kind of clear warning of the vicious circle of guilt that is not accompanied with forgiveness: "Without being forgiven, released from the consequences of what we have done, our capacity to act would, as it were, be confined to one single deed from which we could never recover; we would remain the victims of its consequences forever."[44] Her idea that one's identity takes shape only in a community because "the 'who,' which appears so clearly and unmistakably to others, remains hidden from the person himself," resonates

with Nancy's idea of "being singular plural."[45] In his analysis of Arendt's understanding of forgiveness, Glen Pettigrove emphasized that Arendt thought that "one's identity is neither something over which one has exclusive control nor something of which one has exhaustive knowledge."[46] Further on, he paraphrases Arendt to say that "one's ability to begin something new, especially in the aftermath of wrongdoing, is limited by the readiness of those with whom one has to do to see it as new," rather than see this act of repentance as yet another "insincere strategy in the selfish pursuit of one's own goals."[47]

Hierarchies and hegemonic overwriting of reconciliation by power and different interests make the issue of who decides when and how to reconcile urgent, which led Jacques Derrida to ask whether reconciliation has anything in common with forgiveness.[48] According to him, forgiveness should be about forgiving the unforgivable, like the events of the Holocaust, Bosnian atrocities, Apartheid crimes, etc., because otherwise if it's only about forgiving what is forgivable it doesn't make sense.[49] Gil Anidjar, being an Arab Jew himself, expanded on Derrida's complex and turbulent relations toward the Holocaust in his recently published provocative but very well-argued text "Everything Burns: Derrida's Holocaust."[50] Recently, even more controversies surrounded Judith Butler's critique of Israel's state and her support of anti-Israel boycotts that were also put in the context of the discussion about the Holocaust and compared to the atrocities in Palestine, causing even cancelations of her lectures (also, for many other complex reasons that cannot be discussed in details in this text).[51]

43 For more information on the history of Lety's history and the way its original plan was overwritten by the pig farm, see Huub van Baar, "The Way Out of Amnesia? Europeanisation and the Recognition of the Roma's Past and Present," *Third Text* 22, no. 3 (May 2008): 373–85.
44 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 237.
45 Jean-Luc Nancy, *Being Singular Plural*, trans. Robert D. Richardson and Anne O'Byrne (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 12–13.
46 Arendt, *Human Condition*, 179.
47 Glen Pettigrove, "Hannah Arendt and Collective Forgiving," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 484.
48 Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness (Thinking in Action)*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. Preface by Simon Critchley and Richard Kearney (London: Routledge, 2001); Jacques Derrida, "On Forgiveness ... And Seinfeld," YouTube, video, 6:05, posted by "Canalul utilizatorului hiperf289," January 26, 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dwDZ6jrDgdg.
49 Derrida admits, however, that he is "torn" regarding the possibility to achieve unconditional forgiveness. Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 51.
50 Gil Anidjar, "Everything Burns: Derrida's Holocaust," *Los Angeles Review of Books*, October 9, 2014, http://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/everything-burns-derridas-holocaust.
51 For more details on the controversies surrounding Judith Butler's support for the Boycott, Divestment, Sanction Movement that ultimately led to cancelation of her lecture on Franz Kafka at the Jewish Museum in New York, see: http://forward.com/articles/193165/boycott-israel-backer-judith-butler-pulls-out-of-j/#ixzz3Ss02GsTP.

Therefore, before one even discusses the issue of reconciliation, it might turn more constructive to come to terms with the past through conceptualization of shame, forgiveness (as absolution from need to be ashamed), and solidarity. Instead of clinging on to problematic analogies of different victims and genocides, *multidirectional memories of shame* on the level of remembrance and memory might be able to bring us much closer to what Gilroy coined as "productive shame."

Sara Ahmed recently put forward queer shame as both a formative and deconstructive concept related to the complex overlapping and intersections of the issues of destabilized gender identity, race, and queer sexuality in the context of the tradition of affect theory (e.g., of Silvan Tomkins),[52] but this is largely imbued by her Australian background and her concerns with the oppression and genocide of indigenous Australians and Tasmanians.

In particular she referred to the inner contradictions of the "institution" of the official public apology in the context of political discourse of recognition and reconciliation, and in parallel to this embarks on profound discussions of race and genocide, without entering the trap of competition. Actually, she warns that shame is not about undoing national pride, but coexists alongside it. She also reflects on the main problem with public government apologies (referring again to the Australian context) that are often criticized for having a hidden agenda to make perpetrators and other white subjects feeling better about the gruesome wrongdoings from the past.

However, Ahmed concludes her text on an optimistic tone: that the act of public acceptance of collective shame and the issuing of an apology may not be completing the circle of forgiveness, similarly to Derrida's skepticism of reconciliation, but may give us time and space, not for "overcoming bad feelings, which are effects of history of violence, but of finding a different relationship to them." In other words, it may be a necessary step toward doing the heavy-duty work of forgiving and reconciliation in a hope that things will change, eventually, for the better.[53]

One could thus expand following Ahmed's work, and national pride could be looked at as compossible affect (in terms of Gilles Deleuze's concept) that relates to national shame, in a similar way as queer pride to queer shame, since they are both related to loss and trauma that eventually construes emancipated subjectivity. In its asymmetrical but reciprocal relation to *pride*, shame may return in the least expected ways and moments.

The shame one feels for the deeds of the other is not necessarily related to collective or national shame and may also be a symptom of solidarity. One can even feel shame for the one whom she or he lends money, to knowing that

they cannot give back the borrowed amount. Solidarity, thus, could also be connected to shame because of privilege, and does not have to be patronizing and linked to loss in terms of class and race (although the link between shame and the phenomenon of "status anxiety," coined by Will Self, comes to mind).

In order to achieve solidarity, Gilroy suggested: "In order to do effective work against racism, one had to in effect renounce certain ontological assumptions about the nature of race as a category, which cheapened the idea of political solidarity, in my view, because it said that solidarity somehow was an automatic thing, that it would take care of itself. But I believe that solidarity—as you, I think, believe—doesn't take care of itself that we have to do things to produce that solidarity."[54]

Most of the writers and artists who participated in different stages of the production of this book not only critiqued but also tried to divert the accepted rules and protocols of shame, and attempted to use shame in an opposite direction, against racism and shame pointing to performativity, participation, and solidarity as powerful strategies for achieving such difficult goals.

The first chapter "Beyond an Ontology of Guilt and Shame" addresses the inner contradictions of shame, for example, between an understanding of guilt and shame as ontological to subjectivity, on the one hand, and the relevance and potential of the concept of "productive shame," on the other hand. Herein productive shame is a political instigator emphasizing the urgency of responsibility and accountability rather than perpetuating the stigma of paralyzing guilt.

In "Shame: Intentionality in Reverse," **Jean-Paul Martinon** explores the paradoxical structure of the concept of shame starting from different theoretical interpretations. He points to the fact that despite shame, first appearing "to be reserved to the moral order," since one feels shame for "having deviated from moral norms," shame could also be thought outside of all moral referents. For Martinon, shame inevitably "binds presence of the/with itself" at a subjective level and thus shame points to our inability to break away from ourselves. This inner contradiction that emerges if one assumes shame as fundamental to human subjectivity, prompted Martinon to look at different ways to think about shame as a productive concept that would allow subjectivity to go beyond

52 Sara Ahmed, "Feminist Killjoys (And Other Wilful Subjects)," *S&F Online* 1, no. 8 (Summer 2010), http://sfonline.barnard.edu/polyphonic/print_ahmed.htm.
53 Sara Ahmed, "The Politics of Bad Feeling," *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal* 1 (2005): 85.
54 Shelby, "Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia," unpaginated.

the ontological constraints of such self-determining shame. In order to reveal the provenience of such a fragile structure of shame in ontological and ethical terms, he refers to his personal encounter with the history of the Rwandan genocide, and finally embarks on encapsulating a refined discussion on when and how shame may turn into a productive force, responsibility, and action.

Postcolonial Melancholia: Protocols, Affects, and Effects of Shame

Instead of clinging to melancholia and the tension between loss, peace, and justice, this section focuses on the differentiation between remembering and memory, and on the need to come to terms with the past in order to move toward the future. The topics are discussed via critical history and theoretical arguments from postcolonial and decolonial studies.

In her text, **Eva Blimlinger** offers an exhaustive insight in the genealogy of various institutions, laws, protocols, and even newly coined terms that were used in Austria (more or less successfully) as powerful state instruments to address the issues of memory, restitution, and compensation after the end of the Second World War. Blimlinger starts immediately with the complex discussion about the thesis of Austria as the "first victim" of the Nazi regime, and carefully puts forward a precise analysis of how this thesis was used in the past. She argues that the "first victim" thesis was actually instrumentalized in a very ambivalent and contradictory way, often affecting even the actual victims of National Socialism. Furthermore, she discusses the early contradictions and critical views that looked on these processes as attempts to turn "guilt" into "debt." In Blimlinger's view, the return of various looted property to their rightful owners (after the adoption of the Federal Law on the Restitution of Cultural Property of Austrian Federal Museums and Collections) was slow, difficult, and fragmentary because of the very fact that the Historical Commission, the institution established to examine and report on the expropriation in the territory of the Republic of Austria during the Nazi era, as well as to recommend restitution and/or compensation, established in 1998, did not have judicial power. However, Blimlinger argues that it did lead to the establishment of the Reconciliation Fund and the Compensation Fund, to the creation of concrete policies for research of provenance of property and settlement, and other legal instruments for compensation of forced labor, opening the "dormant accounts" in Swiss Banks, etc., that in a way enabled the painful process of coming to terms with the "troubled past."

In her text "Auschwitz Is Only Sleeping: On Shame and Reconciliation in the Roma Context," **Tímea Junghaus**, an art historian, contemporary art curator, and cultural activist of Roma origin, points to the fact that when addressing the

complex context of anti-Romaism against Roma and Roma communities, the contexts for discussing shame, guilt, hatred, forgiveness, unforgiveness, and reconciliation, were almost exclusively initiated in the field of contemporary art. The review of failed sociocultural, economic, political, psychological, and even juridical processes, after the Roma murders in Hungary, help Junghaus to interpret the main problems of those initiatives as mainly externally driven, and not originating from the community-specific context. The many failed attempts in the Roma context for reconciliation ("societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace"), she uncovers a vicious circle: repeated mistakes that create a situation of protracted conflict referred to in expert literature as the "conflict trap." Starting from Julia Kristeva's psychoanalytical theoretical concept of "abject," she links it with representations of bodily and cultural shame in the work of the artist Ceija Stoika (the recently deceased Roma artist from Vienna, who in her art made visible her experiences of a survivor of several concentration camps) and in the work as the Hungarian artist Csaba Nemes.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's short, but in many senses, unique contribution "Making Visible" is actually an edited transcript of her lecture given in at the Architecture Center in Vienna on May 28, 2011, in the context of the conference "Safe European Home," after previously attending the opening of the project "Roma Protocol," at the Press Room of the Austrian Parliament. Spivak rarely writes about visual art, but in this immediate response to her visit to the exhibition she felt compelled to expand for the first time on the connections she saw between her early text "Can the Subaltern Speak?," her Indian cultural background, and the subaltern conditions of European Roma. While looking at each of the presented works, she reflects on the issues of representation, visibility, subalternity, and the "protocols" of shame in the Holocaust, as well as on the intersection between gender issues and ethnic emancipation in the context of European immigration and refugee policies.

The historian **Jakob Krameritsch**'s focus is on South Africa and on the event referred to as the "Marikana massacre," when on August 16, 2012, the South African police massacred thirty-four workers on a strike for better wages in the platinum mine of Marikana. More precisely, this text looks at the different activities of the Marikana Commission of Inquiry (MCI), appointed by the state "to investigate matters of public, national and international concerns arising out of the tragic incidents" at this platinum mine, and at the Marikana Support Campaign, which keeps a vigilant watch on the MCI and fights for access to justice and for reparation payments for the families of the killed miners. Krameritsch reflects on the contradictions behind the success of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the followed model for this and other transitional, restorative justice commissions that had to deal with a cruel past

and/or crimes against humanity. The author claims that the main contradiction of the alleged "victim-centered" TRC was that it could grant amnesty to perpetrators, but could just recommend reparations to victims. Another critique was that the TRC failed to reveal the law-based and collective character of apartheid, so that it appeared only as an outcome of individual, more or less psychopathological (police) perpetrators. Krameritsch concludes that the systemic and bureaucratic regime of discrimination and exploitation of cheap black labor, in order to sustain *white* supremacy and profits, is the result of the privileged personal shame over the collective and thus more productive shame.

As a part of his research, Krameritsch interviewed **Trevor Ngwane**, a scholar and activist who has over the years devoted as much time to academic work as to community and political activism. He was a member of the Marikana Support Group and was involved in the Rebellion of the Poor protest—a monitoring and database compilation project. The interview with **Primrose Sonti**, a female activist and the leader of the Marikana Women's League Sikhala Sonke (We cry together) offers rare insights into how she uses a theater play about the Marikana massacre as a model of reconciliatory actions beyond the imposed political and administrative institutions.

In her article on queer shame, **Andrea B. Braidt** discusses Silvan Tomkins's affect theory. She looks in particularly at his model of shame as a primary affect and how queer theory has adopted shame as a deconstructive device for problematic identity—the politics behind the notion of "pride." According to Braidt, shame, in terms of queer theory, becomes productive when put into tension with the "mother" of queer affects—pride—since only when thought in parallel with shame can pride and, in a more general sense, an affirmative homosexual activism be effective. As Braidt says, "Queer becomes a subject formation concept that works with the memory of that which can be called the source of identity formation and subjectivity, the experience of the affect of shame." Braidt exemplifies her conceptualization of queer shame through her discussion of two artworks, Carola Dertnig's *ZU SPÄT* (2011), and Jakob Lena Knebl's *Schwule Sau* (2013), both realized as temporary installations on Morzinplatz, the site of the gestapo headquarters in Vienna during the National Socialist era. Thus both works function at the intersection between shame and commemoration (as yet another kind of national "pride") of the gay, lesbian, and transgender victims of National Socialism.

Conciliatory Potentials of Memorials: Pondering into Collective Memories via Participatory Research

This section is dedicated to the presentation of research methodologies dealing with memorials and theoretical pondering in our historic past. Delegating a

portion of research to various groups and collectives, these methods activate remembrance via voluntary participation and other methods and media beyond the spectacular representation of suffering. The text "Materials of Commemoration: The Changing Landscape of Mauthausen" is a collaborative result of the research project led by **Peter Mörtenböck** and **Helge Mooshammer**, with **Das Kollektiv**. In a project commissioned by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior, they were asked to organize a new design project to offer guidance through the contested landscape of one of the largest European concentration camps. The text presents and discusses approaches deployed in the process to bring together auxiliary conceptual notions with critical questions of design: (in) visibilities, borders, access, movement, and connection. The encounters with the Mauthausen memorial site are still marked by an inability to reconcile its ordinariness and "exceptionality," and this comes through different voices in which the text is written. According to the team, the Austrian memorial site Mauthausen is affected by two contradictory movements of memory, the strategy of forgetting, and shame: on the one hand, the "expansion" of the site over the recognized territory of the former concentration camp (that affects the visual public memory); and on the other hand, the critical change of generations that allows for shame to be dealt with more openly, but also implicates a loss of living memory (with the number of survivors rapidly declining). The loss of memory to the tragic history is interpreted as linked to the all-encompassing economy that involved many regional actors and businesses. Thus, there is also a demand to recognize and delegate certain responsibilities to various state institutions toward victims, relatives, and the general public in order to maintain the profound sense of shame as agency in the unresolved nature of such sites.

At the very beginning of their conversation "Polished Smooth: How to Think Shame, Solidarity and Politics of Bodily Presence," the members of the **Working Group Four Faces of Omarska** ask the questions already posed by Timothy Bewes: "Is it possible to write about shame from the position of equality? How would it be possible to write about shame, this affective structure that seems to be located in the very interstice between experience and representation?"[55] Four Faces of Omarska is an ongoing art project based in Belgrade that questions the strategies of production of the memorials. Its focus is on networks of human relations, experiences, and discussions on different contradictory issues surrounding the Omarska mining complex: its role during socialism; the Omarska camp, a place of mass killings and torture in 1992, and today the Omarska mining complex, owned by the multinational company ArcelorMittal,

55 Timothy Bewes, *The Event of Postcolonial Shame* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 11.

and Omarska as the filming location for the historical ethno-blockbuster *St. George Shoots the Dragon*. The group tackles the existing strategies of memorial production, and instead of representing any perspectives theoretically and artistically, even in the form of the unrepresented, it exposes itself to learn from it. In an attempt to open up a space of subjectivation and emancipation, the activities of the group is composed of ongoing research and artistic production processes in which they try to turn the site of atrocity into a location for the production of knowledge based on solidarity and equality.

Naming and Renaming: Rewriting and Recasting Memories

This section addresses the relation between naming and shaming in the context of personal and historic memory. It explores the contradictions of forgetting and erasing traumatic and shameful memory through renaming, on the one hand, and the potentialities of various renaming strategies for admitting wrongful events from the past, on the other hand.

Zsuzsi Flohr, an artist born into a Jewish family from Hungary, examines the possibility for reenactment of historic memory among her generation. In her text "The Homecomer: On the Road with Sándor Képiró Part One & Two," the personal narrative confronts collective history. Her own experience as part of the third generation after the World War II and the Holocaust, contextualizes the issues of collective identity and consciousness. For Flohr, this particular work functions as a symbol of penance by which she accepts shame on behalf of her city and country, which according to the artist still haven't be able to face the past. Even though neither a victim, nor a perpetrator or witness, Flohr goes on to conclude that someone has to start this job and start posing the questions of belonging, self-knowledge, and memory from a gender-sensitive perspective.

Jasmina Cibic, in her text "How (Not) to Shame a Name," connects the general notion of shame with the shame from not having the appropriate name. More precisely, she questions the procedures and authorities who decide on the appropriateness of a name and the ideological frameworks that determined these decisions and the rules of their change. Cibic discusses her project *Situation Anophthalmus hitleri*, which is based on the historic details about an endemic Slovene cave beetle that was named after Hitler by its discoverer in the 1930s. The beetle, *Anophthalmus hitleri*, represents a "failed" national icon that has been almost thoroughly "expelled" from history, merely because of its ideologically charged name. The text refers also to Cibic's complex video and painting installation *For Our Economy and Culture*, exhibited in the Slovenian

Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale, explores different grounds for questioning the sociopolitical and cultural contradictions of the phenomenon of national representations within an art and architectural context (particularly in big international events such as art biennials) and how this relates both to national pride and shame.

The ongoing project "Unearthing a Nazi Poet," initiated by the collective **Plattform Geschichtspolitik** (Platform for history politics), is discussed in the text "An Allegory to Post-Nazism" by the member of the collective Eduard Freudmann. In several actions, the collective exposed the fundament of Josef Weinheber's monument: a bust of the local Nazi poet that was placed in the park at Schillerplatz in Vienna (in front of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna) without the knowledge of the responsible authorities. The text carefully extrapolates both phases of the "landscape-architectural" interventions of the Plattform Geschichtspolitik, and the intentions behind the actions: to make the monument visible in its entirety and thus to expose its conflictual history. In June 2013, a written letter was publically circulated in the media that announced the claimed responsibility of the action by the group. The collaboratively written letter and the interventions, on the one hand, and the reactions of the authorities (e.g., the immediate re-digging of the monument) are just symptoms of how Vienna and Austria deal with the inherited monuments and with the selective memory surrounding the marks of problematic historic and political background in the public space.

Karin Schneider's text "Participation and Representation in the Doing of History of Austria: Some Thoughts on Tal Adler's *Voluntary Participation*" and the artist **Tal Adler**'s own text "Why I Started Visiting a Church Regularly" deal with the politics of memory and representation of the past in Austrian history and public space. Both look at the strategies used in different parts of their long-term research projects "MemScreen" and "Conserved Memories," but mainly stay focused on the ongoing project *Voluntary Participation*. The emphasis is put on the voluntary participatory research model that Adler (with Schneider as a researcher and mediator) developed while working with various groups from Austria's Civil Society in order to understand and challenge the "doing of memory" in Austria. In the beginning, Adler invited the members of selected groups to a photographic group portrait. The process of negotiation during the performative construction of the photograph is used to induce the members of various associations to participate in the project. Thus the participants start to learn more about how their understanding of their own history came about, and whether they see the events from the past as decisive of their own histories. The main target of the project is the Austrian colonial and Nazi past loaded with historic or contemporary anti-Semitism. It questions the Austrian active participation in the Nazi regime (the approached groups exist since at least 1938, the year of the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany).

The success of the project may be related to the long-term involvement of its initiators, the institutional support, and the acquired state funding, but this could only confirm that both personal and voluntary collective involvement is critical for productive shame.

This volume continues to walk exactly along these lines, and attempts to criss-cross the boundaries between shame as something personal and shame as something collective; between the understanding of shame as something disturbing and negative to shame understood as the first step toward coming to terms with the traumatic loss and committed wrongdoings in the past, and becoming a productive move toward reconciliation, forgiveness, and agency of change. The role of art, particularly the performative and participatory research art practices, brings new potentialities for inducing such agency.

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Beyond an Ontology of Guilt and Shame

Shame Intentionality in Reverse[1]

Jean-Paul Martinon

Shame fell on me as I entered Gisozi, the Genocide Memorial Centre in Kigali, Rwanda. It fell on me on September 6, 2006, in a surreptitious manner. I walked inside the lobby of the center and found myself in front of a tall Rwandese woman who asked me where I was from.[2] After a polite exchange of words about my country of origin, she asked me what I knew of the genocide. At the time, I didn't know much. So I blurted out a few words to give the impression that I hadn't just stumbled on this memorial center. She quickly guessed that I knew little. This made me ashamed because next to the center there was a mass grave where a quarter of a million bodies are buried, and there I was admitting to being ignorant of a colossal event in history that occurred in my lifetime. How could I know so little about it? How did I live until now without a proper awareness of this mass killing? The sting of shame was unbearable. Of course, she didn't spare me. She left me to to stew in the discomfort of my shame.

This particular shame was a curious feeling because it was exclusively based on ignorance and not on a previous action or deed. I felt shame not because I had acted badly or indecently, but because I was blissfully ignorant. This was a shame that revealed myself as being a bit dim-witted, a bit slow on the uptake. It basically said: I have lived through the year 1994 without much awareness of what went on in the world. But it also said something far worse. It also said: I have lived quite happily between 1994 and 2006 in complete ignorance of a major historical event with far-reaching global consequences. The shame was therefore not just due to ignorance; it was the result of the way I led my life; it directly questioned the way I acted, what I did, where I went, who I met, et cetera. Indeed, this shame revealed much more than simple ignorance; it directly pointed to who I was, to my very being, not just there in Kigali, but during all the hours and days that I had lived on Earth since birth.

Considering that this shame touched everything about my existence, it became clear that the shame I experienced was not really of the order of morality. Being ignorant or naive was, indeed, contrary to shame, always negotiable. Against the accusation of ignorance, I could, for example, have defended myself and argued back the following: "There is no reason why I should have been aware of a war that took place thousands of kilometers away from me,

1 Most of the background reading for this paper is taken from the work of Emmanuel Levinas. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Lisa Guenther who, through her remarkable work, provided numerous invaluable insights into the theme of shame, and to Professor Suzana Milevska, the organizer of the conference and editor of *On Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency*.

2 Further information on this welcoming Rwandese attendant to the memorial center can be found in Jean-Paul Martinon, *After "Rwanda": In Search of a New Ethics* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013).

among people I did not know. Knowing all the world's events is only a delusion that today's world, oversaturated as it is with twenty-four-hour news feed, imposes on us. No matter how sophisticated our news media technology is, are we not always already partly blind to what happens in the world, even if it happens in front of our very own eyes?" Being able to argue back in this manner would have showed that ignorance or naïveté was indeed tradable and was therefore in the order of morality. By contrast, the shame that I endured in Kigali escaped this order because it was *not*, as this essay will strive to show, something that could have entered negotiation and therefore the economy of conventional morality.

My shame, indeed, escaped morality and negotiation because it directly pointed to a structure of being. To realize that I was ashamed was to acknowledge that I was, momentarily, a diminished being. I wanted to crawl under the carpet. I wanted to disappear. This diminution of being showed that through shame I was no longer myself; I was no longer a self-governing subject. This realization was crushing; it highlighted the fact that most of my life had been spent living in the sway of certainty that I was an "I" in the full possession of the way I portray myself. This "I" was no longer the upright master, the lord of the body, all eyes, conquering and grasping the world. This "I" was suddenly in the other's hands. This "I" had become an "it" belonging to the other. Jean-Paul Sartre rightly noted the feeling of shame a subject experiences: "A feeling of being finally what I am, but elsewhere, over there, for the Other."[3] The shame I felt in Kigali thus highlighted an unusual dimension of subjectivity: being, through the other's gaze, an object that, for some reason, had no or little correlation with my own always glorious subjectivity.

But the sudden crumbling of my triumphant "I" had another more profound cause. The "I" crumbled not just because it was suddenly objectified but because it also highlighted, at an even more basic state, the *fact* that I was occupying space and time. It pointed to the inescapable reality that, however much I wished it otherwise, I was taking up a portion of space and time. As Levinas's translator Jacques Rolland rightly remarked, in a commentary on the essay "On Escape," shame is always the discovery of an occupancy of space and time that is utterly unjustified.[4] My unexpected shame, therefore, showed something that no physiology, biology, anthropology, psychology, or any other ontic science could ever deal with: the fact that "underneath" this supposedly masterful subject or object of representation, I was occupying space and time without any reason or rationale, not even a valid argument. Not even my parents could justify such occupancy because although they conceived me, they had little say in the outcome. Why this sperm and why this egg? They could never tell. Shame had therefore a unique power that no one, not even theologians, could help make sense of because it directly revealed the impossibility of giving a legitimate reason for *this* taking up of space and time.

The formidable consequence of this bottom-line revelation of being utterly unjustified was that I could *never* therefore have been the subject of shame. Shame could never belong to me. Only the other could bring me shame. In Rwanda, the shame that I experienced was *given* to me by this beautiful, tall woman who attended the entrance to the Genocide Memorial Centre. She held my shame, she sustained it, and only *she* was able to lift it at will. She was not so much in control and masterful, she simply towered above me in a nonhierarchical way. I was simply powerless, in her hands, ashamed. I realized this did not constitute a perverse masochistic desire to let her dominate me or have sway over me. This was a way of revealing that although a personal experience, shame was not, paradoxically, personal. Shame referred to an intersubjective structure involving space and time that showed that the main subject in this relation was, *for once*, not me.

This intersubjective structure was in fact quite complex because it did not concern a relation between two objects: distinct and autonomous beings, for example. The intersubjective relation in question here involved subjects who were able to shame one another; that is, who were able to *reveal* this bottom-line occupancy of space and time. The tall Rwandese woman who shamed me didn't shame me because I was ignorant and therefore an object of ridicule. She shamed me because *she gave me more than I was able to think* and as such was over and above me. She was above me not only because she had an experiential and intellectual knowledge of the genocide, but because her *gift was incalculable*, unexchangeable, beyond anything I could have dreamed of returning.[5] This gift put her then and there in a position whereby she opened me the world, not only the dark and somber page of history that is 1994, but also and above all, a world that I, in my lost power, could no longer recognize. However strange, shame was effectively a gift that revealed the intersubjective as absolute dissymmetry; that is, as a situation where the Other[6] was effectively above and I was below—always.[7]

3 Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, trans. Hazel Barnes (London: Routledge, 2003), 291.
4 Jacques Rolland, "Annotation," in Emmanuel Levinas, *On Escape*, trans. Jacques Rolland (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 83.
5 For a different account of this gift, see Lisa Guenther, *The Gift of the Other: Levinas and the Politics of Reproduction* (New York: SUNY, 2006).
6 I use here a capital letter to distinguish it from the other as *alter ego*. The Other with a capital letter refers to what escapes all possibility of conceptualization, what is allergic to the synthesis operated by a Kantian "I think." Levinas obviously talks remarkably about this Other, however, it is Derrida who formulates it in the most simple way: "Without making language the accident of thought, we would have to account for this: that, within language, that which is always '*in regimen*' and in the least generality [i.e., the Other] is, in its meaning, un-declinable and beyond genre." Jacques Derrida, "Violence and Metaphysics: An Essay on the Thought of Emmanuel Levinas," in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (London: Routledge, 2001), 130.
7 There is no space for me to expand on this. See my previous book: Jean-Paul Martinon, *The End of Man* (New York: Punctum Books, 2013).

In front of such an incredible asymmetry, in front of this *gift* that made me realize I wasn't really all that masterful, two things happened:

The first thing that happened was that she suddenly became synonymous with God. This does not mean that she was (or still is) God herself, but that she was suddenly *synonymous* with God.[8] The reason being that through the act of shaming me, *she opened up*, in a godly fashion, *the infinite to me*. Not a vulgar infinity or an infinity of accountant, one that can be counted starting with a random number. No, an infinite beyond all forms of calculations, an infinity allergic to the synthesis of an "I think." A unique opening that is rarely talked about because it can always be easily misunderstood for some kind of ill-founded metaphysical statement. By shaming me, by simply *making me think more than I could*, she stood then and there for God: she symbolized the infinite. Once again, this was no mysticism or divine incarnation. This was simply the realization that it was impossible for me to truly understand the gift that I received from her because it simply pointed at what I could never have *imagined, anticipated, seen coming*, or *calculated in advance*. Asymmetrically positioned, she could only represent something akin to God—an absolute (utterly untainted by anything) I could have projected onto her, and thereby, anything spiritual or religious.

The second thing that happened was that in return, I could only become a usurper. I was a usurper because although I wished to crawl under the carpet and disappear; I could never delete myself altogether. In front of what I perceived to be a symbol for or a sign from God, I was, by my very existence, usurping her in my inability to obliterate my very own presence. As Lisa Guenther pointed out in an essay on this theme: "Whether or not I have done something wrong, *merely to exist is already to exist in the place of another*, eating food that could have satisfied another's hunger, drinking water that could have meant the difference between her death and survival."[9] In this way, although she was giving me the most incredible gift of all, although she was giving me the infinite by shaming me, I could only usurp her space and time in return; I could only take away from her what sustained her very life and thus *potentially* precipitate her untimely death.

Ashamed, I was effectively helpless *and* usurper, I was therefore dangerous. I not only took myself as an object, but I also remained, subject, here and there, occupying space and time, a space and time that she, in her magnanimity, could never occupy. This impossibility of occupying my space and time showed that, even at its most diminished, even at the height of my shame, my being could also be, however paradoxical this sounds, murderous. This had nothing to do with being a criminal. This had to do with an inalienable truth. Even if she had kicked me out of the center, she could still not, wherever I went in the world, occupy my space and time. And this was precisely what made me

a usurper and potential murderer: I *shamelessly* took "my place in the sun," as Levinas would say,[10] and she, she could only shame me, reduce me but never annihilate me, not even if she killed me because even through death, *I would still have been* an irrevocable past, a past that remained, at least for a while, mine, usurper, "in-perpetuity" a murderer—and this even if I had died a saint.

This shameless occupancy of space and time exposed something even more fundamental. It revealed that I was incapable of breaking free from myself, from this potentially murderous place in the sun. In other words, I discovered that I was always riveted to myself, unable to disappear properly even from behind the carpet, unable to justify this unjustified space and time. In an analysis of this theme, Guenther rightly and most beautifully called it our "ontological self-encumbrance":[11] this feeling of *having to be* oneself, the burden of one's own existence, the irremissibility or impossibility of escaping being ourselves. "*I can neither be what I am nor refuse to be.*"[12] This was probably the most cruel aspect of shame's gift: the revelation of the unbearable and non-negotiable weight of having to be just one, me, there, undeletable and unexchangeable—the suffocating weight of not being able to *be* another person, of *having* another life.

The realization of this ontological self-encumbrance is what allowed me to see the difference between shame and guilt. To understand this difference, it was necessary again to separate the latter from tradable morality. If I understood guilt *within* the order of morality, then I would necessarily reduce myself to the status of object. As object, I would then think of myself as the objectified *cause* of an action and "the guilt" experienced as the *result* of this action. The outcome could only be justice as reparation (undergoing therapy in order to deal with this supposedly scientifically verifiable fact known as "guilt," for example) or retaliation (accepting the verdict of a judge who supposedly knows about "guilt," for example).[13] If, however, I tried to conceive of guilt outside of tradable morality, then guilt would take on a different meaning.

8 The God in question here is obviously, as hinted in this paragraph, neither religious nor spiritual. There is no metaphysical assumption, only the indication that something or someone gives me more than I can think, and that through such an indication a realm alien to representation is both paradoxically opened up and withheld. For a lengthy description on this, see Jean-Paul Martinon, "Time Unshackled," in *New Formations* (2015, forthcoming).

9 Lisa Guenther, "Shame and the Temporality of Social Life," *Continental Philosophical Review* 44, vol. 1 (2011): 29, DOI 10.1007/s11007-011-9164-y (my emphasis).

10 "My being-in-the-world or my 'place in the sun,' my home—have they not been a usurpation of places which belong to the others already oppressed or starved by me, expelled by me into a third world: a repelling, an exclusion, an exile, a spoliation, a killing. 'My place in the sun,' said Pascal, 'the beginning and prototype of usurpation of the whole earth.'" Emmanuel Levinas, *Entre Nous*, trans. Michael B. Smith and Barbara Harshav (London: Continuum, 2006), 124.

11 Guenther, "Shame and the Temporality of Social Life," 29.

12 Ibid., 33 (my emphasis).

Guilt is the realization of subjectivity. Only through a certain accusation can an "I" indeed emerge. Only through the realization of guilt (a realization taking place after the bottom-line realization of my facticity through shame), can the possibility of the subject arise. This was not a new realization. As Judith Butler noted, Nietzsche already saw that the subject can only emerge through a retroactive understanding of itself, a reflexivity in which the "I" first tears itself away as an object; that is, as an objectified and answerable "I."[14] While shame highlighted that I could not justify or escape occupying space and time, guilt, by contrast, highlighted that we, as subjects, are all equal as usurpers of space and time. As Levinas said, quoting Dostoevsky, "*Everyone* is guilty in front of *everyone* else and me more than all the others."[15] Guilt understood outside of morality therefore highlighted the more common self-reflexivity, one that renders us answerable as "I," as subject, to everyone else. *We are all guilty of being*.

Unfortunately, whether it was shame or guilt, nothing, not even the tall Rwandese woman could have helped with this cumbersomeness, with this impossibility of justifying *this* very space and time. Even if she tried, she was indeed unable to alter this unbearable situation. She, in her magnanimity, could only shame this self-encumbrance, the inescapable facticity of this very being. With her infinitely shaming gaze, she made me realize the unbearable condition that was mine, the fact that I could only stubbornly remain here and there, occupying a space and time that she could never occupy. *Shame was precisely what revealed my persistence, my stubborn perseverance in being*. In a way, this was her weighty task, making sure that this stubbornness was revealed, that through shame, there could be nowhere to hide, that no carpet could dissimulate my body properly, that it would always stick out, shaming me in my persistence in being, always, again and again. I was facing the harshest reality of all: being incapable of fleeing myself.

And I had to carry on. Not only did I need to reveal my ignorance of the genocide, I also had to accept the shame of not being able to disappear, of witnessing my body remaining there with all its weight and height, and to just *carry on*. To carry on—especially when feeling utterly ashamed—was a curious liminal phenomenon because it exposed how I *persisted* no matter what. I carried on *because I had to*. This "because I had to" was effectively the first sign that I was already slowly reasserting my position in the sun, that I was taking back the control of my being, that I was reclaiming the objectification of the other, and that I was reinstating my subject back on its throne and my body in space and time. To carry on was to finally cover—metaphorically—my shameless nudity. To persist in being, even in my shame, was indeed to dress up the facticity of my very presence, to cover over my murderous body. No wonder real clothes play such a huge role in covering our shame. Beyond protection and an expression of identity, clothes are what help us to deal with the

self-encumbrance of our being, with our inability of fleeing ourselves, with our shameful spatial and temporal criminality.

Hence the fact that shame was effectively a form of "intentionality in reverse." This expression, which I borrow from Levinas, could give the impression that I am referring to unintentionality, the opposite of intentionality, something not done on purpose, for example. But intentionality in reverse is not the same thing as unintentionality. Intentionality in reverse means that there is an intention, but for some reason it goes in the other direction, it backtracks, it moves backward, exposing myself without being able to do anything to prevent it. In Kigali, it was *she* who, through her gift, pulled this intention out of me, an intention that I could neither control nor master. Her generous gesture made me realize that I could not but intentionally reverse; expose myself in all my cumbersomeness. As Levinas said, "I *could* not not have power."[16] Intentionality in reverse, or shame, was basically the bottom line for me; the most precarious of situation because not even clothes could alter or dress it. I could *not, not* be, in my space and time.[17]

Intentionality in reverse. Once this reversing took place, once the body came out from under the carpet and accepted to "carry on," my conscience finally emerged. With shame, with this exposure of my reversing intention, my conscience had no other choice but to set off and begin questioning the naive

13 Which, as we all know, can only in the end legitimize the violence of one narrative over another. As Simon Critchley remarks, "In [Levinas's] 'Peace and Proximity,' the question of the passage from ethics to politics is articulated around the theme of Europe and more specifically what Levinas refers to as 'the ethical moment in the crisis of Europe.' The crisis is the result of an ambiguity at the heart of the European liberal tradition, where the attempt to found a political order of peace on the 'Greek wisdom' of autonomy, solidarity, and reciprocity becomes a guilty conscience that recognizes how this political order has turned into—and indeed often legitimized—the violence of imperialism, colonialism, and genocide." Simon Critchley, foreword to Emmanuel Levinas, "Peace and Proximity" (1984), in *Emmanuel Levinas: Basic Philosophical Writings*, ed. Adriaan T. Peperzak, Simon Critchley, and Robert Bernasconi, trans. Peter Atterton and Critchley (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 161.

14 Judith Butler, "Responsibility," in *Giving an Account of Oneself* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 85.

15 Emmanuel Levinas, "The Paradox of Morality: An Interview with Emmanuel Laevinas," in *The Provocations of Levinas: Rethinking the Other*, ed. Robert Bernasconi and David Wood, trans. Andrew Benjamin and Tamra Wright (London: Routledge, 1988), 168.

16 Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburgh: Duquesnes University Press, 1969), 84 (translation modified).

17 If I had enough time, I would have liked to explore this theme through a reading of the Muselmänner in Primo Levi's book *If This Is a Man* and Giorgio Agamben's *Remnants of Auschwitz*. These are specific examples of this unbearable cumbersomeness that would necessitate lengthy and careful analyses to give them justice.

right of my dangerous powers, the glorious but unjustified spontaneity of being alive—criminal. Of course, this conscience was set off so as to reinstate the sovereignty of a tradable moral position (for example, accepting the fact that I needed to listen to the story of this genocide), but this moral position could only take place once I realized that I was occupying space and time and that no crawling under the carpet could change this. The awakening of conscience occurred not in the discovery of shame, but immediately afterward, right when I *began to conceal it*; right when I realized that I could cover my body again. In other words, the awakening of conscience occurred only when I could do nothing else but to *violently* reassert the unjustifiable: my body in space and time, gloriously sovereign, murderously unjustified once more.

The crucial issue for me was *not to let myself feel comfortable* with this sudden awakening of conscience. In other words, the issue was not to accept the concealment of shame as if such concealment were a perfectly acceptable way of remaining in the sun. In order to refrain from this, I felt that my conscience should instead be an effort to persist at the level of the discovery of shame, at the cusp of its concealment. An incredible effort because it implied training my conscience to stay right at a stage when my body finally accepted being under the carpet, visible for all to see. This conscience could not therefore be simply understood as an inner feeling or voice guiding us in our behavior. It was much more than that. It was the effort of keeping shame exposed even if no longer ashamed. It was the effort of not hiding my occupancy of space and time; of not letting powerful clothes dress it so as to regain a violent position of mastery and control. Conscience was therefore for me the effort of keeping the shamefulness of my unjustified and murderous existence *open for all to see*, or to put it differently, of accepting the *exposure* of my unbearable cumbersomeness.

Understood in this way, shame thus pointed at an incredible ethical moment: the moment when my perpetual struggle for mastery and domination *finally* turned its attention toward the other, when it *finally* conceded that the other was *more* important than the game of securing a place in the sun. As Guenther remarked in the same essay, "Shame shifts the focal point from preserving my own self-relation towards a responsible relation with others."[18] In Kigali, this was a most shaky and ambivalent moment because the temptation to reassert my place in the sun was immense and because the need to overcome shame could not be easily dismissed. I could have tried, for example, to shift the topic so as to lead my interlocutor's gaze elsewhere and thus regain the mastery of my all-conquering "I." But I refrained from doing so. Instead, I attempted the very first step of an ethics mentioned above; a small step that intended to open up dialogue not on the basis of an economic exchange of information, but on the basis of a responsible recognition that space and time were indeed occupied violently.

Such a fragile step was not an easy one to take. Shame asked of me to manage the unbearable encumbrance of my existence and through such management, to turn it into a gesture toward the other. I could not overcome or diminish myself, and such inability was the only way to begin addressing the other. Shame really pointed at a question of sur-vival, not some kind of vitalist flow of energy lurking underneath my ego, but what Derrida described as the life that goes over and beyond life (i.e., what maintains the facticity of my existence). In order to explain this, Derrida references Walter Benjamin who, in "The Task of the Translator," makes a distinction between *überleben* (surviving beyond one's death, through a child, for example) and *fortleben* (living on, continuing to live, the continuation of life itself).[19] The step my shame required of me was precisely to acknowledge the way I sur-vive; I carry on; I persist in living and through such acknowledgement, to manage my ontological encumbrance and, at last, turn to her.

This turning, this small ethical step did not therefore rely on "a moral" or "a set of precepts," but on the way I simply sur-vive, that is, *I manage to carry on with my usurping body, with my unbearable self-encumbrance*. Sur-vival as a turning to the other. This turning to the other was untainted by egotistical acts of generosity, solidarity, or fraternity; it was the gesture of lessening the impact of my presence onto her. I was ashamed. In discovering this, I realized that my simple presence bore upon her. I occupied her space and time. I took food from her mouth. I could only do this. I could only be this murderous body. But if I accepted this, I could then begin *to curve down the violence I inflicted upon her*. Not by starving myself to death, but by acknowledging the space and time I took—from her and from all others.[20] This was *the least* I could do, which was also *the first* thing *to do*. Beyond normative morality, this was indeed the real start of ethics.

Shame was therefore a structure of intersubjectivity that curiously and most remarkably posited an ethical gesture that trumped all moral orders and precepts. As an intentionality in reverse, shame opened up a form of ethics that was basically one of radical responsibility. This responsibility was not the state or fact of having a duty to the other because a duty was another form of violent moral economy. No, responsibility was basically here a paradoxical

18 Guenther, "Shame and the Temporality of Social Life," 38.
19 Jacques Derrida, "Je suis en guerre contre moi-même," *Le Monde*, August 18, 2004. For a commentary on this notion, see Judith Butler, "On Never Having Learned How to Live," *Differences* 16, no. 3 (2005): 30.
20 Obviously, here one should launch an analysis of the issue of our environmental impact on the world. Unfortunately, there is no space to develop this here. The point is simply that curving down our carbon footprint, for example, is already an attempt to hear the other, to participate in the world as subject. I can only leave this immense topic for another time.

primary *response* to the other. It stood for the moment when I finally expressed—however surprising this was—a solidarity *not* to my being, but *to my very own cumbersomeness* and that such solidarity was precisely what allowed me to begin living ethically that is, in this case, to finally hear my Rwandese counterpart *properly*. To recognize my reversal was to acknowledge that, by simply being, someone could be affected and that I therefore have a solidarity toward my murderous body, a solidarity that also paradoxically curved down the potential harm done toward her. I reverse; I can only get out from under the carpet, but cautiously, in solidarity *not* to her but to my very own cumbersomeness. Is this not precisely ethics *without the violence of the judging gaze*; ethics *without the duplicitous open hand*; ethics *without economy and morality*?

The above was a personal account of shame. But what of collective shame? I need now to shift tense and style. I have to admit of having no competence in addressing the socio-political idea of collective shame. However, if I accept the idea of shame as an intentionality in reverse and that the premise of ethics is the acknowledgement of usurping the whole world for unjustly occupying space and time, then who is to say that this shame and therefore this acknowledgement cannot also be collective? If I stay with Rwanda, there is no doubt that some French people (albeit a few ...) experience (even to this day) a mortifying shame when they think of the role of France in the genocide of 1994. The usual response to this shame is to create groups, movements, associations, charities, and websites to fight against France's hypocrisy and amnesia. These are effective, but only up to a point. If I stay outside of the economy of morality and focus on the intentionality in reverse that I am putting forward in this essay, then a different type of demand unfolds onto the French, but also onto everyone else. It demands a solidarity *not just* to our cumbersomeness, but *also* to the cumbersomeness of the whole world as *a* collective subject.[21] This solidarity is a mutual recognition of usurpation, a solidarity that gives priority to our subject-world over and above the subject understood in its individuality. My mortifying shame is the shame of *all of us* (French or not), and such recognition is an attempt to respond to the other, the Rwandese, the survivor, the victim, and therefore to our world as subject.

The above was also a rather modest experience of shame. But what of an unbearable collective shame? To be ashamed of not knowing much about the Rwandan genocide was to some extent excusable. I was ashamed, I expressed solidarity to my cumbersomeness and in doing so, I took it upon myself to finally respond, to take on the *respons*ibility of tending an ear to a Rwandese. This reveals shame as a crucial structure of intersubjectivity leading to ethics, but that's all. Now imagine the shame of being part of a genocide. I can only use here the verb "to imagine" because I cannot possibly put myself in the shoes of those Rwandese who survived the genocide. Every year Rwanda commemorates the anniversary of the genocide. In April each year, the most brutal and unbearable shame descends on millions of men and women who survived the genocide. I cannot imagine what this must feel like: to survive one's relatives, to not have disappeared with them six feet under. It's too much. Their shame and therefore their conscience must surely be of another order. No one can understand it; no one can articulate it. To do so would be to violently impose our point of view, to ruthlessly overtake their shame and their conscience.[22]

No, the only gesture possible is to keep quiet and silent for their shame is beyond compare. Silent, our task can only be to simply listen to their extraordinary conscience. As you can imagine, this conscience has nothing to do with the way they consciously and bravely deal with the morass of moral dilemmas they have had to face since 1994. Rwanda spends its time weighing the type of moral issues that would defy any normative ethics and as such can only be left willy-nilly to those in power and to those who put them in power. No, this conscience is much more subtle. It is their unique attempt to turn the most unbearable shame, the most extreme form of intentionality in reverse into a gesture that lessens the impact of their lives on others. They had to carry on; they had to sur-vive and in doing so, they managed to get by and live together again.

In order to make the world understand the difficulty of this sur-vival, the president of the Representative Council of French Jewry, Richard Prasquier, uses the following comparison: "Can one imagine a survivor from Auschwitz having to live after the war in the same village where the Camp's SS also live?"[23] Rwanda is indeed Israel reborn at the heart of Germany after the Second World War. Such an unbearable situation means they have had to sur-vive in close proximity to one another, killers and survivors, each and every one of them negotiating—no doubt with much difficulty—their fragile place in the sun. This unique sur-vival in history is the greatest lesson Rwanda offers the world. It reveals the most accomplished attempt at lessening the impact of their presence on one another—that is, of their intentionality in reverse. It reveals Rwandese as the rare bearers of a radical ethical life: solidarity toward their own self-encumbrance. As such, it is high time we hear them, for our normative morals are clearly failing us.

21 For an analysis of this world-subject, see Jean-Paul Martinon, "Im-Mundus or Nancy's Globalizing-World-Formation," in *Nancy and the Political*, ed. Sanja Dejanovic (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

22 For an analysis of the problematic of taking Western analytical and/or scientific tools (anthropological, sociological, therapeutic, etc.) to analyse Rwanda, see the introduction to Martinon, After *"Rwanda": In Search of a New Ethics*.

23 Richard Prasquier, "De la Shoah au génocide des Tutsis: face à la concurrence des memoires?," in *Rwanda, Pour un dialogue des memoires*, ed. Benjamin Abtan (Paris: Albin Michel and Union des Etudiants Juifs de France, 2007), 94 (my translation).

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Postcolonial Melancholia

Protocols, Affects, and Effects of Shame

Restitution and Compensation in Austria after 1998

Historiography, the Politics of Memory, and Compensation Policy[1]

Eva Blimlinger

Introduction

Around the time of the election of Kurt Waldheim as Federal President (1986), a paradigm shift was gradually taking place in Austria regarding the interpretation of the role of Austria and especially Austrians during and after the Nazi era. Up to that point, official Austria and a majority of the population both adhered to the thesis that Austria was the "first victim" of the Third Reich, and therefore had not been involved in any of its actions. This ideological construction was directed against the actual victims of National Socialism in particular: "The 'victim thesis' was not only used in the area of foreign policy; it was also used against the actual victims of National Socialism. Therein lies a dubious fallacy. As expedient as it was as a juridical and foreign policy construction, it was inadmissible as domestic policy and on moral grounds. It very soon proved suitable to forestalling restitution claims as much as possible, or to reducing their efficiency."[2] With this change toward a differentiation and especially the historical scholarship on Aryanization, restitution, and compensation and the participation of the Austrians, in parallel with the discussions on the politics of memory, the focus came to fall on the questions of how Austria should address, process, and remember Nazism and its consequences. When the Witnesses in the Schools campaign began in Austria in the mid-1970s, at first, it was mainly resistance fighters like Franz Danimann, Rosa Jochmann, and Hermann Langbein who acted as witnesses, following in the tradition of emphasizing the role of Austrian resistance in the sense of the Moscow Declaration and ignoring other groups of victims—especially Jews.[3] Since 1982, people

1 This is a revised version of the article "Historikerkommissionen, Rückstellung und Entschädigung in Österreich nach 1998 – ein Überblick," in *Critical Studies*, ed. Elke Gaugele et al. (VS Verlag, 2015, forthcoming). It is based on the research of the historical commissions and the publications of the Historical Commission that have appeared thus far, as well as the publications released within the Commission for Provenance Research series and the articles published from this research.

2 Clemens Jabloner, Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Eva Blimlinger et al., *Schlussbericht der Historikerkommission der Republik Österreich: Vermögensentzug während der NS-Zeit sowie Rückstellungen und Entschädigungen seit 1945 in Österreich: Zusammenfassungen und Einschätzungen*, Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Historikerkommission, vol. 1 (Vienna: Oldenbourg 2003), 21; see also Clemens Jabloner, "Scholarly Investigation and Material Compensation: The Austrian Historical Commission at Work," in *Material Restoration in Europe*, ed. Dan Diner and Gotthart Wunberg (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 106.

3 The Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943, reads: "Austria is reminded, however, that she has a responsibility which she cannot evade for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation." See: http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/fileadmin/media/img/Gedenktage/GO_2.2_Moskauer_Deklaration_komplett.pdf. Further material available at: http://www.ns-quellen.at (accessed February 7, 2015).

who took part in the resistance and/or were exposed to persecution during the period from 1934 to 1945 have been interviewed by the Documentation Centre of the Austrian Resistance,[4] as part of an oral history project.[5]

In my view, the starting point for all of these discourses on the politics of memory, which also take place repeatedly in art-related contexts,[6] can and must be scholarly findings and the most accurate research possible. In this sense, I count myself among the agnostics, as Aleida Assmann calls them, when it comes to the concept of collective memory: "Particularly among historians, there exists a constant group of agnostics, who have nothing to do with the concept of 'collective memory.'"[7] This is not the place to differentiate between individual memory, history, historiography, memory research, and the politics of memory in detail, or to address the different approaches, paradigms, and relationships, but from my perspective these areas are in no way a "system of *checks and balances*, of complementarities and control."[8] Perhaps this is a discipline-influenced and therefore constricted view, but ultimately it should be the results of historiographical research—and not to advocate for hegemonic interpretation—that form the basis for the politics of memory, memory culture, and compensation policy.

Commissions and the Historical Commission

The updating of restitution and compensation claims in Europe during the early 1990s has several motives, reasons, and causes:

1. To begin with, certainly the collapse of the "real socialist" countries in general and the fall of the Iron Curtain have some bearing on these discussions. The first cases that will be discussed here were those that became public after the reunification of East and West Germany. These were cases in which Jews wanted to reclaim their property, which was initially Aryanized by the Nazis and subsequently nationalized by the GDR. In the course of reunification, the two German states had initially agreed to carry out individual restitution only partially, but also to make substantial global sums available. The distribution of funds was delegated to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, also known as the Claims Conference and the Jewish Claims Conference (JCC).[9]

2. The case of Greta Beer raised the issue of the so-called dormant accounts. Beer had suspected that there were Swiss banks accounts in her father's name, but she and her brother were denied access to these accounts. She was the star witness against the Swiss banks in the dispute over unclaimed assets. It was her appearance on April 23, 1996, as part of the first hearing on the dormant accounts, chaired by US Senator Alfonse D'Amato, that got the search for "dormant accounts" rolling and put the focus in general on the banks and their behavior.[10] To date, by the way, the established commissions (such as the Volcker Commission) have found no Swiss bank accounts for the Beer family.

3. Another area that should be mentioned in this context is that of forced labor during the Nazi era: in Germany, the conclusion of the so-called Two Plus Four Agreement on September 12, 1990,[11] led to an intensive discussion on the compensation of former forced laborers. Class actions—a legal instrument that does not exist in Europe in this form—against individual firms, such as Mercedes and Volkswagen, were introduced mainly by US attorneys. It was US attorneys because these companies now had branches or subsidiaries in the United States, making this type of action possible. Before the reunification of Germany, there had been no government compensation for forced laborers, under the argument that there was no peace treaty. Any possible compensation claims were repeatedly rejected on this basis. Aside from this international legal argument, there was also the crucial fact that a majority of the compensation would be invested in the countries of the former Soviet bloc, which was not politically desirable.

4 More information on this oral history project can be found on the Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (DÖW) website: http://www.doew.at/erinnern/biographien/erzaehlte-geschichte.
5 The fundamental, primarily methodological differences between oral history and contemporary witness interviews cannot be discussed here.
6 See, for example, the current discussions and interventions around the Weinheber memorial, http://www.eduardfreudmann.com/?p=885); the competition for the renovation of the Lueger memorial, http://www.luegerplatz.com/); or most recently, the competition for the design of a memorial on the grounds of the Vienna University of Economics in cooperation with the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, http://www.wu.ac.at/start/news/commemorative_project. See also the article by Andrea B. Braidt in this volume, 130–45.
7 Aleida Assmann, *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur: Eine Intervention* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013), 16.
8 Ibid., 23.
9 The Claims Conference is an amalgamation of Jewish organizations. Since its establishment in 1951, it has represented the compensation claims of Jewish victims of Nazism and Holocaust survivors. However, this approach was not fully accepted by survivors and their heirs, and the first lawsuits were brought in the early 1990s.
10 "Brisante Wende im Fall Greta Beer," in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, March 27, 2005, http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/startseite/articleCOYD5-1.112567.
11 The Two Plus Four Agreement (full official title: Treaty on the Final Settlement with respect to Germany) is the treaty between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as France, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. It was the basis for the reunification of the two German states and was signed in Moscow on September 12, 1990. It came into force on March 15, 1991, the date that the last instrument of ratification was filed.

4. Mention should also be made of the progress of the research into contemporary history, as well as economic and social research into this area of contemporary history, which was closely linked to the opening of archives, particularly in the Central and Eastern European countries, but also in Western Europe. To this should also be added the increased involvement of lawyers and legal experts, including legal historians, as well as experts from the fields of civil law, public law and international law.[12]

Just as the "dormant" accounts, as well as the subsequently discovered accounts that had been "laid to rest," were the starting point for the establishment of several commissions in Switzerland, so it was in Germany with the generally unresolved issue of compensation for forced laborers. And in Austria, it was—of course—art. In Austria,[13] the recent—initially political—discussions on expropriation, Aryanization, compensation, and restitution began at the end of 1997 with the seizure of two works by Egon Schiele. In late December 1997, the *New York Times* accused the art collector Rudolf Leopold of having in his collection—which, since 1994, had been the property of the Austrian government-financed Leopold Foundation—at least four images with a "troubled past."[14] The legal dispute over the *Portrait of Wally* lasted for thirteen years, finally ending with an August 2010 settlement, in which the Leopold Foundation was allowed to retain the picture.

In the fall of 1998, the Austrian National Council adopted the Federal Law on the Restitution of Cultural Property of Austrian Federal Museums and Collections.[15] To date, both large collections, such as the Rothschild collection, as well as numerous individual objects have been returned to their rightful owners, including paintings, drawings, books, graphics, porcelain, stained glass windows, cars, and even a water heater. In total, around 290 cases have been brought forth and decided.[16] In 2009, the Art Restitution Act was amended and its scope was extended to all art and cultural objects.[17] Even the Austrian federal states have adopted their own legal measures or legislative resolutions on restitution, and have conducted provenance research.[18]

After lawsuits were brought against Austrian banks and companies, both for expropriation and for forced labor, and on the initiative of the then President of the Austrian Jewish Community (*Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde*, or IKG) Ariel Muzicant, the Historical Commission was established by the resolution of the Ministerial Council on October 1, 1998.

The Commission's mandate was: "To examine and report on the whole complex of expropriation in the territory of the Republic of Austria during the Nazi era, as well as restitution and/or compensation (including economic or social benefits) by the Republic of Austria after 1945."[19] The results of no less than

three and a half years of research encompass a total of fifty-four reports, which were published in forty-nine volumes.

"The Historical Commission was neither court nor administrative authority; it did not decide on individual cases, nor on legal claims, nor on the new implementation of procedures, nor on the appropriateness of lump-sum payments."[20] "The case" was, and still is, the trigger for the empanelling of commissions or the legal anchoring of compensation payments—see the Wally case with the Leopold Foundation, or the Beer case, which led to the investigation of the "dormant accounts" in Switzerland, or the Walter Nowotny case, which led to the creation of the city of Vienna's Graves of Honor Commission.[21] But historical scholarship must go beyond that—by answering questions or by verifying or rejecting hypotheses and theories. The results of scholarly work are justified by this claim, and must therefore be verifiable through any competent and rational argumentation and reception, taking the methodological approach into account. In this context, it should be noted that the work of the Commission for Provenance Research is, strictly speaking, merely provenance research, because there is no general question aside from the individual case under investigation.

"While commissions are now ascribed a kind of judicial function in the social sphere, their historical verdict should immediately guide any actions, before the view of the past becomes too narrow. The accusation quickly arose, in the contexts of the political debates that deal with decisions and not specific historical truths, that the establishment of commissions was perhaps intended to serve only to delay such decisions—a charge that has occasionally been made against the Austrian Historical Commission."[22] This accusation against the Historical Commission has proved to be entirely unfounded. Some results,

12 Jabloner, *Schlussbericht*, 25.
13 The general statements on the Historical Commission are based on the final report of the Historical Commission, Jabloner's final report (*Schlussbericht*), and the materials available at http://www.historikerkommission.gv.at.
14 Cf. Judith H. Dobrzynski, "The Zealous Collector – A Special Report; A Singular Passion for Amassing Art: One Way or Another," in *New York Times*, December 24, 1997, http://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/24/arts/zealous-collector-special-report-singular-passion-for-amassing-art-one-way.html.
15 BGBl. I 1998/181, *Bundesgesetz über die Rückgabe von Kunstgegenständen und sonstigem beweglichem Kulturgut aus den österreichischen Bundesmuseen und Sammlungen und aus dem sonstigen Bundeseigentum*, also called the Kunstrückgabegesetz (KRG) or Art Restitution Act.
16 See http://www.provenienzforschung.gv.at; and Museumsbund Österreich, ed., "15 Jahre Provenienzforschung in österreichischen Museen," *Neues Museum: Die Österreichische Museumszeitschrift* 13, nos. 3–4 (2013).
17 BGBl. I 2009/117.
18 See, for example, the city of Vienna's policy: http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/ueber-uns/restitution.html?L=1.
19 Jabloner, *Schlussbericht*, 19.
20 Ibid., 30.
21 See http://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/abteilung/pdf/ehrengraeber-bericht2004.pdf.
22 Jabloner, *Schlussbericht*, 26.

such as the estimation of the number of forced laborers, or on the number of Aryanized dwellings, were already available before the presentation of the final report in 2003. The application deadline for the Settlement Fund ended in May 2003, and payments began years later and could not be completed until 2013.[23]

To describe what was, from a methodological point of view, such a value-bound reappraisal of the past, the expression *Geschichtsbarkeit* (roughly, "historicability")[24] was coined—not without polemical overtones—and complaints about the conversion of "guilt" into "debt" were raised.[25] Here, the Historical Commission has developed a clear approach. Through the systematic assembly of methodically appropriate acquired expertise and the most object-relevant applied assessment, it has presented—as far as is possible—a precise analysis of the subject matter. This also means that the results of the individual studies can certainly vary, and that there can be different interpretations, estimates, and even figures and data, depending on the chosen methodologies. This was certainly the case in the valuation of the Aryanized property, which resulted in different conclusions depending on the interpretation.[26]

Consequences of the Historical Commission: Restitution and Compensation

The findings of the Historical Commission, which concluded its work more than ten years ago, have been presented in numerous publications and lectures, and have formed the basis for further research on these and other questions about National Socialism, post-Nazism, compensation, restitution, victims groups, etc. The findings of the Historical Commission have also led to compensation policies.[27]

1. The Reconciliation Fund and the Compensation Fund

The presentation of the interim reports of the Historical Commission on the number of surviving forced laborers[28] who worked during the Nazi era in the territory of the Republic of Austria took place during the transition to the ÖVP-FPÖ coalition government on January 25, 2000. On February 15, 2000, just eleven days after his appointment as Federal Chancellor and the decision to impose the so-called EU sanctions against Austria, Wolfgang Schüssel, and Vice Chancellor Susanne Riess-Passer introduced the former National Bank President Maria Schaumayer as the Government Commissioner for the Compensation of Forced Laborers. The coalition agreement and the subsequent government program declared that compensation for forced laborers, prisoners of war, and displaced persons (*Vertriebene*) would be sought. The displaced persons in this meaning does not include Jews who were expelled from Austria, and other groups who were persecuted by the Nazis, but, for example, those

so-called *ethnic Germans* who were expelled for instance from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania. The government program was implemented for all three of the aforementioned groups.

After negotiations with the United States and the attorneys representing the forced laborer groups, the agreement between the Austrian federal government and the government of the United States of America concerning the Austrian Fund for "Reconciliation, Peace and Cooperation, by federal law establishing the Reconciliation Fund"[29] came into force on December 1, 2000. Legal certainty—by which all pending class-action lawsuits had to be either withdrawn or discontinued—was granted relatively quickly, and a symbolic amount was able to be paid to the forced laborers. In light of the amounts paid out, it can only be called "compensation" euphemistically.

On January 1, 2001, one month after the resolution on the Reconciliation Fund, the so-called Prisoner of War Compensation Act was passed by the Austrian Parliament,[30] and it seems reasonable to say that, in return for this, the FPÖ had agreed to the forced laborers policy. In contrast to the forced laborers, the prisoners of war had already been supported by financial assistance since 1958[31]—provided that they were among the so-called *late returnees* who had returned to Austria after 1949, mainly from the Soviet Union. In the discussions that began in 2000, it was repeatedly argued—falsely—that this group had not yet received any financial assistance.

A few months after the appointment of Schaumayer as Government Commissioner for the Compensation of Forced Laborers, the late former Director of the Diplomatic Academy, Ernst Sucharipa, was appointed "special envoy" by the

23 See: https://de.nationalfonds.org/docs/Medieninformation_25_9_2014.pdf.
24 Norbert Frei, Dirk van Laak, and Michael Stolleis, eds., *Geschichte vor Gericht: Historiker, Richter und die Suche nach Gerechtigkeit* (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2000), 200.
25 See Constantin Goschler, *Schuld und Schulden: Die Politik der Wiedergutmachung für NS-Verfolgte seit 1945*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* 3, ed. Norbert Frei (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005).
26 See Jabloner, *Schlussbericht*, 25ff.
27 The following text is a revision of Eva Blimlinger, "Die Republik Österreich. Keine Schuldigen, nur Opfer," in *Österreichische Nation-Kultur – Exil und Widerstand*, ed. Helmut Kramer et al. (Münster: LIT, 2006), 137–48; and Eva Blimlinger, "Die Republik Österreich – immer nur Opfer," *Mitteilungen: DÖW Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands*, no. 206 (May 2012): 1–7.
28 The reports were published on the Internet (http://www.historikerkommission.gv.at), and then revised for publication by the Historical Commission. Later: Florian Freund, Bertrand Perz, and Mark Spoerer, *Zwangsarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Republik Österreich 1939–1945*, Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Historikerkommission. Vermögensentzug während der NS-Zeit sowie Rückstellungen und Entschädigungen seit 1945 in Österreich 26, no. 1 (Vienna, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006).
29 BGBl I 2000/74, BGBl III 2000/221.
30 BGBl I 2000/142.
31 BGBl 1958/128.

federal government on May 19, 2000, to negotiate with the United States over the return and/or compensation of expropriated assets. On September 29, 2000, the Historical Commission presented its report on rental apartments that were Aryanized and never restituted or compensated.[32] On January 17, 2001, after lengthy negotiations, the Washington Agreement[33] was signed by the US, Austria, and various attorneys and representatives of organizations of victims[34]—but without the consent of the Austrian Jewish Community (IKG). As a consequence of the agreement, first, the rental and lease rights, which had never before been restituted or compensated, would be compensated by a one-time payment of USD 7,000, and a second payment of USD 1,000, to survivors from the National Fund; second, the Victims Welfare Act would be amended to state that those Austrians who were persecuted and displaced during the Nazi era and had now taken on foreign nationalities were entitled to a care allowance in full; and third, the General Settlement Fund for the Victims of National Socialism was created.[35]

The General Settlement Fund—established by the Settlement Fund Act[36]—was, after the establishment of legal certainty, allocated USD 210 million.[37] Not least, the findings of the Historical Commission have made it clear that certain damages and losses incurred by the victims of the Nazis were never compensated or were compensated inadequately. In the so-called claims process,[38] compensation for financial losses from real estate, bank notes, stocks, bonds, mortgages, other movables, including artwork, insurance policies, et cetera, could be requested from the Claims Committee of the Compensation Fund. In the so-called equity-based process, requests for occupational and educational losses could be claimed. A prerequisite for the application was that the claim had never before been subject to a final judgment by the Austrian courts or administrative authorities, or had not been settled by agreement, or that such a judgment had constituted an extreme injustice.[39] The second part of the Settlement Fund Act regulated the restitution in kind for immovable property that was directly or indirectly owned by the state on the date of January 17, 2001, and that had been expropriated between 1938 and 1945.[40]

2. The Displaced Persons Fund and German Compatriot Groups

Since the 1940s, it can be observed that whenever restitution and compensation measures have been adopted for the victims of the Nazis, parallel compensation laws have also been adopted in connection with the Second World War for groups of people who were assigned a victim status only through these laws. In Austrian politics, there can be no compensation for victims of the Nazis without some other group of people being awarded the status of victim through financial benefits or even compensation, whether they were late returnees, who were assisted in 1958,[41] or prisoners of war and civilian internees who were compensated in 2001 in exchange for the forced laborers; or whether

it is the Occupation Damages Act of 1958 or the War- and Persecution-Related Material Damage Act,[42] by which the victims from 1934 to 1938, the war victims and the victims of the Nazis alike, were compensated.

"Since 2001, the basic intention of the Minister of Finance and the provincial governors has been to allocate ATS 55 million from the federal government and ATS 45 million from the states to a Displaced Persons Fund,"[43] reads the commentary on the Federal Act on the Awarding of a Federal Grant to the Association of Ethnic German Homeland Organizations in Austria. This association was paid a lump sum of EUR 4 million by the federal government in 2002 for the purpose of representing the interests of the German-speaking "homeland refugees" in Austria, and primarily for the operation of the so-called *Haus der Heimat* ("homeland house") meeting facility. This was supplemented by approximately EUR 3.3 million from the states for a total of EUR 7.3 million, which

32 The report was subsequently published as Georg Graf et al., *"Arisierung" und Rückstellung von Wohnungen in Wien*, Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Historikerkommission: Vermögensentzug während der NS-Zeit sowie Rückstellungen und Entschädigungen seit 1945 in Österreich, Bd. 14 [Publications of the Austrian Historical Commission: Expropriation during the Nazi era and restitution and compensation since 1945 in Austria, vol. 14] (Vienna, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004).
33 BGBl III 2001/121.
34 At this point, it should be noted that women were relatively uncommon among the negotiators, who were predominantly male.
35 See Eva Blimlinger, *Und wenn sie nicht gestorben sind ... Die Republik Österreich, die Rückstellung und die Entschädigung*, in *Die Republik und das NS-Erbe* (= Raub und Rückgabe – Österreich von 1938 bis heute, 1), ed. Verena Pawlowsky and Harald Wendelin (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2005), 186–206.
36 *Entschädigungsfondsgesetz*, BGBl I 2001/12.
37 Rate fluctuations between the US dollar and the euro or other currencies have not been taken into account and have had a negative impact on the applicants due to the long application processing time.
38 Both the claims method and the equity method are alien to the Austrian legal process.
39 See Georg Graf, *"Arisierung" und Restitution*, in *Juristische Blätter*, vol. 123 (2001): 746–55.
40 The basis of the research into government property is the in rem documentation that was created for the Historical Commission of the Republic of Austria by Edith Leisch-Prost, Verena Pawlowsky, and Harald Wendelin, *Dokumentation aller am 17. Juni 2001 (Stichtag der Grundbuchabfrage) im Eigentum der Republik Österreich befindlichen Liegenschaften (Datenbank und Aktendokumentation) hinsichtlich der Frage, ob sie zwischen dem 12. März 1938 und dem 9. Mai 1945 ihren ursprünglichen Eigentümern und Eigentümerinnen entzogen wurden bzw. nach 1945 Gegenstand von Restitutionsanträgen oder -verfahren waren.* For the municipality of Vienna: *In-Rem-Dokumentation. Dokumentation aller am 13. März 2002 im Eigentum der Gemeinde Wien befindlichen Liegenschaften hinsichtlich der Frage, ob sie zwischen dem 12. März 1938 und dem 9. Mai 1945 ihren ursprünglichen Eigentümern und Eigentümerinnen entzogen wurden bzw. nach 1945 Gegenstand von Restitutionsanträgen oder -verfahren waren.* Both documents are in the General Settlement Fund and can be viewed there.
41 BGBl 1958/126.
42 BGBl 1958/127.
43 See http://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXI/I/I_01289/fnameorig_000908. html.

were incorporated into a foundation. It should be noted in this context that, in 1997, the Austrian Association of Ethnic German Homeland Organizations had already promised a subsidy in the amount of ATS 10 million (approximately EUR 727,000) payable in four annual installments for the construction of the Haus der Heimat. The final installment was paid in 2002. At the Haus der Heimat, foreign and domestic right-wing extremists meet to give presentations on their respective topics.[44]

In 2005, several laws were passed concerning Nazism and the war. The first to be adopted was the so-called Federal Act on the Recognition of the Achievements of the Austrian Resistance as well as the Final Abolishment of Unjust Nazi Acts.[45] It is this law that reverses the Nazi judgments against deserters from the army. Of course, the term "Wehrmacht deserters" does not appear anywhere in the law,[46] despite repeated attempts by the opposition parties to anchor the concept in the law. The Recognition Act also includes the so-called Liberation Memorial Allocation. On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of Austria from Nazi tyranny, a lump-sum payment (the Liberation Memorial Allocation) was created for resistance fighters and victims of political persecution and their dependents. Also included is an amendment to the Victims Assistance Act, which adds the Wehrmacht deserters to the group of persons entitled to benefits from victims' relief.

On May 12, 2005, Herbert Haupt (BZÖ-Bündnis Zukunft Österreich) and Walter Tancsits (ÖVP-Österreichische Volkspartei) introduced the following resolution in Parliament: "The achievements of women in the reconstruction of the Republic of Austria after the Second World War should be particularly appreciated by a one-time allotment. Through this gesture, special recognition would be made of the achievements of those women who raised children in the first years after the war under particularly difficult conditions and contributed to the reconstruction of the Republic."[47] By July 1, 2005, a bill to do just that was presented to the National Council. A federal law was subsequently adopted, which created the possibility of paying a lump-sum grant to mothers in recognition of their outstanding contributions to the reconstruction of the Republic of Austria.[48] The law came into force on August 11, 2005.[49] However, only women who had given birth to a child before the end of 1950, and who were themselves born before 1930, were eligible, so strictly speaking, only mothers were intended. This means that those women who were forcibly sterilized by the Nazis, and who may have contributed equally to the reconstruction, were not eligible.[50]

Summary

If homosexuals, the "anti-socials," and Wehrmacht deserters were finally recognized as victims of the Nazis—as happened through an amendment to the Victims Welfare Act—then of course this is only possible if, at the same time, the *Trümmermütter* ("debris mothers") were also honored and the prisoner of war allowance increased. The approach taken by the federal government and the parliament is, in my opinion, the culmination of the process of leveling and/or equalization of victim groups, which has been the case in Austria since 1945.[51] In Austrian politics, there can be no compensation for victims of the Nazis without some other group of people being awarded victim status through financial benefits or even compensation, be they the aforementioned late returnees, who were assisted in 1958, or the aforementioned prisoners of war and civilian internees, who were compensated in 2001 in return for the forced laborers. The list goes on and on.

If the Republic of Austria sees itself, as a state, as the first victim of Nazism, then this myth of victimhood must consequently be personalized systematically, and Austrian society must have been victimized in groups; it could not be the perpetrators, nor the accomplices, nor the guilty party. While a definite paradigm shift in the theory of Austrian victimhood has been detected since the 1980s, as was stated earlier, it has not been accompanied by a change with regard to the compensation and financial services for the victims of National Socialism. The FPÖ/ÖVP and ÖVP/FPÖ/BZÖ governing coalitions had only rhetorically advocated for proactive restitution and compensation policy for the victims of the Nazis. They were also doing it in no small part to counteract the initial skepticism of the EU member states regarding the government's hard right turn with the participation of the FPÖ. Paradoxically, as patchy as these measures were, they would have been much more difficult to implement in an SPÖ-ÖVP coalition—if they could be implemented at all. Recall that the

44 See http://www.doew.at: perform a full text search, or click on "Neues von ganz rechts."
45 BGBl I 2005/86.
46 The term "deserter" in the context of the German Wehrmacht can only be found in the Annulment and Rehabilitation Act, BGBl. I 2009/110.
47 See http://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXII/A/A_00641/fnameorig_043948.html.
48 BGBl I 2005/89.
49 See Eva Blimlinger, "Mutterkreuz der Republik," *Falter* 21 (2005).
50 See http://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXII/NRSITZ/NRSITZ_00116/SEITE_0147.html.
51 See Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, "Alle waren Opfer: Der selektive Umgang mit den Folgen des Nationalsozialismus," *Inventur 45/55: Österreich im ersten Jahrzehnt der Zweiten Republik*, ed. Wolfgang Kos and Georg Rigele (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 1996): 181–200; Eva Blimlinger, "Die Republik Österreich – immer nur Opfer," in *Opferschicksale. Widerstand und Verfolgung im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (Vienna: Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance, 2013), 311–20.

then Chancellor Viktor Klima said in the summer of 1998 that Austria would not compensate the forced laborers—that this was Germany's responsibility.[52] In parallel to the compensation measures for the actual victims of the Nazis, the clientele of the ÖVP and FPÖ/BZÖ were satisfied by the other aforementioned measures.

The payments to the former forced laborers were completed in 2005,[53] and the remaining money reverted to the Republic of Austria in a future fund[54] and a scholarship foundation.[55] In addition, all of the prisoners of war and civilian internees were already enjoying their payments. The approximately 47,500 Trümmermütter received lump-sum payments totaling EUR 14.2 million.[56]

Nearly twelve years after the end of the application period for the Claims Committee of the General Settlement Fund (May 28, 2003), all of the payments have still not been made. The judgments of the Claims Committee were only completed on February 4, 2014, at which time the payments for 1,700 applications were still open.[57] The work of the Arbitration Panel of the General Settlement Fund is also not yet complete, and all of the applications have yet to be processed.

The Leopold Foundation, which triggered the recent discussions, is—as a private institution—not covered by the Art Restitution Act. Provenance research funded by the Federal Chancellery, and carried out through the Federal Minister of Arts and Culture, Constitutional Affairs and the Media, is indeed taking place,[58] but the recommendations of the so-called Michalek Commission, named after the president of the commission, the retired Federal Minister Nikolaus Michalek, have to date only been followed in a single case.[59] To this day, none of the artwork seized during the Nazi era has been returned; only settlements have been concluded.

Historiography, politics, and in particular the politics of memory are especially difficult to separate because, in these questions, they are so close to one another. They each follow their own premises and logic. In my view, it is necessary for political decisions to be made not only based on sentiments, foreign and domestic needs and ultimately populist clientele politics, but that the results of scholarly research—however they may vary—provide the basis for (socio-) political action.

Translated from the German by Jason S. Heilman

52 Viktor Klima, *Klärung der NS-Zwangsarbeit Aufgabe der Firmen: Utl.: "Österreich hat zwischen 1938 und 1945 nicht existiert,"* APA0468 5 AI 0203 WI/II, September 3, 1998.
53 See Hubert Feichtlbauer, *Zwangsarbeit in Österreich 1938–1945: Fonds für Versöhnung, Frieden und Zusammenarbeit: Späte Anerkennung Geschichte, Schicksale* (Vienna: Braintrust, 2005); Hermann Rafetseder, *NS-Zwangsarbeits-Schicksale: Erkenntnisse zu Erscheinungsformen der Oppression und zum NS-Lagersystem aus der Arbeit des Österreichischen Versöhnungsfonds, Eine Dokumentation im Auftrag des Zukunftsfonds der Republik Österreich* (Linz, 2007): the 2007 printing was not carried out for data protection reasons; after its discontinuation, publication on CD and online was possible in late 2013. It can be found in the Upper Austrian History Forum: http://www.ooegeschichte.at/uploads/tx_iafbibliografiedb/Rafetseder_Hermann_B_NSZwangsarbeitsSchicksale_2013_01.pdf.
54 See http://www.zukunftsfonds-austria.at.
55 See https://www.bmbf.gv.at/service/brett/stipendienstiftung.html.
56 See http://www.parlinkom.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXIII/AB/AB_00931/index.shtml.
57 See http://www.de.nationalfonds.org/sites/dynamiccd76.html?id=news20080117160614344.
58 See http://www.kunstkultur.bka.gv.at/site/8002/default.aspx.
59 See, for example Thomas Trenkler, "Protestaktion vor dem Leopold Museum: 'Restituieren!,'" *Der Standard*, June 22, 2011, http://derstandard.at/1308679509515/Schiele-Gemaelde-Protestaktion-vor-dem-Leopold-Museum-Restituieren.

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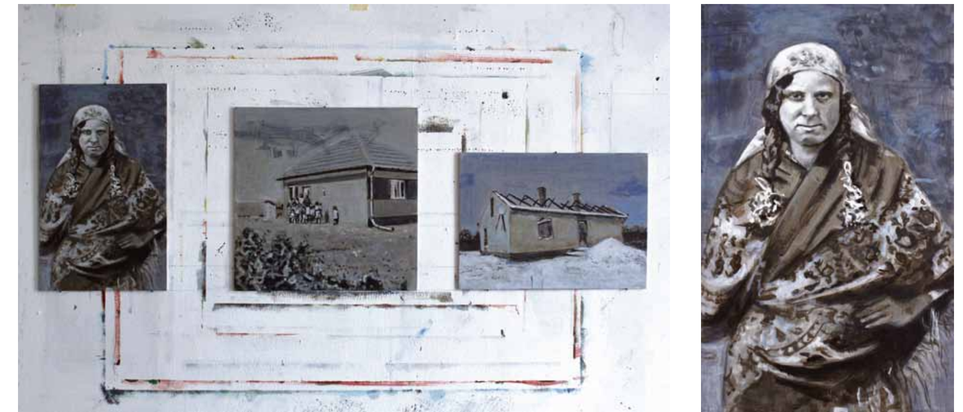
“Auschwitz Is Only Sleeping” On Shame and Reconciliation in the Roma Context

Tímea Junghaus

The initiatives for discussing shame, guilt, hatred, trauma, forgiving, and reconciliation regarding the Roma killings in Hungary were initiated almost exclusively in the field of contemporary art.[1] In the absence of an alternative, the memory of the tragedies is represented, preserved, and (re-)constructed in contemporary artworks.



Figs. 9–10
Csaba Nemes, *Untitled*, 2013

This essay is a review of failed sociocultural, economic, political, and psychological processes related to the present-day discrimination of Roma in Europe, and more specifically to the memory of the Roma murders in Hungary with the aim of examining the way that the memory of these tragedies is represented, projected, and (re-)constructed by contemporary artworks to aim for conflict resolution, peace, or reconciliation between Roma and non-Roma people.

The contemporary artist Csaba Nemes’s portable signs—three protest boards, *Untitled*—suggest that no further comment is necessary. The first image portrays Erzsébet Horváth on the official “Gypsy ID”—an identity document from

1 In 2008 the Hungarian Guard, the paramilitary Far Right organization, marched through Galgagyörk, a small village in northeast Hungary. One month later, the serial killers attacked the first Roma residents’ home in this village. The attacks continued from 2008 until the end of 2009. Altogether there were nine crime scenes. Sixty-three gunshots were fired at people, eleven Molotov cocktails were thrown at the houses of Roma residents. Five victims died, including a five-year-old boy, six were severely injured, including an eleven-year-old girl. The violent attacks continue, with several events of violence each month in Hungary and around Europe.

Hungary around 1933, preserved at the Vas County Archive, in Szombathely, Hungary. The ID card is an authentic document of the Roma Holocaust as it is recorded in the expulsion, encampment, and deportation documents in western Hungary. In the case of the Roma Holocaust in Hungary, it is hard to consider any photographs as well-known Holocaust icons, and those few that can be considered as authentic documents of massive destruction “fail to constitute an inherent part of the visual canon of the Holocaust.”[2]

Figs. 11–12
Csaba Nemes, *Untitled*, 2013

In this context, the ID of Horváth is a unique document. We know quite a lot about her from the information lines: She was born in Rábakeszthely in 1920. Her parents are Károly Horváth and Rozália Horváth. She is of medium height. She has an oval face and her hair is copper red. Her eyes are blue and she has no missing teeth. She is Catholic and works as a day laborer. At the same time we barely know anything about her … The second banner’s image was chosen from the artist’s family photo archive. As a result of the housing program initiated in the 1950s, Roma became eligible for loans with low interest in order to buy “reduced-value” buildings in the outskirts of cities and settlements. This picture represents a house of this kind. The family forms a triangle in front of the entrance—maybe the photographer asked them to line up this way, or maybe they feel threatened by the unusual situation. The third banner painted was based on a photo circulating in the media. It shows the ruins of the “yellow house” in Tatárszentgyörgy, which was lit on fire by the murderers of a father and son who lived in this house, and today it is a symbol of terror and fear. The protest board works emphasize that photographic images play a key role in shaping both our knowledge and our memory of the Holocaust. Images

bridge across time and space; they function as links in trans- and intergenerational communication, and also “enable the secondary generation to touch the past, to identify with the lost past world and to remember it.”[3]

There are approximately two million photographs of the Holocaust scattered all around the world hidden in libraries or archives, however, only a small number of images are incorporated in our collective knowledge. Nevertheless, in the case of the Roma Holocaust in Hungary it is hard to consider any photographs as well-known Holocaust-icons, and those few that can be considered as authentic documents of massive destruction fail to constitute an inherent part of the visual canon of the Holocaust. Visual artist Tamás Zádor’s photo series documenting the funerals of the victims, presenting the enormous masses who joined the victims’ families, are similarly empathetic works, just as “Confrontation,” the life-size photo series by reporter photographer Szabolcs Barakonyi that confronted the visitors of the Budapest Kunsthalle with photographs of the families left behind by the victims of the deadly violence in front of their burned down homes, which still bear the wounds resulting from the attacks. While the Hungarian public discourse and the media repress and conceal the attacks, artists attempt to reserve and perpetuate the memory of the Roma murders. German artist Alex Schikowski, who lives and works in Budapest, created and donated a monument for the town of Tatárszentgyörgy. The monument entitled *Robert and Little Robert* originally planned for the public playground was rejected by the Tatárszentgyörgy municipality’s public board who reasoned that “the monument would always remind local residents and visitors of the shameful tragedy, whereas they are trying hard to forget it as soon as possible.”[4]

Hungarian public policy supports forgetting as fast as possible. This “speed forgetting” decreases the possibility of catching everyday racism, and hinders the identification of racist threats as single occurrences of a long hidden, oppressed genealogy. Counting the attempts for reconciliation as “a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace”[5] In the Roma context, we find the pattern of

2 Quoted from the curatorial introduction of the exhibition “Multiple Exposures – Memory of the Roma Holocaust – Contemporary Reflections,” curated by Anna Lujza Szász, in Gallery8 – Roma Contemporary Art Space, August 2–October 2, 2013.
3 Ibid.
4 NOL, (online news portal) of the Hungarian *Nepszabadság Daily*: “Tatárszentgyörgy, Where People Not Want to Remember,” article by Gábor Czene, May 14, 2010. Website: http://nol.hu/belfold/20100514-ahol_nem_akarnak_emlekezni-661621 (Accessed March 2015).
5 Karen Brounéus, *Reconciliation – Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation* (Stockholm: Sida, 2003), 3.

perpetual failure, a vicious circle of repeating mistakes that created a situation of protracted conflict referred to in expert literature as the “conflict trap.”[6]

The most frequent problems are that initiatives are mainly externally driven, and they do not originate from the community’s specific context; thus, there are programs that are doomed to fail on such seemingly simple grounds as terminology. A significant number of international private and public bodies experiment in the field of “Roma programming” or the “Gypsy industry” many times perceived as presumptuous, as they appear often in the midst of trauma and pain.[7] Most initiatives focus on the “Roma future,” even though it is established both scientifically and in the practice of conflict prevention that reconciliation starts with the recognition and acknowledgement of the past.

It is exactly in this principle that the Romani Elders group called to life in the framework of the 7th Berlin Biennale.[8] The Romani Elders initiative builds on the achievements of Ágnes Daróczi, Romani Rose, Nicolae Gheorghe, Hans Caldaras, Ceija Stojka, and Rosa Taikon, who have spent a lifetime in Roma activism; it wishes to ensure that their wisdom is utilized and reinvested in our societies. The first public intervention of the Romani Elders took place on June 2, 2012, for the unfinished Memorial to the Sinti and Roma Murdered under the National Socialist Regime. The construction of the memorial was initiated in 1992 by Romani Rose and the German Sinti and Roma minority. The construction only began in 2008, and was quickly stopped because of conflict between the designer of the memorial Dani Karavan, the Berlin authority, and the German federal political level. The unfinished memorial was closed off by a fence and effectively forgotten. The Romani Elders advocated for the completion of the memorial, by generating an international civic alliance and demonstration; they mediated between the artist and the political sphere and put pressure on all parties involved by exposing the shameful story of the extended—twenty-year-long—building process” in the international media[9] As a result of the mediation, diplomatic efforts, and demonstration of the Romani Elders, the Roma Holocaust Memorial was inaugurated in November 2012. This initiative of the Romani Elders openly and courageously drew a parallel between Roma persecution during the Nazi regime—the Roma Holocaust—and the present-day discrimination and violence against Roma around Europe.

There are still multiple prohibitions making the exploration of the Roma Holocaust—and thus the potential reconciliation—extremely difficult. Some Jewish organizations and historians disclose the story of the Roma from Holocaust history in order to emphasize the unique and “exclusively Jewish” experience of the Shoah;[10] in Central Europe historians still argue if Roma were targeted at all by fascism, or if they were just “collateral damage” of the Holocaust. The Hungarian historian László Karsai is the main advocate of this discourse in Central Europe.[11] Similarly, the historian Seymour Siegel rejected the idea of

the Roma Holocaust based on the Roma people’s characteristic of not forming a unified racial group, and concluding that in this case Roma could not be systematically targeted as a group.[12] These studies are feeding the anti-Roma sentiments and serve the aims of the nationalist, and neo-Nazi movements in present-day Europe.

There is still a strong reluctance to Holocaust research among the traditional Roma and Sinti communities, prohibiting the creative exploration of the story of the Roma Holocaust.[13] In addition, the recognition of the Roma Holocaust has been hindered by the battle of the numbers played by several Holocaust experts from Central and Eastern Europe.

There is scientific evidence that the Holocaust has over 1.5 million Roma victims, including at least 250 thousand Roma murdered.[14] Ceija Stojka, a Holocaust survivor and artist, broke the prohibitions and the paralyzing sea of taboos by becoming the first Roma woman to confess her story of survival in the Holocaust through the instruments of visual art and literature. The significance of Stojka’s story also lies in the fact that only a few Roma survivors shared their life stories, and became active in the exploration and establishment of the Roma Holocaust memory. Sofia Taikon, a Polish Roma woman, was deported to Auschwitz with her family in 1943. In 1945, during the last months of the war,

6 Paul Collier et al., *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy, World Bank’s Policy Research Report* (Washington: Word Bank Publications and Oxford University Press, 2003), 4.
7 One of the fundamental rules of reconciliation process is that it shall start in peaceful conditions, when the prospect of renewed conflict/violence is remote.
8 The 7th Berlin Biennale in 2012 was curated by Artur Żmijewski; the Romani Elders initiative was called to life by the European Roma Cultural Foundation (ERCF).
9 More information on the Romani Elders can be found on their website: http://www.theromanielders.org.
10 In the 1980s, several Roma organizations and intellectuals in Europe (including the Central Council led by Romani Rose, or Phralipe in Central Europe headed by Nicolae Gheorghe) advocated for the acknowledgement of the Roma Holocaust. Some of the leading Jewish historians also advocated a shift in attitude, such as Strom in Henderson (1986), Ehmann (1981), Milton (1990), Thurner (1987), Young (1994), Lutz & Lutz (1995), Friedlander (1995), Fox (1988), and Stannard (1996).
11 See Karsai László, *A cigánykérdés Magyarországon 1919–1945: Út a cigány Holocausthoz*, Scientia Hungariae (Budapest: Cserépfalvi, 1992); and also Karsai László, “Roma holokauszt, magyar történelem” (Roma Holocaust and Hungarian history), *Népszabadság*, August 17, 1998, 10.
12 Ian Hancock, “Uniqueness of the Victims: Gypsies, Jews and the Holocaust,” *Without Prejudice: EAFORD International Review of Racial Discrimination* 1, no. 2 (1988): 45–67.
13 After the Holocaust experience, many Sinti and Roma families advocated for the strategy to completely draw back from public life, and rejected to be recorded on any lists, events, or institutions.
14 There are no exact numbers of the victims because of the fact that Roma lacked official identity documents, and the registration of their deportation and their death has also remained improperly documented.

Fig. 13
Ceija Stojka, *Auschwitz: We Were Ashamed*, 2008

the Swedish Red Cross launched an evacuation program in German concentration camps. White buses marked with the symbol of the Red Cross ferried some fifteen thousand prisoners to safety, including many other nationalities. Taikon was one of them. After the war she became one of the most respected representatives of the Swedish Roma. The other internationally known Roma survivor is Zoni Weisz. He was the first Sinto to be invited to the German Bundestag to talk about the genocide of the European Sinti and Roma on January 27, 2011, and he is still an activist today.

Stojka was born in 1933 and was ten years old when her family was deported to Auschwitz, from where she was transferred to the Ravensbrück forced labor camp, and later deported to Bergen-Belsen. With her amazing graphic series entitled “Even Death Is Terrified by Auschwitz,” counting over 200 pieces, she warned Europe: “Auschwitz is only sleeping,”[15] and fought passionately against the different kinds of oppression and violence around Europe. bell hooks, the African–American feminist critic stated: “Opposition is not enough. In the vacant space after one has resisted there is still the necessity to become—to make oneself anew.”[16] In this hard labor over “making ourselves anew,” Roma art has the most vital and defining role. Stojka is the demonstrative model for even

after that moment—when we think all the trust is lost, and where we felt that the traumas suffered are indescribable—there is a way to make ourselves anew.

One of her most renowned ink drawings *We Were Ashamed* has been the cover picture of several major exhibitions.[17] Perhaps, because through this artwork, Stojka explained,[18] how the shame from the real criminals descended on them, the victims. This shame restrained her to express her trauma and tell her story of survival, and at the same time inhibited her to live in peace with this memory. This transparent and axiomatic structure substantiates the collective

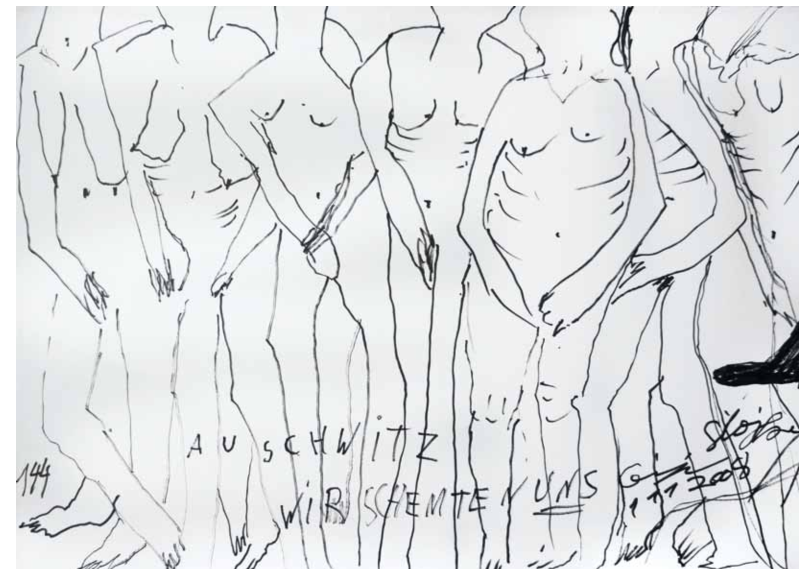


Fig. 14
Ceija Stojka, *Untitled*, 2011

15 Ceija Stojka, ***Wir leben im Verborgenen: Erinnerungen einer Rom-Zigeunerin*** (Vienna: Picus, 1988).
16 bell hooks, ***Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*** (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990), 15.
17 See Lith Bahlmann and Matthias Reichelt, eds., ***Ceija Stojka: Even Death Is Terrified of Auschwitz*** (Berlin: Verlag für Moderne Kunst, 2013).
18 Ceija Stojka held guided tours of her own exhibitions, and she also talks about this in the documentary portrait film ***Ceija Stojka: Unter den Brettern hellgrünes Gras*** (Ceija Stoijka: The green, green grass beneath), directed by Karin Berger (Navigator Films, 2005, 52 min).

character of the trauma for both the holder/controller and the object of shame. Stojka's drawing also suggests that the shame inflicted on the Roma has a spectacle characteristic.[19] It is in the field of the visual where Roma subalternity: this burden of being the "other," and the physical, symbolic, epistemic—violence, in other words, the colonizing act of European majorities toward the Roma, is the most visible and evident.

The impact of media—as a middle range initiative for reconciliation—is perhaps the most important regarding Roma, also because it is so often used to provoke hatred. The increasing number of paramilitary organizations, racist and neo-Nazi groups, and nationalist formations in Central Europe are using visual propaganda in their media campaigns for increasing and disseminating anti-Roma hatred and violence.[20] Their websites and visual forces include new "creatives" to humiliate and "abjectify" Roma.[21] We need to understand the operation of these oppressive pictures to recognize the pervasive and still hidden mechanisms of their strategies. Julia Kristeva's theories describe that the "abject is what society marks as "filth/dirt," "which distracts the order imagined or constructed by society,"[22] which "subverts the identity, the structure, the system,"[23] which does not respect borders and rules. Kristeva's metaphor about the skim of the milk, which she is morbidly disgusted by, perfectly illustrates the idea of abjection.

When Franz Fanon writes about negritude he uses the term "corporeal malediction" to describe the phenomenon articulated in the moment of visual encounter, which he refers to as "Look, a Negro!"[24] "In the Central European panoptic regime the 'Roma' became the pendants of Western Europe's African and Asian primitives."[25] W. J. T. Mitchell explains how the mechanisms of racism with its visual violence splits its subject into two, making it invisible and at the same time hypervisible, making it the object and target of both its adoration and hatred.[26] According to Mitchell, this is analogous of what the Bible describes as idolatry. "The idol, just as the Black man, arouses both adoration and hatred, it appears as an insignificant person, a slave and at the same time he is feared as a stranger or as a metaphysical quality." On many photos taken in the past decades, the main "theme" is the abjectification of the "victims"—the Roma people on the picture. These photos consciously distort and manipulate their Roma subject, until it is expedient for the eliciting of disgust, and the maximum possible.

The images used in web advertisements, billboard campaigns, flyers, newspaper advertisements, and political campaigns degrading Roma are the agents of ideological manipulation that harm people, and operate in the same way as pornographic images, which are—according to Catherine MacKinnon—not simply the presentations of a violent act, but the act itself, the act of violent degradation.[27]

In this oppressive, racist, and fearful (visual and physical) environment there is even more important demand for Roma art, which deconstructs the traditional "Roma image" established by the hegemonic and powerful white majority. The Roma artists are looking for analytic and practical "options confronting and delinking from [...] this colonial matrix of power," and this is how they arrive to the movement of decoloniality.[28] This Roma decolonial "thinking and doing," is both a political and epistemic project,[29] a means of eliminating the provincial tendency to pretend that western European modes of thinking are in fact universal ones. This way Roma art is in search of a "new humanity,"[30] or the search for "social liberation from all power organized as inequality, discrimination, exploitation, and domination."[31] And the Roma art practice takes us even one step further: there is plenty of artistic practice and curatorial work that focuses on the analyses or description of the mentality of the non-Roma, or in other words, the whiteness (and its racism, nationalism, Roma hatred), the main component of the present "situation."

Roma contemporary art has the potential to innovatively—as other segments of the Roma cultural movement—shed light exactly on the perpetuation of the kind of asymmetry that has marred the critical analyses of racial/ethnic formation and cultural practice, where the majority (white) position remained unexamined, unqualified, essential, homogenous, seemingly self-fashioned, and unmarked by history or practice. Roma art supports the excavation of the

19 Angéla Kóczé and Nidhi Trehan, "Post-colonial Racism and Social Justice: The Struggle for the Soul of the Romani Civil Rights Movement in the 'New Europe,'" in *Racism, Postcolonialism, Europe*, ed. Graham Huggan and Ian Law (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 50–77.
20 Websites promoting anti-Roma sentiments include: Szent Korona Rádió, http://szentkoronaradio.com/; Magyar Hajnal, http://magyarhajnal.com/; and Kurucz.info, https://kuruc.info/.
21 Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
22 Ibid., 56–90.
23 Elizabeth A. Grosz, *Volatile Bodies, Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press. 1994), 27.
24 Franz Fanon, "The Fact of Blackness," in *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 109.
25 Éva Judit Kovács, "Fekete testek, fehér testek," *Beszélő* 14, no. 1 (January 2009): 14 (my translation).
26 William John Thomas Mitchell, "What Do Pictures 'Really' Want?," *October* 77 (Summer 1996.): 71–82.
27 Catherine MacKinnon, *Feminism Unmodified* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 172–73.
28 Walter Mignolo, "The Darker Side of Western Modernity," in *Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 122–23.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., 52.
31 Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," in "Globalization and the DeColonial Option," ed. Walter D. Mignolo and Arturo Escobar, special issue, *Cultural Studies* 21, nos. 2–3 (2007): 178.

foundations of all racial formations and cultural positioning. It can resituate whiteness from its unspoken status; it can make whiteness visible by asserting its normalcy and transparency. In this oppressive, racist, and fearful (visual) environment there is even more important demand for Roma initiatives/depictions that deconstruct the traditional Roma image established by the hegemonic and powerful white majority.

Many psychosocial initiatives for peace and reconciliation aiming at changing attitudes and behavior of the "former enemy/perpetrator/oppressor" are initiated at the grassroots level. According to Blanka Kozma, Hungarian Roma activist, however, the "NGO scene is just another area where the institutionalized racism is in operation. It keeps Roma intellectuals occupied and away from 'real positions' where they could operate as 'real (economic, social, political) power brokers.'"[32] Based on Kozma, Roma activist and social critic Angéla Kóczé also points out that NGOs are dependent on the funding and the experimental projects and ideas of the major national and donor organizations.[33] Against the problematic character of the grassroots level, there are still valuable mechanisms and ideas for reconciliation that are only found at this level. For example, the use of traditional reconciliation practices like the Divan, the traditional Roma institution (mainly in the Muslim Roma communities and the southern European regions) dedicated to sitting down and discussing the political, social, and juridical affairs inside the community. This traditional, alternative juridical model inspired the Roma Pavilion in 2011 at the 54th Venice Biennale. The Roma Pavilion's "Call the Witness" concept was initiated by Suzana Milevska.[34] Most importantly, there are initiatives at the grassroots and community level where Roma have the opportunity to explore the past, write different histories, explore, and deal with the psychological effects of the conflict, humiliation, or shame, through pier support, discussion, training, and education activities, and this is the level where we can also collect our precious memories of peace, collaboration, and success to inherit them to the next generations.

The Roma cultural movement—and its central notion Roma contemporary art (or contemporary art by Roma artists)[35]—has been an efficient vehicle in the past four decades for the exploration of potential reconciliation between Gadzso (non-Roma) subjectivity and Roma reality. The Roma cultural context offers creative and critical practices for the Roma minority through which our widely dispersed and fragmented Roma minorities can "transcend national boundaries, creating a mutually accessible, translatable, and inspirational political culture that invite(s) universal participation."[36]

32 Angéla Kóczé, "Gender, Ethnicity and Class: Romani Women's Political Activism and Social Struggles" (PhD diss., Central European University, Budapest, 2011), 55.
33 Ibid.
34 "Call the Witness" project was curated by Suzana Milevska at BAK, Utrecht, and later it was installed as a part of the 2nd Roma Pavilion of the 54th Venice Biennale, in 2011.
35 "Roma art" may sound of "essentialist" provenance, but it is a term of multiple ambitions: It was conceived in the Roma community in the late 1960s for people to take pride in and celebrate Roma creativity, and the precious moments of the Roma cultural movement. It presupposes that Romani cultural rights shall be recognized and fulfilled—in other words, Roma shall have the rights and infrastructure to cultural production, presentation, and interpretation. It aims for a productive intervention in the depiction and presentation of Roma.
36 Jacqueline Nassy Brown, "Diaspora and Desire: Gendering 'Black America' in Black Liverpool," in *Globalization and Race: Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness*, ed. Kamari Maxine Clarke, Deborah A. Thomas (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 73–92.

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Making Visible[1]

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

I am Indian. The Roma are my cousins, who moved out of India a thousand years ago. It gives me a particular thrill because I am not politically an identitarian—it is too closely tied to reproductive heteronormativity. Just a good feeling, then, cousins.

I was in Kosovo all last week. The Roma are not part of the face Kosovo shows to visitors. Researching the terrible plight of the contemporary Romany in Kosovo, I was reminded of the word that first made me feel my kinship with the Roma, I'm a language person—*Dukh*, the title of a book of poems, bilingual in Romany given to me by its author Hedina Tahirović Sijerčić.

Dukh. For her in English bilinguality "pain," for me (it's a word in my native language) it means "sorrow." The invisibility of the Romany in Kosovo—the poet is from neighboring Bosnia—has given me the sense of kinship through this one word of immense power. Tragedy is the noblest genre, the pursuit of happiness is an American goal; tragedy teaches us more. Dukh brings us together.

My title today is "Making Visible." What is it to make visible? And how does "Roma Protokoll" make visible?[2] The Greek word *theorein*, like the English word "theory" and the corresponding words in the major European languages, signals the phenomenon of "seeing or making visible correctly"; the word is related to theater, to staging, to making visible as in a theater.

Since May 13, 2014, I have made presentations in Spain, Kosovo, Germany, and Croatia. Everywhere I have been welcomed as someone who will theorize already existing material. I myself perceive my old friend Suzana Milevska's making visible of the persistent undoing of legitimized violence, and Delaine and Damian Le Bas's staging of the question mark in *Safe European Home*? to be on a grid of theorizing, rather than caught in a theory-practice or theory-material opposition. I hope this will be clear—theorizing is an activity—in what I have to say in the time that remains. In some ways then, the way we look at theory or theorizing is a sabotaging of the classical Greek European model.

When I see Gagi speaking in detail about the occupancy problem of toilets—I am now referring to the exhibition—in Milutin Jovanović's *Migration*, I think of Primo Levi describing the abjection of the toilet protocol in Auschwitz. The

1 The text "Making Visible" originates from the keynote speech given at the a symposium held on May 28, 2011, in Vienna, Austria, in the context of the Wiener Festwochen production "Safe European Home?" at the Architektur Zentrum, Vienna. The symposium was curated by Birgit Lurz and Wolfgang Schlag. The transcript was originally edited by Marty Huber.

2 The exhibition "Roma Protokoll" was curated by Suzana Milevska in the Austrian Parliament press room, from May 26 to June 8, 2011. Most of the cited art entries belong to this exhibition.

work is broadening, making a greater spatio-historical swath visible. Emmanuel Levinas, revising his ethics of alterity (or otherness) into the object man, writes that "the object man must figure at the beginning of all knowing."[3] In other words, body before mind. We are alive and die as we are born.

Body before mind. Among Levinas's prime examples is the usual suspect: reproductive heteronormativity—the pregnant mother. The excreting body is where the poet W. B. Yeats moves us along: "But love has pitched its mansion/In the place of excrement."[4] But Gagi and Levi move us further—into the courtesy of the excreting body. I wish I could share with you the complicated example of gender-solidarity through the access to the body's allowance of shame that I was able to present three months ago in Delhi. For now, I will simply insist on the importance of theory's task of making visible, as correctly as possible, the widest terrain of possible connections.

Look, for example, at the transformation of the impersonal legitimacy of signage in Alfred Ullrich's two-channel video installation *Crazy Water Wheel*.[5] To turn the impersonal and ubiquitous declarative imperatives that in fact declare a specific race-class-gendered ideological subject—who can or cannot use space—is a deeply theoretical gesture and will travel everywhere in capitalism, to make visible the imposition of a "globe" over a world. That's what Ullrich is doing: making visible. Yet, the video screen will not let go of the existential specificity of the gesture (each and every sign), as no text will. What is the responsibility of witnessing here? (How do you watch this exhibition?) To witness here is to make visible that in the heart of the singular is a tendency to the universal. We theorize when we turn that tendency persistently into a crisis that will not remain frozen in the violence of a self-declared universal. Friends, I am a classroom teacher. I wish I had the time to unpack this. You can be sure that this material will become for me a teaching text. But four formulaic things I will say here, and now, looking toward those future occasions. Please bear with me:

1. Subalternity brings itself to crisis by witnessing and dwelling in the transformation of a tendency in the singular. The singular is the universalizable, never the universal. This is Spinoza's lesson, the vision of a just state, today degraded into the false promise of a ready-made multitude, safe in an unexamined digital idealism. By contrast, Milevska and Delian Le Bas inhabit that question mark we must always emphasize, and that troubles a safety imposed by law enforcement alone, a theoretical work that forever transforms the risk taking of witnessing into evidentiality. We must learn how to look at, how to listen to, how to walk into Jovanovitch/Gagi, Alfred Ullich, Marika Schmiedt. For those of you who have just walked into this space, these are the names of some of the artists in "Roma Protokoll," in *Safe European Home*?

2. Mere identitarianism closes off this learning. It harnesses gendering into reproductive heteronormativity. It joins hands with the racists, legitimizes them by reversal, sloganizes that you are like this because you were born, thus, manufactures cultural memory rather than singularize it, privatizes the historical, disqualifies itself by misappropriating the law's blind conveyor belt, ceaselessly neutralizing witnessing into singularity. I took good care to say I am kin to the Roma, that I am coming back from Kosovo, that the poet of pain or Dukh, Hedina Tahirović Sijerčić, is from Bosnia. Let me add that I worked with Milevska in Skopje, Jovanović is from Belgrade, that Ullrich and Delaine Le Bas and Marika Schmiedt are Euro-Roma. This is because we, women and honorary women, have not remained in the gender-marked safety of identity. Friends, I have explained for decades now, in writing and teaching, how gender is the original instrument of theorization for social production, for the production of culture. Today in these forty minutes I lean on that writing and teaching, I say that the group here, and I with them, have exposed identity and expanded it into the universalizability of the singular, that you can perform and give witness, whoever you are, as you walk through our show. It is said, only half in jest, that the Balkans begin in Austria. It is important that we are in the Parliament House and we are making that a space to contain singularity, at least until the 8th of June. Let it be longer, let it expand, in time as in space.

3. As I was repeating over the last week, I was active on the edges of Praxis International. Gajo Petrović, the great Yugoslav philosopher, was my personal friend, my only guest at the conference where I first presented the lecture "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in 1983. I heard last week that one of Petrović's students, now a lecturer at a university, put socialism and ethnicity in binary opposition, later commenting enigmatically that that was all he could tell his students now. I pick up his relay and say a bit more. That in Marx's comments on the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, a kingpin of socialism, is contained the very same theorizing gesture that we are inviting you to perform. Marx points out that if this tendency (for him the Hegelian word *die Tendenz*) is not brought to crisis, capitalism will manage it. If socialism had had the time and

3 Emmanuel Lévinas, *Otherwise than Being: Or, Beyond Essence*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1981), 59.

4 William Butler Yeats, "Crazy Jane Talks to the Bishop," *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*, 2nd ed. (New York: Scribner Paperback Poetry, 1996), 259.

5 Alfred Ullrich, *Crazy Water Wheel*, 2009–11, two-channel video installation (18 min, 38 sec).

inclination to teach this lesson as human nature (just as capitalism daily presents the gesture of "selling oneself for the highest profit" as human nature), we would not be living in this world of financial crisis today. Let me tell you that there is never enough time for teaching such counter-intuitive lessons, for the vanguard must be impatient. The ceaseless work of teaching, as these installations and mixed-media initiatives also teach, is to supplement vanguardism. As I quote Derrida's hard description of the supplement, see how it describes the precariousness of the gendered fragility of our show here, today: the supplement "may always not have taken place [...] it is never present, here and now. [...] Less than nothing"— fragile outdoor structures, a few documents, a couple of videos here—"and yet, to judge by its effects, much more than nothing."[6] The supplement is dangerous because it opens the vanguard to the incalculable.

As John Drabinski correctly comments: the supplement is "an addition to that which pretends to be self-sufficient (law, identity, the benevolent European universal that 'give voice' to the subaltern), which then unravels self-sufficiency with a constitutive contingency"[7]—the singular is universalizable, therefore contingent (not necessary, as the universal in Euro-teleology again and again tells us)—yet resides as a hole to be forever filled in the self-declared universal. A lesson to be learned. A hard lesson, but it can be learned. I am speaking as a teacher, and I am trying today to emphasize that if we learn how to watch this exhibition it can be a teaching text.

4. If it is a lesson to be learned, the teacher must serve the "reading" of art. The Roma must also be epistemologically trained so that they can relocate the mainstream. He or she is not just the object of being given a fair education, and so on. I believe, and this relates to my work, in my work with the mainstream: Where do we learn from? We learn from the people who are mistaken as only an object of benevolence rather than help to locate ourselves in a safe space within it. Some years ago, I had commented on the benevolent yet dismissive and silencing gesture of the charismatic diasporic when she wrote that Hanife, the only Roma member of the women she was helping (and she uses the word Gypsy), "drew" her letters. I had once again quoted Derrida: "Is that not as if one should refuse, 'speech' by translating the equivalent word in the language of the Nambikwara as 'to cry,' 'to sing,' 'to sigh?'" And I had gone on to say that "there is nothing proper to the letter in the convention of its writing."[8] In other words, I was asking the activist, helping from above, to learn her alphabet by letting the Roma, subaltern in that group of Greeks and Turks benevolently brought together, make visible the singularity of the Latin alphabet.

I repeat that plea here, today. I am overwhelmed by Małgorzata Mirga-Tas and Marta Kotlarska's *Miraculous Water*.[9] I heard the elation in the voice of Birgit Lurz, whose brilliance and generosity I cannot begin to describe, when it became possible to hold a *Romani Click* workshop here in a Vienna school, where "15 Roma children will transform a classroom into a big camera obscura." This is tremendous work. I have been engaged in the education of the subaltern for thirty years now. I bring what I have learned to supplement *Romani Click* in alliance with the same struggle.

Obviously, and I am now quoting the magazine relating to the installation, "the project engages with the urgent need to employ different methods to combat the existing prescriptive educational policy and goes towards the young Roma [...] (e.g., the widely spread phenomenon in Eastern Europe of putting Romani children in special schools and classes for pupils with mild mental disabilities)."[10]

The children create their own world, lead the other kinds of children in the class to create theirs. There are follow-up actions in Romani settlements. To repeat, I am overwhelmed by this. And I crave your indulgence to take another step.

The thirty-four-year-old Left Front government in my native state of West Bengal died in heavy electoral losses five years ago. Adding this to the story of the failure of international socialism, I will repeat what I have been teaching and writing since 1978, when I taught my first course on a thousand pages of Marx at the University of Texas at Austin: there is no direct line from the ownership of the means of production to a desire for general social justice, from justified self-interest to general social justice. You cannot fault the ones who have been exploited and say: oh well, they should have followed through; it's easy to say that from the point of view of a class with a liberal education. I repeat, there is no direct line from the ownership of the means of production to a craving for general social justice. The dictatorship of the proletariat does not happen and is bound to fail. In that same spirit, I will say, in alliance with Milevska: there is no direct line from "access to means of representation" (her words), and an end to the subalternization of the Roma all over the world.

6 Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 314.
7 John E. Drabinski, *Levinas and the Postcolonial: Race, Nation, Other* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 101.
8 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward A History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 408.
9 Malgorzata Mirga-Tas and Marta Kotlarska, *Miraculous Water*, 2006/11, DVD loop.
10 Suzana Milevska, "Roma Protocol," in *Safe European* (Vienna: Festwochen, 2011), 12.

I should say a great deal more to make myself clear. Instead, let me tabulate. As they are constructing their world, these children are held within the hegemonic history of Europe, and I quote Milevska's article again: "In the Renaissance [is there is only one Renaissance in the world? It's the European one we are speaking about, and assuming it's the universal name], artists started to use the camera obscura as an aid to help them re-draw the world." What world was this? This is the remote beginning of Kant's *cosmopolitheia* and Goethe's *Weltliteratur*. This is the beginning of the felicitous colonial. Artists are more or less innocent but history is larger than art, and that's what I am talking about; the imagination is not a racist imagination, but there must be epistemological training in order for the imagination to become an activist imagination. The European Renaissance redrawing of the world is the beginning of the capitalist imperialism that rewrites the globe today over "a world." In order to use this as medicine rather than poison, *Romani Click* must supplement general cognitive education rather than see itself only as "a contrast" to it. Art history to art geography to geography to the environment to technology to economics through science to mathematics—all the way to the world as they grow as children, held up, one hopes, by a deep learning of languages, a learning that cannot avoid poetry. Globalization will always be an island of languaging in a sea of traces. Let our Roma children move as subjects there. Only capital and data globalize. Everything else is damage control. Let our Roma children grow up to be problem solvers for a just world. The safe haven of Europe will not contain them then. Their voice will not be "given" any longer to them by the good people of Europe who started to map the world in the Renaissance.

I come now to Marika Schmiedt's *What Remains*. The teacher in me speaks first to those who view the exhibition: don't just collect the papers that you see on the desk. Read them: "Lists of prisoners, transport lists, inmate staff cards, obituaries, detention certificates, cash cards, records of medical experiments (Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück), measuring cards, prisoner photos, register files, police records, birth certificates, death certificates." You will not become experts but you will be literate in our shared history, witnessing evidence as testimony. This is the materiality of evidence that the state puts together.

She expands here from the Dukh of her grandmother, and I feel a special tie. In "Can the Subaltern Speak?" I expanded from the suicide of my grandmother's sister. In order to establish my particular sense of kinship with Schmiedt, I want to quote myself:

> *My grandmother's sister joined a group of self-styled terrorist freedom fighters in the '20s of the twentieth century. She killed herself because she was given an assassination detail and found herself unable to kill. I should like to think that my pacifism resonates with her inability to kill. When recently, in a public conversation with Judith Butler in New York, I said in answer to a question from the audience as to how I could be a pacifist in the face of Palestine, that the problem with the situation in Palestine was that politics would not allow me to be ethical, no one in the audience knew that I was thinking, in my heart, that it was a lesson I had learned from my grandmother's sister, who was only seventeen when she died. She was four years older than my mum. And it was my mother who told me the story. What kind of flip is given to a mother's testimony, in terms of veridicality?*[11]

Where is this on the grid from witnessing to evidentiary?

Abena Busia, the Ghanaian poet and critic, has been very kind to me and suggested that in writing the essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" I had made my grandmother's sister speak, in a certain way. Today standing here I say, that Marika has made the subaltern speak, in a certain way for sure, through representation, but much more forcefully. If the subaltern is the group that cannot achieve the state—Antonio Gramsci's classic definition—the Roma Holocaust didn't even make it into Hannah Arendt's insistence that the banality of evil springs from the premises of the state. The Roma Holocaust is not allowed into this widely accepted generalization. That is subalternity—not just not achieving the state, but not even achieving the record of the banality of the evil state. What speaks here in this exhibition is not a mother's word, as in my case, but the archives of the state, evidence made visible into singularity.

To summarize, then. Theorizing, as making visible and staging, is not separate from art practice. I try to show this by suggesting that Damian and Delaine Le Bas's fragile staging of Roma life and history is just that: theory as theater. Even if our birth certificate says, "Roma," we must pray to be haunted there because "I cannot be in the other's place,"—especially historically—"in the head of this other"—even if it is supposed to be my own history, history does not belong to anyone. Then I discussed Milevska's "Roma Protokoll" to show how it makes visible the singularity of the Roma as the universalizable through the ethics of the body, and gendering as theorizing instrument. I suggested that Roma children must be set on the path of relocating cognitive education. I suggested that we undo the divide between socialism and ethnicity. I suggested that teaching should supplement vanguardism. In conclusion, I stood with Schmiedt and our foremothers, to make the subaltern speak, if only through representation.

Thank you for teaching me so much. All my remarks come from visiting the exhibit. Take it away from me now ...

11 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Foremothers," *True Confessions: Feminist Professors Tell Stories Out of School*, ed. Susan Gubar (W. W. Norton & Company, 2011), 120.

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From Commission to Commission

Social Movements versus Institutionalized Forms of Reconciliation in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Jakob Krameritsch[1]

Fig. 15
A compilation of aerial photographs taken of the elections in South Africa, 1994

Open a web browser, type in an image search "South Africa election 1994" and you will get these pictures—and a lot more similar ones. What we consider here above are four aerial photographs taken from helicopters on April 26 and 27, 1994, in different parts of South Africa. These images are supposed to document the first democratic elections "for all," meaning for the black majority as well, who was excluded from the right to vote during the colonial and apartheid era. On each of these photographs one can see an enormous crowd of people, so that they can reasonably be captured just from above. In the hot sun and on dry ground, the people are waiting patiently, peacefully, and very disciplined in a well-organized queue to finally exercise their right to vote; anything but a mob beyond control (albeit most of the these pictures were taken in the context

1 I want to thank my interview partners for sharing their knowledge and views with me. The interviews, mostly conducted in September 2013 in South Africa, are a crucial basis for this article: Peter Alexander, Brian Ashley, Samantha Ashman, Asanda Benya, Bheki Buthelezi, Crispen Chinguno, Rehad Desai, Jane Duncan, Lonwabo Kilani, Ayanda Kota, Oupa Lehulere, Thapelo Lekgowa, Dunbar Moodie, Trevor Ngwane, Richard Pithouse, Sobopha Sibonile, Luke Sinwell, and Primrose Sonti. Some interview sequences are available at: http://marikanabuch.wordpress.com/interviews. (All mentioned websites further below were last accessed September 27, 2014). Many thanks to Alena Pfoser for copyediting the text.

of an international "election monitoring" and police control). Thus, the pictures are a kick in the teeth for all who alluded to the last, that the right to vote must be reserved just for an "educated class," meaning the *white* minority.

These pictures express a basic principle of the struggle against apartheid: "one person, one vote" in an independent and united South Africa. In doing so, these pictures gained an iconic status; they are ciphers for the democratic transition, for overcoming the apartheid, for the success of the freedom struggle against the racist regime. Today one can find them anywhere in South Africa, not only in school books but in classrooms (hanging besides a photograph of Mandela and the current president) and in almost all community centers and museums dedicated to the past of the country.

Besides the pictures of the release of Nelson Mandela from prison (1990), the photographs of Mandela putting his ballot paper in the voting box, and of Mandela as inaugurated president (both 1994), these aerial pictures are part of the visual repertoire of a South African success story, which culminated in the hegemonic narrative of the "rainbow nation."[2] This notion, coined by Desmond Tutu, tried to express a South Africa pretending to overcome the colonial and apartheid color line in order to ensure a "free democracy," with the same agency and a same access to justice for all.

Hegemony—as a political and economic fact—is understood here as the disposal of which (and whose) interests are formulated, how these interests are represented and authorized, as well as how they can be enforced.[3] Hegemonic (visual) narratives reiterate. They simplify. They agitate. They create the illusion of consensus.[4] By producing a certain kind of visibility, hegemonic narratives create areas of invisibility. In other words: like a stereotype, they create "a scarcity of discursive alternatives."[5] By making certain things visible, they disguise other expressions and the engagement with other realities. They become discursive defense shields, they delegitimize critique.

By analyzing some aspects of the political discourses of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996–98) and the Marikana Commission of Inquiry (2012–ongoing), this text forms an attempt to point out some struggles against the hegemonic narrative (and its visual representations) that social movements in South Africa currently engage in.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a Stolen Watch

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was not only a model for subsequent transitional, restorative justice commissions, which had to deal with a painful past and/or crimes against humanity. It was also a cornerstone for the "imagined community" of the South African nation as a rainbow nation. While the literature on the TRC fills a whole library, I will focus on a few crucial aspects in the debate on the TRC.[6]

The TRC was set up in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 in order "to provide for the investigation and the establishment of as complete a picture as possible of the *nature, causes* and extent of gross violations of human rights committed during the period from 1 March 1960"[7] to 1994 (i.e., right before the Sharpeville massacre, but not from the formal beginning of the apartheid regime in 1948). The TRC consisted of three committees: The Human Rights Violations Committee investigated human rights abuses; The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was responsible for "restoring victims' dignity" and formulating proposals to assist with rehabilitation; The Amnesty Committee considered applications for amnesty that were requested in accordance with the provisions of the act. In theory, the commission was authorized to grant amnesty to those charged with atrocities during apartheid as long as two conditions were met: the crimes were "politically motivated" and the "entire and whole truth" (whatever this means precisely) was told publicly by the person seeking amnesty.[8]

2 For more about the rainbow nation in the context of politics of memory, see: Annie E. Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Johannesburg: Duke University Press, 2004); Leslie Witz, "Transforming Museums on Postapartheid Tourist Routes," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 107–34. For Neville Alexander's counter-metaphor of a "Garieb Nation," see Neville Alexander, *An Ordinary Country: Issues in the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002); and Neville Alexander, *Thoughts on the New South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2013).

3 Nancy/Peter Wagenknecht, "Queer gegen Rechts: Differenzierende Herrschaft und sexuelle Politiken in der Zivilgesellschaft" (unpublished manuscript), cited in Johanna Schaffer, *Ambivalenzen der Sichtbarkeit: Über die visuellen Strukturen der Anerkennung* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2008), 91.

4 Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin Books 2004), 5.

5 Schaffer, *Ambivalenzen der Sichtbarkeit*, 61.

6 For a (nonfictional) bibliography on the TRC, see: http://www.khulumani.net/khulumani/documents/category/9-trc-legacy.html.

7 See Republic of South Africa: Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Bill, http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/legal/b30_95.htm (emphasis mine).

8 Out of 7112 petitioners, 5392 people were refused, and 849 were granted amnesty. Eighty percent of the petitioners were black petitioners.

Over a period of eighteen months, more than twenty-two thousand apartheid victims were heard publicly at the TRC, broadcasted almost every day: hundreds of hours of broadcast from often crying people depicting their story, often stories of torture, rape, and murder, sometimes sitting in front of the murderers of their relatives.[9] It must be emphasized that it was certainly an immense merit of the TRC to provide space for the stories of the "victims," most often (relatives of) anti-apartheid activists. But one contradiction of the so-called victim-centered TRC was that it could *grant* amnesty to perpetrators but just *recommend* reparations to victims—and, indeed, in many cases the reparations did not come or were just a token amount.

Moreover, the decision to grant a time frame for amnesty applications and the proclamation of reconciliation and forgiveness was not so much a result of an often romanticized "Ubuntu philosophy,"[10] but rather a strategic necessity within the civil war–like context of the transition from 1990 to the first election. How to convince, for example, the members of apartheid police and military to support the planned democratic election, if they have to reckon to be jailed right afterward? The time frame for amnesty applications equals the commitment to a continuity of old elites that were established during the apartheid regime in all the sectors: party politics ("sunset clause"), police, military, economy, science, culture, justice … And this very same commitment is a crucial reason why, after the TRC time frame for amnesty was closed, no further prosecutions of perpetrators, who did not ask for amnesty, took place or were treated in court.[11] So one major problem lies not within the TRC itself, but in the fact that there were no follow-up trials. The TRC with all its—comprehensible or not— compromises and strategies,[12] owed to the specific historical circumstances, remained the only institutionalized framework for dealing with crimes against humanity, atrocities, and the exploitative system of the apartheid era. Furthermore, its 120 pages of recommendations were ignored, so that the commission's business was left "scandalously unfinished," as Desmond Tutu, Chairman of the TRC, pointed out recently.[13]

Another main point of criticism by social movements is that the TRC failed to reveal the collective and systematic legal and economic character of apartheid. In the eyes of the public, in the TRC-constructed account apartheid appeared as a mere outcome of individual actions by more or less psychopathological perpetrators, most often policemen. Thus, the policemen asking for amnesty served to hide the fact that the core of the apartheid system was a racist capitalism from which above all the *white* minority in South Africa, as well as the countries of the global North, profited to an enormous extent. Apartheid was a law-based, systematic, and bureaucratic regime of discrimination and exploitation of cheap black labor in order to sustain *white* supremacy and profits. To focus on individual perpetrators (most often the ones at the low levels of a hierarchy, the so-called foot soldiers) was equal to remove from sight a racist

capitalistic system; it was to treat symptoms not causes, as, among others, Heidi Grunebaum pointed out: "Perpetrators and victims appeared with their 'personal' stories as individuals in front of the TRC. […] This approach divides the question upon causes from structural dimensions. It denies a collective basis of resistance by the civil society and reduces the ideological and moral dimension of the struggles to a few events and actions between individuals."[14]

In other words, within this hegemonic narrative,[15] there was and still is no reason for a "productive shame" and anything but a "paralyzing guilt" for a *white* economic system.[16] Just point the fingers to individual policemen of low ranks

9 For the final reports, see: http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/index.htm.

10 The Nguni word "ubuntu" represents notions of universal human interdependence, solidarity, and communalism, which can be traced to small-scale communities in precolonial Africa. It was often referred to the concept of ubuntu as an underlying principle of the TRC. See: Christian B. N. Gade, "What Is Ubuntu? Different Interpretations among South Africans of African Descent," *South African Journal of Philosophy* 31, no. 3 (2012): 484–503.

11 Dumisa Buhle Ntsebeza at a discussion panel on "truth and justice" in the framework of the conference "20 Years of Democracy in South Africa" at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, August 29, 2014. See: http://www.hkw.de/en/programm/projekte/2014/suedafrika/suedafrika_1.php.

12 Christian Meier: *Das Gebot zu vergessen und die Unabweisbarkeit des Erinnerns: Vom öffentlichen Umgang mit schlimmer Vergangenheit* (Munich: Siedler, 2010).

13 Desmond Tutu, cited in Nokuthula Ntuli, "'Government Failed Us' after TRC," *Independent Online*, July 22, 2014, http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/government-failed-us-after-trc-1.1723369#.VPMRsbPF_9s.

14 Heidi Grunebaum et al., "Outside the Frames – Erinnerungspolitik und gesellschaftliche Aufarbeitung nach der Apartheid," in *Südafrika: Die Grenzen der Be-freiung*, ed. Jens Erik Ambacher and Romin Khan (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2010), 205.

15 "According to a recent survey by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, only 52.8 % of white South Africans agree with the statement 'apartheid was a crime against humanity' […]. They suffer the innocence of the amnesiac: if no crime existed, then none of the privileges that these whites enjoy today can be traced back to an unfair racial advantage. Sisonke Msimang, "On Truth & Reconciliation: Let's Begin with the Simple Complicated Truth," *Daily Maverick*, December 13, 2013, http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2013-12-19-on-truth-reconciliation-lets-begin-with-the-simple-complicated-truth. Achille Mbembe writes: "It is nevertheless a fact that after apartheid, many former beneficiaries of past racial discrimination have wholeheartedly espoused the promises of individualistic liberty which they now oppose to the requisites of racial equality. […] They pretend that after liberation, white racism can no longer be considered the most fundamental cause of black poverty. […] Arguments are being made to the effect that racial disparities in South Africa today are either the result of the misguided policies of a corrupt and incompetent black government, or simply a manifestation of the moral failure of many individual blacks who do not work hard enough. Achille Mbembe, "Whiteness without Apartheid: The Limits of Racial Freedom," *Open Democracy*, July 4, 2007, http://www.opendemocracy.net/whiteness_without_apartheid_the_limits_of_racial_freedom.

16 Considering the "painful obligations to work through the grim details of imperial and colonial history," Paul Gilroy pleads to "transform paralyzing guilt into more productive shame that would be conducive to the building of multicultural nationality that is no longer phobic about the prospect of exposure to either strangers or otherness." Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York, Columbia University Press 2006), 99.

and conceal that they were installed to protect *white* profits. In this paradoxical manner—to talk over and over again about individual brutality in order to neglect structural violence—a hegemonic narrative was produced. The TRC built—deliberately or not—a stable foundation to neglect *white* privileges.

"'Healing the wounds,' the guiding principle of the TRC, became synonymous with the societal denial of collectively caused harm in the name of the *white* supremacy [...]. The decoupling of misery from its causes as well as the separation of the deprivation from the associated profits made it possible to ignore the material dimensions of reconciliation."[17]

In an interview with the filmmaker Khalo Matabane, Greg Marinovich, who was part of a group of photographers who covered the armed conflicts in the early 1990s in South Africa,[18] pointed to these "material dimensions of reconciliation" in simple terms:

> Forgiveness doesn't have to exempt one from justice. You can have justice and forgiveness, right?
>
> If someone steals my watch and says "I'm sorry," but is still wearing the watch—what is that mean?
>
> Or he doesn't even say "I'm sorry," like the vast majority of the white South Africans. He is wearing my watch, and it's stolen, and he doesn't say "I'm sorry."
>
> And I say "I forgive you."
>
> What kind of society do we build up?[19]

This is applicable on many levels: the majority of the *white* South Africans "didn't say sorry" and are "still wearing stolen watches." This is also true for transnational companies and countries of the global north. Many of them supported apartheid South Africa, cooperated with the regime out of self-interest to raise profits. And apartheid South Africa promised nothing less than exceptionally high profit margins for *white* cooperation partners. The next section compares this issue using Austria as an example, after a short introduction into the history of apartheid.

The Austrian Apartheid Contact Zone

Based on conventional political historiography apartheid can precisely be dated to the years between 1948 and 1994.[20] This, however, is treacherous. At other efficacious historic levels it began much earlier, in colonial times, and in many ways continues in the present. In 1948 the National Party won the general elections. In subsequent years, the nationalists began to implement their program of apartheid. It entailed the consolidation of the existing colonial legislation as well as ingrained practices of racial discrimination and economic exploitation through juridical legitimation. The Population and Registration Act of 1950 focused on classifying every citizen along racist categorizations into "white," "black," "Indian," and "colored." Hundreds of subsequent laws firmly established economic, social, and cultural privileges for the *white* minority. Another intention of the apartheid regime was to divide the population into "national groups" and separate them spatially.

During the 1960s, so-called *homelands* or *Bantustans* were established, which concentrated more than 80 percent of the population on only 13 percent of the land. These homelands served as a repository for a cheap work force, which was to ensure *white* wealth in the mines, farms, and factories.[21] By installing a migrant labor system, black workers, without any civil rights outside the homelands and without any protection by labor unions (until the 1980s not permitted for black workers), had to work under inhuman conditions, especially in the mines. Job regulations and restrictions made sure that the wages for black workers were many times lower that the ones of *white* employees; thus, best conditions for big business, not to forget about the fact that South Africa had (and still has) one of the worldwide biggest deposits of mineral resources like gold, diamonds, platinum, iron ore ...

The apartheid state was able to remain in power for such a long time period not least due to the (often hidden) economic cooperation with western countries. In relation to its political relevance and economic importance, Austria played an outstanding role in supporting the apartheid system. At multilateral level, the Austrian government followed and signed most UN resolutions and recommendations against the apartheid regime. But at a bilateral level and in its

17 Grunebaum, "Outside the Frames," 206.
18 Greg Marinovich and Joao Silva, *The Bang-Bang Club: Snapshots from a Hidden War* (London: Arrow Books 2000).
19 Interview with Greg Marinovich in *Nelson Mandela: The Myth and Me* (directed by Khalo Matabane, RSA/D 2014, 85 min). This interview sequence is from the sixty-seventh minute.
20 For the following see, Sabelo Mlangeni, introduction to *Postapart/heid Communities*, edited by the curatorial team of the exhibition at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna (Vienna, 2014), 5f.
21 See, for example, Steve Biko, "Let's Talk about Bantustans," in *I Write What I Like: Selected Writings*, ed. Aelred Stubbs (Cape Town: Jacana, 2012), 79–86.

domestic policy, the measures and sanctions were often—consciously—ineffective and in its basic orientation even opposed to the UN recommendations.[22] From the 1970s onward, the Austrian support for the apartheid regime was effectively growing: trade relations, even arm deals, were intensified, more investments were undertaken, and, as compared to international standards, Austrian banks extensively dealt in credits with apartheid (supportive) companies in South Africa.

Involved in these strong economic relations were not only private enterprises but also Austria's nationalized industry (e.g., VOEST/Noricum, Länderbank, CA). Invoking the alleged "neutrality," Austria was a crucial hub for contacts and transfers of goods for the apartheid regime, for example, for the diplomatic recognition of the homeland Transkei in 1976.[23] Furthermore, tourism was enhanced, cultural, sportive, and student exchange programs were installed.[24] The Austrian pavilion was awarded the gold medal at the biggest economic fair, the "Rand Easter Show," in Johannesburg several times.

In this way, the entanglements between Austria and apartheid South Africa were intensified and strengthened, at least till the "state of emergency" was installed in South Africa in 1985. This Austrian-apartheid contact zone is characterized by ideological and economical harmony and a convergence of interests.[25] Collaborations with South Africa were intensified not despite but because of apartheid. Apartheid provided high rates of profit for *white* companies. Furthermore, South Africa was affirmed as an anticommunist bastion, as a vanguard of a *white* Europe in Africa, as a bearer of hope for a constellation of state under *white* supremacy.

The Austrian Anti-Apartheid Movement, other related social movements, and some of the Austrian labor unions have uncovered and criticized some of these entanglements between Austria and apartheid South Africa. But—despite this merit—they have not been systematically researched and conceptualized. But, more importantly, what about—to use Marinovich's words—saying, "I'm sorry"? And what about the stolen watches? Nothing.

Khulumani, the Unfinished Business of the TRC and the PUI Problem

Since its founding in 1995, the South African membership-based organization "Khulumani Support Group"[26] (Khulumani in Zulu means "to raise the voice") has concrete demands: firstly, a public apology by the states (and multinational cooperations) that profited by aiding and abetting the apartheid regime and, secondly, a legal framework for litigation against transnational companies

and their foreign subsidiaries in South Africa. The Khulumani Support Group currently has more than eighty thousand paying members within South Africa and is linked with other social movements around the globe.[27] The group offered this self-description:

> Khulumani exists to work for the resolution of all the issues raised by the TRC and left unresolved almost twenty years later. Khulumani continues to ask the questions:
>
> i) How can black people be expected to forgive the unspeakable things that were perpetrated against them, when there has been no equivalent acceptance of responsibility for the harms committed and no adequate remedies to assist affected families to survive with an adequate standard of living so many years later? [...]
>
> ii) What if the state has failed to meet its obligations to provide adequate reparations within a reasonable time period?
>
> iii) What if the door on all this unfinished business of the TRC has been prematurely slammed closed by government?
>
> Khulumani has yet to hear a growing groundswell of voices of those who find themselves comfortably off in post-apartheid South Africa, calling for an adequate programme of reparations for victims of apartheid crimes.

22 Walter Sauer and Theresia Zeschin, eds., *Die Apartheid-Connection: Österreichs Bedeutung für Südafrika* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1984), 10. See also, O.A., Die Beziehungen Österreichs zu Süd-afrika, in *Südafrika – Apartheid*, ed. Anti-Apartheid-Bewegung in Österreich et al. (Vienna, 1988), 25–30. Adalbert Krims, "Kleine Geschichte der Anti-Apartheid-Bewegung in Österreich," in *GWU–Materialien: Materialien zu Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Umwelt im Unterricht* 1 (1999): 15. For Germany see: Birgit Morgenrath and Gottfreid Wellmer, *Deutsches Kapital am Kap. Kollaboration mit dem Apartheid-regime* (Hamburg: Nautilus, 2003).

23 Mantanzima, the president of the homeland Transkei, was asked in 1979, three years after independence (which was immediately denied by the UN), from which countries he is receiving infrastructural and economic support. His answer: "Taiwan and Austria." In an Austrian school atlas from 1977, the Transkei is marked as independent state. See F. W. Putzger et al., *Historischer Weltatlas* (Austria, 1977), 137.

24 On the Transkei issue especially, see Sauer and Zeschin, *Die Apartheid-Connection*, 40ff.

25 Mary Louis Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992). James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

26 For more information see the Khulumani Support Group website: http://www.khulumani.net.

27 In Germany, for example, with medico international (http://www.medico.de), KOSA – Koordination Südliches Afrika (http://www.kosa.org), and KASA – Kirchliche Arbeitsstelle Südliches Afrika (http://www.kasa.woek.de); in Switzerland, for example, with ADR – Apartheid Debt and Reparations Campaign (http://www.apartheid-reparations.ch).

> A stable and durable peace can only arise where reconciliation is built on a foundation of justice, redress, reparation, and restitution. There is nothing for mahala (free of charge)![28]

In its litigations against transnational companies and their foreign subsidiaries Khulumani has not been supported by the South African government, even though Khulumani achieved certain successes.[29] Recently, Khulumani had to suffer a setback. It is worthwhile to quote their press release from August 28, 2014, on this issue extensively:

> After twelve years of sustained advocacy towards ending the impunity of transnational companies for aiding and abetting the perpetration of gross human rights violations in South Africa, through their collaboration with and provision of military and other strategic equipment to the security agencies of the apartheid regime, the presiding judge, Shira Scheindlin has ruled that […] jurisdiction no longer extends "to claims involving foreign conduct by foreign subsidiaries of American corporations." […]
>
> While the judge expressed her appreciation of the specific and detailed evidence of the role of the subsidiaries of IBM and Ford Motor Company during apartheid, provided by the plaintiffs' lawyers, and her own belief that the case should be allowed to go forward, she explained that she was bound by the decisions of the Second Circuit and the Supreme Court to rule against our motion to amend our complaint to the court […].
>
> This particular setback comes at a historic point in a growing global movement seeking to end the impunity of multinational companies for corporate crimes. […] The Khulumani litigation has long pioneered efforts to secure accountability for corporate crimes since the filing of the Khulumani et al vs Barclays et al lawsuit in November 2002. That case identified 23 multinational corporations that aided and abetted the perpetration of gross human rights violations through the highly profitable business they conducted with the apartheid government, in violation of multiple United Nations resolutions and embargoes.
>
> Attention will now turn to exploring possibilities for holding the subsidiaries of these American and other foreign corporations liable in South African courts towards ending corporate impunity. This struggle continues.[30]

At the core of Khulumani's demands is the conviction that justice, reconciliation, and peace for South Africans could in the long run only be realized by providing stable material conditions. But, as Neville Alexander pointed out, South Africa has not experienced such a social revolution: "If anything, the post-apartheid state is more capitalist than its apartheid parent. To deny the

continuity between the apartheid capitalist state and the post-apartheid capitalist state […] is a futile and quixotic exercise."[31] The Left, which opted for a social-economic revolution, had "by 1994, lost the macroeconomic battle."[32] In the words of John Saul and Patrick Bond:

> In fact, in the end, the relative ease of the political transition was principally guaranteed by the ANC's withdrawal from any form of genuine class struggle in the socio-economic realm and the abandonment of any economic strategy that might have been expected directly to service significantly the immediate material requirements of the vast mass of desperately impoverished South Africans. This was to produce a society where the income gap between rich and poor has been, and remains, among the widest in the world.[33]

Today, the average income of a *white*-owned household (9 percent of the population) is six times higher than the income of a black-owned household.[34] A Fanonist mechanism is tangible in post-apartheid South Africa today: the former leaders of the liberation struggle have become the national middle class that "discovers its historic mission: that of intermediary. Seen through its eyes: its mission has nothing to do with transforming the nation; it consists, prosaically, of being the transmission line between the nation and a capitalism."[35] Saul and Bond used the term "a Fanonist nightmare of false decolonization," which led to a "recolonization."[36]

28 "The Unreasonable Demand to Forgive the Past in Today's South Africa in the Absence of an Adequate Programme of Redress and Reparation," Khulmani Support Group, June 16, 2014, http://www.khulumani.net/khulumani/thinking/item/968-the-unreasonable-demand-to-forgive-the-past-in-today-s-south-africa-in-the-absence-of-an-adequate-programme-of-redress-and-reparation.html.

29 See "Bankrupt General Motors Agrees to Settle in Apartheid Lawsuit," Khulmani Support Group, February 28, 2012, http://www.khulumani.net/khulumani/statements/item/620-breaking-news-bankrupt-general-motors-agrees-to-settle-in-apartheid-lawsuit.html.

30 Statement by Khulmani Support Group, September 1, 2014, http://www.khulumani.net/khulumani/statements/item/1000-us-district-court-judge-scheindlin-dismisses-the-apartheid-litigation-on-grounds-that-the-recent-narrowing-of-the-scope-of-application-of-the-alien-tort-statute-now-prevents-claims-that-involve-foreign-subsidiaries-of-american-corporations.html.

31 Neville Alexander, "South Africa: An Unfinished Revolution?," fourth Strini Moodley Annual Memorial Lecture, University of KwaZulu-Natal, May 13, 2010. See http://links.org.au/node/1693.

32 Hein Marais, *South Africa – Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition* (London: Zed Books, 1995), 156.

33 John S. Saul and Patrick Bond, *South Africa – The Present as History: From Mrs. Ples to Mandela & Marikana* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2014), 137.

34 So, the "color bar" remains not least at a material level a lived contemporary reality. The unemployment rate, officially at 25 percent, is probably closer to 40 percent. Of those to have jobs a third earn less than two dollars per day. See, for example, the outcomes of the South African census in 2011: http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2011/Products/Census_2011_Census_in_brief.pdf.

35 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 152.

36 Saul and Bond, *South Africa*, 247.

Sampie Terreblanche sums it up:

> The outstanding characteristic of South Africa, eighteen years after the transition of 1994, is the intensification of the country's social problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality (the PUI problem) amongst the poorest 50 per cent of the population—in other words, the majority of the black people. (These 50% receive less than 8% of the total national income.) The intensification of the PUI problem can be ascribed partly to the co-option of South Africa as a satellite of the […] neoliberal empire, and partly to the misguided and myopic policy initiatives of the ANC government. […] The ANC has proclaimed repeatedly that addressing the PUI problem is its highest priority. But this is only true in the rhetorical sense of the word. The policy measures implemented by the government over the past eighteen years have been given strong preference to black elite formation and to promoting the interests of local and foreign corporations while it has shamelessly neglected the impoverished black majority.[37]

The Marikana Massacre

This briefly outlined social-economic reality forms the background of the Marikana massacre in August 2012. Hundreds of mine workers in Marikana, near Johannesburg, had lost their faith in their union, co-opted by the management of Lonmin, the world's third biggest platinum enterprise, based in the United Kingdom. Thus, the self-organized workers went without their union ("unprotected" but legal) in a strike for better living conditions and fairer wages, because they knew that the platinum producer had benefited from a commodities boom in the 2000s (platinum is used, for example, in catalytic converters of cars). But the profits were used above all for shareholder value maximization, which dictated that costs are minimized, especially labor costs.[38]

In the photograph (fig. 16) one can see the striking miners at their main meeting place, a small mountain, one day prior to the massacre. It is one of the few pictures taken from the perspective of the workers. On the upper right corner of the photograph is an informal settlement called Nkaneng, where most of the workers live with their relatives. The huge electricity pylons supply the plant grounds of Lonmin (right next to Nkaneng) with energy. The shacks in Nkaneng are often not provided with electricity; there is no running water. One could read the photograph as counter-narrative to the hegemonic cluster connected with the aerial pictures mentioned above that celebrated the overcoming of apartheid and colonial rule. Eighteen years later, these mine workers are protesting against the socio-economical "recolonization" within the post-apartheid system. Their demand was to speak directly to the management about their wages and living conditions. The latter denied.

Fig. 16
Greg Marinovich, photograph of Marikana, August 15, 2012

On August 16, 2012, the South African police, announcing that they were going to end this strike, killed thirty-four workers by shooting many of them in the back, some with more than ten bullets. More than eighty strikers were injured, many of them severely. Over 200 strikers were jailed. This massacre, partly live broadcasted on TV, was the biggest since the steep cutting massacres of the apartheid era: Sharpeville (1960), Soweto (1976), Boipatong (1992). The shock about the massacre was followed by a second one: the media coverage. The police, the government, and the Lonmin management proclaimed unisono that the police was acting in self-defense and that it was now "a time to mourn, not to point fingers." The early media coverage, far from being investigative, reiterated this version. Jane Duncan, media researcher at Rhodes

37 Sampie Terreblanche, *Lost in Transformation: South Africa's Search for a New Future since 1986* (Johannesburg: KMM Review Publishing Company, 2012).
38 See Crispen Chinguno, "Marikana and the Post-Apartheid Workplace Order" (working paper, Sociology, Work and Development Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2013); and Andrew Bowman and Gilad Isaacs, "Demanding the Impossible? Platinum Mining Profits and Wage Demands in Context," *Research on Money and Finance*, June 4, 2014: http://www.researchonmoneyandfinance.org/index.php/publication/occasional-policy-papers/186-demanding-the-impossible-platinum-mining-profits-and-wage-demands-in-context; and Sylvia Vollenhoven, "The Real Price of Platinum: Squalor in the Shadow of Immense Wealth," *Journalist*, August 2012, http://www.thejournalist.org.za/spotlight/real-price-platinum-squalor-shadow-immense-wealth.

University, Grahamstown, conducted a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the early press coverage of Marikana.[39] In a sample of 163 articles, she found only one in which a worker was asked by a journalist what had happened. The workers were not only silenced but also criminalized, illegalized, and depoliticized, as Duncan pointed out: "I think that parallels can be drawn with the Apartheid coverage—even in the more progressive or liberal minded newspapers. I think that it has often been horrifying to the captains of the industry, including the captains of media industries to understand workers as agents, as thinking, feeling beings with an ability to shape their own destiny and shape society in a way that may be profoundly uncomfortable to the elites."[40]

At this point we should underline a major difference between the Marikana photograph and the aerial pictures from 1994. The latter gain their harmonizing impact also due its class-blindness, which is (in South Africa) never innocent of color; in distinction to the Marikana photograph there are no obvious class signifiers. The Marikana mountain is an obvious meeting point of the self-organized black working class—like Duncan mentioned—threatening "the captains of industry." Together with the group of unemployed people, surely the class who is formulating the loudest resistance against the post-apartheid system ("rebellion of the poor").[41]

The shock about the massacre itself, as well as the shock about the media coverage and the reactions of—as soon became clearer—the triple alliance of government/police, Lonmin management and the leading union urged a group of researchers and activists to go to Marikana and get in touch with the workers and their perspective. Together they worked on a reconstruction of the massacre and its—concrete and structural—causes. Together with the Marikana Women's League, who played a major role in supporting the strikers right after the massacre,[42] and in cooperation with the Khulumani Support Group they founded the Marikana Support Campaign (MSC).

Their findings—presented in a book,[43] in several articles,[44] public lectures,[45] and a documentary film[46]—brought up a lot of evidence that the massacre was the outcome of a planned undertaking by the above mentioned triple alliance to break the strike in order to avoid wage increases,[47] and—even more importantly—to run rings around the self-organized workers. The struggle of the self-organized workers against the power-relation of the triple alliance should not be a role model for other mine workers, or, even worst, for other industrial sectors.[48]

The Marikana Commission of Inquiry, also named the "Farlam Commission" after its chairman Ian Farlam, was appointed two weeks after the massacre by the state "to investigate matters of public, national and international concern arising out of the tragic incidents" at the platinum mine of Lonmin.[49] At the

time of writing this article (September 2014), after more than two years of investigations (already longer than the TRC), the MCI is supposed to submit their findings in March 2015. They are expected to be more in line with the ones of the Marikana Support Campaign than with the version of the triple alliance. Especially the police, who still refuse to accept responsibility, contradicted itself in front of the court. However, it is predictable that the role and responsibility of the low-ranking police officers will be at the core of the final MCI report, but neither structural-economical causes nor the role of the company (Lonmin) or the involvement of the state and its representatives.

The Marikana Support Campaign still keeps vigilant watch on the MCI, which is less covered by the media than the trial on Oscar Pistorius. Like Khulumani in the aftermath of the TRC, the social movement MSC is fighting for reparation

39 Jane Duncan, "South African Journalism and the Marikana Massacre: A Case Study of an Editorial Failure," *The Political Economy of Communication* 1, no. 2 (2013), http://polecom.org/index.php/polecom/article/view/22/198.
40 Sequences of this interview are available at: http://www.marikanabuch.wordpress.com/interviews.
41 Already described in 2010: Peter Alexander, "Rebellion of the Poor: South Africa's Service Delivery Protest – A Preliminary Analysis," *Review of African Political Economy* 37, no 123 (2010).
42 Asanda Benya, "Absent from the Frontline but not Absent from the Struggle: Women in Mining," *Femina Politica* 22, no. 1 (2013): 144–47.
43 Peter Alexander et al., *Marikana: A View from the Mountain and a Case to Answer* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2012). The German version: *Das Massaker von Marikana, Widerstand und Unterdrückung von Arbeiter_innen in Südafrika*, ed. Jakob Krameritsch (Vienna: Mandelbaum, kritik&utopie, 2013).
44 The first counter-narrative came from "September National Imbizo," Bloody Marikana: What the Media Didn't Tell You!, August 21, 2012, http://www.amandla.org.za/blog/1533-september-national-imbizo-report-on-marikana. See also: Several articles on Marikana in *Amandla!* (http://www.amandla.org.za), *Daily Maverick* and *Mail & Guardian* (see especially: http://marikana.mg.co.za).
45 The MJC conducted several striker speaking tours in cities and townships across South Africa and internationally. Furthermore, the MSC was—and still is—organizing placard protests, pickets, and demonstrations. See also the outcome of an workshop with the "Marikana widows" held by Khulumani Support Group in May 2013: "Justice, Redress and Restitution: Voices of Widows of the Marikana Massacre": http://www.khulumani.net/orders/book-voices-of-widows-of-the-marikana-massacre.html.
46 *Miners Shot Down* (Rehad Desai, RSA 2014, 85 min); the film can be ordered via http://marikanabuch.wordpress.com/kontakt.
47 Peter Alexander called it a "triangle of torment," Alexander et al., *Marikana*, 182.
48 "This was, however, a miscalculation: Had the strike collapsed, people across the country fighting poverty and injustice would have been cowed. The opposite happened and, from the perspective of the state and the bosses, the killings were an appalling miscalculation, an enormous setback. Somehow, despite 34 colleagues being killed and with many more injured or detained, workers found the strength to pull themselves together and determine that the strike would continue. This was one of the most remarkable acts of courage in labour history, anywhere and at any time." Ibid, 195.
49 "About the Commission," The Marikana Commission of Inquiry, http://www.marikanacomm.org.za.

payments for the families of the killed miners and for the same access to justice for the workers: the MSC collects donations in order to provide a legal team for the workers (headed by a former TRC commissioner) and to raise awareness about the contingent and structural causes of the massacre.

As Primrose Sonti and Trevor Ngwane, both activists connected with the Marikana Support Group, point out further in the interviews (see "The Massacre Underlines the Wrongness of the Situation," page 122), parallels can be drawn between the TRC and the MCI at various levels. Facing the institutionalized forms of reconciliation—the state appointed commissions and their narratives—the social movements have a similar agenda, similar concerns. Just to underline one of these parallels in conclusion: one major critique is that the scope of the commissions is too restricted and limited and, at the same time, not directed at the center of causes, but on the symptoms. For both movements, Khulumani and MSC, it is obvious that a juridical commission, pretending to investigate "nature and cause" of a certain incident could produce a narrative hiding its structural causes rather than to uncover them. An individualizing, legal narrative cannot substitute a much broader process of coming to terms with the past on a political and economic level.

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The Massacre Underlines the Wrongness of the Situation

Primrose Sonti and Trevor Ngwane
in Conversation with Jakob Krameritsch

Primrose Sonti is the leader of the Marikana Women's League "Sikhala Sonke" (We cry together), who played a major role for the Marikana community in the aftermath of the massacre. The group, which was founded on the very same day of the massacre in order to convince the police not to kill the miners, organized, for example, the transport to the funerals and was a backbone of the ongoing strike after the massacre. Until 2014, Sonti lived in Nkaneng in Wonderkop, the informal settlement one could see in the photograph by Greg Marinovich (fig. 16). Sonti is also the author and director of a theater play on the Marinaka massacre, which she performed with her colleagues of the Marikana Women's League at the first anniversary of the massacre.[1] Sonti ran for national elections as candidate for the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), a party based on Fanonian and Marxist references. Today, after the election in May 2014, she is member of the national parliament for the EFF.

The second interview is with Trevor Ngwane, an activist and scholar. He is a PhD candidate at the University of Johannesburg at the Research Chair for Social Change and a member of the Marikana Support Group.

The following interviews were conducted in September 2013, April 2014, and September 2014.[2]

Jakob Krameritsch: Could you tell me what happened on August 16?

> **Primrose Sonti:** We heard about what was going on and decided as women of Wonderkop to go straight to the Lonmin management because we hoped that at least if we go there maybe they listen to us, as women—especially in the month of the women.[3] We were collected there by whispers, called each and every woman to come, join us, and then we went straight to the management.

JK: And what happened with the management?

> **PS:** Unfortunately the time was over; we just heard the bullets at the mountain. So that was the first time to support those men, the mine

1 Greg Nicolson, Thapelo Lekgowa, and Khadija Patel, "When Theatre Met the Marikana Massacre," *Daily Maverick*, August 21, 2013, http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-08-21-when-theatre-met-the-marikana-massacre/. See also Athandiwe Saba, "Primrose Sonti: A Journey to Parliament," *City Press*, May 18, 2014, http://www.citypress.co.za/politics/newsmaker-primrose-sonti-journey-parliament/.

2 Parts of this interview can be watched at: http://marikanabuch.wordpress.com/interviews, https://vimeo.com/79011910 and http://vimeo.com/90666334.

3 In South Africa, August is "Women's Month." National Women's Day on August 9 commemorates the "march of women" in 1956 to petition against apartheid pass laws as symbol of slavery. On this day, more than fifty thousand women staged a march on the Union Building, the seat of apartheid government in Pretoria.

workers, on August 16—it was afternoon. [...] The police were fools. We were watching TV and saw the big amount of police vans, the police groups, the barbed wires surrounding the mine workers. Our aim at that time was just to avoid that the police uses its arms. [...] But unfortunately we were late, because we just heard the bullets at the mountain. The police were killing the people. [...] We were crying at that time. We did not know who was dead, who survived, who was injured, you know ... it was terrible. We didn't sleep that day, the 16th of August. We went straight up to the mountain, straight to the police, and we asked them, "Why did you kill these people? Is it the kind of democracy we were fighting for? We were happy for it, we as black people!" We didn't get any answer from them. There was no answer; they were saying they are going to tell somebody who is in charge. And then you'll get the answer. And then we asked them: "Is it the mine or is it the government who sent you here to kill the people, your own black people, your fellows, your friends, your brothers—why?"

JK: What was the answer?

PS: Nothing. They were angry, they were angry at that time, to us. They were just angry. [...] They threatened us to kill us, to shoot us, they gave us only ten minutes to disperse and then we changed direction; we went to the hospital to look for the others who are injured. [...] At the hospital they blocked us, they didn't want us to enter to see our friends there. [...]

And then we decided to form a solidarity organization, because at that time, recently after that massacre we just go, without any form of organization as women of the community. So we decided to form the new organization, in tears, so that at least we can talk with one voice, you see? So we formed that organization and we called it "Sikhala Sonke"—we cry together.

JK: Could you point out the first aims of this organization?

PS: The first aim of this organization: the unity first in Wonderkop. Firstly, Wonderkop is divided. We come here because of the mine—so now this place is for all "tribes" and we want to destroy that division—you see. "I'm Tswana, I'm Xhosa, I'm Zulu ... I can't join that organization," they said—but we want to be a unity, you see, first. And then number two: we want to support the mine workers in their struggle, because that struggle of the mine workers is the struggle of us, because we are staying with them here in the community. They are the mine workers at the time in the mine, but after the work, they are changing to be the community members because we're staying with them here. So that thing is hitting them there, is hitting us here in the community. Our aim it was to support them, you see. And then number three: we don't have work. Most women of Wonderkop don't have a work. There's no work; we're suffering. So, the aim of this organization is that we'd like to create jobs, such as projects. So, that was one reason why we decided to do the special drama for them, for our husband, brothers, and friends, and for the police who were just angry—a drama about the Marikana massacre.

JK: Can you tell me about the drama and the play?

PS: We just want to express our pain about that Marikana massacre at the koppie (small mountain). So we decided to do it by ourselves, so that they can see. And then we got some messages we want to pass, you see? The first point we would like to show: those killed people are from the rural areas—from far away. Number two: that month, it was our month, and we felt this month was abused. Was there no other solution than to kill the people? It was not the first strike at the mines; each and every year there is a strike at the mines. If you want something and you, as an employer, don't get it, you just fire the people and then you hire the people. So we want to show them, is, what we as women expected: it was the dismissal of the mine workers, not the killing of mine workers—this is one of the core messages of that drama.

JK: You told me, that the drama was written firstly by you and further elaborated within the Marikana Women's league?

PS: Yeah, I woke up with that dream and I shared it with them—they agreed. I went back and wrote it down, I came back to them, showed them, read it to them, and they agreed, accepted, we started. It's from me—the planner, the writer, the main actor—it's me. I was in pain at that time; even now I'm in pain. I think that drama can help us. I think it is an important project because it can help us with the projects we would like to have, you see? We want to go everywhere to play it and then they can give us some small funds and then we can do what we want. We've got some big space there and we want to open it for the projects: people want to plough, we want to install spaces for the kids, we want to farm some pigs, but we don't have anything to start with. So it's my aim to play that drama with these women because we are not working. We want to have at least something in our hands, in the hands of the widows, and in the hands of our children.

JK: Thank you, Primrose, for the interview.

Interview with Trevor Ngwane

JK: How is your assessment of the recent status quo of the Farlam Commission?

Trevor Ngwane: The Farlam Commission is having its last session today (September 30, 2014) in the form of an in loco inspection of the "killing fields." For me, as part of the Marikana Support Campaign, it is a small victory that the commission is finishing today because initially the government had set the impossible deadline of July 30. Campaigning and pressure by different players, including ourselves forced the government to extend the deadline till today. However, we were not able to change that section of the president's decree whereby he deleted a clause in the terms of reference of the commission that disallowed it from considering the role and culpability of government in the massacre.[4] However, there was enough public pressure and a clever reading of the terms of reference to force the Ministers of Police and of Minerals to give evidence at the commission. In general, the commission will find it difficult to come to a balanced assessment of the events and factors leading to the massacre without considering the question of government culpability. The ministers were forced to give evidence due to public pressure and earlier commitments they had publicly made in this respect. Similarly, Cyril Ramaphosa felt compelled to give evidence, although it is hard to see how he could have escaped doing this.

My assessment is based on these developments laid out above. It is clear that from the government's point of view, the Farlam Commission was set up to play for time and to cover up political and criminal culpability for the massacre. This emerges from the attempt to cut the commission short and the change in its terms of reference. A witness that had been shot several times spent about ten days on the stand, while each minister and Ramaphosa spent at most two days on the stand, and there was also very little time provided to cross-examine Lonmin directors, with many not even appearing on the stand. The announcement of the deadline had the effect of rushing things when the commission still had to cross-examine capital and state officials. However, despite all these attempts at sabotaging the work of the commission, the truth did manage to come out even if in dribs and drabs. In particular, the lawyers for the miners were able to cast serious doubt about the role of the police, government, and Lonmin in the massacre. This is important because it put pressure on Judge Farlam to be more balanced in his findings. He cannot simply do what the government wants him to do, namely, sweep everything under the carpet and "whitewash" the hands and walls full of miners' blood.

JK: So what do you expect from the outcomes of the commission?

TN: Farlam will be hard pressed to make certain findings against the police based on the evidence led, for example, it emerged clearly that [...] there were two main scenes where the massacre took place, and this fact alone casts serious doubt on the police claim that they were acting in self-defense when they shot the miners. He will have to recommend criminal or civil charges against certain police officials. He will be left no choice but to find Lonmin's handling of the strike problematic, even if he will not say it led directly to the massacre.

Farlam is unlikely to find Ramaphosa, the government or Lonmin directly responsible for the massacre. But he will have a hard time doing this and it is probable that he will say something not very flattering about capital and the state; but he will be careful not to open the door for civil claims against these parties. But this might be impossible to avoid if the police and perhaps the mining security are found to be guilty of something. As the Marikana Support Campaign, we want those who pulled the trigger and those who pulled the strings to be held accountable for the massacre.[5] We will thus want Farlam to put the finger on Lonmin directors, government ministers, and the ANC bosses. We believe that it is inconceivable that a decision that led to the death of thirty-four people could have been taken without the president of the country knowing about it. The role of Ramaphosa has emerged from the evidence, and we think he should be charged with inciting the heavy-handed action that led to the massacre. More than this we want the role of mining capital in South Africa and the world to be exposed. The relentless search for profits, the cheap labor system developed in South Africa, the apparent total disregard for the lives of workers and communities living in mining areas cannot be allowed to continue. The massacre underlines the wrongness of this situation. It showed us that this government is not the government of the working class, of the poor, of ordinary people; it's a government of the bosses, it serves those who are making profits at the expense of everyone.

4 See www.justice.gov.za/legislation/notices/2014/2014-05-05-gg37611_p-ro30 marikana.pdf. The clause in paragraph 1.5 empowered the commission to investigate "the role played by the Department of Mineral Resources or any other government department or agency in relation to the incident and whether this was appropriate in the circumstances and consistent with their duties and obligations according to law."

5 See the group statement from families of victims of the August 2012 Marikana Massacre to Judge Farlam, Marikana Truth and Restoration Commission of Inquiry, September 16, 2014, http://www.khulumani.net/truth-memory/item/1015-families-affected-by-the-marikana-massacre-state-their-demands-and-expectations-of-those-responsible-for-the-killing-of-their-loved-ones.html.

JK: I would argue that an economy that is still profiting from a low-wage system installed in the apartheid era is in itself racist. Did the commission treat the structural violence extensively enough?

TN: There was a phase two component to the commission where the judge received submissions on the broader issues. However, in terms of the commission's terms of reference this will probably be disregarded. But it was useful for academics and other players to be allowed to make these presentations.[6] During the course of the main proceedings the lawyers tried hard to bring these issues onto the table with mixed success; for example, Lonmin was exposed as having failed miserably to fulfill its obligations in providing decent accommodation for its workers: they built only three houses instead of the targeted five thousand, which they were obliged to in terms of their mining license and charter.

JK: Was it (also) due to the pressure of the MSC that state officials like Ramaphosa had to appear?

TN: Indirectly in that public attention made it impossible for them to escape. The MSC worked hard to keep the work of the commission in the spotlight and I would say it succeeded somewhat in achieving this.

JK: What will be the next tasks or campaigns of the MSC?

TN: 1. Civil and criminal claims and charges against Lonmin and the state that will allow the families of the miners to get compensation.

2. Exposing the Farlam Commssion where it covered up or did not go far enough in its findings.

3. Publicizing the commission's findings where these expose the state and capital's role in the massacre, where they raise structural issues of injustice, and where the generation of superprofits at the expense of workers' lives and mining communities.

4. Using the "spirit of Marikana" to take forward the struggle to eradicate all forms of exploitation and oppression in South Africa and the world.

JK: What about international solidarity with the Marikana Justice Campaign?

TN: One of our inspirations even when we were fighting against apartheid was the support we got from the anti-apartheid movement (e.g., from workers in Sweden and Scandinavian countries). So what goes on internationally has always been an inspiration for South Africans. In the recent

struggles against privatization in South Africa and world bank policies, we've been inspired by things going on with the antiglobalization movement. I attended about six World Social Forums. So people in Europe, in the States, in Brazil … they should continue their struggle, because it's all one struggle.

And then of course those who want to support the campaign in South Africa around Marikana can raise awareness about it, and they can also donate money to the Marikana Support Campaign Fund. And also, we want to have an international campaign against Lonmin in London and in Europe. There are also a handful of other companies who benefit from platinum in South Africa, and they should be included into this campaign. (According Lonmin's Annual Report BASF, the German-based chemical company and founding member of IG Farben, was, besides Mitsubishi, the main customer of Lonmin's platinum in 2012.)[7]

6 See the Marikana Commission of Inquiry website: http://www.marikanacomm.org.za/documents.html.
7 For 2012, the BASF and Mitsubishi are mentioned (on pages 18 and 80): http://www.lonmin.com/annual_report_2012/pdfs/Lonmin_AR2012.pdf. In the Annual Report 2013, there is just the talk of "two principal customers": http://www.lonmin.com/online_annual_report_2013/pdfs/Lonmin_AR2013.pdf.

To donate to the Khulumani Support Group and the Marikana Support Campaign, see: http://www.khulumani.net, http://marikanabuch.wordpress.com, or http://www.minersshotdown.co.za.

Gay Pride, Queer Shame Austrian Cases

Andrea B. Braidt

Already in 2007, media theorist Marie-Luise Angerer claimed that "sexuality has lost its status as a benchmark of the modern subject" to the phenomenon of the affect: "Today, the enthusiasm with which affects, emotions and feelings are habitually used to underpin arguments points to a *dispositif* [*sic*] of affect: In the discourse of philosophy, art, and media theory, as well as cybernetics, cognitive psychology and neuroscience, affects are being used to establish a new vision of human beings and the world they inhabit."[1]

The many attempts to rebuke psychoanalysis, which was—and is—considered by theorists of many disciplines (art, culture, biology) and approaches (feminist, queer, historical) as universalistic and reductionist, have often turned to the affect in order to explain human existence and human agency. Angerer is adamantly critical about this turn, pointing out that the "affect versus drive" fight often privileges the former against the latter too unquestioned, ignoring the similarities of the concepts and the closeness of the thinkers (like, for example, Freud and Silvan Tomkins).[2]

In particular, it is the gender theorists of the affect (i.e., those following psychologist Tomkins), who neglect the fact, according to Angerer, that Tomkins absolutely played down the role of sexuality in the development, the being, the doings (for example in the field of art), and the desires of the human subject. And although I can understand Angerer's argument in the sense that the hype about the affect, the embrace of the emotion within cultural studies since the late 1990s has numerous flaws and inadequacies—a detailed description of which cannot be done within this text for reasons of time and space[3]—in this essay I will follow Tomkins's assertion that shame is the most important of affects and functions as the main motivator for human behavior. I will do so because in connection with my topic—queer subjectivity, shame and artistic interventions in remembrance—I am utterly convinced that shame and pride play an absolute determining role. Like many other authors from queer theory—I will come to write about them in a later section of text—I want to claim that shame and how this affect is connected to the self and to others takes on a most productive role when used in thinking about queer subjectivity. But before I turn to queer subjectivity and shame, a brief discussion of Tomkins's affect theory and, in particular, his take on the affect of shame and humiliation seems necessary.

1 Marie-Luise Angerer, *Desire after Affect* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2014), xv.
2 Ibid., 55ff.
3 Details of this can be found in Angerer's excellent work.

I. Affect

> All animals "want" but only man concerns himself with the nature of his own wants. He wants to know what he is really concerned about, why he is concerned, and even what should concern him The history of this inquiry is old. The philosopher, the theologian, the artist, the jurist precede by centuries the psychologist, the biologist and the social scientist.[4]
> —Silvan Tomkins

In 1962, American psychologist Silvan Tomkins published a four-volume work on the dynamics of the affect system titled *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*.[5] His main tenet was that the primary motivation did not stem from the drives—described in detail and analyzed by psychologists and psychoanalysts in the first half of the twentieth century, most famously of course by Sigmund Freud—but from a complex system of affects:

> The affect system provides the primary motives of human beings. The human affect system is nicely matched in complexity both to the receptor, analyzer, storage, and motor mechanisms within the organism and to a broad spectrum of environmental opportunities, challenges, and demands from without. The human being is the most complex system in nature; his superiority over other animals is as much a consequence of his more complex affect system as it is of his more complex analytical capacities. Out of the marriage of reason with affect there issues clarity with passion. Reason without affect would be impotent, affect without reason would be blind. The combination of affect and reason guarantees man's high degree of freedom.[6]

Tomkins did not disavow the existence of biological or part-biological drives but insisted that the most influential motivational forces for humans were affects. Differing very much from the drives, affects exist in feedback with the surrounding, with objects, with other humans (or nonhuman animals). The consequences of looking at subjectivity from such a perspective lie most of all in the degree of freedom that such a concept of human existence grants the individual. Although Tomkins does not believe that affects are "intentional" or in a strict sense to be governed, they only exist in the interplay with reason. And only within this connex—affect and reason—can the subject be theorized. This notion not only releases the human subject from the corset of the psychoanalytic drive concept, it also presents a theory of human behavior that is at its very foundation not governed by gender difference, and thus by implicit homophobia. While this disinterest for desire and gender difference is seen by theorists like Angerer as a severe shortcoming, others, like Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, see it as an immense opportunity:

> Tomkins's resistance to heterosexist teleologies is founded in the most basic terms of his understand of affect. A concomitant of distinguishing in the first place between an affect system and a drive system that it analogically amplifies is that, unlike the drives (e.g., to breath, to eat), "any affect may have any 'object.' This is the basic source of complexity of human motivation and behavior." Furthermore, in a refusal of the terms of behaviorism, the affect system as a whole "has no single output,'" and, also unlike the drives, "affective amplification is indifferent to the means-end difference." "It is enjoyable to enjoy. It is exciting to be excited. It is terrorizing to be terrorized and angering to be angered. Affect is self-validating with or without any further referent." It is these specifications that make affect theory such a useful site for resistance to teleological presumptions of the many sorts historically embedded in the disciplines of psychology.[7]

The openness to all object-relations and the (in terms of gender) non-determined description of that which makes us act, and feel and do prompted Kosofsky Sedgwick to adopt Tomkins's theory as a main influence for her thinking on performative subjectivity. Together with Adam Frank, she edited a selection of Tomkins's writings under the title *Shame and Its Sisters: A Silvan Tomkins Reader* in 1995 and made his affect theory widely available in this shortened form.[8] Tomkins distinguishes between these affects: positive affects (interest-excitement; enjoyment-joy); resetting affects (surprise-startle); negative affects (distress-anguish; fear-terror; shame-humiliation; contempt-disgust; anger-rage).[9] These affects—and Tomkins was certain that there were only these affects to be described—have bodily representations, they "show," mainly on the facial expression. The paired nomenclature refers to degrees of affective infliction, the second word being an expression for the intensified affect. For Tomkins, and this is certainly the reason why his theory proved to be so productive for queer studies, shame is the central affect—hence the title of Sedgwick and Franks's edition. Within the siblings of all affects, shame is one that deserves to be mentioned foremost; it is so central because it is in

4 Silvan Tomkins, "What Are Affects?," in *Shame and Its Sisters: A Silvan Tomkins Reader*, ed. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 33. Throughout his writings, Silvan Tomkins sadly only used the male personal pronoun when talking about the human being, which he normally referred to as "man."

5 Silvan S. Tomkins and Bertram P. Karon, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, 4 vols. (New York: Springer Pub. Co., 1962).

6 Tomkins, "What Are Affects?," 36–37.

7 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank, "Shame in the Cybernetic Fold: Reading Silvan Tomkins," in *Shame and Its Sisters*, 7.

8 See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank, eds., *Shame and Its Sisters: A Silvan Tomkins Reader*.

9 Tomkins, "What Are Affects?," 74.

a way responsible for the formation, alienation, and possible destruction of the self like no other affects are:

> If distress is the affect of suffering, shame is the affect of indignity, of defeat, of transgression, and of alienation. Though terror speaks to life and death and distress makes of the world a vale of tears, yet shame strikes deepest into the heart of man. While terror and distress hurt, they are wounds inflicted from outside which penetrate the smooth surface of the ego; but shame is felt as an inner torment, a sickness of the soul. It does not matter whether the humiliated one has been shamed by derisive laughter or whether he mocks himself. In either event he feels himself naked, defeated, alienated, lacking in dignity or worth. […]
>
> Like disgust, [shame] operates only after interest or enjoyment has been activated, and inhibits one or the other or both. The innate activator of shame is the incomplete reduction of interest or joy. Hence any barrier to further exploration which partially reduces interest […] will activate the lowering oft he head and eyes in shame and reduce further exploration or self-exposure. […] Such a barrier might be because one is suddenly looked at by one who is strange, or because one wishes to look at or commune with another person but suddenly cannot because he is strange, or one expected him to be familiar but he suddenly appears unfamiliar, or one started to smile but found one was smiling at a stranger.[10]

Tomkins goes on to describe why shame and pride are so central and discusses the self-reflexive nature of the affect:

> Why are shame and pride such central motives? How can loss of face be more intolerable than loss of life? How can hanging the head in shame so mortify the spirit? In contrast to all other affects, shame is an experience of the self by the self. At that moment when the self feels ashamed, it is felt as a sickness within the self. Shame is the most reflexive of affects in that the phenomenological distinction between the subject and object of shame is lost. […] Shame turns the attention of the self and others away from other objects to this most visible residence of self, increases its visibility, and thereby generates the torment of self-consciousness.[11]

In his strong prose, Tomkins explains how shame is entangled in a system of self-perception and the perception of how the self is perceived by others. This bind is made even more dense as the realization of shame by the self produces further negative feelings ("a sickness within the self"). And whereas this long quote has demonstrated, I think, amply, the ways in which the affect shame can be made productive for thinking about queer subjectivity, there lies an important need to differ here. Sarah Ahmed has pointed out that within

this physical visibility of shame (the blushing of the face) lies a significant dimension of difference and for differentiation: the blush shows as a coloring, a reddening of the white face. And whereas the absent signifier of shame on a colored body might decrease the visibility of the represented affect, it might also lead to different assumptions: "Do you have no shame?"[12] And in this sense, the complexity of shame is still heightened, as not only its presence is configured as devastating, but its absence—or what is perceived to be an absence of shame—might as well have negative effects on the subject.

Shame as an affect incorporates so many different dimensions that is due to the multi-perspectivation that shame implies. Shame can be experienced from various points of view. To feel shame because one's interest in somebody is not reciprocated and a mocking audience sneers humiliatingly is maybe a version of the affect that hardly any teenager misses to experience. And already in this very basic situation a complex perspectivation is at work. The affect works only if the loving teenager adopts the perspective of the other, looking down on him (because she does not love back). If he would simply maintain the perspective of the desiring look on the object of desire, not shame but maybe anger ("Why does she not love me back?!") would be felt. Shame is felt when one takes on the point of view of the humiliator, when we feel that we might not be worthy of that which is denied to us. And only those in power to grant us what we are interested in can put us into the position to be affected by shame. But shame can also take on the form of being ashamed for somebody else, say, a mother is ashamed that her daughter, who humiliates the boy by not loving him, lacks the grace in communicating a disinterest without letting the admirer down. *Fremdschämen* is the German term for this particular perspectivation of the affect, which means to feel ashamed for somebody else, or the actions of somebody else. What is prerequisite is a positive relationship with this person that is interrupted by an action they take that one feels ashamed for. But of course, to realize that somebody is affected by shame because of oneself is even more burning. The girl realizing that the mother looks at her with shame again initiates the affect of shame in the girl. So shame can in a way be reciprocated, turned around, afflicted to somebody else.

10 Tomkins, "Shame–Humiliation and Contempt–Disgust," 133–35.
11 Ibid., 136.
12 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 120f3.

II. Gay Pride, Queer Shame

> Despite everything it has accomplished, and perhaps because of everything it has accomplished, the gay pride movement has given rise to a surprising array of discontents.
> —David M. Halperin and Valerie Traub[13]

The concept of "pride" is maybe the one concept that helped the gay liberation movement to its success. Departing from the assimilationist attitude of the postwar era, gay pride gave its proponents what they had been missing: the self-consciousness and assertiveness to claim the rights that had been denied to them. With the Stonewall riots in 1969, the rhetoric of the movement changed from a soft voice that asked for understanding, claiming that gays and lesbians are not at all that different from heterosexuals and therefore do not pose a threat to mainstream society, to a loud outcry demanding equal rights, claiming that queer people—however different they are—want to have full access to everything society has to offer. "We are here, we are queer, get used to it!"[14] Taking pride in one's identity and using this pride as a source for the courage to fight discrimination was a model copied from other liberation movements ("black is beautiful") and worked—like other movements—extremely well. Identity formation based on the concept of pride helped forming a strong community of sameness that gained the necessary momentum to rise. The costs of this strategy, and this has been particularly well argued by feminist theory of the late 1980s, lie, among many things, in the ignorance about the differences within (to claim one common, proud, identity implies giving up the notion of the individual) and in the establishment of a politics that can be shared by many. To be proud to be gay means a lot and at the same time little: in a homophobic and sexist society that still, to a large extent, views homosexuality as something to be ashamed of, it means much to celebrate one's deviation and is proud of one's sexuality—but at the same time it means little: gay pride has become an end of its own, a celebration of lifestyle and sexuality, a march for fun accompanied by the latest tunes of the charts and sponsored by big labels that have discovered a financially potent target group for their products.[15]

It is not surprising, then, that critical queer theory would turn to the concept that counteracts pride as a tool to deconstruct the notion of pride. And David Halperin, one of the main proponents of "shame studies," describes the interlink between pride and shame in the queer context in such a way that it becomes clear that shame is not a substitute for pride, but rather, heuristically, must serve as a critical point of reflection: "The purpose of this [book] is not exactly to demolish gay pride, even less to return us to a state of shame or to promote shame instead of pride. Rather, it is to inquire into those dimensions of lesbian, gay, and queer sexuality, history, and culture that the political

imperatives of gay pride have tended to repress and that Gay Pride as it is institutionalized nowadays has become too proud to acknowledge."

Halperin believes that gay pride that is endurable must not forget its own source, and this source, according to him, is shame and the "transformative energies that spring from experiences of shame. Without that intimate and never-forgotten relation to shame, gay pride turns into mere social conformity, into a movement [...] with no more radical goal than that of "trying to persuade straight society that gay people can be good parents, good soldiers, good priests."[16]

As early as 1993, Eve Kosofksy Sedgwick formulated that shame was a crucial concept when thinking about the performativity of gender performativity. As Halperin reminds us, Sedgwick "provided the conceptual link necessary to understanding the relation between queer identity and queer performativity" by introducing the affect shame into the thinking about gay and lesbian identity.[17] Sedgwick did so by writing about Henry James's prefaces to the New York edition of his works, and analyzes quite astonishingly how the author performs a kind of subjectivity (of himself) that defies the normativization as a heterosexual subject: "I do mean to nominate the [Henry] James of the New York edition prefaces as a kind of prototype of, not 'homosexuality,' but queerness, or queer performativity. In this usage, 'queer performativity' is the name of a strategy for the production of meaning and being, in relation to the affect shame and to the later and related fact of stigma."[18]

Ashamed of the failure of his stage plays, James produces a prose that destabilizes the idea of a fixed, unchanging, and historically stable subject. Self-conscious as an author, James does not reflect on the affect of shame, and this oscillation between pride (the act of prefacing the multivolume publications of one's collected work) and shame (doing so at a moment of professional failure as a writer) results, according to Sedgwick, in quite a performance:

> As best described by Tomkins, shame effaces itself; shame points and projects; shame turns itself skin side out; shame and pride, shame and dignity, shame and self-display, shame and exhibitionism are different

13 David M. Halperin and Valerie Traub, "Beyond Gay Pride," in *Gay Shame*, ed. David M. Halperin and Valerie Traub (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 4.
14 For a good overview of the development of the movement, see Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).
15 For a detailed account of the practice of "pride" at the Christopher Street Day parades, see Marty Huber, *Queering Gay Pride: Zwischen Assimilation und Widerstand* (Vienna: Zaglossus, 2013).
16 David M. Halperin, "Why Gay Shame Now?," in *Gay Shame*, 44.
17 Halperin and Traub, "Beyond Gay Pride," 6.
18 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Shame, Theatricality, and Queer Performativity: Henry James's *the Art of the Novel*," in ibid., 58.

> interlinings of the same glove. Shame, it might finally be said, transformational shame, *is performance*. I mean theatrical performance. Performance interlines shame as more than just its result or a way of warding it off, though, importantly, it is those things. Shame is the affect that mantles the threshold between introversion and extroversion, between absorption and theatricality, between performativity and—performativity.[19]

For Sedgwick, shame is politically and conceptually so important—and fruitful—because as a concept it leads us right to the origin of identity. Looking at its negative and often devastating powers it allows the analysis of the constructedness of identity through misconstrual and misrecognition. And therefore allows a look behind the idea of identity as a communal essence.[20]

> These facts suggest, I think, that asking good questions about shame and shame/performativity could get us somewhere with a lot of the recalcitrant knots that tie themselves into the guts of identity politics—yet without delegitimating the felt urgency and power of the notion "identity" itself. The dynamics of trashing and of ideological or institutional pogroms, like the dynamics of mourning, are incomprehensible without an understanding of shame. Survivors' guilt and, more generally, the politics of guilt will be better understood when we can see them in some relation to the slippery dynamics of shame.[21]

In this sense, shame can become—and has become—a more than productive analytical means to deconstruct the sites of mourning, of memory, of protest and political action within queer activism. And shame has also proved to be a productive heuristic to think about art.

Before I turn to part three, I want to introduce one more thought concerning shame, and an intervention that is important especially in the context of talking about the two artistic works that I am going to turn to in a moment. In her text "Shame and White Gay Masculinity," Judith Jack Halberstam has developed the gender specificity of shame in a queer context. Shame is, according to her, attached to normative femininity, something that women are supposed to take on as part of their acquisition of female identity. Becoming feminist, becoming lesbian entails a refutation of this kind of shame; it entails a working through of the concept in order to arrive at a subject position that is not defined as a shameful "other" in its relation to the male norm.[22] This gendering aspect of the affect of shame seems crucial, not only when thinking about the differentiation between butch and femme performativity, but also when thinking about the individual yet gendered afflictions of shame within queer subjectivity: "Indeed, it may be that women's unequal status renders them always already shamed, yet also, upon the assumption of feminist consciousness, more immune to shame than gay men, whose historical relationship to homosexuality has been mediated in part through the shaming category of effeminacy."[23]

With this set up of shame as an affect that can work as an analytical lens I now want to turn to the discussion of Austria as a case-scenario for shame and shaming within a queer context.

III. Site Specificity: Morzinplatz, Vienna

Whereas nation-states like Australia have adopted shame as a formational concept to deal with their racist past and present,[24] Austria has had a long history of ambivalence (to put it friendly) in dealing with its "dark sides." Whereas Austria's dealings with its role as perpetrator in national socialism is analyzed elsewhere in this volume (for example, in the texts by Eva Blimlinger and Eduard Freudmann), I want to share some thoughts on Austria's reflection on its homophobic legislation.

In 2010, when Austria introduced a law that gave homosexual couples something like an equivalent to heterosexual marriage, the so-called partnership law ("Eingetragene Partnerschafts Gesetz – EPG"), the legislative did so only after decades of fighting and lobbying by the gay rights movement. The fight for equal rights, fought (and won) not only in many European countries, but in many countries worldwide, had the intended effect in Austria at a more than late point in time. Whereas many countries have opened their marriage laws to homosexual couples during the 2000s (among them the Netherlands, South Africa, Belgium, Spain, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Iceland) and many others between 2000 and 2015 (Denmark, Brazil, France, Uruguay, New Zealand, Great Britain, Finland, and many states in the United States), Austria resisted the growing pressure from the queer movement—and international human rights standards. It was 2010 before Austria introduced the partnership law for homosexuals (and only for homosexuals, heterosexual couples cannot perform a partnership but only get married). Although the introduction of this law was in general welcomed as a step toward equal rights, it was also (rightly) criticized for containing norms that upheld the idea that it is not pride that prompted the legislative to introduce this law ("Austria is proud to be no longer homophobic") but shame, in various perspectives, that governed the partnership law.

19 Ibid., 51–52.
20 See Ibid., 60–61.
21 Ibid., 61.
22 Judith Jack Halberstam, "Shame and White Gay Masculinity," *Social Text* 23, nos. 3–4 (Fall–Winter 2005): 220.
23 Halperin and Traub, "Beyond Gay Pride," 35.
24 See Sara Ahmed's chapter on shame, in Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*.

Apart from the numerous privileges homosexual partners are denied, even if they are "partnered" (right to adopt, certain tax privileges, etc.), two especially perfidious details were written into the law: first, the ceremony for the performance of the partnering must not take place in the same rooms where the heterosexual weddings are performed. Homosexual couples cannot perform their "wedding" in the ceremonial chambers of the magistrates, but in other rooms, in rooms that are not normally dedicated to the function of marriage. As we know from J. L. Austin's work on the performative utterance—of which "I wed thee" is a prime example—a performative speech act is only "happy"

Fig. 17
Carola Dertnig, *ZU SPÄT*, 2011

(i.e., successful) if certain circumstances are performed according to the chain of signification. Only then the performance of a performative speech act is recognized as a reiteration of a speech act done before in the same circumstances. For weddings, for example, the presence of witnesses is crucial, and the utterance of the sentence by a function bearer.[25] The change of rooms for homosexual couples constructs an important differentiation, and thus seems to hold on to the homophobic stance of disavowing the homosexual subject of the same rights as the heterosexual. But as this is done by a law that seeks toend discrimination against homosexuals, and as this is achieved solely on a symbolic level, shame seems to stand behind this part of the law.

Austria seems to be ashamed of its homosexual newlyweds (pardon: newly partnered) and needs to hide them in non-ceremonial chambers; and Austria wants to shame the homosexual couples who enter a partnership by putting them into a different place than the heterosexual couples by, in other words, assigning them a certain place. Second, the partnership law introduced a different practice of naming for the partners: whereas married couples can choose between keeping their individual surnames or taking on a family name that one of the partners bares, homosexual partners can—apart from keeping their individual names—only take a hyphenated name that looks different than the family name married heterosexual couples can take on. Not only are homosexual partners on paper made "visible" as such—considering the immense homophobic and discriminatory practices of countries very close to Austria (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Russia), this can be a hindrance when traveling—this differentiation, again, seems to be an absolutely unnecessary marker of shaming.

As infuriating as these details of the partnership law are, they turn out to be productive when thinking about Austria's stance toward homosexuality. Although a certain extent of tolerance or even pride is exercised within certain limited areas (say, in show business since Conchita Wurst), homophobia as a nation-building factor, as an identity formula, is still very much in practice. Even the idea that an Austrian government representative would publicly claim to be ashamed about Austria's homophobia seems absurd. It is even difficult for Austria to find a meaningful way to deal with the Nazi atrocities committed against gay men and lesbian women.

The only memorial site for the gay victims of National Socialism is found on Morzinplatz, in Vienna's first district. It was here where the Gestapo headquarters stood during the National Socialist rule of Austria (1938–45), and where many gay men and lesbian women were imprisoned before being transported to death camps, where they were murdered. Here, a memorial stone was put to remember that this place—today a strange little nowhere land at the edge of busy Schwedenplatz—was the site of the Gestapo headquarters. And on this memorial stone, a pink triangle—the sign that homosexuals had to wear in the concentration camps—was put to commemorate the gay victims of Nazi Austria. For many years, a public discussion has been going on as to what kind of memorial should commemorate the gay victims. The discussion, which was the focus of a symposium that took place in Vienna's town hall in December 2014, eventually came to the conclusion to publish a call for a memorial site to be designed by an artists. These processes always take a long time until

25 See John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

they come to a conclusion or a result, as many controversies usually arise. In the time until the project is realized, temporary art projects are commissioned for the square. To conclude, I want to write about two projects that deal, in my view, on many levels with the concept of shame.

ZU SPÄT (*TOO LATE*) is the title of the work realized in 2011 by visual artist Carola Dertnig, in cooperation with landscape designer Julia Rode. Dertnig planted flowers that sprouted into the works "zu spät" (too late) and were visible from a wooden platform that was installed for the spectators to walk onto.

> A sign of protest shoving through the ground and into the collective memory. On a square dedicated to the memory of the persecution of sexual minorities in the Third Reich. The persecution and murder of homosexuals and transgender people in the years of National Socialism have been remembered TOO LATE—as it was TOO LATE when they were recognized as victims of National Socialism. Is it TOO LATE to use the square in a worthy manner? It has been waiting too long for it as it has taken too long to reappraise National Socialism in Austria: the right questions concerning the past were asked TOO LATE.[26]

In her installation, Dertnig has nature fight back in all its potential for resistance. The plants chosen—sedum (*Fetthenne*), carnation (*Nelke*), sempervivum (*Hauswurz*)—belong to the most resistant of botanical species. With persistency, the accusation "too late" is "uttered" by lovely looking flowers, constituting a space of tension between the medium and the message. "Shame on you, Austria!" is the underlying rhetoric of the powerful piece. Two words express the perspective with which, according to Dertnig, Austria's attempts to commemorate the gay, lesbian, transsexual victims of National Socialism should be scrutinized. By extending the affect of shame to the national (or to be more exact, in this case communal—as the agency KÖR belongs to the city of Vienna) memory politics, Dertnig puts the act of remembering into focus, criticizing and deconstructing it. She refutes a position like "better late than never." With her shaming, she brings together the memory of the past with the reality of the present; a present that is still imbued with homophobic strategies of not being able to deal with sexual minorities—or, when "dealing" with it, like in the case of the partnership law—reiterating the homophobia that it on the surface seeks to abolish. By using flowers that are certainly not associated with "bashfulness" (like, for instance, peonies), Dertnig makes clear on whose side the shame lies. But her flowers are not "proud and loud" either. They perform the oscillation that Sedgwick talks about and thus achieve an act of performative identitary memory politics.

In his_her installation piece *Schwule Sau* (faggot), visual artist Jakob Lena Knebl works even more directly with the concept of shame.

Fig. 18
Jakob Lena Knebl, *Schwule Sau*, 2013

> Knebl presents a temporary memorial to the homosexuals, lesbians, and trans-gender persons persecuted and murdered under the Nazi regime. She deliberately relies on discriminating terms such as "schwule Sau" (faggot) or "Mannweib" (bulldagger) used disparagingly and deprecatorily in everyday language. He employs these terms in the sense of Judith Butler's view of the political discourse as performative and her hate speech concept, turns himself and his body into an exhibition and projection surface, and confronts the public in his installation. By appropriating the terms, she deprives them of their offensive impact to which homosexuals, lesbians, and trans-gender persons are exposed to and forestalls her vis-à-vis's verbal insults against herself.[27]

26 From the press release about Carola Dertnig's work on the KÖR Kunst im öffentlichen Raum website; available at: http://www.koer.or.at/cgi-bin/koer/index.pl?id=401&year=&cat=&district=&koer=&permanent=&searchstr=Full%20text%20search&artist=723&lang=en.

27 From the press release about Jakob Lena Knebl's installation on the KÖR Kunst im öffentlichen Raum website; available at: http://www.koer.or.at/cgi-bin/koer/index.pl?id=434&year=&cat=&district=&koer=&permanent=&searchstr=Full%20text%20search&artist=674&lang=en.

Terms of abuse, as Judith Butler has so famously shown in *Bodies that Matter*,[28] can be descontructed and rendered powerless by the use through the abuse. Using Althusser's concept of "appellation," Butler shows how the derogatory term for homosexuals can become an emancipatory construction for those whom the term once tried to shame. And by maintaining its history as a swear word, the term resists the temptation of becoming a tool for identitary pride.

Knebl makes use of this schema in her performative photography. S_he poses in reenactment of modernist figures, the nonnormative, non-slim body painted in Oskar Schlemmer's colors of the *Triadisches Ballett* (*Triadic Ballet*), formed in Kokoschka's design, in Klimt's posture. "Faggot" and "bulldagger" are written on the body, the body therefore being extended as a signpost for shaming. Yet the self-declaratory power of the installation, the in-your-face character but also the humor and openness of the work thematizes shame in a multifaceted way. The spectator can walk through the wooden installation piece on which the huge photographs are mounted, and admiringly gaze at the enormity of the form. The reflective potential of the swearing, written on the body, becomes part of the aesthetic jouissance of the spectacle. The ghastly practice of denouncing homosexuals as "scum" becomes a work of art, being made beautiful at the same time as being powerless in a political sense at the same time as made most powerful—because turned around. And, the gendered fixations of the swear words are rendered meaninglessness because the body on which they are written is a trans-body. The swearing potential of faggot and bulldagger (and even more so in their German forms, *Schwule Sau* and *Mannweib*)[29] lie in the shaming of one gender with the attribution of the other gender. The gay man is shamed by being called "gay swine" (swine as in female pig), the lesbian woman is being cursed by being called "manly woman"—and what could be worse for a woman than being as manly …

Shame in a queer sense becomes productive when put into tension with the "mother" of queer affects—pride. Only with shame "in mind" can pride and, in a more general sense, an affirmative homosexual activism be effective. Effective in this context means that queer as a subject formation concept works with the memory of that which can be called the source of identity formation and subjectivity—the experience of the affect of shame.

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28 Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

29 Without having the space to elaborate on it, the use of animal names when referring to homosexuals—pig, bull—is of course particularly interesting. Foremost it functions as a cross-gendering device: the gay male homosexual is referred to as a "female pig," and the lesbian woman is referred to as a male who kills male bulls. It also uses animal names to indicate that homosexual persons might not be humans at all, but rather be compared to nonhuman animals. The degradation stems from the speciesism in our society that puts humans in a rank high above all other animals. For details on the use of animal names—and animal faeces—in American cursing, see Timothy Jay, *Cursing in America: A Psycholinguistic Study of Dirty Language in the Courts, in the Movies, in the Schoolyards, and on the Streets* (Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub. Co., 1992).

Naming and Renaming

Rewriting and Recasting Memories

The Homecomer

On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part One & Two

Zsuzsi Flohr

Map making is a complex procedure that is not necessarily finished—similar to the way layers of postmemory are formed from disparate elements and fragments.[1] This process is intended, not to exactly reproduce a happening in the past, but to provide a contemporary interpretation of a past event (the Holocaust), using the tools offered by postmemory in the form of a personal map. By layering the spatial boundaries, the boundaries between eras and generations on top of each other and creating an embedded narrative, the model offers a transborder, transnational, and transgenerational politics of memory as a possible solution.

In Eastern Europe, in Hungary where I grew up, memory and historic self-recognition are coupled with a struggle not only on the social platform, but within the family as well. I want to map and show the specific perspective and memory of the third generation (3G) after the Holocaust, the generation where I belong and which I believe to be one of a kind.[2]

The social experience of the 3G, self-recognition, and identity therefore raise different questions here than in the United States, Israel, or some Western European countries.[3] In Hungary, many of the members of 3G were born into families, which by then had a history of several decades of silencing, forgetting, and tabooing. Even though several interviews and psychological studies have been published in the years following the Holocaust, no familial or social dialogue has been generated in Hungary.[4]

1 "The images that are used to memorialize the Holocaust by the postmemorial generation, in their obsessive repetition, constitute a similar shield of unchanging trauma fragments, congealed in a memory with unchanging content." Marianne Hirsch, "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 14, no. 1 (2001): 28.

2 See Dan Bar-On, *Fear and Hope: Life-Stories of Five Israeli Families of Holocaust Survivors, Three Generations in a Family* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); and Dan Even, "New Israeli Study Finds Signs of Trauma in Grandchildren of Holocaust Survivors," *Haaretz*, April 16, 2012, http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/new-israeli-study-finds-signs-of-trauma-in-grandchildren-of-holocaust-survivors-1.424480.

3 Roger Frie, "Memory and Responsibility, Navigating Identity and Shame in the German-Jewish Experience," *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 29, no. 2 (2012): 206–25.

4 See National Committee for Attending Deportees (DEGOB), http://www.degob.hu; and Kulcsár István, "A maradék zsidóság lelki keresztmetszete 1946-ban" [The remaining Jews spiritual cross-section of 1946], in Maradék-zsidóság (Residual Jewry), A magyarországi zsidóság 1945/46-ban (The Hungarian Jewry 1945/1946), (Budapest, Budai Izraelita Aggok és Árvák Menházegyesülete, 1947), 34–38.

In recent years, there is an increasing amount of research produced on the personal aspects of 3G, especially in Israel, dealing with social and behavioral issues, transgenerational traumata, and the central role of commemoration and remembrance in both private and collective memory.[5]

The Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part One[6]

It has always disturbed me to realize that there might be war criminals passing me by every day, standing in line with me at the post office, sitting across me on the tram. K. S. especially, who was accused of massacring Jews and Serbs in Novi Sad in 1942, and who lived in Budapest next to my grandmother from 1996, could have easily passed by me in my comings and goings.[7]

As a kid, I followed set paths, with the main stations being: home, school, piano lesson, ballet lesson, my grandparents' place.

This was a closed and safe system.

In 2006, there was a news report on the unveiling of an alleged war criminal. The report showed an older man, and later, there was also a shot of his home. As I watched the images on the screen, the faraway, informative quality of the report (i.e., the belief that what is shown is happening to someone else, someplace else) turned into reality, into my own living space.[8]

I immediately recognized the area where my grandmother, Edit, lived. This area was one of the most important scenes of my childhood—the place where my grandma lived with her son, my uncle. The displayed images gave credit to one of my all-consuming fears: they are living among us. I knew that similarly to the survivors, the perpetrators must still be around, too. However, the facts shown on the news report made me absolutely paralyzed.

The fantasy that I, up until that point had projected onto society, became my own reality as well: they don't just live among us—they live right next to us, right next to me.

Several years passed by until I considered this incident again. In the summer of 2012, the issue was brought into the limelight as another war criminal was identified and attempts were made to bring him to court.[9] At this point, I dug out all the previous articles, and as I browsed through press images of K. S., I was captivated by the following questions: How many times have I passed *him* by? How many times has he passed *me* by?

I found it hard to deal with this tension and looked for ways to turn it into something productive. I started assembling the potential meeting points of K. S. and myself.

My grandmother, Edit Jellinek, was born in 1912 and died in 1996. During the Second World War, she was in hiding, earning a living from smaller, occasional commissions to crochet, knit, or sew. She and her family received a Swedish warrant, a so-called protective passport or *Schutz-Pass*, and they were able to move to a protected house. Before that, they were forced to leave their own homes with all of their personal belongings and valuables.

During these times, her husband, my grandfather, was taken to forced labor service in 1944, from where he and one of his fellow detainees managed to escape back to Budapest. This is where he met Edit again.

The memory of this period is shrouded in secrecy and uncertainty; no family member has ever really talked about the details.

Before the war, Edit worked as a beautician. She got married to my grandfather in 1941. After the war, she mastered the trade of the darkroom technician, working as one until her retirement. During these years, my grandfather took a job at the National Cartography Company. Although they were allowed to move back to their apartment, their belongings and valuables were never given back to them.

5 See Josh Nathan-Kazism, "Can Holocaust Trauma Affect 'Third Generation'?: Studies Debate Impact on Grandchildren of Survivors," *Forward*, September 7, 2012, http://forward.com/articles/162030/can-holocaust-trauma-affect-third-generation/?p=all; and Eva Fogelman, "Third Generation Descendants of Holocaust Survivors and the Future of Remembering," *Jewcy*, May 1, 2008, http://jewcy.com/jewish-religion-and-beliefs/third_generation_descendents_holocaust_survivors_and_future_remembering.

6 This text was based on my lecture performance, presented at the symposium "On Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency" at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, April 3–4, 2014. This lecture was the reason why I became a member of the Lesekreis.

7 Képíró Sándor, accused of massacring civilians in Serbia in 1942, has gone on trial in Hungary. See "'Most wanted Nazi' Sandor Kepiro, 97, Tried in Hungary," *BBC*, May 5, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13292464.

8 Another assumed war criminal popped by the Simon Wiesenthal Center MTV1 (Hungarian Television channel no. 1) news program at 7 p.m., on September 28, 2006. See Nemzeti Audiovizuális Archívum, http://nava.hu/id/211766/ (in Hungarian). Description of the news program: One of the leaders of the organization said that in January 1942 Sándor Képíró, as a gendarme, took part in the Novi Sad massacre. Képíró denies his guilt.

9 Asher Zeiger, "'Most Wanted' Nazi War Criminal Found by Britain's Sun Newspaper," *Times of Israel*, July 15, 2012, http://www.timesofisrael.com/british-sun-finds-most-wanted-nazi-war-criminal/.

Later on, by the time only my great-grandmother lived there, they took joint tenants into this same apartment. They had to share the bathroom, the toilet, the hallway, and the kitchen.

It was in 1983 when Edit moved to the flat neighboring K. S.'s house. From 1985 onward, as her cerebral sclerosis worsened, she came to rely on constant nursing.

Fig. 19
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part One*, 2014

K. S. lived at Frankel Leó Street 78.[10] It was exactly one corner away from my grandmother and my uncle's house. Right, and right opposite to the synagogue of Frankel Leó Street, the same one that I had been frequenting since I was a teenager. It must be said that it was a childhood dream of mine to get married in this synagogue. I continued to survey the map. The next station was the road parallel to the one where K. S. lived. An outdoor market was held there every Saturday, and we would do our shopping there when visiting my grandmother. The next point was the swimming pool I used to like going to with my uncle's wife.

As I continued sketching up possible meeting points, the safe pathways of my childhood became dotted with these marks.

At every intersection, I imagined we pass each other by, K. S. and me.

Fig. 20
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part One*, 2014

These chalk drawings are just like drawings by children. The colorful chalk is crude and blunt in its materiality and is fairly hard to handle, making it impossible to carry out elaborate work with it. In this sense, it serves as a perfect symbol for the helplessness of postmemory.[11]

It is a pictorial reconstruction of the spatial possibilities of the given city and the process of memory work. This artistic practice makes the representation of a fictitious recent past possible, depicting an imaginary situation whose subjects are K. S. and meI.

10 Varró Szilvia, "Háborús bűnösség vádja egy volt csendőrtiszt ellen – A leúszó szemét" [War crimes accusations against a former gendarme officer – the rubbish afloat], *Magyar Narancs*, no. 44 (2009), http://magyarnarancs.hu/belpol/haborus_bunosseg_vadja_egy_volt_csendortiszt_ellen_-_a_leuszo_szemet-72474#. The address of Képíró was published online in the verdict by the Court of Budapest on February 19, 2007; see http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/biografia/egyenek/K%E9pir%F3%20S%E1ndor%20sz%E1zados.pdf.

11 "The term "postmemory" is meant to convey its temporal and qualitative difference from survivor memory, its secondary, or second-generation memory quality, its basis in displacement, its vicariousness and belatedness. Postmemory is a powerful form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through representation, projection, and creation—often based on silence rather than speech, on the invisible rather than the visible." Marianne Hirsch, "Surviving Images," 5–37.

The intersections rewrote the safe network of paths that I used to walk for years, their visual display creating a new layer on my map, resulting in its inner spatial reorganization. These imaginary shared paths and possible meeting points are not recordings of actual events. Our meetings could have taken place anytime between 1996 and 2011. In this time period, K. S. and I lived in the same city: Budapest.

My map shows a state that is the result of postmemory, as the fictitious crossing of paths could only take place in postmemory's realm. I have redrawn the history of our familial post-Holocaust trauma as I, seventy years after the war, augmented the map of my childhood's microenvironment with these intersections. The imaginary meeting points and the imagined shared paths created a new map, and as they manifested themselves in space, fiction became reality. The micro-map of fantasy, presented within the macro-map of the city, became an integral part of it.

As the (memory) work is finished, certain points of the city are marked with temporary chalk drawings, but within me, these places have been permanently redrawn.

Who Interprets the Map?

As a result of consensus, a given map carries only a single perspective, a single text, and only one way of decoding.

Everything is represented in a given, fixed place, and even though this invariability can be regarded as giving the map its stability, it still leaves an open space for reinterpretation in another era.

Such a reinterpretation, where customary map-readings are filled with new meaning, becomes possible as the past is revalued in light of a hopeless present lacking any image of the future.

How are boundaries redrawn in a way that they remain unchanged on the map? How many times do we have to re-familiarize ourselves with the city we live in? If we reflect on the hidden histories of our streets, how does that affect our identity?

How can the city's identity be approximated through collective memory, if collective memory, guilt, and shame exist at all in such a context?

What blocks, what blind spots can be mapped and made shareable?

When memory, as personal narrative, is integrated into history and its interpretation, that is, into the official narrative, the duality of map versus historical event is enriched with new perspectives. In other words, such a reinterpretation can serve as an equally credible, parallel narrative to the objective, scientific approach represented by the map.

Fig. 21
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part One*, 2014

The most important question is: Who interprets the map? And through this interpretation, who writes the story or history? That is, changing the narrator can radically alter the relation between the interpreter and the subject of interpretation—in this case, the map.[12]

The simultaneous appearance of arrangement, identity, and memory redraw previous boundaries without actual consequences in the physical space.

It is, after all, not an actual spatial reorientation, but a change of narration, era, or temporality that ends of redefining our relations to urban space.

12 Jacques Ranciere, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*, trans. Hassan Melehy (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 1–23.

Write It Down for Hundred Times! – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part Two

Képíró Sándor, who was born in 1914 and died in 2011, was a gendarmerie captain during World War II who was accused of war crimes committed by Hungarian military and gendarmerie forces.

After the war he went to Linz, where he started to work as a farm hand. He later worked in train track construction, where he joined a Hungarian track-building unit. From here he left for Tirol, Austria, where he signed up for the Argentinean Catholic Church list and immigrated to Buenos Aires on August 1, 1948.

He worked in a textile mill; he learned to weave. In 1950 he got married. He bought a hand-weaving machine and started to make beautiful textiles. In 1955 he switched to machine kitting, and he manufactured sweaters and dresses.

Fig. 22
Zsuzsi Flohr, still from *Write it down for hundred times! – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part Two*, 2013

In his absence, the Hungarian People's Tribunal sentenced him to fourteen years in prison. Képíró returned to Budapest in 1996 without being identified.

In September 2006, Efraim Zuroff of the Wiesenthal Center made public copies of a 1944 court verdict finding Képíró and ten other Hungarian army and police officers guilty of taking part in a 1942 raid in Novi Sad.[13]

Fig. 23
Zsuzsi Flohr, still from *Write it down for hundred times! – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part Two*, 2013

In 2011, due to lack of evidence, the Court of Budapest acquitted Képíró at the first instance.[14]

Until 2011, Képíró Sándor was on Simon Wiesenthal Center's list of most wanted Nazi war criminals.

This artwork is like a symbol of penance accepted with the city, the country I live in. A country unable to face its past; where the checks and balances have been nullified completely in the last few years, where the legal continuance of institutions is a meaningless term.

Something that brings up the worst memories of the past 100 years in Eastern Europe.

I accept penance with this country, of which I am a citizen and member of, by writing Képíró Sándor's full name a hundred times on an enormous wooden board.

13 "Wiesenthal Center Calls upon Hungarian Government to Immediately Arrest Prominent Convicted War Criminal Living Unpunished in Budapest," Simon Wiesenthal Center, September 28, 2006, http://www.wiesenthal.com/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=lsKWLbPJLnF&b=4442247&ct=5850535#.VLPKz3MqaN4.

14 "A Hungarian man has been acquitted by a Budapest court of committing war crimes during a 1942 raid." See "Hungary Nazi War Crimes Suspect Sandor Kepiro Acquitted," *BBC*, July 18, 2011, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-14185045.

I drew his name with black crayon, with the font called Antiqua.

This kind of type was planned to be used for external Nazi propaganda.

The crayon was chosen because it is a fatty material, as a reference to grease recycling.

Fig. 24
Zsuzsi Flohr, still from *Write it down for hundred times! – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part Two*, 2013

Something that dead bodies were subjected to during the Holocaust.

I started to write his name for hundred times on a white wooden board.

I have to mention, originally it was a practical joke. One of my friends advised to me to write down Képíró Sándor's name a hundred times, like a schoolgirl.[15]

He probably thought my anger would disappear while doing this.

I felt strong while standing in front of the wooden board; I felt he was dictating it to me.

I was writing all day long for more than a week. I realized that memory work could be a real physical challenge.

At the same time I was shooting a video during the whole process as a testimony.

At first I thought it is just practice, but after some days I realized it is more that. My hands were damaged during those days, so the project became a physical forced labor.

And I had many debates with friends and especially with my family members, with my mother. The main issue was the following: they could not understand the reason why I, a Jewish person, would have to do this work. In their point of view, it is an anti-Semitic person who should have to do this job, not a Jewish person.

But when I finished they understood: someone has to do this job or at least start with it.

15 John Baldessari, *I Will Not Make Any More Boring Art*, 1971. Lithograph, 57 × 76.4 cm (Museum of Modern Art, New York).

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How (Not) to Shame a Name

Jasmina Cibic

The contemporary sociopolitical condition has brought about an interesting stance that many artistic practices today are taking on as a departure point for creation and realization of new artworks. Many artists are turning to the study of past ideological and historical models in various fields to question the politics and history of our time.

However, the question of which historical models are included and why remains. Additionally, how these models are approached and treated by the artists and what attitudes and methodologies are chosen are only a few of the related questions. Are these positions assumed or are there only propositions given?

These questions bear even greater significance when the histories and ideological conditions that are revisited are those that have not been adequately dealt with by the society and institutions, by the "official" history writers of a people or nation-state. Such examples are the revisitations of modernism in the former Eastern Europe, which have entered the international arena via artists' formal reappropriations before the theme was historicized by the architectural researchers and critics.

I am intrigued by the new possible narratives and sociopolitical possibilities (even as an imposed fiction) that can arise from art practices that address geopolitical traumas, generally considered as the nonproductive aspect every (trans)national structure wishes to forget. The paradox of how to achieve a constructive research methodology as well as outcome, lies within the question of how to address geopolitical traumatic specificities themselves, which might be of interest to the external observer (one who is other to the subjects that were subdued to the trauma, suffering and so on in the first place) precisely because of their affect.

Artists coming from contexts where art still becomes greatly subjected to soft-power mechanisms and is yet to be established as its own self-sufficient model are at the forefront of battling precisely the phenomenon of the paradox of (trans)national representation.

International exhibitions and biennials become the playground where such practices are brought out into the international art arena to coexist with practices that come from contexts practically void of instances where art is used as a soft power tool (or at least this is done to a much lesser and transparent extent).

Within this contribution, I want to speak of a specific project which I developed for the context of representing a national pavilion at the Venice Biennale—a context that is one of the paramount disclosing mechanisms that show us how art is positioned and valued within specific countries.

With my project entitled *For Our Economy and Culture*,[1] which I developed specifically for the representation of the Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale in 2013,[2] I decided to play a double game and enter into the mechanisms of national selection itself. Throughout my research, I focused on the history of Slovenia's relationship between the nation-state and myth-making from 1930s onward within fields as different as architecture, entomology, typography, philosophy, and art. I invited specific factories, craftsmen, as well as academic researchers and writers to collaborate on the project. The specific people and productions were chosen for the relevance of their own history and context. This was a performative mode of operation where the delegation I employed manifested itself in objects as well as textual pieces.

The basic gesture in *For Our Economy and Culture* was the careful analysis of how national mythmaking has been rewriting and reinventing the visual representation of the nation-state (utilizing similar tactics across different disciplines) and an attempt of its dismantlement. By examining the architectural and artistic language endorsed by different authorities within a single territory through time, and by uncovering what happened to this language when it became redundant and often disturbing to the ensuing ideology, the project showed what may happen to a given (visual) idiom when the ideology and state that sponsored it collapses.

I purposefully focused on extreme localisms specific to Slovenia that within *For Our Economy and Culture* coexisted within a same space and time (the exhibition in the Slovenian Pavilion), and in such a way formulated a new paradigm of a system: a kind of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*—which proposed an all encompassing immersive environment for the spectator. The coexistence of these localisms further canceled each other, reminding the spectator how the underlying problematic is universal and timeless.

Architectural Strategies

At the center of my installation for the Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale was the rebuilding of the exhibition space itself as a new structure—one that mimicked official state architecture and its tactics that were employed by one of the leading figures and ideologues of official state architecture in post–Second World War Slovenia—Vinko Glanz.[3] The centerfold iconographic motif, which was placed at the center of this structure, as well as of the project itself, was a kind of a representative questioning the national representativeness and its shifting form—a specific beetle, endemic to Slovenia, and endangered solely because of its problematic name: Anophthalmus hitleri.

Fig. 25
Jasmina Cibic, *For Our Economy and Culture*, 2013

In a war and poverty struck republic without funds to build its new image, the protocolarian architect Glanz had the role of "translating" existing state architecture into a new one—fit for the new man, for the new political order. Not only did his architecture have to announce the arrival of a new state, it also had the task of reinventing architectural language itself. His works include the redesign of the Austro-Hungarian hunting castle into a modernist villa, the summer residence of former Yugoslavia's president Josip Broz Tito (Vila Bled), the Slovenian Parliament building, and the plan for the first architecturally organized national presentation (the unrealized Ljubljana trade fair).

Glanz's architecture and his ideological concepts were based on the presentation of national icons selected by state as representative (to the citizen as

1 The title of the project comes from an article published by Dr. Milan Dular in *Kronika slovenskih mest* (The chronicle of Slovene cities) in 1940, where the author presented the idea of the first organized exhibition of national production in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Milan Dular, "Ljubljanski sejem za naše gospodarstvo in kulturo," *Kronika slovenskih mest* 7, no. 2 (1940): 77–84.

2 The project was coproduced by the City Museum of Ljubljana and Škuc Gallery, Ljubljana, the commissioner of the project was Blaž Peršin and the curator Tevž Logar. The exhibition of the site-specific project was held at the Gallery A+A in Venice.

3 Vinko Glanz (b. Kotor, Montenegro, 1902, d. Ljubljana, 1977) was a student of Jože Plečnik. Glanz's works encompass the redesign of Vila Bled, the extension of the People's Assembly (today the Slovenian Parliament), protocolary buildings on Brdo, Kranj and other public architectures of national interest. See Damjan Prelovšek, "Vila Bled," *Piranesi* 5, nos. 7–8 (1998): 8–25.

well as to the foreign observer), and in this respect they related to the concept of national pavilions at the Venice Biennale that in one way or another represent “national authorities.” By creating the architectural disposition within the pavilion, I aimed to construct a stage where the subsequent artworks would be placed—and where the interdependence of art and architecture to the patriotic spectacle should be discussed.

An important element of the project became a study of Glanz’s formal and conceptual language,[4] along with the question of its lack of representation within Slovenian architectural history.[5] Due to the paradox of his status as the architect, whose job it was to represent the nation, yet he himself was not represented in the history he helped to design, I have chosen his work as the leitmotiv of the formal elements of the pavilion installation, such as a remake of his wooden cladding, which was to go and envelop the entire installation in the Slovenian Pavilion.

Anophthalmus hitleri

Rewriting, redesigning, reformulating, and renaming are the primary blocks of each new political or ideological authority and standard practices within architecture (official state architecture, monuments, street names, etc.) that announce the arrival of each new nation-state permutation. While examining the relationship of the (political) authorities to their most visible and iconic manifestations, I began to look for cases where the erasure of past ideologies is not possible because of various national and international conventions.

These instances of unerasable ideological permanence crept into the project
nd plants—usually
y the nation’s leading
d position a kind of
ations.”[6]

pecies, I stumbled on
esurfaced as an en-
single representation
e has, until 2006,

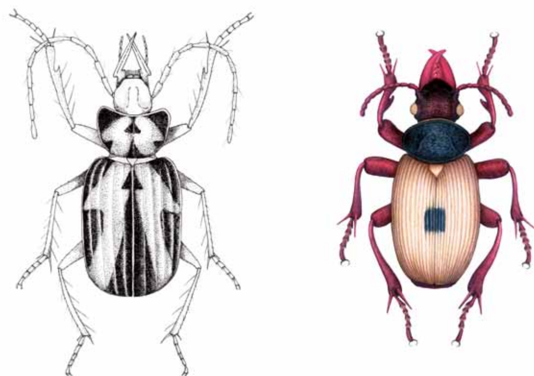

Fig. 26
Jasmina Cibic, *Situation Anophthalmus hitleri*
(in collaboration with Filipe Gudin and Tanza Crouch), 2012

sunk into the subconsciousness of the nation.[7]

Its story began in 1933 in a Slovenian cave named Hell (Pekel), where amateur cave explorer Vladimir Kodrič stumbled on a blind cave beetle he thought might represent a new species. In 1937, Zagreb-based entomologist Oscar Scheibel confirmed this, and as a Hitler sympathizer, he named the insect *Anophthalmus hitleri*. According to the internationally recognized Linnaean classification of plants and animals, the name of an organism can be changed only in extreme circumstances, related to the development of scientific knowledge, but politically sensitive and charged names given in the past cannot be amended. Therefore, any attempt to rename the beetle would fail.

By addressing this “unique national blunder from Slovenia’s nationalist past, an era when Hitler’s name was yet to become controversial,”[8] I wished to draw parallels to the paradoxical status that the selected representational subject (whether it is an artist, an endemic species or official state architecture) brings with it as soon as it is selected as the emblem, a mascot representing a nation.

I embedded the presence of the *hitleri* beetle into the Slovenian Pavilion as the connecting element between the generated architecture and the artworks that inhabited it: the entire exhibition space was covered with wallpaper reproducing and multiplying the image of the infamous insect ad infinitum, presenting an encyclopaedic series of its possible representations.

The multiplied pattern of the *hitleri* beetles was done in close collaboration with over forty international entomologists and scientists, who had to follow strict instructions as a part of this delegated execution of an artwork: the illustrators were instructed to make their drawings without reference to any

4 In relation to Vinko Glanz’s work and its critical positioning, I have worked in close collaboration with Dr. Nika Grabar. For an in-depth discussion of Glanz’s architecture, see Nika Grabar, “Landscape, Windows, Wallpaper,” in *For Our Economy and Culture*, ed. Tevž Logar and Vladimir Vidmar (Ljubljana: MGLC, 2013), 121–28.
5 Even though Glanz was the state architect par excellence, very little of his work has until Grabar’s PhD thesis been discussed in the architectural and historical circles of the country. Far away from being a star architect who would be of interest to the contemporary observer, his service to the state and its visual reformatting has not yet been critically addressed and assessed.
6 Suzana Milevska, “The Political Economy of the Name,” in *For Our Economy and Culture*, 250.
7 In 2006 the *National Geographic* published an article about this beetle, drawing strong links between its name and the uprising of the neo-Nazism, which caused the beetle to be hunted down by collectors of neo-Nazi memorabilia. Local populations have since been destroyed, and the entomologists from the Slovenian Biologic Institute were forced to seal off the cave where the holotype was found.
8 Milevska, “Political Economy of the Name,” 250.

written description or visual material relating to the beetle. They were not allowed to use search engines or reference books. Their illustrations were to be based solely on their experience in the field of entomology and their professional interpretation of the beetle's Latin name.[9] If only the name of this cave dweller was so problematic as to cause its hunt almost to extinction, I wanted to reverse the normal flow of events of scientific research and depart from the name in order to reach its visual rendition.

The Artwork's Double Game

The centerpiece of the project *For Our Economy and Culture*, which was not just the structure enabling and conditioning it, was a series of objects—more precisely, a selection of paintings from the art collection of the Slovenian National Assembly. Although the latter is public property, public access to these works is impossible as they hang within the offices of the politicians currently in office, as well as in the headquarters of the government administration. Furthermore, these paintings are not just a dead collection residing in a depot, but present active collaborators within the creation of the scenography within these spaces of parliamentary power. Together with carefully designed color renditions of the walls, sofas, and other furniture pieces within the spaces where they hang, they help to create a backdrop for "the spectacle that answers to the name of 'the State.'"[10] The inclusion of the historical investigation of what art was/is nationally representative and by filtering that through the common denominator of the most politically benign motif—a floral still life—I wished to encircle the strategies of survival of artistic practices when subjugated to soft power. Furthermore, floral still lives also have a real-life echo within official state architecture, where one of the standard interior design elements are also the flower arrangements placed on conference table where politicians speak. Paradoxically, within the time of economic crisis both seized to continue within this context, the building of the national art collection as well as the floral decorations on top of conference tables.

Fig. 27
Jasmina Cibic, *For Our Economy and Culture*, 2013

Fruits of Our Land

While researching the archives of architect Glanz's legacy, I came across various transcripts of meetings that the state politicians of the new post-Second World War Yugoslavia had with the architect himself, along with a number of leading state art historians in 1957/58. The goal of these meetings was one:

9 Collaborators on the project included scientists from various national institutes and museums including: the Museum of Natural History London, the Museum of Zoology of the University of Tel Aviv, the United States Department of Agriculture, and other institutions.

10 In collaboration with the curator Tevž Logar, we chosen a selection from this collection of the "best Slovenian painters" from the last 100 years—drawing from it only floral still lives that became a kind of a rectified ready-made within the installation in the pavilion, where they were installed onto the walls entirely covered with the *hitleri* beetles. See Tevž Logar, "A Double Game," in *For Our Economy and Culture*, 50.

to find the best artists of the country to represent the nation—artists who were to execute artworks that would adorn the walls of the newly constructed National Assembly. As it was characteristic for the period of nation-building after the Second World War, the interior of the new building was clad in national stone and wood, while the carpenters and craftsmen that realized the designs were also drawn from local professionals.

Glanz left clearly demarcated empty spaces within the cladding, niches on the walls, and staircases for the artworks. These were of set sizes and positioned monumentally. The transcripts of these meetings show a surprisingly contemporary debate, where a committee of five professionals (a structure that has remained intact until today and whose role is to select the artists that represent

Fig. 28
Jasmina Cibic, *Fruits of Our Land*, 2013

the nation at the Venice Biennale, among other instances of nation's export of culture) reads through all of the artists' proposals and in a very transparent manner presents their personal and political views on the artworks proposed.

I have used a section of this transcript as a word-for-word reenactment that was filmed with an all-Slovenian cast inside the Slovenian Parliament (originally the People's Assembly) itself—within the last remaining hall that bears the original Glanz design and has not been altered.[11] The script for the film focuses on a discussion around a single artwork—the one that ended up being the

only one censored by the Committee for the Review of the Artistic Works and Sculptures. This was the fresco that was to be done by one of the best Slovenian artists of the era Gabriel Stupica, and was titled *The Fruits of Our Land*. The proposed imagery of the artwork was most politically benign and presented images of fruit sellers and children carrying birdcages.

From the beginning to the end of the debate around Stupica's proposal, the discussion of the committee revolves around the suitability of the artist and the artwork to represent the Slovene nation appropriately. The committee members are all along trying to define the criteria for this "suitability," which are from the start openly ideological. The characters in the film—which also bears the title *Fruits of Our Land*—are stripped of any details about their identities as well as their national belonging and profession—what makes them seem completely anonymous. The film was shown in a continuous loop, presenting a never-ending debate without a resolution. It was projected within a specifically designed niche within the Slovenian Pavilion in 2013, revealing the mechanisms of a universal ideology that equally belonged to the past as well as the present.

Art Is ideology

We could easily argue that the Venice Biennale is one of the best case studies for measuring the soft power index. Every single selection process of national pavilion representations encounters various degrees of lobbying and politics, whether they are delegated by the art sector or the government; the difference resides in whether it is understood as an independent field where a selection panel of art professionals decides on the artist chosen to represent a country or the choice is delegated to national representatives, as is often the case with countries where the art sector is underdeveloped or not hand in hand with economic capital.
By colliding elements that speak of different degrees of ideological conditioning of mythmaking, *For Our Economy and Culture* played a double game. Furthermore, by utilizing similar tactics to soft power strategies when a new image of a nation-state is being constructed or the latter is simply rebranded, and by delineating different instances of these occurrences through space and time, the project wanted to give the viewer a feeling of certainty by

11 The original People's Assembly building has, since the Slovene independence, had many redesigns including the lowering of the ceiling in the central meeting hall (in 2000), which cut off the heads of the characters depicted in the large fresco presenting the history of the Slovene nation (a work by the painter Slavko Pengov, created in 1958/59).

creating a situation of cohabitation of distinct elements that, on one hand, mimicked the basic building blocks clearly recognizable of all systems of (trans)national power, and were at the same time orchestrated into a new total "choreography" that "triggered a slight uncertainty at the thought of the future."[12]

For Our Economy and Culture focused on a number of specific iconographic motifs and their framework, all of them in one or more instances of the nation's history recognized as traumatic and pushed into the nation's subconsciousness. By enacting them within a single space and time and colliding them with each other, the project aimed to show their universality and lift them from mere historical reappropriations and reenactments, where they would be resurrected solely for their formal specifics, in order to confront the viewer with the contextualization of questions that not only spoke about the patterns characteristic of (specific and traumatic) systems of power, but also about the glaring contradictions that are inseparably connected to transformations of national and cultural identities in the past as well as the present.

Fig. 29
Jasmina Cibic, *Framing the Space*, 2013

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An Allegory to Post-Nazism

Eduard Freudmann

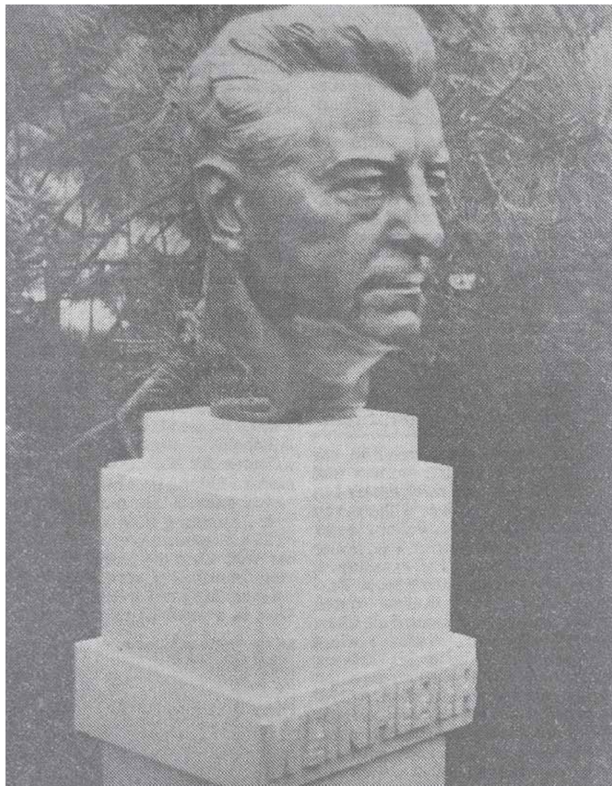

Fig. 30
Monument of the poet Josef Weinheber with sandstone plinth, Schillerpark, Vienna, 1985

This text was written in December 2014 and investigates the way controversial historical-political manifestations in public space in Vienna are dealt with by the authorities.[1] It looks in particular at the monument to Josef Weinheber on Schillerplatz and the attempts to reinterpret it in the last few years by Chris Gangl, Gabu Heindl, Tatiana Kai-Browne, Katharina Morawek, Philipp Sonderegger, and myself, in various constellations.

A Divinely Gifted Artist

Facing one another on the Ringstrasse, the boulevard encircling Vienna city center, lined on both sides by imposing Gründerzeit buildings, are monuments to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller. Goethe sits comfortably in an armchair outside the Burggarten, while Schiller stands erect in the center of the symmetrically laid out Schillerpark. The neat park is popular with local residents, workers from nearby offices, and members of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, whose main building is located in it. The Schiller monument was erected in 1876, and it was the first monument in the city to be dedicated to an artist. At the edges of the park are four smaller monuments to writers. The most discreet of them is also the most controversial. It is the monument to Josef Weinheber, which has been focus of historical-political disputes since it was installed in 1975.

The Austrian poet Josef Weinheber suffered for most of his working life from what he thought was a lack of recognition. He believed that his status in the literary world was not commensurate with his exceptional talents, a situation that he claimed was not of his own doing, as can be seen from a letter in 1933 to an Austrian Nazi culture official and writer: "It's not my fault that the Jews keep silent about me […] that for twenty years they have prevented me from coming into prominence and making a name for myself." In the same letter he offered to make his "talents as an artist available to the [Nazi] movement," and asked his correspondent to find an appropriate place for him in it.[2] Weinheber, who had joined the NSDAP in 1931, was given positions in various Nazi cultural organizations designed not only to communicate the ideology but also to help the career of *völkisch* artists.[3]

1 History politics is the literal translation of the German term *Geschichtspolitik*. Its meaning is still being debated. Here, it refers to the understanding that historical narratives are not given but a result of political negotiations, debates and struggles.
2 Josef Weinheber to Mirko Jelusich (1933), in *Literaturwissenschaftliche Jahresgabe der Josef Weinheber-Gesellschaft*, ed. Christoph Fackelmann (Vienna: LIT Verlag, 2009), 115. Unless otherwise noted, all translations by Nick Somers.
3 *Völkisch*, meaning "populist," with overtones of race and ethnic purity.

His commitment was to pay off. Weinheber, who claimed "to defend the German language to the utmost against the incursion of Jewish cultural barbarity" and to have "upheld the idea of a pure work of art in an era of expressionist linguistic decadence," received massive support through the cultural policy of the German Reich even before the Nazis came to power in Austria.[4] The NSDAP publishers Langen-Müller introduced him to the lucrative German market, and he was invited on extensive reading tours in the Altreich and awarded a valuable prize for foreign German writers. After 1938 he wrote numerous Nazi propaganda poems, such as "Hymnus auf die Heimkehr" (Hymn to Austria's return), "Dem Führer" (To the Führer) and "Ode an die Straßen Adolf Hitlers" (Ode to the streets of Adolf Hitler) and became the most-read contemporary poet in Nazi Germany. He received numerous honors and awards, and was included by Adolf Hitler on the list of 1,041 *Gottbegnadeten* or "divinely gifted" prominent Nazi artists who were exempt from war service on account of their cultural importance. Weinheber committed suicide in April 1945, a few days before the defeat of Nazi Germany.

Weinheber thus avoided the denazification process in post-Nazi Austria, which was feared by many writers who had been embroiled with the Nazis but turned out to be so lenient that only few of them suffered serious consequences. In 1950 a number of prominent Nazi authors, who had been able to continue working practically without ado in the Second Republic and in some cases were to be the recipients of high honors, published *Bekenntnis zu Josef Weinheber: Erinnerungen seiner Freunde*,[5] which extolled Weinheber as one of their German nationalist icons. In subsequent years, the influence of this völkisch camp gradually dissipated in Austria, and this aspect of Weinheber's oeuvre became less significant. This is not to say that he vanished from the literary landscape. In keeping with the denazification philosophy of "amnesty through amnesia," his most important anti-avant-garde work and his Nazi propaganda were discarded, while his politically less sensitive Viennese dialect works were venerated. Thus the former star lyricist—albeit reduced to his pre-Nazist relevance and relegated to the rank of a textbook and tavern poet—was rescued from oblivion.

An All Too Modest Memorial

This diffuse reception of his work also explains the paradoxical aesthetic character of the monument in Schillerplatz, which in its original form consisted of two elements, a bronze bust and a sandstone plinth. It was initiated in 1975 to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the poet's death by the Weinheber-Gesellschaft, made up of the scattered remnants of German national disciples, and erected by the Vienna city council. Even though the modestly sized monument indicates that the poet in question was not the "greatest lyricist of the German

language," as had once been claimed, the bust, completed in 1940 by Josef Bock, the Viennese artist who had made portraits of Hitler, nevertheless showed not just a genial tavern poet but the self-assured poet prince of a people that had set about reshaping the world in its own image.

There were repeated interventions after the memorial had been erected. Anti-fascist graffiti was scrawled on the plinth, which was difficult to remove because of the porosity of the sandstone. The bust was also removed several times and had to be recast. It became so expensive to clean and repair the monument that the Vienna city council decided in 1991 to reconfigure it. By that time, those who had for decades contested the Austrian myth of the "first victims of Nazism" and fought for a critical approach to the country's involvement with Nazism had prevailed to the extent that the Social Democrat chancellor Franz Vranitzky apologized to the victims of Nazism for the "evil deeds" of some Austrians and admitted that they had been involved in Nazi crimes. His statement is regarded as a milestone in the gradual paradigm shift by official Austria in its confrontation with the past. This, however, does not appear to have filtered down to the Viennese culture department. The reconfiguration of the monument was not prompted by a critical appraisal of Weinheber's life but was designed rather to fortify it against attacks and hence to immunise it against anti-fascist criticism.

The reconfiguration consisted of two measures. The porous sandstone was replaced by a smooth polished marble plinth that would be easier to clean, and the monument was anchored in the ground on a 1 × 1 × 1 meter concrete foundation. Thus a monument ensemble was created consisting of three elements—bust, plinth, and foundation—whose structure and aesthetic character bore witness to its own conflictual history. The reconfiguration not only considerably changed the appearance but also extended the monument by adding a new element. Characteristic of the post-Nazist treatment of the past, this addition was out of sight and below the ground. It also revealed the paradox of the claim that monuments cannot be altered, an argument used repeatedly by the authorities to prevent initiatives to reconfigure controversial monuments.

4 Weinheber to Jelusich, in Fackelmann, ed. *Literaturwissenschaftliche*, 115.

5 The title of the book translates in English as: "Commitment to Josef Weinheber: Memories by his friends."

The Onus of Responsibility

It is common practice that political representatives pay tribute to persons or events with which they identify by dedicating monuments or street names. They are normally protected by the authorities from attacks by opponents. It takes a fundamental change in the regime for direct and far-reaching alterations to be made, such as the renaming of the streets and squares named after Adolf Hitler, after the end of the Nazi era. But how should a society deal with historical manifestations that venerate persons or events that are no longer reconcilable with contemporary political principles?

A considerable gap has opened up in Austria between the critical view of history established in intellectual and cultural circles and the old notions of self-victimization and a desire to close the chapter that still prevail in many places. This discrepancy is evident in discussions on problematic historical manifestations, which in Vienna tend to follow the same pattern: the reconfiguration of a monument or the changing of a street name is usually proposed by neighborhood or civil society initiatives, only to be rejected out of hand by the local or city councils. If reasons are given at all, they are usually constructed in such a way as to give the impression that any initiative is to be rejected on principle. Given the critical perspective by official Austria on the Nazi past, this might at first glance appear absurd, but it has the longest tradition in the SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria), which since 1945 has provided the mayor of Vienna and most of the district heads.

The party is dominated by those who prefer to conveniently forget the anti-fascist principles that are meant to be inherent in social democracy, and as far as possible avoid public discussion of the relevant issues so as not to scare off right-wing voters. Added to this is some kind of a tacit agreement with the conservative ÖVP (Austrian People's Party). After the half-hearted denazification, the two major parties in the Second Republic not only wooed former Nazis as voters but also welcomed them as members and functionaries in their party systems. And although in the early 2000s the SPÖ publicly confronted the issue of party officials with a Nazi past, there is still a tradition of letting sleeping dogs lie, because any discussion by one party of Nazis in opposing parties harbors the risk of damaging its own party's image.

Public Space, Ltd.

In October 2009, the attention of Plattform Geschichtspolitik,[6] an initiative by students and teachers that had then been recently founded at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna to investigate the institution's involvement in colonialism, Austrofascism, and Nazism, was drawn to the Weinheber monument. While

our activities had been limited initially to historical manifestations within the academy, in 2010 the first intervention in connection with the Weinheber monument took place, taking the initiative into the public space in front of the main building of the academy. In December 1938, the academy management had petitioned the Vienna city council to ban Jews from Schillerpark. Neither this crime nor the expulsion of teachers and students—and probably administrative staff as well—a few months hitherto is commemorated by the academy.

Fig. 31
Intervention by Plattform Geschichtspolitik
Schillerpark, Vienna, June 2010

As a contribution to a symposium at the academy, we invited the public to accompany us to an action on Schillerplatz. We had stickers renaming the square "Platz der auf Betreiben der Akademie 1938/39 vom Platz vertriebenen Jüd_innen" (Square of the Jews expelled from the square at the academy's instigation in 1938/39). Then we moved to the Weinheber monument, where we stuck posters on the plinth with information about the history of the monument and the square. We pasted a slogan, "A monument that pays tribute to a Nazi and trivializes Nazism and the Shoah" around the bust. To our surprise, the intervention remained untouched for several weeks, and it also provoked reactions from the media and from politicians, which, although mild, gave an initial indication of the conflict potential in this discreet monument.

6 Platform for History Politics

Some of us wanted to continue working on the project and decided to submit a suggestion for the permanent reconfiguration of the monument to the culture department of the Vienna city council. Referring to the history and nature of the monument, it consisted of two changes. The underground foundation was to be exposed so as to make the monument visible in its entirety; and a plastic application was to be attached to the base to look as if paint had been poured onto it—in reference to the anti-fascist intervention—along with an engraved text providing information about the poet and the history of the monument.

The culture department referred us to Kunst im öffentlichen Raum GmbH (KÖR GmbH), an outsourced administrative section with a jury responsible for the examination, financing, and implementation of public art projects.[7] There followed a intensive submission and adaptation process lasting several months with KÖR GmbH, during which time we also met representatives of municipal departments, whose permission was required for reconfiguring the monument: the municipal departments for cultural affairs (MA 7), architecture and urban design (MA 19), building inspection (MA 37), and parks and gardens (MA 42), the local council for the first district, and the Federal Monuments Office. These dealings with the authorities were time consuming and fruitless. Although KÖR GmbH gave provisional assent to our application, after we had submitted a more detailed version, we were ultimately informed that the project would not be supported.

This was very frustrating—not only because of the wasted time and energy, but also because the politicians and authorities had once again shown that they were not interested in reconfiguring a monument that paid tribute to a Nazi—as if the paradigm shift away from the victim myth to a responsible approach to the Nazi past had never taken place. The attitude of the Vienna city council to the legacy of problematic handling of historical-political manifestations in the public space is notable for the absence of any strategy, structure, or coordination. And because the Social Democrats in office are of the opinion that they have more to lose than to gain, they outsource "hot potatoes" to an institution that has neither the desire nor the capacity to deal with them.

The idea of outsourcing the administration of public art projects is based on the welcome aim of protecting art from the arbitrariness of officials and the meddling of politicians. But good intentions are not always enough, and the institution in question is ultimately skewered by its very nature as an independent body. The KÖR GmbH jury is independent in name only, as one of its members, the head of the fine arts section of the city council culture department, is answerable to the executive city councillor for cultural affairs. The semblance of independence can be maintained only as long as the art projects don't rub the city council and its members up the wrong way. As soon as the

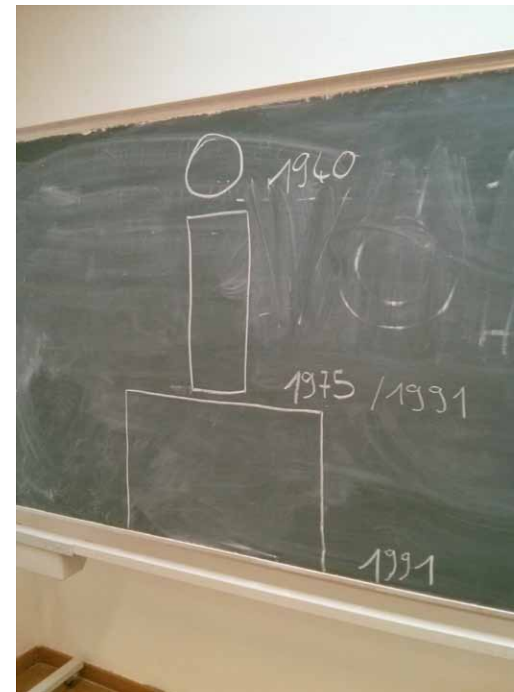

Fig. 32
A schematic drawing by Tatiana Kai-Browne of the Weinheber monument ensemble, shown at the symposium "Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency," 2014

projects touch on issues relating to contentious municipal politics, this construct reaches its limits, because KÖR GmbH does not have the necessary authority to push through projects against the resistance of the political and municipal authorities. In fact the politicians' influence is even greater as a result. For example, the head of the office of the municipal councillor for cultural affairs insisted on being part of the jury deciding on the design of the monument for Wehrmacht deserters, which had finally been approved after decades of struggle. It can only be hoped that the rumors about his desire to be a regular member of the jury prove to be unfounded.

7 Kunst im öffentlichen Raum GmbH translates as: Art in Public Space, Ltd.

Historicopolitical Coercion

Looking back at the records of the city council, it would appear that politicians and administrators abandon their dismissive policy regarding anti-fascist history politics in public space, only when they have no other choice. Convinced of the relevance of our project and the artistic quality of our submission, we decided not to accept the refusal by KÖR GmbH and to reconfigure the Weinheber monument in June 2013 without official permission or a project budget. We invited a handful of friends to help us one Friday afternoon to expose the foundation. After three hours the hole had been dug and turf placed around it. We successfully countered questions by passers-by about the legality of our actions by pointing out the need for urgent repairs, which we, as members of the restoration class in the nearby academy, were carrying out.

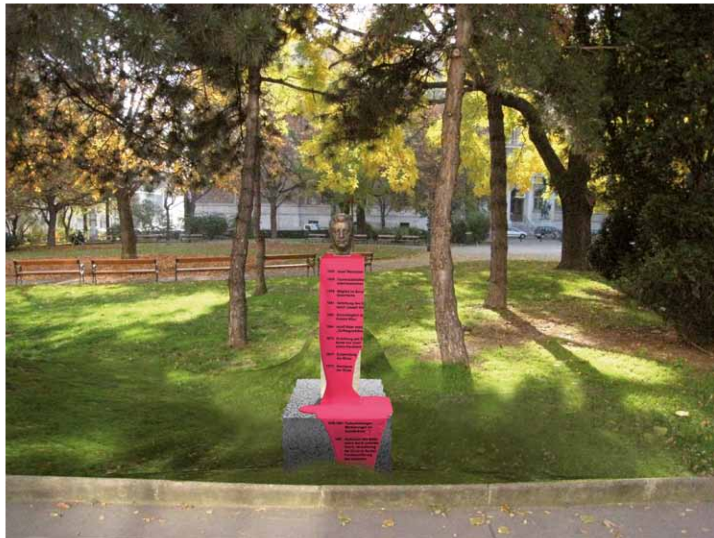

Fig. 33
Plattform Geschichtspolitik, photomontage of the reconfiguration of the Weinheber monument, 2012

The foundation remained exposed for three days until Monday morning, when a delegation of municipal gardeners covered it over again. Our intervention was fairly well covered by the media and gave rise to an unexpected reaction. Questioned by the media, the municipal councillor for cultural affairs, who had obstructed similar cases hitherto, said that he approved of the intervention and would have left it untouched if his colleagues from parks and gardens had

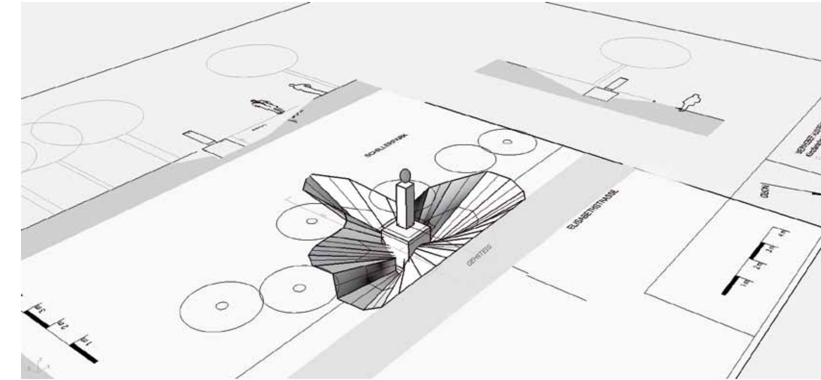

Fig. 34
Plattform Geschichtspolitik, drawing of the reconfiguration of the Weinheber monument, 2012

not intervened. We took this as an invitation to remain active. After we had managed to to exert some pressure through the media, the municipal councillor urged us to submit our project once again to KÖR GmbH.

Fig. 35
Plattform Geschichtspolitik, photograph taken immediately after the excavation of the Weinheber monument, 2013

The KÖR statutes do not allow the resubmission of a project that has already been rejected, but an exception was made in this case at the request of the municipal councillor—so much for political independence. Our project once again called for exposing the foundations and a revised version of the plinth application. This time it was approved—a gratifying development, but one that on closer inspection was not quite as we had hoped. First of all, only the exposure of the foundation was approved but not the plinth application. Second, the approved budget was so small that it was not even sufficient to cover the expense of completing the official paperwork, which was a requirement for our actually receiving the grant. After much calculation and recalculation, KÖR GmbH let it be known that the amount was only a part-subsidy and that we should look for other cosponsors. We refused to accept this conclusion, believing that it was the responsibility of the Vienna city council, which was in charge of erecting and fortifying the monument, to provide the funds for its reconfiguration. Months had elapsed, only for us to find ourselves once again back in the familiar stalemate situation that politicians and authorities appear to be so fond of in such cases.

Fig. 36
Plattform Geschichtspolitik, photomontage of the reconfiguration of the Weinheber monument, 2014

The matter was recently given new impetus when the municipal councillor asked two Viennese writers to compose an explanatory text for the Weinheber monument. The plaque was to be installed as soon as possible and would put an end to any further reconfiguration initiatives. The writers knew about our

project, however, and told the councillor that they would not be willing to write a text unless the monument was reconfigured. This led to further meetings with the councillor's assistants, who promised a budget for the project that would be sufficient for it to be implemented should we apply to KÖR GmbH. We followed up the suggestion and will submit a third (!) application for reconfiguration of the Weinheber monument at the beginning of 2015. It remains to be seen whether the Vienna city council will accept responsibility after forty years of anti-fascist actions around the monument, after five years of work by us, and after the recent unsuccessful attempt to play us off against other historicopolitical actors involved in the consideration of historical manifestations.

Dispute as Opportunity

During our submission odyssey, we spoke with the representative of the Federal Monuments Office responsible for the Weinheber monument. Faced with other similar cases, he was not favorably disposed to a reconfiguration, which he felt would open a Pandora's box—an outcome that was his responsibility to prevent. In view of this official attitude, it is up to us as historicopolitical actors to take up the challenge presented by this intransigence on the part of politicians and municipal authorities and undermine it. By opening up Pandora's box little by little it might finally be possible to bring about the long-overdue paradigm shift in the attitude to historical manifestations in Vienna's public spaces.

Should the day finally come when the authorities decide to take a responsible approach to problematic manifestations, it will be vital for them to do so in a discerning manner. Streets, squares, and districts named after people whose words or deeds are no longer tenable should be renamed. An explanatory text, as suggested by some, would not be sufficient, because the names are not only seen on the street signs but in many other contexts, such as city maps or address lists.

When looking at incriminated persons or events, it might be useful to start by investigating involvement with the Nazis. It would be unwise to confine the investigation to this area, however, because Nazism was not an isolated historical event. To cite one example, the Nazis were neither the first nor the last anti-Semites in Vienna, and the Shoah did not come out of the blue but was the culmination of a centuries-old anti-Jewish tradition that had been at the origin of countless crimes. It is unacceptable for urban spaces to pay homage to anti-Semites. It makes no difference whether they supported the propaganda of the regime that thought up and carried out the Shoah, as Josef Weinheber did; whether they prepared the way for it with their populist anti-Semitism, as was

the case with a Vienna mayor who still has a square named after him; or whether they had the Jews expelled and murdered in the seventeenth century, as was the case with the emperor after whom the second district is honorably named.

There are other aspects that also need to be taken into consideration with problematic monuments. To remove them would simply be a way of covering over what has already taken place. Just to explain them and to limit the reconfiguration to the level of words would be insufficient, because it would ignore the aesthetic and spatial impact of monuments. The potential of monuments to heighten awareness of a problematic past and to demonstrate that their interpretation also changes with time is best exploited by reconfigurations that account for two interrelated areas: artistic or aesthetic, and social-political contexts. Perhaps politicians will even become less afraid of addressing political history in public space, and will finally come to understand monuments as places of discursive, active, and critical confrontation of the past, that can and should be reinterpreted and reconfigured—rather than dogmatically protecting their eternal stances, and with them, the eternal validity of Robert Musil's dictum that there is nothing more invisible than monuments.[8]

Translated from the German by Nick Somers

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Conciliatory Potentials of Memorials

Pondering into Collective Memories via Participatory Research

Materials of Commemoration

The Changing Landscape of Mauthausen

Peter Mörtenböck
and Helge Mooshammer,
with Das Kollektiv

In his work on collective memory, the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who died at the Buchenwald concentration camp in March 1945, described memory as a matter of mental geography. He suggested that the past is mapped in our minds with reference to its most unforgettable places.[1] In this way, memories are linked to materials of recollection, including the objects, images, and spaces that surround them. In the mental geography of former concentration camps, countless entanglements of interests and desires continue to complicate the policies and practices of commemorative representation even today. They also complicate the ways in which material culture is employed to facilitate how the present moment can be related to memories of the past.

Those were some of the issues that arose in autumn 2013, when the Austrian Ministry of the Interior commissioned the Centre for Local Planning and the Institute of Art and Design at the Vienna University of Technology to develop design proposals for a spatial guidance system based on a new framework for the restructuring of the Mauthausen memorial site in Upper Austria, formerly one of the largest concentration camp complexes in German-controlled Europe. This framework included a set of measures for the redevelopment of the site based on infrastructural arrangements, exhibition areas, and educational and museological concepts. It was the result of a long process of consultation and discussion and designed to be implemented in incremental steps over the coming years. This manual of guidelines and implementation strategies was meant to help us steer our way through the complexities of the site. In addition, we were also assisted by staff working at the Mauthausen memorial site and researchers from the memorial archive in Vienna, as well as by a host of experts involved in the redevelopment of the site and scholars from a range of different fields whom we invited to join our discussions, including cultural theorists, historians, archeologists, and planners.

In light of the many economies that constitute what is in simplified terms referred to as "the memorial site," we felt that our intervention in this vast and complex landscape needed to entail a critical shift on the level of engagement itself, a shift that would have to do with the ways in which one approaches this subject, with the polyphony of its many voices, and with what one conceives of as being *the subject* in the first place, with the different boundaries one encounters when addressing the site as a question of design, with reconsiderations of frameworks, roles, and narratives. In order to engage with

1 See Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993), 80; and Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

Fig. 37
Gusen Memorial,
Austria, 2013

this situation, we worked with a group of architecture and planning students—Das Kollektiv—to trace the complex geography of ongoing local engagement superimposed on the ghostly outline of "local entanglement" with the past. Our collaboration helped us to address some of the mechanisms of how mind maps of guilt and shame are passed down the generations, how they travel across different histories and territories, and how they are taken up by many others. Das Kollektiv's work has seized on qualities of narrative fiction to embed the memorial site in an alternative space, one that challenges the "global canon" of design strategies in relation to questions of shame and reconciliation. Elements of this project are part of the concluding section of this essay, but before that we would like to dwell on some of the insights we have gained from our involvement with the changing landscape of Mauthausen.

Expansion and Dissolution

The former concentration camp of Mauthausen sits on top of a hill above the River Danube, twenty kilometers downstream from Linz, the provincial capital of Upper Austria. In aerial photographs, it stands out as an intrusive form in an otherwise picturesque landscape of farmland and forests. Looking at the camp from above, one can still see large parts of the original building complex constructed by the Nazi regime, which ordered work on the camp to begin within months of the annexation of Austria by the German Reich in 1938. When seen from the distance, Mauthausen looks like a relic from the past, a thing of immovable permanence that is contained in its own history, despite the fact

that it is now increasingly marked by the struggle between conflicting signs of dissolution and preservation. The camp formed the nerve center of a network of concentration camps built around the market towns of Mauthausen and Gusen. Serving as a labor camp, its prisoners were forced to work in the nearby granite quarries and, in later years, in industries vital to the war effort. By the summer of 1940, it had become one of the largest concentration camp complexes in Europe. Many private companies were involved in making it one of the Nazi regime's most profitable business enterprises, exceeding the production output of all other major concentration camp complexes at the time.

In 1949, four years after its liberation, the former concentration camp of Mauthausen was declared a national memorial site and accorded an important role in the process of postwar commemoration. The reorientation of the site to fulfill this function led to the dismantlement of many of the original camp's facilities, the erection of a dedicated memorial park on the site of the former SS barracks, and the mounting of commemorative plaques along the so-called Wailing Wall, the massive granite walls surrounding the inner camp. Since then, different layers of signage have been installed to guide visitors through the memorial site, exhibitions have been organized and, most recently, a visitor center and a museum have been built to accommodate new activities relating to the history of the site. This diversity of approaches and the present mix of material interventions make tangible how the Mauthausen memorial site, after six decades of World War II commemoration, is increasingly being affected by two contradictory dynamics. First, there is an *expansion* of what is considered to be the site. This is being facilitated by a growing recognition of the fact that the former concentration camp was part of an all-encompassing economy involving many different actors, businesses, and institutions. And second, there is a critical *generational shift* that allows for guilt and shame to be addressed more openly but, with the number of survivors rapidly declining, also entails a loss of living memory. While shame can well be seen as the structure of all human subjectivity, as Agamben suggests, insofar as it bears "witness to the inhuman," there is a particular kind of shame that might come afterward, when later generations reflect on what has happened.[2] These two different developments are having a significant effect on the way in which issues of shame and reconciliation are foregrounded and addressed.

2 Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, Homo Sacer III (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 121.

Amid the simultaneous expansion and dissolution of the site, there is arguably an attempt to restore some sort of focus, a sense of stability that is projected onto future encounters with Mauthausen but also onto many other sites, for which it is becoming more and more challenging to articulate how our present realities are implicated in the past. In this dual dynamic, it seems that material culture is playing an important role, one in which it is increasingly becoming the prevailing framework for the commemorative representation of atrocities—the administration of archival material, the display of historical artifacts, the conservation of buildings, the recreation of environments for the purpose of recovering what is lost or inaccessible below the surface. With reference to such contexts, Henri Bergson observes that negation implies the object itself as well as its erasure.[3] We could also argue that when confronted with vanishing entry points for memory, representation, or participation, we are often more concerned with loss than with its relation to what it actually affirms. What haunts us is the fact that an intensified search for relics and remnants of the past raises questions as to how we can relate to what is being unearthed, and in particular, how we can relate to it beyond the self-referential dichotomies of uncertainty and evidence, loss and preservation, guilt and denial. How should we think about the objects we unearth and those we add to them through the processes of planning and curation, through archival and educational work, if, rather than attempting to narrate the preserved material, our goal is to recognize the continued effect of a politics of negation, exercised through the destructive system of concentration camps, in the contemporary web of absences and presences at the site?

Fig. 38
Mauthausen Memorial, Bulgarian Monument, 2013

Ordinary Exceptions

What we noticed early on in our work was that encounters with the Mauthausen memorial site seem to be marked by an ongoing struggle to reconcile two diverging dimensions: the *exceptional* (i.e., Mauthausen's singular place in history) on the one hand, and the *ordinary* on the other; the site's *anomaly* and its *normality*; the atrocities of the *past* and the *everyday* experience of the many people whose lives are presently touched by the site. And yet, it is precisely through this tension that we felt one can begin to understand how the past has a lasting impact on the fleeting present moment, and to face up to its deep-seated connection with all the relationships we build in our society in many different ways. This tension brings to mind the inseparability of shameful moments of the past from subsequent processes of concealment, normalization, and distancing, be it via everyday practices or well-placed interventions, and it seems that in this very inseparability there are always possibilities, both good and bad. The ensuing improvisations, gaps, and ruptures evoke a continuous experience of conflict and unease. They unleash a profound sense of urgency in the unresolved nature of such sites, yet also a demand for recognizing the vital responsibilities of state institutions toward victims, relatives, and the general public.

Fig. 39
Mauthausen Memorial, 2013

The question is thus whether we can locate an element of productivity in this tension by thinking the site through its architectural logics. Spatial organization has always played an important role on many different levels, in the past

3 See Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. Arthur Mitchell (New York: Dover, 1998). First published in 1911.

as well as in the present of the memorial. It is at the very heart of the many complexities and contradictions that are brought to the fore not least through architectural interventions in the organization of the site. In the transition from a former concentration camp to a memorial, the site has been increasingly caught in the logics of visitor attraction. These include the bureaucratic management of visits to the memorial and their composition as a set of options one can choose from, the omnipresence of signage aspiring to facilitate an unambiguous sense of spatial and temporal order in experiencing the site, the bilingual way-finding systems and contemporary signs in English and German that have gradually replaced the multilinguality one can find on some of the remaining postwar commemorative plaques, the emphatically effortless circulation facilitated by state-of-the-art infrastructure, and the slick exhibition design that mitigates the raw horror of the site and pushes it into the logic of an educational experience. As much as we might wish to think of these organizational measures as minor details, they give away something of the desire to move on, to become other, in an attempt that is immediately thrown back to its own past.

What emerges from such enmeshments is the impossibility of addressing these processes of normalization without unwillingly perpetuating them. The incompatibility of the everyday with the historical legacy of the site becomes particularly apparent through the technical demands of the site itself, in terms of its administration and maintenance, spatial organization, and material culture. In response to visitors seeking to see the historical site itself rather than being directed to the visitor center, the main exhibition has recently been relocated to the central area of the former camp. Part of this move has involved the refurbishment of the former infirmary and the installment of new permanent exhibitions. Curatorial statements stress the central role that is now being given to original objects in order to narrate complex stories about the development of the Mauthausen concentration camp and the history of its inmates. Indeed, many important stories are told in these new settings. But, of course, we also do not simply see historical artifacts. We look through crystal-clear glass at displays under professional lighting, respond to the invitations of a well-designed educational setting, and are confronted with CCTV and an illuminated exit sign next to the gas chamber. The demands of professional preservation, such as the control of humidity induced by the presence of humans, are meticulously taken care of. There are all kinds of instruments safeguarding this controlled environment and erecting barriers between objects that are supposed to narrate a story and visitors to the site seeking to engage with that story.

In the wake of decades of institutional critique within art and commemoration discourse, and ever since Jochen Gerz's 1974 installation *Exit/Dachau* highlighted the complicity of museology in perpetuating bureaucratic logics, such

situations are no longer surprising. What they make clear is the impossibility of containment, the fact that the atrocities of the past cannot be resolved through any kind of material investment or any demonstration of care and concern. Pointing to these slippages is not meant to demand a better solution in terms of more investment, more material commitment and preservation. Rather, it seems to be time to somehow liberate the camp again—from its material responsibilities and constraints. A change in perspective might involve turning away from an obsession with containment and control of the horror in favor of an engagement with the numerous encounters between visitors and local "caretakers." Shifting the perspective to how they collectively inhabit the site could potentially result in a blurring of boundaries and organizational logics. In such a situation, guidance could become less of a question of organizing spatial and visual flows, since it may well become unclear where the memorial begins and where it ends, and what we are supposed to do and feel.

Embarking on this journey, we flagged five critical notions that we chose as instruments to navigate by, each of them expressing both a spatial and conceptual framework for engaging with the site: *In/Visibilities* refer to structures, histories, and sites that are rendered visible or invisible. *Boundaries* are embodied by the borders of the former concentration camp but also by present-day boundaries that regulate permissions, claims, and responsibilities. *Access* denotes the approach to the site but it also indicates a "mode of intellectual and conceptual 'ownership,' the moment in which a problematic becomes our own and we inhabit it rather than being provided with it."[4] *Movements* describe the circulation on site but also the ways in which spaces are crossroads of different histories and ambitions. And last but not least, *connections* express the contiguities between different sites that are drawn on paper as well as those that are made on the ground when "spaces get turned into crossroads—points and experiences of intersection."[5]

The following paragraphs are an abridged version of the text "Vierzig Morgen"[6] that shows how Das Kollektiv—the students involved in the project—turned this mode of investigation into a mechanism that uses design not as a means of implementing a given brief but as a critical instrument to find out something

4 Irit Rogoff, "Turning," *e-flux journal*, no. 59 (November 2008), http://www.e-flux.com/journal/turning/.
5 AbdouMaliq Simone, *City Life from Jakarta to Dakar: Movements at the Crossroads* (London: Routledge, 2010), 191.
6 In its original form the text is the voice-over of a video that, together with the other elements of the "Vierzig Morgen" project, is available at: http://www.cargocollective.com/vierzigmorgen.

about its own roles and operations. Their narrative presents a collage of various texts, created either by themselves or other authors.[7] All excerpts from other authors' texts are quoted in the footnote preceding this sentence; they are not, however, identified as such within the text or included in the references proper.

Vierzig Morgen

K. tried to avoid the public a whole life long. "This peculiar entity," as could be learned from the memoirs of Europe's once most wealthy person. "As a child, I used to spend the summer months with my grandparents. They owned a large house. Its ground floor contained a spacious additional kitchen, where you would always meet a woman living in there. It was my grandmother's sister, and I called her my aunt. We often indulged in a game. While she was seated on a chair at the front end of the kitchen table, with me facing her from a wooden bench against the wall, we were skimming through volumes of universal encyclopaedias that we had pinched from the upstairs library. We were searching for words, and their denotation(s) were to be explained in utmost accuracy by each of us in turn in order to score a point. The tricky part: language and imagination being the very same thing. Thus the contemporary concept of a certain word may differ considerably from its former understanding, which is why now and then an allegedly certain point in our game did not count after all. This was e.g., the case when an outdated dictionary entry identified as public what is ours by law of nature and can be used by all of us according to the circumstances, but cannot be declared private property by anyone. Earth, Fire, Air, Water—i.e., the four basic elements constituting the world according to people of ancient times. [...]

I spent the first year of my professional life in Munich. It was stated that the term public stood for what was negotiated before the eyes and ears of all free citizens. I remember the riots in Schwabing. The commotion. The animation. People on horseback. The sensation when something like a heavy club hit my head with full force. The pain was not particularly excruciating; it was intense enough, though, to occupy my thoughts and to prevent me from seeing what my eyes had focused before. All I could perceive was the sky—the sky high above—that was not clear, but still immeasurably high, with clouds floating by quietly. Not being able to see anything, while there was so much going on around, felt rather frightening at first. It was all t-t-t-t and grrrmmmmm and tssssssssssss and grrt. The context remained concealed from me, as was the case with the noise around that I perceived, or the blows against my body.

That is—I assume it was blows. I was trying to collect myself, when I was overcome with a feeling of inner sensation. I cannot seem to find another expression for it. What I can describe is the impression of being affected by a force thus immediate and stimulating, which left me attached only to my own body at this certain time and place. [...]

K. died a silent death. Journals, radio, and television programs reported that a South Seas airline would henceforth calculate flight ticket prices in relation to the passenger's weight; that quite a few Europeans traveled

7 Source texts: Paul Auster, *Mein New York*, trans. Joachim A. Frank and Werner Schmitz (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2008); Anne Bittenberg, "Souvenirs im Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork? Gründe für eine Corporate Identity der Holocaust-Gedenkstätte," in *KZ-Souvenirs: Erinnerungsobjekte der Alltagskultur im Gedenken an die nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen*, ed. Ulrike Dittrich and Siegried Jacobeit (Potsdam: Brandenburgische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005), 56–69; Okwui Enwezor, "In Transit," in *Interzones: A Work in Progress*, ed. Octavio Zaya and Anders Michelsen (Copenhagen: Kunstforeningen, 1996), 55–60; Karl Führer, Christian Knut Hickethier, and Axel Schildt, "Öffentlichkeit – Medien – Geschichte. Konzepte der modernen Öffentlichkeit und Zugänge zu ihrer Erforschung," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, no. 41 (2001): 1–38; Dan Graham, *Two-Way Mirror Power: Selected Writings by Dan Graham on His Art*, ed. Alexander Alberro (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); "Gedenkstätte Konzentrationslager Mauthausen/Österreich," *bauzeugen.de*, http://www.bauzeugen.de/mauthausen.html; Ernst Jandl, *Laut und Luise* (Olten: Walter, 1966); Stefan Jonsson, "Fakten und Fiktionen: Medienlogik in Zeiten der Globalisierung," *Lettre International*, no. 74 (Herbst 2006): 67–71; Alexandra Klei, Katrin Stoll, and Annika Wienert, eds., *Die Transformation der Lager: Annäherungen an die Orte nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2011); Ulrich Knaack, and Holger Techen, "Konstruktiver Glasbau – auf Distanz," *Stahlbau Spezial 2009 – Konstruktiver Glasbau* (2009): 3–6; "Konturen und Geschichte der Mahn- und Gedenkstätte," *Deutsches Mauthausen Komitee Ost e.V.*, http://dmko.de/konturen-und-geschichte-der-mahn-und-gedenkstatte; Orvar Löfgren, "Reise-Fieber. Die Materialität von Bewegung und Emotion," in *Dinge auf Reisen: Materielle Kultur und Tourismus*, ed. Johannes Moser and Daniella Seidl (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2009), 25–51; Winfried Georg Sebald, *Austerlitz* (Frankfurt: Fischer TB Verlag, 2003); Fabio Stassi, "Geographie des Blutes. Gerettete Sprachen, Dialekte der Seele, Literatur ein Fluss ohne Grenzen," *Lettre International*, no. 101 (Summer 2013): 108–12; Jan Süselbeck, "Von der Kontingenz des modernen Krieges: Eine Relektüre von Lew N. Tolstojs Großroman 'Krieg und Frieden' – aus gegebenem Anlass," *Literaturkritik.de*, no. 12 (December 2008), http://www.literaturkritik.de/public/rezension.php?rez_id=12423; Henning Sußebach, "Das Stiefmütterchen wird diffamiert," *Die Zeit*, no. 14 (2013), http://www.zeit.de/2013/14/gartenkultur-landlust-udo-weilacher; Erich Trösch and Thomas Baumgärtner, "Tragverhalten von nicht-monolithischen Glasverbundträgern für große Spannweiten." in *Glasbau 2013: Bauten und Projekte: Bemessung und Konstruktion: Forschung und Entwicklung. Energieeffizienz und Nachhaltigkeit*, ed. Bernhard Weller and Silke Tasche (Berlin: Ernst und Sohn, 2013), 87–97; Bernhard Weller, Florian Döbbel, Felix Nicklisch, Volker Prautzsch, and Sebastian Rücker, "Geklebte Ganzglaskonstruktion für das Leibniz-Institut für Festkörper- und Werkstoffforschung in Dresden," *Stahlbau Spezial 2010 – Konstruktiver Glasbau* (2010): 34–40; Werner Wüthrich, *Die sie Bauern nannten: Vom Mythos und Überleben unserer Landwirtschaft* (Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber, 2009), 129–64.

farther than to the nearest large town in order to do shopping; that an Alpine company would build a powder snow ski resort in North Korea; that the sequencing of a human genome would soon be cheaper than a smart phone, and when this was accomplished, journals, radio, and television programs made a report. And then they referred to K.'s estate.

K. had bequeathed a considerable amount of money to the Society for Socio-Critical Awareness, an Austrian initiative eager to foster a "Culture of remembering and commemorating the Holocaust." Speculations on the exact estate value and K.'s motive to become a (famous) benefactor after death had considerable repercussions on all channels of public media. The massive upheavals of the twentieth century provoked a vast number of biographies that were broken and twisted and full of gaps. Not many details of K.'s life could be ascertained, either; K.'s position in the Third Reich, for instance, remains vague. [...]

First of all, the Society for Socio-Critical Awareness expanded by inviting historians and sociologists to contribute, who were then followed by educationalists, linguists, information scientists, graphic designers, and architects. Thus a multidisciplinary working group, outstanding in regard to its members' number and qualification, emerged. They deliberated. They described. They labeled. They started traveling; to Majdanek, to Auschwitz, to Mauthausen; by plane or by train.

Those members of the Society for Socio-Critical Awareness who were not particularly well acquainted with traveling were, at first, frequently overburdened. At airports, for example, they were often overwhelmed by a mood between anxiety and ecstasy, desire and fear. Sometimes their bodies even began to tumble. This happened when they had already started to move in their minds, while they were still walking—amid all those other bodies in long queues—along rather slowly moving pavements, at whose ends the groping fingers of emotionless officers might be awaiting. And the loss of petty belongings that might have found their place in museums, exhibiting collections of nail files, corkscrews, scissors, combs, and lighters once confiscated at airports.

Also, long journeys by train were something to get accustomed to first. Sitting next to other travelers for a good many hours, eating in their presence, falling asleep before their very eyes, retiring at the same time, eventually falling asleep, rising again under public scrutiny and bearing an inevitable get-together while washing and hairdressing with a smile. Gazing out of a compartment window could be a distraction. Gazing, while motionless objects flew by. Forest. River. Rapeseed. Spaces. Lines. Strong impulses. Accompanied by the rhythm of the train's wheels and

the wagons' sway, a feeling of security and boredom set in. Maybe an eye spotted a detail in the landscape, which kept approaching and moving away again; it was, however, impossible to hold on much longer to what had been beheld, while the angle slowly passed by. Like, for instance, the frayed cloud. The tree that might have been struck by lightning. The possibly startled animal.

Fig. 40
Das Kollektiv, *Vierzig Morgen 1*, 2014

After World War II, the Holes of Oblivion turned into a variety of different places. Among them such as where the National Socialists' crimes are being preserved in established museums and memorial sites. Other Holes of Oblivion have undergone some transformation: from burial grounds, where the remains of those who had perished and those who had been murdered were buried, incinerated, and scattered, into graveyards visited by the surviving in order to commemorate the deceased. Holes of Oblivion were, of course, also demolished (in their entirety). They are, to some extent, covered with housing complexes now. The Society for Socio-Critical Awareness took up this issue and installed wireless Internet access points on more than forty (i.e., all of the) former campsites of Mauthausen's concentration camp system. As, for example, in Gusen, where a WLAN-router henceforth generated a never-ending "signal cloud." The latter's location and dimensions corresponded to the historical measurements of the satellite camp situated there, which had been

largely eliminated a long time ago. The use of technical devices like smartphones or notebooks allowed free Internet communication by means of this "signal cloud." All newly established communication was initiated by accessing the virtual start address of the Society for Socio-Critical Awareness—the source of a dense information network.

Soon, the Society for Socio-Critical Awareness constructed the Academy of Commemoration and Learning in Linz, a building carefully embedded in its surroundings that can hardly be comprehended in its entirety. It constantly moves its protrusions and gorges, which is why it cannot be related to any form of human civilization. Numerous corridors lead into the Academy, as well as back out again. They all are designed in different ways, recreating moods and emotional states solely by using a great variety of building materials, plantation, and lighting arrangements. The

Fig. 41
Das Kollektiv, *Vierzig Morgen 2*, 2014

exterior walls do not show any signs of graphic characters. On some days, people merely passing by the Academy of Commemoration and Learning feel the urgent need to enter the building. Just like nerve tracts, all corridors lead into the very same main hall, which is bright,

but not flooded with light; this is where moving staircases and lifts interlink upper and lower stories. The rooms on every floor are skillfully and multiply intertwined; it does not take any effort to find your way around. You are surrounded by carefulness all over the place. Everything is tidy. Even the coffee cups are clean. The information brochures laid out were printed on premium paper. The Academy's staff members are strikingly courteous and helpful. When talking to visitors, they carefully employ a uniform language based on a catalogue of well-proven phrases. Several employees are entrusted with the task of thoroughly examining this catalogue each and every day.

All needs for commemoration of the Holocaust were met by the Academy of Commemoration and Learning in a spectacular way. Day in, day out, crowds of people flashed through this building erected by the Society for a Socio-Critical Awareness. Meanwhile, the concentration camp memorial site in Mauthausen lost its outstanding secular status, from whatever point of view you chose to look at the National Socialists' former main camp. Donations decreased at such a rate that they would not even cover the most essential expenses anymore—to ensure maintenance of this spacious area, for example. It was decided that the concentration camp memorial site should be sold, and it was offered to the Society for Socio-Critical Awareness, who declined the offer. Building the Academy of Commemoration and Learning had simply exhausted the substantial amount of money from K.'s estate. Half a dozen of other possible hands regretfully declined as well. It was discussed how at least the edifices on Mauthausen concentration camp memorial site could be saved from disruption, and it was subsequently decided that all fences, walls, barracks, stone buildings, and monuments were to be put under glass, with the sole exception of the rather new visitor center that was to be dealt with otherwise.

The venture of putting all edifices on Mauthausen concentration camp memorial site under glass has been accomplished as follows: upright glass fins are adhered to stainless steel receptacles in the ferroconcrete base surrounding the individual building objects; they are then wedged in and subsequently sealed. Acrylate adhesive produces a flexurally rigid link between the glass fins (35 centimeters wide) and the glass beams (50 centimeters in height). Whatever is possible in timber construction in terms of slotted connections or mortise and tenon joints, could be adopted for the fork bearing of the glass elements. Of the four-layer laminated safety glass panes, consisting of four layers of single-pane safety glass of 1.2 centimeters each and polyvinyl butyral in-between, the inner two horizontal panes of glass transoms interlock with the two outer panes of vertical glass bars. The frame construction made entirely

from glass constitutes a static system in no way inferior to a steel structure. With a center distance of 150 centimeters, the glass frames act as load-bearing sub-construction for the large glass plates, which serve as spatial enclosures and have a stiffening function transverse to the frame construction's level by bearing and transferring the horizontal loads. Frame and outer shell are connected invisibly and in a linear way by a structural sealant glazing silicone. There are no additional metal fasteners. In order to avoid humidity and steamed-up windows inside the glass cases, air exchange is ensured by supply air through the outside glass plates' lower edge and exhaust air through the top edge. As a result of impact loads on the glass cases, glass constructions may be partially destroyed. In this case, load-bearing glass constructions benefit from the possibility of system rearrangement. Redundantly designed glass frames and additional reinforcement provided by facade elements allow the static system to remain unendangered in case any primary structures might fail. In addition to that, the outside panes are laminated with high-performance fibers, leaving them more resistant to exterior impacts. The synthetic glazing blocks at the base of the glass fins absorb fluctuations in the adhesive's elasticity due to temperature, and thereby secure load transfer. All objects are protected against abrasion and weather conditions by these glass cases. None of the barracks and stone buildings are accessible anymore.

On many bright days showing a certain position of the sun, the concentration camp memorial site in Mauthausen seems to have been replaced almost exclusively by fields and sky, if beheld from afar. Especially sky. Eyewitnesses to this interplay between light and glass often spend quite some time studying the reflections of the world above as mirrored in the glass cases. The sky is never calm. Even on cloudless days, when blue seems to be the prevailing color, there are always minute changes. Minor disturbances. The sky expands and contracts. The abrupt whiteness of airplanes and birds suddenly appears. Clouds complicate the picture. Some people might try to grasp the clouds' manner, their essence. They acquaint themselves with cirrus, cumulus, stratus clouds, and their combinations, awaiting each shape, observing how the sky's reflection in the glass cases changes under the clouds' influence. And with the clouds, the colors manifest themselves. Gold and vermilion. Cardinal red. Pink and red. The results depend on the respective temperatures of the atmosphere's various strata, the types of clouds presently prevailing in the sky, and the altitude of the sun. Nothing lasts long. The colors dissolve, blend with others, move on, or fade. Those who last visited the concentration camp memorial site in Mauthausen when the glass cases had not yet been built, but try to picture the reflections of fields and sky based on other people's descriptions, rarely pass beyond remembering

the entrance gates, the massive enclosing walls and the numerous watchtowers. What appears like an ancient Roman fort, is in fact that part of the National Socialists' main camp that opens up to the memorial park on its left, followed by the stone pit's extremely steep mountainside. Behind the enclosing walls, there is the commandant's office, the laundry barracks, the camp prison, the kitchen barracks, and the sick bay, towering side by side. […]

By now, it has become the rule rather than the exception that framed photographs of the concentration camp memorial site in Mauthausen, which were taken after this large piece of land had been sold to a farmer, can be found hanging from the ceilings of well-known museums and art galleries. Wherever the soil on the former National Socialist main camp area is neither paved nor turned into a cemetery in-between the fences, walls, barracks, stone buildings, and monuments put under glass, winter oilseed rape, or winter cereals will be growing from autumn till the following summer. The pictures often show procedures like harvesting and seeding; and while the horizon might reveal a small radiant object maybe dragging along or leaving behind a dark brown streak, the sky might be colored yellow instead of blue, with the fields revealing an earthy brown instead of green color. And perhaps you remember a time when sheaves were tied together and horses harnessed to hay wagons by dozens of farm workers, day laborers and farm servants, whose first and second names usually remain unknown in family memories and on the back of photographs …

This takes us back to Halbwachs's idea of a mental geography, one that is collectively remembered but exposed to what the imagination is always doing, transforming the materials of recollection according to a range of political and conceptual ambiguities in the present. In this sense, it is not a self-contained history, narrative, or identity that is transmitted across generations, but a set of familiar routines, gestures, understandings, approvals, habits, and consents. Rearranging these elements into novel combinations, provocative juxtapositions or uncanny parallels allow us to understand the constructed nature of socio-material relations that frame collective shame. As well as a way of creatively intervening in the present fabric of memorial culture, it is a confrontation with the impossibility of evasion by design.

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Polished Smooth
How to Think Shame, Solidarity, and Politics of Bodily Presence

Working Group Four Faces of Omarska[1]

The name of the project, Four Faces of Omarska, charts the violent transformations of Omarska, from a socialist-era mine into a torture-and-death camp in 1992; then into a playground of transnational capital; and finally into a film set for revisionist cultural production.

Omarska is part of the Ljubija complex of iron mines, in the municipality of Prijedor, northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was of strategic importance in both world wars: in World War One it armed the Austro-Hungarian empire; in the decades preceding World War Two, the ore from the mine armed Germany. During the World War Two, Germany saw Ljubija as its main strategic objective in the Balkans and fought over it bitterly. In 1995, the Bosnian Serb representatives at the Dayton peace negotiations made large concessions in order to be able to keep the territory that includes the mine. This is a compilation of transcripts from different meetings of the members of the group.

Fig. 42
Working Group Four Faces of Omarska, "Solidarity and Politics of Bodily Presence," September 2010

1 Radna grupa *Četiri lica Omarske* (Working Group Four Faces of Omarska) is made up of a permanent core: Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srdjan Hercigonja, Vladimir Miladinović, Nenad Porobić, and Vanessa Vasić-Janeković, and/or periodic members: Jovanka Vojinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Zoran Vučkovac, and Milica Tomić. The dynamics and structure of the Working Group are defined by its shifting focus and agenda, so that in different phases other participants join the group: Sudbin Music, Satko Mujagić, DeLVe (Ivana Bago, Antonija Majača), Monument Group (Damir Arsenijević, Branimir Stojanović, Jelena Petrović, Pavle Levi, Milica Tomić), and many others.

Dejan Vasić: Suzana Milevska's invitation to contribute to this publication opened many questions. How to write such a text collectively? How to, as a group, reflect on the complex question of productive shame? At the very beginning, we must start with a question posed by Bewes: Is it possible to write about shame from the position of equality?[2]

Vanessa Vasić-Janeković: Or first, how to write about shame at all: By asking if there is "any better reason to feel ashamed" than the "ability to write" Bewes inverts Deleuze's question in order to propose a "new inseparability of shame and writing" or, in fact, as he argues, of "shame and form."[3]

DV: Right, we can deepen this through more questions posed by Bewes: "How to write without thereby contributing to the material inscription of inequality? […] How would it be possible to write about shame, this affective structure that seems to be located in the very interstice between experience and representation?"[4]

Mirjana Dragosavljević: Is it possible to write about shame from the position of equality?! This is, for me, a difficult and complex question. We ought to first determine what is it that we presume to be a position of equality. Is equality even possible, given the complexity of the situation created by the break up of Yugoslavia and the Dayton peace agreement? One of the consequences of these events is precisely the impossibility of clear positioning and articulation within this imposed framework, as I find myself unable to identify with it, or subjectivate myself within it. This is followed by the question of whether what I feel is shame or something else. I have not yet approached a clear answer to these questions.

VVJ: Perhaps to go back to Bewes and Deleuze via a double quote: "Writing is always engaged in becoming: 'In writing, one becomes-woman, becomes-animal or vegetable, becomes-molecule to the point of being imperceptible.'"[5] In this, we already trace a becoming-other movement, though from the position of one. And it seems to me that your questions are part of an ongoing conversation among us. When we decided to use transcript as literary device, we took our conversation into the space between speaking and writing of which transcript is a form, in its being suspended between speaking and writing ("experience and representation"). The space of conversation is a space of transindividuality, a space in which we are opening ourselves to each other, to alterity.[6] If we wish to act/speak/transcribe/write about shame from positions of equality, we must create them, and that is the only space within which we can do this.

Whenever I think about your questions, Mirjana, I remember our conversation on the topic of being "ethnically mixed" and therefore perceived as double outcasts (to be doubly shamed as such). The ethnic here is but a simple veil, for we are outcasts primarily because we do not belong to the consensus on murder (although the position of the outcast is rather more complex than that). This consensus, of course, rests on the logic of mute, formless shame as a means of socioeconomic blackmail, and it has been constructed so that we could have what is now post-Yugoslavia, so-called post-communism, so-called postwar and post-Dayton. For me, thinking the figure of the outcast opens the space for thinking shame and equality. I think that this is precisely where we must problematize the notion of shame as productive.

MD: This is, in a sense, what Staša Zajović talked about in our second Public Working Meeting in 2010, at the very beginnings of articulating our presence within the context of Omarska.[7] This was the first time that question of shame was reflected in our work, and it was motivated by our first visit to the commemoration in Omarska, on August 6, 2010.

DV: Let us pick up on that moment then, through excerpts from the transcript of the meeting.

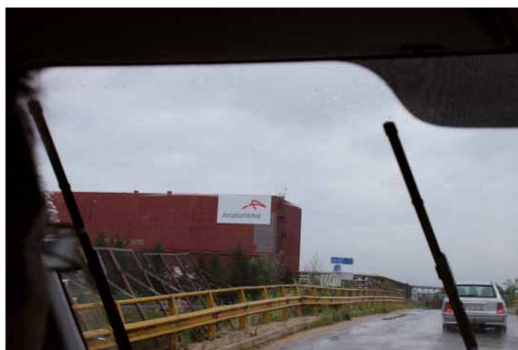
2 Timothy Bewes, *The Event of Postcolonial Shame* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 11.
3 Ibid., 34.
4 Ibid., 31.
5 Ibid., 34.
6 This term is used by Etienne Balibar and Gilbert Simondon to denote a rejection of ontological dualisms implicated in the pairs subject-object, individual-society, singularity-multiplicity, part-whole, etc., reaffirming instead the causality of interdependence as opposed to absolute autonomy of the individual. In Balibar's words (on Spinoza): "The 'model of human nature' […] in reality excludes any individual perfection which isolates Man (including the 'free' and 'wise' Man). On the contrary it is a perfection which equates growing autonomy of the individual (greater freedom and greater singularity, or uniqueness) with closer association (or 'friendship') with other individuals." "From Individuality to Transindividuality," a lecture delivered in Rijnsburg on May 15, 1993.
7 Public Working Meeting is a crucial form in our work methodology, an act of stepping out into the public, of opening the space for political subjectivation of the individual, communally.

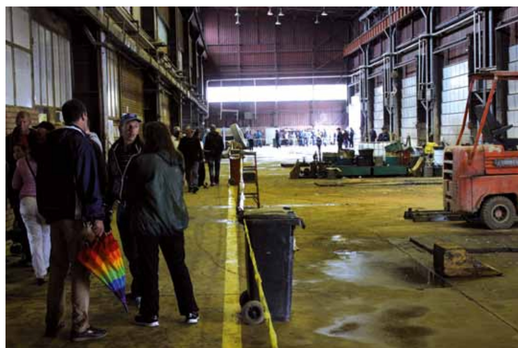
Solidarity and Politics of Bodily Presence (2010)[8]

Milica Tomić: Our guests today are Women in Black, the feminist antimilitarist organization that has, since the beginning of the wars on Yugoslav soil, been acting in public space, building a network of women's solidarity against the politics of war, terror, and all forms of inequality.

The topic of our meeting will be the politics of physical presence, of bodily presence in the public space as a form of a … "social sculpture."[9] This is also a question of our work. We are interested in understanding the activities of bodily presence in public space as a continuous act. On the other hand, it seems that this helps us understand the politics of what is referred to as social sculpture.

Today, Omarska functions as a mine, and there is neither a plaque, nor a sign that this was once a camp. For two hours each year, on the 6th of August, survivors and their families are allowed into the camp to take part in a commemoration they themselves organize.





Figs. 43–44
Commemoration in Omarska,
Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 2014

This space had gone through three transformations. From a socialist mine in the Prijedor region, its role was suddenly changed over night, so to speak: trucks for transporting iron ore started transporting corpses, the mine workshop became the site of murder and torture. These spaces were then given a lick of paint and are now in use again in this time of neoliberalism and transition. We ask whether this war was necessary in order for the privatization of societal ownership to take place, we ask whether the camp had to happen so that this could take place. We see this camp as a paradigm of Yugoslavia, its epochs as the three epochs of Yugoslavia.

A group of us was present at the 6th of August commemoration. All the buildings and objects now function as part of the mine. Around six hundred people, former camp inmates (most of whom now live abroad), and their children and families came. They brought banners, signs describing what happened there, and placed them in front of those buildings. For there is no memorial in the mine, there is nothing. Instead they placed these signs, took their children around, and recounted among each other what happened to whom.

You find yourself surrounded by a living memorial, living memory of the people who have no material proof that this really has happened. They have their experiences, their knowledge, and their memories. Their bodies also remember. Only the memory of another stands to confirm this really has happened to them. This commemoration is, in fact, an immaterial memorial. I come from the Monument Group that has created a different discourse, one opposing the concept of ossified physical memorial. But at this commemoration, I realized for the first time, together with this group of people, with Marija, Mirjana, Dejan, Srđan, that a physical memorial is necessary.

8 Transcript of the second Public Working Meeting of the Working Group Four Faces of Omarska (RGČLO) on October 4, 2010, titled *Solidarity and Politics of Bodily Presence*. Participants included RGČLO, Women in Black, Škart, Jerko Denegri, and members of the public. This was the first public exposure of RGČLO's work, involving three Public Working Meetings, presentation of the archive, and three reading groups in September and October 2010, as part of Milica Tomić's exhibition entitled "One Day," curated by Dejan Sretenović at the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade.

9 The concept of social sculpture was first used by the conceptual artist Joseph Beuys to illustrate his idea of art's potential to transform society.

All of this alive, immaterial memory must become part of such memorial. This is also where we arrive at your way of working, of how places of memory become places of solidarity, of protest and resisting crimes. At the same time, you are establishing an unbreakable network of relations based on new experiences. Everyone in Omarska asked us when the Women in Black were going to come. You have this continuity of going to places of suffering in the former Yugoslavia. Often, people thought that Mirjana and Marija, both dressed in black, were Women in Black. For Women in Black represent a guarantee that *this* did happen, even when there is no memorial. Your bodies and your physical presence guarantee memory and recognition, the recognition that it happened. A new kind of relation was formed in which your physical presence is a guarantee. With your work you have built something that could be called social sculpture.

MD: We wanted to share this experience with you, share with you the question of how to bear this. After sleeping on it, we all felt unwell the next day … How to carry this burden at all? Many people approached us and without any introduction told us about what they went through in Omarska. We saw this need to talk about it. All of that distressed us greatly.

MT: It also connected us. And then the question: How do you contain this, how do you process this and how do you endure it?

MD: For in those two hours, we saw the camp. The first time we went to Omarska, we saw it functioning as a mine, but the next time, on the 6th of August, we saw the camp. People were telling us (about the camp) constantly. That atmosphere, the talking, they left us with a powerful impression.

Staša Zajović: This is all so powerful and distressing. How do we, from the place of pain and memory of pain, from creating the space for the pain of others, soothe our pain, too? What am I trying to say? Milica, why is the place important, or, rather, the place from which we address? Which point are we addressing the victims of the crimes from, in this case, crimes perpetrated in our name? Which is that moral, emotive political point from which we are addressing, or perhaps to use the terminology of art, which context are we intervening from? Which reality are we interfering in?

In order to intervene from a context, we first had to intervene into the context, in this our reality. What Milica spoke of as living monument, we spoke of as living memory. We intervened together with others, not afterward, but at the moment when this was taking place. What does this give us as knowledge,

why is that important? Is it because we were witness to this, or we thought we had to convey this testimony, do something with it? In which way did we, by intervening from a context, through our intervention within the context, put this together, from various positions?

Without inventing much, we took simple patriarchal symbols, patriarchal in the sense of production of choices for women when war breaks out: black for mourning, veil, and silence. Of course we developed this, I am talking merely of the comparative aspect. How, then, did we transform these ritual patriarchal moments into politics of solidarity? A couple of elements: one is the feeling of deepest shame. It was very contradictory for me as a feminist to have such a deep feeling of shame, of guilt. Many feminists told me this was a patriarchal notion, against which we are striving for. But what I saw, with both men and women, though now I am speaking of women, so what we women saw, from this deepest place of address, was shame. What do we do with this shame, what do we turn it into, what actions, what acts?

Our tradition of *going to the feet* of the victims of the crimes committed in our name lets me see that I did not need to look for rituals of addressing the victims.[10] Women always did this, on all points, and along all meridians. In Montenegro, where I am from, when men quarrel, then women go, silently and invisibly, out of the view of male relatives. They go to the other's area to make peace. My ancestresses left me this memory. I found it painful and difficult to listen to their accounts of it, for they were doing all of this in secret. What is the difference between us? I decided to do this publicly, to confiscate, to kidnap public space! I would take this will, to which they were sentenced, and intervene with it into the public, where I transgress. I am performing transgression by turning this traditional role into its opposite, into an act of political speech. The same for the color black. Traditionally, this is the color of family duty when someone dies. To us, the color black has become the public political color. This is not a slogan. I choose whom to mourn, not those they order me to mourn. I choose my family. I will care for this my family, care for myself.

Primo Levi tells us of yet another shame, and so do others … and this is what I felt in women from Omarska, in mother Mejra and women from Srebrenica: the shame of having survived. I live in place of someone else. Each and every one of us living in this space and in these times could have been that (dead).

10 In much of the region known as that of the former Yugoslavia, the expression *ići na noge*, translates literally as "to go to the feet" (someone else's feet, that is). To do this is to show humility, pay deepest respects in asking for forgiveness, to express repentance.

During the most intimate moments with women of Srebrenica I felt that they have a deep feeling of survivor's guilt. This is where we first recognized ourselves mutually in this politics of trust and in these spaces we created together. From the point I come from, I have to know, each of us has to … and this is how I thought of introducing myself when I first went there during the war: every person in Bosnia has the right to spit on us. This is not pathetic. They do not know who I am. This is why we went to them, *to their feet!*—to say to them that we are not part of the consensus. As this relationship developed, I saw, as a feminist, that we must exchange everything. We have to exchange a position of equality. From the positions we come from, mine from an aggressor state, and theirs from the community of victims. We place this guilt on ourselves too: everyone has their share of the guilt; they have theirs too. We are then building relations of trust, not of reconciliation. Reconciliation is the official politics; our trust is built with responsibility and friendship.

> **MT:** This is important: to include the context from which one speaks, but also the situation one interferes in. For these are very complicated relations—they were during the war and they still are now, after the war. This act of presence, by anyone who may come to be there, and at this moment I talk of Women in Black, for your appearance is symbolical, and yet it cuts the symbolic. It is real, for this is the situation in which the symbolic is cut.

SZ: I don't know if you ever related to Cassandra, who for me was a point of departure. Cassandra was sentenced to the dungeon for speaking the truth. Cassandra spoke the future, not for having been told by God how to anticipate the future, but because she knew how to read the present and had the courage to state what everyone else denied. This is why I thank all of you who have over the past twenty years decided to state your position in the public space, with us. In 1997, we worked with Dah Theatre to change Cassandra's "Do not let yourselves be fooled by all" into "Let us not allow ourselves to be fooled by our own."[11]

> **MT:** I see your continued work with artists as a form of dialogue, but the act of standing in public space is itself a performance. Our position is that you are already moving within the field of art; this helped me understand what politics in art means. If we accept that your act of standing in public space has a strong and clear politics, how do we then understand what politics means in a single work?

SZ: I think we can be honest with ourselves. This was an act of saving oneself, or we could call it *seeking to walk upright*, or *the ethics of existential solidarity*. How to live in this space without it? Some may see this as outdated, by as my friend Žole says, "One who follows fashion is always behind."

Redistribution of Shame

A conversation between Mirjana Dragosavljević, Vanessa Vasić-Janeković, and Dejan Vasić (2015).

> **VVJ:** Staša brought up the profound contradiction of her "deep feeling of shame, of guilt" as a feminist. This contradiction allows us to start unpacking the register of shame we are confronted with. I say confronted with, rather than feel, because we must examine what we truly feel as opposed to what we are expected to feel, or what we expect of ourselves to feel. It is helpful to start from one side of Staša's contradiction, by viewing shame as a dissipative structure of power, an ideological organism of colonization (taken so broadly as to encompass patriarchy too). The notion of colonialism is far from misplaced in our context: it is absolutely necessary to consider not only our repressed colonial condition, but also to understand that the forms of shame we are talking about emanate from the still dominant colonial discourse, in which postcolonialism exists merely as a loose legal form. This war was, after all, a colonial project as well, and, as such, quite a successful colonial project.
>
> But shame has its obverse. The obverse of shame is its very being, that which gives it persistence. Pure shame is being as object, as Sartre puts it, the "degraded, fixed and dependent being … for the Other,"[12] in a tangle of perceptions and representations, an affective chain of helpless submissions instituted by the political economy imposing at the same time an excess and an absence of shame.

DV: Staša has clearly pointed out diferent notions of shame, her feeling of shame because she is coming from the perpetrator context, so to speak, and the feeling of shame experienced by women from Srebrenica because they survived. But what is missing is perpetrator in a wider sense, the position of those who were, and still are part of the murder consensus.

11 DAH Theatre is the only professional experimental theater group in Serbia that has worked nationally and internationally for over twenty years. In 1991, when the war started in Yugoslavia, DAH Theatre immediately confronted the questions: "What is the role and meaning of theater? What are the responsibilities and duties of artists in times of darkness, violence and human suffering?'" The group decided to interrupt their work on *Gifts of Our Ancestors* to begin working on a new piece that could provide them with the answers to these questions. DAH's first performance *This Babylonian Confusion* was based on the songs of Bertold Brecht. An antiwar performance, it was presented outdoors in the center of Belgrade at a time when it was forbidden to even mention the war.

12 Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness* (Oxford: Routledge, 2003), 288.

VVJ: Yes, and I think Staša has implied all three positions: that of the survivor, of the perpetrator (or the one participating in the consensus on murder), and her own position, which is where we can place the figure of the outcast, for this position is initially, as unaligned with either, rejected by both. The position of the outcast allows us to consider shame productively: one can only cut through political economy of shame by taking the position of the outcast. Very simply put, the excess of shame is the shame of the victim, of the survivor, the shame of objectification, of having been turned into what Agamben terms *homo sacer* in the process of transference of shame from the perpetrator to the victim. By being designated as "legitimate targets," the victim and the survivor are meant to be forever shamed by her/his status of disposable, degraded object. (The survivor guilt is but a form of this shame, enmeshed with the work of mourning.)

This is a process of veiling. Heidegger links the ancient Greek *aedos* (shame, modesty, or as Heidegger took it: awe, reverence) to *aletheia* as truth "unconcealed in its un-concealedness."[13] Shame functions along the pole of veiling and "un-concealedness." Ethnic shame, as the shame of belonging to the "primitive," "backward," "criminal," ethnic group (and therefore the other, to be murdered) is such a veil, thrown on top of the veil of objectification. This veil also functions as the opposite of the blackmail equation: to belong equals not feeling the shame of the outcast. It conceals the transfer of shame from its proper place: distributed among those responsible for murder and violence, responsible for the false shaming of those whom they have wronged in the most extreme ways. Veiling renders shame formless. Once we disturb this principle, we can begin to trace the outlines of the forms of shame.

We then see them shifting and flowing, attaining new outlines—we can shape them—but we can only do this if we accept the axiomatic status of the space of alterity and transindividuality, if we see them as markers of plasticity.[14] Malabou's concept of plasticity is crucial, for plasticity "has the power both to shape and to dissolve a particular facet of individuality. A lifetime always proceeds within the boundaries of a double excess: an excess of reification and an excess of fluidification. When identity tends toward reification, the congealing of form, one can become the victim of highly rigid frameworks whose temporal solidification produces the appearance of unmalleable substance. Plasticity situates itself in the middle of these two excesses." Plasticity holds the promise of what is to come. The figure of the outcast is plastic.

Without plasticity in the space of transindividuality, of opening to alterity, there can be no exchange of the positions of equality Staša refers to. The objectified other dissolves as we enter this space (it does leave a remainder, but I will get to that in a moment). Instead of the field of reified and congealed identities (ethnic, class, gender/sex and any other) we enter a field of proper shame distribution. An uneasy dance takes place here, for in order to assume so we could then exchange positions of equality, we reappropriate certain forms of shame. We must be very clear: shame is not the same as responsibility and guilt, though they are entangled. Disentangling them requires a dark journey[15] through the field of Badiou's minimal difference,[16] which operates in both the white and black registers, to invoke a blunt ethical differentiator. The outcast is that line of minimal difference, as well as the figure connecting the registers; the plasticity of the outcast means that anyone from either of these registers can assume the position of the outcast. To do this is to make a deeply political choice.

As Staša said, we must "go to the feet" of those who were objectified, degraded, wronged in the most extreme way. To go to the feet is to reappropriate shame from both registers of minimal difference. It is to say, first of all: I beg forgiveness for the human as a human (not as a curious mix of ethnicities I do not even recognize as categories, or as a passport-bearing subject). By "going to the feet," we take off the veils of shame: of the objectified, of the ethnic, of the victim. By partaking in the shame of the objectified, we make this form of shame visible: in the bright light, it begins to evaporate.

This is no simple reappropriation or relieving of the burden, for this basic form of shame functions alongside its counterpart: the absence of shame. By "going to the feet," I ask for forgiveness, and that also means that I am partaking in the shame of the shameless murderer, though not to relieve his burden either. On the contrary, this is to invest him with shame. We initiate a redistribution of the shame by

13 Martin Heidegger, *Parmenides* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 74.
14 Catherine Malabou, *Plasticity at the Dusk of Writing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 81.
15 Of the sort that Gitta Sereny took with the commander of Treblinka, in a series of conversations before his final admission of (a degree of) responsibility.
16 As, for Badiou, exemplified by Malevich's *White on White* (1926): "A proposition in thought that opposes minimal difference to maximal destruction." Alain Badiou, *The Century* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2007), 56.

reflecting it back onto the shameless, those who are part of the consensus on murder. Only as outcasts can we act politically, can we speak the truth.

The act of disturbing political economy of shame is simultaneously the act of cutting across most theories of subjectivity—annihilating the basic set up of subject-predication and transcendence, or, in an old-fashioned sense, of bourgeois individualism. We must dive into the space of alterity, understand and accept that we exist on the plane of transindividuality and minimal difference. This is, at the same time, the space of acceptance of shame and the space of refusal of shame.

MD: Irit Rogoff points out that the potential for cultural participation is created only after we recognise the art field as an interconnective field, which is in collision with the usual models of representation and/or contemplation.[17] She speaks about art producing the "space of appearance" that Hannah Arendt defines as: "Where I appear to others as others appear to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things, but to make their appearance explicitly."[18]

In that sense, participative and collective artistic practices have the potential to critique bourgeois individualism by questioning the present artistic and distributive apparatus inherited from modernism, in which the main role of the museum and other art institutions is (self)representation of the bourgeois class and its values. They question the position of the individual in capitalism, as well as the promotion of individual artist's autonomy in the market, through collective authorship, through creating common principles and models of working, through self-institutionalization and transforming the public from passive spectators into active participants. Collectives group different needs and affinities, even the problems of the individuals who join them. To be part of a collective means to create a space of equality and self-governance, but also of possibility to experiment with various styles and mediums.

Each of the members of the Working Group Four Faces of Omarska has an individual position; we all have different motivations for participating in this project. What connects us all is that we believe in the potential of addressing Omarska through artistic production, through art as imbued with the capacity to accept a set of marginalized experiences and knowledge, of facts and data ignored and rejected by the sphere that includes the jurisdiction of the state, international or local courts, or the nongovernmental sectors working in this field today. The initial concept of the *Four Faces of Omarska* project was too close to the human rights

paradigm governing these spheres. However, as the group developed, we developed a strong critique of such policies, primarily because it became clear to us that they merely perpetuate the divisions created through the break up of Yugoslavia and support the colonial and neocolonial projects you have both referred to.

We are all from different parts of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia, and carry different experiences and memories related to the break up of Yugoslavia. Moreover, we work in different fields of social sciences; the heterogeneity of our group is also shaped significantly by class differences, as well as differences in age, capacity, knowledge, experience and social status. Though these differences have made the collective sustainable, the strength of the cult of individual authorship within the arts market has often contributed to situations in which the group was overshadowed by a single individual. Great effort is required to achieve the balance between individual needs and the interest of the collective, to maintain a continuity of public profile as a collective.

The interior dynamics of the group are subject to changes amid both internal and external factors. We might invoke Gregory Sholette's warning here when he says that what appears as an empty screen onto which to project new forms of organizing, is already filled with traces of language, history, knowledge, and material conditions. For the collective to direct and use these traces adequately/appropriately, it is necessary to first recognize how this very collective uses language and spatial metaphors, consciously or unconsciously.[19]

DV: It seems to me that at this point we should speak about our political position and the background of the Working Group. This takes us back to Pavle Levi's text "Capo from Omarska" ("Kapo iz Omarske"), on the film *St. George Slays the Dragon* (*Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu*).[20] Levi opens the article with the sentence: "I have not seen the film *Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu*—and I will not watch it." Levi's text thus opened up the context of Omarska, revealing the reality of the camp for the second time (the first time was in 1992, by journalists). The movie Levi refuses to watch is an ethno-blockbuster depicting a Serbian military victory in the First World War. It was filmed in the Omarska

17 Irit Rogoff, "We – Collectivities, Mutualities, Participations," in *I promise it's political* (Cologne: Museum Ludwig, 2002).
18 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1958), 198–99.
19 Gregory Sholette, "COUNTING ON YOUR COLLECTIVE SILENCE, Notes on Activist Art as Collaborative Practice," *Afterimage: The Journal of Media and Cultural Criticism* (November 1999).
20 Pavle Levi, "Kapo iz Omarske," *eNovine*, July 8, 2009, http://www.e-novine.com/kultura/kultura-tema/27796-Kapo-Omarske.html.

mining complex, on the same grounds on which, in 1992, Serbian armed forces operated the Omarska death camp. There is no reference to this in the film.

Levi sees his decision to not watch this movie as a continuous political act that opens a space for discussion on the politics of film with those who have decided not to watch it, as well as on the possibility to speak, within the medium of film, about the material conditions of production, about the fact that the place of systemic terror was used as the set for this film. By opening up this discussion, Levi also opened up a space for problematizing Omarska, with all its layers. No less significant is the fact that in Serbia the remembrance of World War One is now part of the politics of historical revisionism directed at rehabilitation of the fascist Chetnik movement from World War Two, and at veiling with shame and guilt the antifascist People's Liberation struggle and the period of socialism.

The ultimate aim of this revisionism is to rehabilitate the crimes committed in the wars of the nineties, the perpetrators of which found their historical and political model in the Chetnik movement (Vojislav Šešelj referred to himself as a Chetnik duke in the nineties). It is necessary to point out that this film is still the most expensive Serbian film ever made, and as such financed in co-production by Serbian governmental institutions and the entity of Republika Srpska (Republika Srpska is Serbian colonial project, the direct result of condoning violence through diplomacy as part of the Dayton peace agreement). This fact alone opens up the question of the role of art in the dominant political apparatus, and of the potential for critical and political thinking opposing the dominant discourse.

VVJ: In this setup, it is only polite to accept fascism. This is even more obvious in our language, where polite would be *pristojno*, the literal translation of which is as befitting, and which originates from to stand by, to accept, to fit. The Latin origin of polite is in the word polished, smooth—another way of seeing the slow, persistent violence of shame thus imposed. The result, however, is a tense, highly polished surface, mirroring and reflecting Césaire's figure of a little Hitler demon deep inside the soul of bourgeois individual. This demon we all have to face at some point.

In this setup, it is rude and shameful to reject the ethnic, to speak of communism, of "socialist" Yugoslavia. The greatest shame, however, falls on those resisting the logic of "parliamentary democracy," and "market freedom," the two pillars of colonial structural violence of fascism maintained by ethno- and transnational capitalism. To reject any of these things is to question the very rationale of the war (and not just the war in Bosnia or in Kosova).

We are back to mute formless shame as socioeconomic blackmail, utterly pervasive in the field of art and cultural production. By negating transindividuality through its cult of (marketable) personality of the individual author, and its deeply exploitative relationships, this field circulates the logic of shame inversion. As the blackmail goes, the greatest shame is to be so disobedient as to reject the shame of objectification and demand politics of equality. Not only are we to accept that we must be produced as subjectified, we are, moreover, to agree to continue producing people as obedient colonial subjects.

MD: We can link the word polite to Buden's account of repressive infantilization of the so-called postcommunist societies, inherent to the ideology of postcommunist transition. This is how Buden elaborates:

The human being as a political child offers itself as the almost perfect subject of a democratic restart. Untroubled by the past and geared totally to the future, it is full of energy and imagination, compliant and teachable. It emanates freedom as though its pure embodiment, but actually it is not free at all. A child is dependent; it must be guided and patronized by adults. However, this only makes it all the more suitable for serving society, as the perfect ground for a new beginning. It neutralizes all the contradictions that the sudden irruption of freedom lays bare in society, above all between those who rule and the ruled. There is no relation of domination that seems so natural and self-evident as the one between a child and its guardian, no mastery so innocent and justifiable as that over children. One does not take their freedom away, but suspends it temporarily, postpones it, so to speak, for the time being. A patronized child as political being enjoys a sort of delayed freedom. And in case one day the promise of freedom turns out to be a delusion, one can always say that it was just a children's fairy tale.[21]

VVJ: And what child has not felt the threat of shame that warns against transgression? "Finally, Malevich tells us what the act of subtraction is: to invent content at the very place of the minimal difference, where there is almost nothing. The act is 'a new day in the desert.'"[22]

21 Boris Buden, "Children of Postcommunism," *Radical Philosophy* 159 (January–February 2010), http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/article/children-of-postcommunism.
22 Badiou, *The Century*, 57.

Four Faces of Omarska is an ongoing art project that questions strategies of memorial production from the position of those whose experience and knowledge have been subjugated, excluded, and disqualified from being part of public remembrance and public history. The project is constituted of networks of human relations, experiences, their opinions and discussions on the three eras and four faces of the Omarska mine: 1) The Omarska mining complex, a surface iron mine in Bosnia and Herzegovina during socialism; 2) The Omarska camp, the site of mass killings and torture in the 1990s wars; 3) The Omarska mining complex, now owned by the transnational corporation Arcelor Mittal; 4) Omarska as the film set for the historical ethno-blockbuster *St. George Slays the Dragon* (*Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu*), a recent Serbian film production. The three eras and the four faces of Omarska are elaborately linked by mutual discontinuities and continuities. They speak of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the destiny of its citizens, or rather of the disintegration of the Yugoslav community.

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Participation and Representation in the Doing of History of Austria

Some Thoughts on Tal Adler's *Voluntary Participation*

Karin Schneider

Austria's civil society in general was not only deeply embedded in the success of the Nazi system, but also helped to establish its base, supported it with almost no significant exceptions, and has been largely denying this voluntary participation in its official narratives up to the present time.[1] After 1945 the state presented itself to the world as collective victim of "the Germans,"[2] an interpretation of history that was partly backed by the 1943 Moscow Declaration.[3] Inside Austria, another victim narrative became hegemonic at least after the State Treaty in 1955: Austria as the victim of the air raids, Austrians as heroic soldiers and victims fighting and dying on the battlefields of World War Two. Hence, the historian Christian Gerbel defines "self-victimization" and "heroization" as the dominant patterns established by the political elite in the early Second Republic in Austria until the mid-'80s.[4]

This pattern gets its visible expression in the public culture of commemoration. While only a very small number of resistance memorials were built in Austria (with the exception of Vienna), in the 1950s practically every village or town in the country had a war memorial erected or extended its existing monuments commemorating the fallen soldiers from the First World War.[5] The deconstruction of these Austrian political postwar myths was only provoked by the "Waldheim debate" in the late 1980s.[6] In the debate on the war record of the ÖVP candidate for the federal presidency and former general secretary of the UN Kurt Waldheim, Austria, finally, in 1986, confronted "its own" Nazi past,[7] its

1 See, for example, Anton Pelinka, "Die Sehnsucht, Opfer zu sein: Österreich und der 'Anschluss,'" in *Reassessing History from Two Continents: Festschrift für Günter Bischof*, ed. Martin Eichtinger (Innsbruck: University Press Innsbruck, 2013), 32.

2 For example, the "Staatskanzlei, Auswärtige Angelegenheiten" (Foreign affairs) dealt in a memorandum in August 1945 with the compensation claims of Jewish victims. The paper of the department emphasized: "The persecution of the Jews was ordered by German authorities and carried out with their help. Austria, which owing to its status as a country occupied by foreign troops did not have a government of its own, neither instigated these measures nor would be able to prevent them." Robert Knight, ed., "Ich bin dafür, die Sache in die Länge zu ziehen" *Die Wortprotokolle der österreichischen Bundesregierung von 1945 bis 1952 über die Entschädigung der Juden* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2000), 78. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

3 Christian Gerbel, "The Holocaust and the Politics of History in Austria's Second Republic," in *Clashes in European Memory: The Case of Communist Repression and the Holocaust*, ed. Muriel Blaive, Christian Gerbel, and Thomas Lindenberger (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2011), 100.

4 Ibid., 99.

5 Heidemarie Uhl, "From Discourse to Representation: 'Austrian Memory' in Public Space," in *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media and the Arts*, ed. Stefan Berger et al. (New York: Berghan Books, 2008), 207–22.

6 Nevertheless, the victim myth was always challenged, already right after 1945 by critical voices and institutionally since the 1960s, in the frame of the foundation of the Institute of Contemporary History and the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (DÖW) in Vienna. Gerbel, "Holocaust," 102.

7 Uhl, "From Discourse to Representation," 216.

attitude of denial, and a new wave of anti-Semitism when these denials were exposed by critical voices.[8] Although in the following decades the official Austria changed to a new mode of "negative memory,"[9] this was only supported by part of the political elite and not by the organizations of the civil society.[10]

In this context, when the artist and photographer Tal Adler started to work in Austria, he stated that as an outsider he observed that even people from the Austrian Left, who have been doing critical history work for many years in Austria, talk about "the Nazi time" or "the Nazis" as if they had been something outside of their own society. I understood that such an observation meant also me. I agreed and I felt ashamed—ashamed of being a part of this society—ashamed of everything I used to identify with or, as a part of the Austrian Left, I used to fight against in a kind of negative identification. I was also ashamed of the fact that I hoped to escape so easily. In all my years of political activism I felt as an outsider, excluded, alien to and from the Austrian society—shame brought me back to it.

In 2011/12 Adler started his (still ongoing) project *Voluntary Participation*. He invited groups from the Austrian Civil Society to be photographed in a group portrait.[11] These groups range from prominent organizations that represent the nation-state of Austria. such as the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra or the Alpenverein (Austrian Alpine Association) to small local communities, such as a ski school in the Tyrolean Alps or a Viennese parish. We send every group and organization a generic letter of invitation, where we explain the project and invite them to participate and even collaborate in the process of representation.[12] In this letter, we also explain that our only filter is to focus on groups that "have existed since at least 1938."[13]

One of the extreme right-wing student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*) that we approached answered that they don't feel obliged to discuss a "certain brief period of time of the contemporary global history over and over again"—without mentioning what period they were really referring to. The quote reads as follows:

> As you might know, the Burschenschaften have been existing exclusively in the German-speaking area for almost 200 years; they are 30 years older than the "Communist Manifesto" and almost four times older than the Second Republic of Austria. The Viennese academic fraternity (Burschenschaft) XX has existed for 140 years and in this time frame it experienced and survived some interesting periods of time. Nevertheless we do not see ourselves as "Historical Commission" and do not feel obliged to discuss a certain brief period of time in the contemporary global history over and over again.[14]

Even if this is an example from the extreme right-wing margin of Austria's civil society, it is paradigmatic of the double standard of proudly referring to one's own history ("30 years older than the Communist Manifesto!") and the refusal to discuss "a certain brief period of time." Paradigmatic is also the way of talking in subtle allusions, suggestions, and projections: What "brief period of time" do they talk about anyway, and what made them thinking that we, the writers of the letter, would oblige them to discuss it "over and over again?" Only because of the marker "1938"—the year of Austria's annexation to Nazi Germany—the context "Nazi time" is triggered for most of the recipients; but neither our letter nor the project itself have this narrow focus.

My thesis is that the mechanism of this double standard (historical awareness and historical tiredness in the same letter) can be only understood if we

8 Richard Mitten, *The Politics of the Antisemitic Prejudice: The Waldheim Phenomenon in Austria* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1992); see chap. 1 and 8 in http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/fileadmin/media/pdf/mitten.pdf (last accessed February 5, 2015).

9 In the 1990s, finally, a representative part of Austria's political elite has accepted the country's co-responsibility for crimes committed in the era of National Socialism. Milestones were, for example, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's (SPÖ) declaration in parliament, in 1991; president Thomas Klestil's (ÖVP) visit (as the first Austrian politician ever) of the State of Israel and his speech in the Knesset, 1994; the establishment of the autonomous and independent Historical Commission in the late 1990s; the inauguration of the Holocaust memorial in Vienna in 2000. Gerbel, "Holocaust," 108–9.

10 Following Volkhard Knigge, Gerbel uses the term "negative memory" to describe the new mode of responsibility concerning the nationalist past and the Holocaust that emerged in the context of the Waldheim affair in the late 1980s. Volkhard Knigge and Norbert Frei, eds., *Verbrechen erinnern: Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2002).

11 This photo series was developed as one of Tal Adler's trilogy on Austria: *Leveled Landscapes* deals with the way history is represented or neglected in Austria's landscape; *dispersed fragments* is a photographic research on (mainly small, local community) museums in Austria (in collaboration with Karin Schneider); and *Voluntary Participation* looks at the way the Austrian civil society percepts the blind spots of its own history. All the projects are carried out within the framework of the art-based research projects *MemScreen* and *Conserved Memories*, funded by the FWF (PEEK call), and based at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.

12 I was involved in the research and communication of this project as historian and art mediator.

13 Quotation from the letter of invitation.

14 Letter from the Burschenschaft XX, July 2, 2012. The original quotation (anonymization in the context of this publication): "Wie Sie vielleicht wissen, bestehen Burschenschaften ausschließlich im deutschen Sprachraum, und seit nahezu 200 Jahren; sie sind damit etwa 30 Jahre älter als das "Kommunistische Manifest" und und (*sic*) annähernd viermal so alt wie die 2. Republik. Die Wiener akad Burschenschaft besteht seit 140 Jahren, und hat in dieser Zeit diverse interessante Zeiten er- und überlebt. Trotzdem verstehen wir uns nicht als "Historikerkommission" und fühlen uns nicht bemüßigt, eine bestimmte kurze Zeitspanne der jüngeren Weltgeschichte immer und immer wieder zu diskutieren" (translation mine).

perceive its practice of disguise, silence and veiling, as not driven by shame (e.g., on crimes committed during the national socialist time), or of contributing to a culture that gave Hitler his ideas.[15] On the contrary, the desire behind this is the pride of a flawless, admirable tradition. Everything that could question it has to be covered. If this is true, it will be our duty to elicit shame. Shame in this context would appear in a productive way as the precondition for responsibility and reconciliation.

In our Judeo-Christian tradition shame is an approach that is—according to its basic creation myth, Genesis—a product of knowledge. The first man and woman felt ashamed only after they ate from the fruit of the tree of *knowledge*. As we all know, the result was that they had their eyes opened and were able and obliged to *distinguish between good and evil* ever since.[16] We do not need to be too versed in the Bible to grasp the core of this myth—"curiosity leads to knowledge which leads to shame"—and both lead to the capacity to distinguish between "good and evil."[17] Hence, the production of curiosity and knowledge—in our context asking questions, observing, doing archival research, and discussing the findings openly—could be one door opener for a productive attitude of collective shame. Secondly, moral shame only emerges during the appearance of one's actions in the public sphere. Shame needs the others to be ashamed before, even if it is an imagined other (like God or like the public in an exhibition). Adler's invitation includes the treat and the threat of going public, of meeting the other, of being judged by him/her—and this opens another door to productive shame. Hence, it is no wonder that one shame-avoidance strategy is to avoid clear public statements. And a visual statement like a photograph would be a very strong one that might gain even more awareness than a written publication. A good example for this strategy against shame is the following quote from a letter of the current head of the Viennese Philharmonic Orchestra, where he explains—after almost two years of communications and negotiation between us and the head of the orchestra—why they don't want to participate: "The meaning of your photography lies in the eyes of the beholder, he shall specify the meaning, he judges—and this excludes us, the participants of your action, from its mediation; and this is exactly what we want to avoid."[18]

Third, like the idea of "collective memory" shame can also be collectivized and hence become a political power. Different to guilt[19]—shame can be adopted on someone else's behalf. I/we might not be guilty personally but nevertheless I/we can be ashamed for someone else's behavior—as a genuine member of civil society one can be ashamed of how society dealt/deals with its own past, or of what its/our/my ancestors did. Nevertheless, to feel shame for someone else I need to be linked with him/her. Shame might be a translator between my personal life and the life of my ancestors or the life of other members of my society (like the Burschenschaften or the Philharmonic).

What Is Voluntary in *Voluntary Participation*?

Adler's project addresses directly the responsibility of civil society in the doing of history and hence the way we want to perceive the interface between "us" and "the state," the blurring of boundaries between the private and the public sphere. A still useful concept to understand the production of our willing compliance is the French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser's notion of ideology.

For Althusser, the state is divided between the "Repressive State Apparatus" (RSA) and the "Ideological State Apparatus" (ISA).[20] While the Repressive State Apparatus represents the penal system, the police, and the army, the Ideological State Apparatus includes the legal system, education, the family, religion, culture, and communication. The latter is very much related to the Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci's concept of the Civil Society. For Gramsci, force—the sphere of the state or the Althusserian RSA—and consent, which is organized via the civil society, balance each other reciprocally.[21] The Ideological State Apparatus can be apprehended as the method by which organizations propagate ideology.

15 From my field diary: "Funny enough, this practice of hiding and circling around things appears even if we try to be accurate and clear; may be it became something like an intellectual habitus in Austria." This is, of course, not a scientific finding but a personal experience; nevertheless it would be worth asking if there might be a general shame-avoiding strategy by now so deeply embedded in culture of the second republic and its inhabitants, even if it appears in situations where there is nothing to be ashamed of.

16 "God commanded the man, saying that 'Every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat. But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it. […] And the serpent […said]: "[…] on the day ye eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as God, knowing good and evil […] and the eyes of them were opened, and they felt they were naked." Book of Genesis, quoted in Michael Lewis, *Shame: The Exposed Self* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 84.

17 Ibid., 85.

18 "Die Aussage Ihrer Fotografie liegt in den Augen des Betrachters, er bestimmt die Botschaft, er urteilt — das wiederum schließt uns als Teilnehmer an Ihrer Aktion von dieser Vermittlung aus. Und genau das möchten wir vermeiden." Quotation from the letter by the Viennese Philharmonic Orchestra, October 13, 2014.

19 As Hannah Arendt points out, the idea of "collective guilt" turned out in practice as a "collective whitewash of all those who had actually done something, for where all are guilty no one is." Hannah Arendt, "Personal Responsibility under Dictatorship" (1964), in *Responsibility and Judgment*, ed. Jerome Kohn (New York: Shocken-books, 2003), 20.

20 Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971), 127–88.

21 On the nexus of Althusser and Gramsci and the concept of ISA, see for example, Isolde Charim, *Der Althusser-Effekt: Entwurf einer Ideologietheorie* (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2002), 17.

Hence, a strong civil society does not necessarily promote and strengthen democracy—on the contrary, as political scientist Sheri Berman argues in her essay "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" (1997):

> During the interwar period in particular, Germans threw themselves into their clubs, voluntary associations, and professional organizations out of frustration with the failures of the Ngovernment and political parties, thereby helping to undermine the Weimar Republic and facilitate Hitler's rise to power. In addition, Weimar's rich associational life provided a critical training ground for eventual Nazi cadres and a base from which the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) could launch its Machtergreifung (seizure of power). Had Germans' civil society been weaker, the Nazis would never have been able to capture so many citizens for their cause or eviscerate their opponents so swiftly.[22]

Only if a strong civil society is understood automatically as "democratization" can it be overlooked that its associations with their voluntary approach were the main pillars of the state also during the time of National Socialism. As the German historian Henning Borggräfe puts it, these associations transmitted values and organized the social practice of the "Drittes Reich."[23] Thinking on the role of civil society during National Socialism, I suggest to follow Hannah Arendt and link "participation" rather with "support" than—as usually done—with "obedience":

> Even in a strictly bureaucratic organization, with its fixed hierarchical order, it would make much more sense to look upon the functioning of the "cogs" and wheels in the terms of overall support for a common enterprise than in our usual terms of obedience to superiors. If I obey the laws of the land, I actually support its constitution [...] In these terms, the nonparticipators in public life under a dictatorship are those who have refused their support by shunning those places of "responsibility" where such support, under the name of obedience, is required. And we have only for a moment to imagine what would happen to any of these forms of government if enough people would act "irresponsible" and refuse support even without active resistance and rebellion, to see how effective a weapon this could be.[24]

Hence the shame we need to provoke is also one of the fact that almost nobody refused support "even without active resistance and rebellion."

Via our kind letter of invitation a small echo of the (once deep and often neglected) question of "should we or should we not participate" is transferred to the trouble-free, peaceful, and calm harmlessness of today's Austria.[25] Sometimes it is really strange and interesting to observe the effort and energy

some of the organizations that we approach spend in their communication with us, in explaining why they would refuse to participate in Tal's project; it reveals an awareness of the fact that participation indeed means support. On the other hand, other groups react with interest and open understanding. One historian of an alpine organization connected the voluntary participation in the project and the history of his organization with a very accurate statement: "Your project sounds very interesting to us! After all our association participated voluntarily long before 1938 in the exclusion of the Jews from the cultural life; at the latest since it implemented a so-called 'Arierparagraph' in 1920."[26]

All the groups that are invited to the project and agree to participate do so voluntarily. Nevertheless—the moment they are approached (or even the moment the artist decides to include them as important representatives or singles them out as a case example)—they become a part of the game, whether they like it or not.

Adler plays with the practice of voluntary participation, its refusal, and its overlapping with force and power. One could argue that this project is participatory to a high degree, but it also reveals and reflects the contradictions of a participatory process and the interplay between force, voluntariness, and support.

22 Sheri Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (April 1997): 402; http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic793411.files/Wk%2011_Nov%2012th/Berman_1997_Weimar_Civil_Society.pdf (last accessed October 10, 2014). Although Berman speaks about Germany and although the history between Germany and Austria is quite different, these thoughts are also valid for Austria.

23 Henning Borggräfe, "Zwischen Ausblendung und Aufarbeitung: Der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in Vereinen und Verbänden kollektiver Freizeitgestaltung," *Zeitgeschichte online* (December 2012), http://www.zeitgeschichte-online.de/thema/zwischen-ausblendung-und-aufarbeitung-0 (last accessed December 23, 2014).

24 Arendt, *Personal Responsibility*, 47.

25 Of course I refer here only to the fact that the organizations we approached are not really in peril if they refuse or participate. I don't refer here to the way, for example, migrants or refugees from Africa would observe this place today.

26 "Ihr Projekt klingt für den XX Verein interessant! Immerhin hat der Verein schon lange vor 1938, spätestens seit der Einführung eines sogenannten 'Arierparagraphen' 1920 an der Ausgrenzung von Jüdinnen und Juden aus dem gesellschaftlichen Leben freiwillig teilgenommen." Letter by an alpine organization, January 14, 2013.

The Bridge between the Past and the Present—On the "Secret Agreement between Past Generations and the Present One."[27]

"The project Voluntary Participation creates a conceptual bridge between groups of Austrian Civil Society in the past, and the same groups of contemporary Austria," writes Adler in one of his first descriptions of the project.[28] Maybe the photographic group portrait, taken as a result of a discursive process that circles around the way the group deals with its past, functions as an "ambassador" between various times and generations; it pictures an image of "this is us" that reflects to a "this used to be us." For Walter Benjamin, it was the "spark of hope in the past" of those who revolted and the tradition of the oppressed that should be remembered vividly and hence be understood as directly connected with the struggles of our time: "Benjamin reminds us of the demands of our ancestors who died unjustly; their death is, in a powerful sense, not 'past' but subject to the meaning it is given through action in the present. And thus, 'to pretend that the past can be modified in the present.'"[29]

Adler's invitation to recall the specters of the past might be less convenient as I might meet those I am ashamed of, or those I am ashamed from before would meet my ancestors. Isn't it an invitation to identify with stories I don't want to be identified with, or at least not in the way the artist suggests to? On the other hand, the invitation carries a suggestion of "modifying" the way of observing the past through displaying a (new) way of dealing with it.

In many of our cases, Adler's group photograph implemented a long process of negotiation and communication. In such a process, the artist and groups might pursue different agendas and nevertheless develop one image in a kind of coproduction process. In this long and patient process of interaction, not only is the way in which the group understand their history challenged but also the way in which we perceive them and their understanding of the project might change. Maybe we could say that the group itself changes through the process of meeting its past, through the production of new knowledge that might cause shame; at least this is how I would describe our really unique experience with a parish in the eighteenth district of Vienna that already started three years ago.

On March 13, 2012, we sent our generic letter of invitation to a parish in Weinhaus, a neighborhood in the bourgeois eighteenth district of Vienna. In the late nineteenth century, the founding priest of this church, Father Deckert, used his position to spread extreme anti-Semitic propaganda.[30] During the inauguration speech of the church in 1893, he argued for the unification of Christians against an external enemy, like the Ottomans in 1683. But in 1893, the

Christians were to defeat the new even more dangerous "enemy within"—the Jews. Deckert published and disseminated such speeches. Hence, it is easy to learn about them, and it takes less than five minutes research in the online catalogue of the Austrian library. Deckert had promoted the blood libel myth as truth in his "scientific" publications.[31] In his published sermons and statements, one can read sentences such as: "The Jews belong to an alien people (*fremdartiges Volk*) because they belong to a different race."[32] Or: "The Jews are an outlandish, off-putting, secretive, pestilent [...] people. [...] Jews are also humans but they are quite different to us 'Aryans.'"[33]

Besides the fact that dealing with all this material was disgusting, it was easy to research Deckert. But it was quite difficult to get close to the church. On April 4, 2012, we received their reply: they were too busy and had no time to meet us. For us, this was exactly the answer we expected as we had also conducted a little research on the way this parish used to deal with its history. Up until 1990, the streetcar stop, serving lines to the front of St. Joseph Weinhaus parish church, was called "Pfarrer Deckert-Platz" (Father Deckert Square), as was the square in front of the parish church. Then, all of a sudden, the street sign disappeared and a little later the streetcar stop was renamed "Weinhausergasse."

On October 12, 1987, zoology professor Hannes Kothbauer wrote a letter to the then mayor of Vienna, Dr. Helmut Zilk, arguing that Deckert's extreme anti-Semitism required consequences in dealing with the place name, such as constructing a commemoration stone against anti-Semitism in this location.[34]

27 Walter Benjamin, "Theses On the Philosophy of History" (1940), in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 253–63; http://pages.ucsd.edu/~rfrank/class_web/ES-200A/Week%202/benjamin_ps.pdf (last accessed January 24, 2015).

28 See http://www.memscreen.info (last accessed December 3, 2014).

29 Jonathan Boyarin, ed., *Remapping Memory: The Politics of TimeSpace* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 5. Boyarin, citing Stéphane Moses, "The Theological-Political Model of History in the Thought of Walter Benjamin," in *Memory and History* 1, no. 2 (1989): 15.

30 Albert Lichtblau and Joseph Deckert, "Personen AK," *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 2, no. 1. ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: De Gruyter und Saur, 2009), 163–64.

31 Joseph Deckert, *Vier Tiroler Kinder—Opfer des chassidischen Fanatismus: urkundlich dargestellt* (Vienna: Lesk und Schwidernoch, 1893); Joseph Deckert, *Ein Ritualmord*, (Dresden: Glöß, 1893).

32 Joseph Deckert, *Der neugeplante jüdisch-freimaurerische Weltbund* [The newly planned Jewish-Freemasonic World Alliance] (Vienna: Opitz, 1896).

33 Joseph Deckert, *Die ältesten und gefährlichsten Feinde des Christenthums und des christlichen Volkes: Conferenzreden* [The oldest and most dangerous enemies of Christianity and the Christian people: sermons] (Vienna: Mechitharisten-Buchdruck, 1895).

34 See Hans Kothbauer, *Über den Umgang mit historischen Tatsachen: Zum Verschwinden des Pfarrer-Deckert-Platzes in Wien-Währing; Briefe: 12.10.1987–24.11.1989* (Vienna: Eigenverlag, 1990).

There followed a (in the end fruitless) two-year correspondence of forty-one letters, the last ones dating from autumn and winter 1989, between Kothbauer, Zilk, and various dignitaries of the Catholic Church, especially the then Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Dr. Hans Hermann Groër. The parish of Weinhaus did not respond. At the same time, in November 1989, Professor Kurt Schubert, who was then head of the Institute for Jewish Studies at the University of Vienna, published a letter that the then parish priest of Weinhaus had mailed to his community. In this letter, the priest apologized that he had sent the Pfarrer-Deckert-Platz street sign back to the municipality and he explained why he agreed to this request from the municipality.[35] He ensured his readers: "Our parish has never doubted its appreciation of Father Deckert, which includes the church building itself, the commemorative slab in the church, and his grave behind the church. Our parish adequately memorializes him for his good deeds."[36]

Nevertheless, we approached a historian of this parish, and we sent other, less-friendly e-mails. In the end, we received an invitation from the new parish priest, Peter Zitta.[37] At this point, we could not know or even imagine that we would become part of a research-and-working group that was established by Father Zitta on the occasion of our appearance—a group that would start up two years of learning, discussing, planning, and sharing.[38] On April 24, 2014, after a difficult process of inner negotiations within the parish council, the people from the parish unveiled a "composition of plaques" on the church facade, displaying a clear statement against Deckert's anti-Semitism.[39] The opening ceremony included speeches from the Jewish and the Christian heads of the "Austrian Coordinating Committee for Christian-Jewish Cooperation" and the district representative.

Father Zitta closed his opening speech explaining that both the synagogue of the neighborhood and his church were inaugurated in the same year, 1889, but "while our church is still here the Synagogue was demolished in the night of the November pogrom 1938."[40] When Father Zitta said this, he could hardly speak. The weight of heritage and shame might have been overwhelming; I would conclude, a productive shame that became the starting point to develop something new.

Conclusion

Adler's *Voluntary Participation* is not a project on shame and yet it opens up possibilities for the appearance of true shame. I suggested recognizing three possible opportunities for productive shame in this context: the production of knowledge, the establishing of public debates via visual statements, and the dialogue between "me" and my ancestors.

The project *Voluntary Participation* confronts the involved groups of Austria's civil society time and again with the question, "What does it mean to participate?" Hence the production of shame in this context would also circle around the fact that almost nobody in the Austrian civil society refused the support of the Nazi system and the ideology of anti-Semitism, not "even without active resistance and rebellion," as Hannah Arendt claimed.

In thinking again over the process I was happy to go through with the church in Weinhaus, I would emphasize: In the long shadow of the legacy of National Socialism and anti-Semitism true shame arises only if I manage to be ashamed for the achievements and the successes of my organization/society. It is the shock of the "we are still here" (after everything our ancestors did) that raises the productive shame on ones society as such.

In the context of the project, we could observe an Austrian double standard of proudly referring, constantly, to one's own "great tradition" and the refusal to deal with the recent history (e.g., of Nazi time). Austria's civil society is historically aware to a great extent, while also historically blind, tired and unwilling to another extent.

My point is that these dialectics would be totally misunderstood if we looked at them as being driven by shame. On the contrary, I would emphasize that the force behind the attitude of neglecting parts of the past is the desire to avoid shame rather than the experience of it. But the experience of real shame would be the precondition to accept responsibility and to establish a common language with a second and third generation of descendants of Holocaust survivors, as they inherited a genuine experience of shame and guilt.

35 According to this letter, one reason why the municipality of Vienna could ask for the sign back was that the square belonged to the church. The explanation was: "Due to his (Deckerts, K. S.) anti-Semitic mind set, which we greatly regret, he would be increasingly thrust within crossfire of criticism, which would easily lead people to generally devalue our parish and its work." Quoted in Kurt Schubert, "Warum kein Pfarrer Deckert Platz!," in *Informationszentrum im Dienste der Christlich-Jüdischen Verständigung* (Vienna: Eigenverlag, 1989), 25.
36 Ibid.
37 For the whole story, see Karin Schneider, "Über den (gelungenen) Versuch, die Pfarre Weinhaus und ihre Geschichte kennen zu lernen," *Dialog – DuSiach/christlich-jüdische Informationen*, no. 96 (2014): 6–9.
38 To see the whole story, refer to Tal Adler's essay in this volume, 240–47.
39 See the full text and description of this plaque in this volume, 244–47.
40 "Während unsere Kirche hier noch steht, wurde die Synagoge in der Reichspogromnacht zerstört." Quoted in Peter Zitta, "Wie kam es zu diesem Tag?," *Dialog – DuSiach/christlich-jüdische Informationen* 96 (2014): 31–34.

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Why I Started Visiting a Church Regularly

Tal Adler

This Church

When I came to our first meeting at the Weinhaus Church in Vienna's eighteenth district on June 2012, I had no idea how involved I will get with this church, its priest, and members of its community.

In the process of working on my project *Voluntary Participation*, I meet many groups, institutions, and individuals from Austrian civil society. In these meetings I maintain an attitude of internalizing; I listen carefully, I ask a lot. I don't express my opinions or theories at first; I'm there to learn. However, in the meeting at the Weinhaus Church I was engaged differently. I assumed and believed that the parish and its priest were not interested in a critical discussion about the legacy of their founding priest, the hardcore anti-Semite Joseph Deckert. Something about Deckert's extreme and persistent campaign against Jews; the fact that the church itself was dedicated to his passionate labor; and decades of protecting Deckert's reputation and resisting any kind of criticism from the side of the church irritated and challenged my pose as a "visiting artist-researcher on an observation expedition." I came prepared with a suitcase filled with Deckert's blood libels and pseudo-scientific anti-Semitic publications. I also brought other documents portraying decades of failed attempts by civil organizations and individuals to involve the parish in confronting Deckert's legacy of hatred and incitement.

Together with my colleague Karin Schneider, who is doing research and correspondence for the project *Voluntary Participation*, we tried several times to get a meeting with someone from the church but were not successful. My convictions about the church's reluctance "to touch" Deckert were thus reaffirmed. After making it clear that we are determined to deal with Deckert's story, either with or without the church's active participation, we were invited for a meeting.

First Meeting

To my surprise, however, at the Weinhaus Church we met a very friendly priest—Father Peter Zitta, who greeted us with a big smile, a warm handshake, and tea, coffee, cake, and even kosher wine in his office. Nevertheless, I remained suspicious. Contrary to my way of talking and working with all other groups for the project *Voluntary Participation*, in this meeting not only did I express my opinion; I also tried to intervene. I expressed my understanding of this church as Deckert's "loudspeaker" for the war against Jews in Austria, and my belief that as long as this church doesn't take a fundamental and public action dealing with its past, a negative aura will keep inhabiting it. I offered to help Father Zitta with our creative capacities and our experience with interactive

community-based artistic practices, if he and the parish chose to initiate a project dealing publicly with Deckert's legacy at the church.

I was surprised again when Father Zitta didn't seem to resent my audacity or disagree with my statements. Instead, he and his colleagues, whom he invited to the meeting, confessed they were genuinely interested in working on Deckert's legacy and making a statement against his anti-Semitic labor. The big question, they said, was how to involve their parish in this process and how to gain their approval for such a visible, public statement. As they saw it, the parish is not homogeneous—some of the people might be against such work but most people will probably not be interested or wish to be involved. Nevertheless, there was an unambiguous feeling of agreement: a clear statement against Deckert's legacy should be made, preferably as a permanent public plaque at the church, and it is the sincere wish of Father Zitta to stand behind the process.

A Group Is Formed

Without actually planning this, Karin and I became members of an ad hoc research-and-development group that Father Zitta put together following our first meeting. It was a small group of people from the parish and the church council who were as passionate as he was about the project. We met regularly at the house adjacent to the church, discussing the history of Christian anti-Semitism, Deckert, Jewish-Christian relationships, our own positions, and what public action can be done at the Weinhaus Church. (I wonder what my grandfather would have thought of me going regularly to church now. He wanted so much that I come with him to synagogue on Saturdays; I usually avoided it.) In some meetings a case study was discussed or an expert was invited for a lecture and discussion. Between meetings we were given home assignments by Father Zitta, asking us to prepare materials and ideas for the next meeting.

A Group Portrait

In March 2013, a year after we first approached the church, I asked Father Zitta if it would be possible to photograph our group at the church for an upcoming exhibition that my colleagues and I were preparing at the art academy—our host institution. Technically, our group was too young to be included in my project *Voluntary Participation*; according to my own rules, the groups chosen for this project must exist since 1938 at least. However, I wanted to tell the story of our interesting process. I realized that something special happened between this church and us and this story is as important to the understanding

of civil society and the processes it undergoes as stories of older, more established groups.

It was the second photograph I made for the project *Voluntary Participation*, and it already set exceptions to my concept of an "Austrian group." It also challenged my role in the project and my relationship with the groups, as I included Karin and myself in the photograph. The process of writing the photograph's caption was also done collectively in one of our group meetings.

Fig. 45
Parish church St. Josef-Weinhaus,
Vienna, 2013

Since then, Father Zitta and the other members of our group showed up and participated regularly in the exhibitions and events that Karin and I have organized in the framework of our research projects.

Their Legacy

Slowly but surely, the group started preparations for the creation of the commemoration plaques on the facade of the church. Just as Father Zitta and the other members of the group visited our activities as sympathizing guests, Karin and I opted for a similar position now. When it came to negotiations with the church council, mediating the project to the parish at large, working on

the plaques' inscriptions, and theological questions, it was their domain and their community to reach out to. Karin and I supported with empathy but kept our intervention to a minimum. I'm sure it was an intensive process full of anxiety and uncertainty for them. However, Karin and I could only observe; it was their legacy and community to engage with.

The Plaques

On April 24, 2014, a little over two years since we first approached the church, the public unveiling of five plaques on the church facade took place, with a moving ceremony at the church and an exhibition at the district museum. The text on the main centerpiece (originally in German) reads:

> *This church was founded by Father Dr. Josef Deckert (1843–1901) and consecrated in 1889. Fr. Deckert was a committed pastor and yet, as a church authority he used his sermons and writings as a means to spread defamatory statements about Jews and Judaism. Thus, he and others like him contributed to an intensifying anti-Semitism.*
>
> *The disastrous consequences of such attitude during the National-Socialist era and the denial of God's lasting covenant with Israel deeply affect us. Inspired by the conversion of the Church during the second Vatican Council, we, as a parish community, seek further reconciliation and dialog between Jews and Christians.*
>
> *The Parish Council 2014,*
> *On the 125th anniversary of the consecration of this church*

Fig. 46
Commemoration plaques at St. Josef-Weinhaus, Vienna, 2015

The other four plaques contain quotes from the Bible, the New Testament, the Nostra Aetate, and from Pope Francis. Together they portray a theological approach in which Christianity should nurture a close, familial, and respectful relationship with Judaism.

Here is something Father Zitta sent me regarding the plaques and to the project as a whole:

> *I would like to add some thoughts that were impressive for me ... One thing was the unveiling ceremony. The church building was filled with guests from outside the parish and members of the parish itself. Then, parts of the parish's history were presented: the dissemination of anti-Semitism that came from that very place—something that was not yet answered for. There had been so much silence up to that point. And yet, there was a perceptible atmosphere of consent among all that were present. It was a relief to be able to speak about all these things, naming them in clear words. We all sat below the pulpit, as in your photo. It was the same pulpit from which 120 or 130 years ago such a poison was spread out. Only at this very place such a "reformation," such a purge could take place—it had to take place there.*
>
> *And the second event that preceded that—when the moment arrived at a retreat weekend of the parish council. The parish council worked on the text of the plaques in order to publicly put its name under this confession. And then, at the unveiling ceremony, five members of this council publicly read out loud the text of the five plaques.*
>
> *These were for me moments of immense gratefulness that things happened this way; to support our efforts that the past becomes something that changes our minds and our behavior today.*
>
> *At the same time we are immensely grateful to Karin and you that you suddenly were in the midst of our group and with us in such a way. You worried with us and hoped with us that the steps towards such a conversion be taken courageously. It was not always easy, because there were, in different ways, for each of us new steps: steps that left their mark on our minds and our behavior.*

The Project Evolves

During the two years of meeting and working at the church, our group often affirmed its understanding that erecting a sign, however, as faithful and explicit it might be, shouldn't be seen as the end goal, nor should it be used to end

a discussion. Indeed, the new plaques at the Weinhaus Church seem to have become a source of interest and attraction for various groups and individuals.

In less than a year since the plaques were unveiled, Father Zitta and his sister, Angelika Matzka, have already published the third edition of a brochure with essays and information about the plaques, Deckert, and the group's work. The fourth edition is already in preparation.

The major part of the July 2014 edition of *Dialog*, the quarterly of the Austrian Coordinating Committee for Christian-Jewish Cooperation, was dedicated to the Weinhaus project (this text is based on a similar one published in this edition).

Father Zitta and members of the group have organized an exhibition at the Eighteenth District Museum (Bezirksmuseum), with material from the group's meetings and research and about anti-Semitism, Deckert, and the district's Holocaust victims.

Father Zitta has been invited to speak about the project at other churches and organizations. Various groups, such as religion teaching students or other parishes, have been visiting the church to see the plaques and for talks and discussions about the process of working on such history.

Pilgrimage

Father Zitta has a small office with a window looking directly at the plaques on the church's facade. As he sits at his desk, he can observe the daily traffic of people climbing up the stairs from the street to read the inscriptions on the

Fig. 47
Father Peter Zitta looking at the commemoration plaques from his office, 2015

plaques. Sometimes he steps out of his office and talks with them. Recently, as more and more people come up to see the plaques, he has placed a bench and some plants below the plaques, for the visitors' comfort.

I'm grateful for Father Zitta and the members of our group—Richard Braun, Rebecca Fischer, Christa Hofmann, Heinz Kasparovsky, Ursula Koltay, Angelika Matzka, Birgit Snizek, Maria Weber, Charlotte Weinwurm, and Konrad Wierzejewski—for being brave and persistent throughout the process, and for sharing this journey with us. Not only the story of Deckert and his peers in Vienna—also the story of Father Zitta and our group—teach us that a strong, uncompromising involvement in civil society makes history; whether it is a wonderful or a horrible one—it is up to us.

Image Credits

Introduction

Fig. 1
"In Nuremberg and elsewhere," published in the Austrian newspaper *Neues Österreich*, July 20, 1946, with a subcaption: "But he ordered me to do it!" See Maria Wirth, "Victim Myth," February 2006, Demokratiezentrum Wien, http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/en/knowledge/stations-a-z/the-victim-myth.html.

Fig. 2
Photograph of German prisoners of war in American camps watch footage of German concentration camps, 1945. Courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Source: http://rarehistoricalphotos.com/german-soldiers-forced-watch-footage-concentration-camps-1945/.

Fig. 3
Sanja Iveković, *Disobedient (Reasons for Imprisonment)*, 2012, public art project, poster, first of the series, edition of 6 × 100. dOCUMENTA (13), 2012. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 4
Sanja Iveković, *Disobedient (Reasons for Imprisonment)*, 2012, poster (detail). dOCUMENTA (13), 2012. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 5
Diagram of "multidirectional memories, meeting of the Lesekreis," 2014. According to Michael Rothberg's text "From Gaza to Warsaw: Multidirectional Memory," *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 525. Drawing by and courtesy of Jakob Krameritsch.

Fig. 6
Alfred Ullrich, *Pearls before Swine*, 2000, photograph, dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 7
Alfred Ullrich, *Pearls before Swine*, 2000, photograph, dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 8
Alfred Ullrich, *BLACKOUT*, 2014, photomontage, dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artist.

Tímea Junghaus

Figs. 9–12
Csaba Nemes, *Untitled*, 2013, installation view (detail), Gallery8, Budapest. Photo: Csaba Nemes. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 13
Ceija Stojka, *Auschwitz: We Were Ashamed*, 2008, Indian ink on paper. Photo: Moritz Pankok. Courtesy of the Stojka Family.

Fig. 14
Ceija Stojka, *Untitled*, 2011, Indian ink on paper. Photo: Moritz Pankok. Courtesy of the Stojka Family.

Jakob Kramertisch

Fig. 15
Jakob Krameritsch, Marikana 1994, compilation: cuttings of aerial photographs. Courtesy of Jakob Krameritsch.

Fig. 16
Greg Marinovich, Marikana, August 15, 2012, photograph. Courtesy of Greg Marinovich.

Andrea B. Braidt

Fig. 17
Carola Dertnig, *ZU SPÄT*, 2011. Photo: Stephan Wyckoff. Courtesy of KÖR Gmbh (Public Art Vienna).

Fig. 18
Jakob Lena Knebl, *Schwule Sau*, 2013, installation view, Morzinplatz, Vienna. Photo: Michael Strasser. Courtesy of Jakob Lena Knebl.

Zsuzsi Flohr

Fig. 19
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part One*, 2014. In front of K. S.'s house on Frankel Leó Street, 78, Budapest. Photo documentation: Eduard Freudmann. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 20
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part One*, 2014. Margaret Island entrance, Budapest. Photo documentation: Eduard Freudmann. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 21
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part One*, 2014. Margaret Island, Fountain, Budapest. Photo documentation: Eduard Freudmann. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 22
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Write it down for hundred times! – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part Two*, 2013, video still from the documentation, no. 1. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 23
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Write it down for hundred times! – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part Two*, 2013, video still from the documentation, no. 3. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 24
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Write it down for hundred times! – On the Road with Képíró Sándor Part Two*, 2013, video still from the documentation, no. 4. Courtesy of the artist.

Jasmina Cibic
Fig. 25
Jasmina Cibic, *For Our Economy and Culture*. Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Photo: Matevž Paternoster. Courtesy of the artist and the Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana.
Fig. 26
Jasmina Cibic (in collaboration with Filipe Gudin and Tanza Crouch), *Situation Anophthalmus hitleri*, 2012, mixed-media on paper, each 21 × 29.7 cm. Photo: Jasmina Cibic. Courtesy of the artist.
Fig. 27
Jasmina Cibic, *For Our Economy and Culture*, 2013, installation view, still life paintings from the art collection of the National Assembly of Slovenia, curtains, wallpaper, performance. Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Photo: Matevž Paternoster. Courtesy of the artist and the Museum
and Galleries of Ljubljana.
Fig. 28
Jasmina Cibic, *Fruits of Our Land*, 2013, production still, single-channel HD video, 11 min, 43 sec. Photo: Jasmina Cibic. Courtesy of the artist.
Fig. 29
Jasmina Cibic, *Framing the Space*, 2013, production still, single-channel HD video, 10 min, 45 sec, 16:9, stereo. Photo: Matevž Paternoster. Courtesy of the artist.

Eduard Freudmann
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Photograph of the Weinheber monument with sandstone plinth, Salzburger Nachrichten, April 6, 1985. Unknown photographer.
Fig. 31
Intervention by Plattform Geschichtspolitik, June 2010. Photo and courtesy of Plattform Geschichtspolitik.
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Tatiana Kai-Browne, a schematic drawing of the monument ensemble at the symposium “Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency,” April 4, 2014, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Photo and courtesy of Tatiana Kai-Browne and Eduard Freudmann.
Fig. 33
Plattform Geschichtspolitik, photomontage of the reconfiguration of the Weinheber monument, 2012. From the first application to KÖR GmbH in March 2012.
Courtesy of Plattform Geschichtspolitik.
Fig. 34
Plattform Geschichtspolitik, drawing of the reconfiguration of the Weinheber monument, 2012. From the first application to KÖR GmbH in March 2012. Photo and courtesy of Plattform Geschichtspolitik.
Fig. 35
Plattform Geschichtspolitik, photograph taken immediately after the excavation of the Weinheber monument, June 2013. Photo: Tal Adler. Courtesy of Tal Adler.
Fig. 36
Plattform Geschichtspolitik, photomontage of the reconfiguration of the Weinheber monument, 2014, from the second application to KÖR GmbH in January 2012. Courtesy of Plattform Geschichtspolitik.

Peter Mörtenböck and Helge Mooshammer, with Das Kollektiv
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Gusen Memorial, Austria, 2013. Photo and courtesy of Peter Mörtenböck and Helge Mooshammer.
Fig. 38
Mauthausen Memorial (Bulgarian Memorial), 2013. Photo and courtesy of Peter Mörtenböck and Helge Mooshammer.
Fig. 39.
Mauthausen Memorial, 2013
Photo and courtesy of Peter Mörtenböck and Helge Mooshammer.
Fig. 40
Das Kollektiv, *Vierzig Morgen 1*, 2014. Photo and courtesy of Das Kollektiv.
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Das Kollektiv, *Vierzig Morgen 2*, 2014. Collage and courtesy of Das Kollektiv.

Working Group Four Faces of Omarska
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Working Group Four Faces of Omarska, fourth Public Working Meeting “Solidarity and Politics of Bodily Presence,” at the exhibition “One day,” Milica Tomić, September 2010. The Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade, Serbia. Photo: Srđan Veljović. Courtesy of Working Group Four Faces of Omarska.
Fig. 43
Commemoration in Omarska, Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 2014. Photo: Vladimir Miladinović. Courtesy of Working Group Four Faces of Omarska.
Fig. 44
Commemoration in Omarska, Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 2014. Photo: Vladimir Miladinović. Courtesy of Working Group Four Faces of Omarska.

Tal Adler
Fig. 45
Parish church St. Josef-Weinhaus, Vienna, 2013. A group formed to research the anti-Semitic legacy of this church and its founding priest, Joseph Deckert, to produce a process of dealing with this burden and react to it. Photo: Tal Adler. Courtesy of the artist.
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Commemoration plaques at the parish church St. Josef-Weinhaus, Vienna, 2015. Photo: Tal Adler. Courtesy of the artist.
Fig. 47
Father Peter Zitta looking at the commemoration plaques from his office, 2015. Photo: Tal Adler. Courtesy of the artist.

Biographies

Tal Adler is an artist and photographer living in Vienna. He completed his MA at the Academy of Arts in Vienna. His work focuses on sociopolitical structures and researches the politics and blind spots of history, culture, and science. Since 2011, he has worked at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna on the research projects "Mem-Screen" and "Conserved Memories."

Eva Blimlinger, German Philology, History and Social Studies at the University of Vienna 1990 graduation; 1991–92: Equal Opportunities Advisor/Compliance Officer of the Austrian Rectors' Conference; 1992–99: Head of the PR Department at the University of Applied Arts Vienna; 1999–2004: Research coordinator for the Historical Commission of the Austrian Republic; 2004–11: Head of the department of project coordination at the University of Applied Arts Vienna; since 2008: Scientific Coordinator of the Austrian Commission of Provenance and since 2006 member, since 2008 vice chair of the Federal Advisory Board for Art Restitution of the Republic of Austria. Since 2011 she has been the Rector of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Since 1983 she has edited and published many books, articles, and reviews. She is coeditor of the forty-nine volumes *Veröffentlichungen der österreichischen Historikerkommission: Vermögensentzug während der NS-Zeit sowie Rückstellungen und Entschädigungen seit 1945 in Österreich*, and coeditor of the *Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Provenienzforschung*.

Andrea B. Braidt studied Comparative Literature, Film and Cultural Studies in Innsbruck and England. Since the late nineties, she has been teaching at Austrian universities, focusing on gender/queer studies, film genres, and narratology; she was visiting researcher in the United States and Canada, visiting professor at the Gender Studies Department of the Central European University in Budapest, and from 2004 to 2011 she was Senior Scientist for Film Studies at the Department of Theater, Film and Media Studies (TFM) of the University of Vienna, where she was in charge of teaching, research management, and international cooperation. Since 2011, Braidt has been Vice-Rector for Art | Research at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, and since 2012 she has been chairwoman of the Gender Studies Association Austria (http://www.oeggf.at). She has written numerous books and articles, including *Film-Genus: Gender und Genre in der Filmwahrnehmung* (Marburg: Schüren, 2008), and "Queer Art: Prohibit the Adjective! A Manifesto on the Occasion of a 20th Anniversary," in *Quite Queer*, edited by Claudia Reiche and Helene von Oldenburg (Bremen: thealit Schriften, 2014).

Jasmina Cibic was born in 1979 in Ljubljana. Her art practice is site- and context-specific, performative in nature, and employs a range of activities, media, and theatrical tactics to redefine or reconsider an existent environment and its politics. Cibic represented Slovenia at the 55th Venice Biennial with her project "For Our Economy and Culture." Her recent projects include solo exhibitions at Ludwig Museum Budapest, International Graphic Centre Ljubljana, Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade, and group exhibitions at Museum of Yugoslav History, Musée national d'histoire et d'art Luxembourg, 30th International Graphics Biennial Ljubljana, October Salon Belgrade, 7th Triennial of Contemporary Art MSUM Ljubljana, Dokfest – KulturBahnhof Kassel, Joanneum Museum Graz, California College of the Arts, and Museum of Modern Art Ljubljana. Her films have been screened at Haus der Kulturen der Welt (Berlin), KORO (Oslo), Les Rencontres Internationales (Palais de Tokyo, Gaîté Lyrique) in Paris, Copenhagen International Documentary Festival, and the cinema program at Art Brussels. Cibic regularly holds artist talks and lectures in international art institutions, galleries, and universities, and contributes to international art publications.

Das Kollektiv is a group of architecture and planning students formed in 2013 to work on the *Vierzig Morgen* project.

Zsuzsi Flohr was born in Budapest in 1981. Flohr is a visual artist living and working in Budapest and Vienna, and is a PhD candidate in the PhD-in-Practice program at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. She was born into an Eastern European Jewish family; Flohr has examined the contradictions and historical dislocations of her generation. Personal narrative confronts collective history and Flohr's experience is central

to the work as part of the third generation coming of age after World War II and the Holocaust in terms of consciousness and identity, with a focus on her native country, Hungary. The question of belonging, self-knowledge, memory policy, memory culture, and the returning generation are the main questions she brings forward from a personal, gender-sensitive perspective. Flohr's artistic practice and research focus are centred on the issues of the "third generation after the Holocaust" in terms of commemoration, remembrance, transgenerational trauma, and in her work she also examines the possibility of a shared politics of the memory.

Eduard Freudmann is an artist living in Vienna. He is a member of Plattform Geschichtspolitik, an initiative by students and teachers founded in 2009 to investigate the involvement of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna in colonialism, Austrofascism, and Nazism, and the way this has been dealt with since 1945. He teaches at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.

Tímea Junghaus is an art historian, contemporary art curator, and cultural activist of Roma origin. Junghaus was curator of the First Roma Pavilion at the 52nd International Art Exhibition Venice Biennale (Collateral Event) in 2007. As a researcher, she has mainly dealt with the issues of cultural difference, postcolonialism, and minority representation. She is a researcher at the Hungarian Academy of Art and Science, and the founder and director of the European Roma Cultural Foundation, a Budapest-based NGO committed to achieving better recognition for Roma art. In 2013 she established the Gallery8 – Roma Contemporary Art Space, Budapest.

Jakob Krameritsch is an historian working at the Academy for Fine Arts Vienna. He is the editor of the book *Das Massaker von Marikana: Widerstand und Unterdrückung von Arbeiter_innen in Südafrika: Mandelbaum kritik & utopie* (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2013), with contributions by Peter Alexander, Thapelo Lekgowa, Botsang Mmope, Luke Sinwell, and Bongani Xezwi.

Jean-Paul Martinon is a writer based in London. He was the cofounder and curator of Rear Window (http://www.rear-window.org.uk), an independent arts trust that staged a series of exhibitions and conferences in temporary sites across London. He is currently Reader in Visual Cultures at Goldsmiths, University of London. He has written monographs on a Victorian workhouse (*Swelling Grounds: A History of Hackney Workhouse* [1729–1929], Rear Window, 1995), the idea of the future in the work of Derrida, Malabou, and Nancy (*On Futurity: Malabou, Nancy, and Derrida*, Palgrave, 2007), the temporal dimension of masculinity (*The End of Man*, Punctum, 2013), and the concept of peace after the Rwandan genocide (*After "Rwanda,"* Rodopi, 2013). He is also the editor of *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating* (Bloomsbury, 2014). http://www.jeanpaulmartinon.net

Suzana Milevska is a theorist and curator of visual art and culture. From 2013–2015 she was teaching at the Academy of Fine ArtsVienna as the first Endowed Professor for Central and South European Art Histories. Her theoretical and curatorial interests include postcolonial critique of hegemonic power regimes of representation, feminist, and gender theories of art, and participatory collaborative art practices. Milevska was a Fulbright Senior Research Scholar in Library of Congress (2004). She holds a PhD in Visual Cultures from Goldsmiths, University of London. In 2010 Milevska published her book *Gender Difference in the Balkans*, and edited *The Renaming Machine: The Book*. She initiated and was a researcher for the project *Call the Witness – Roma Pavilion* at the 54th International Art Exhibition Venice Biennale (Collateral Event), and in 2011 she curated the exhibitions "Call the Witness" at BAK, Utrecht and "Roma Protocol" at the Austrian Parliament. In 2012 she won the Igor Zabel Award for Culture and Theory.

Helge Mooshammer is director of the international research projects Relational Architecture and Other Markets (http://www.othermarkets.org) at the School of Architecture and Urban Planning, Vienna University of Technology. He is currently a Research Fellow in the Department of Visual Cultures at Goldsmiths, University of London. His research is concerned with changing forms of urban sociality arising from processes of transnationalization, capital movements, informal economies, and newly emerging regimes of governance.

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Mooshammer and Mörtenböck have published numerous essays on contemporary art, bottom-up urbanism, and collaborative forms of spatial production. Their research and curatorial work has been presented, among others, at the Whitechapel Gallery (London), the Netherlands Architecture Institute (Rotterdam), Storefront for Art and Architecture (New York), Proekt Fabrika (Moscow), Santral (Istanbul), Ellen Gallery (Montreal), and the Venice Architecture Biennale. Their recent books include *Visual Cultures as Opportunity* (2015), *Informal Market Worlds: The Architecture of Economic Pressure* (2015), *Occupy: Räume des Protests* (2012), *Space (Re)Solutions: Intervention and Research in Visual Culture* (2011), and *Networked Cultures: Parallel Architectures and the Politics of Space* (2008). http://www.thinkarchitecture.net

Trevor Ngwane is an acitivist and scholar who has devoted as much time to academic work as to community and political activism over the years. He studied at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa, during the apartheid days for four years, during which time there were various student disturbances. He obtained his BA (Sociology and Psychology) through UNISA, and his BA Honours (Sociology) from the University of the Witwatersrand in 1986. For two decades he was active in the trade unions, civic and political organizations as an organizer and militant, a period that spanned the transition from apartheid to a democratic society. In 2008 he enrolled at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's School of Development Studies and obtained his MA in 2011. He is currently a PhD candidate at the University of Johannesburg at the Research Chair for Social Change. He is also involved in the Rebellion of the Poor protest monitoring and database compilation project.

Karin Schneider is a researcher, contemporary historian, and art mediator from Austria, living and working in Vienna. She has been working for several art-based research projects at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, including "conserved memories" (since 2013) and "MemScreen" (2011–13). In this frame she was part of the research process of Tal Adler's project *Voluntary Participation*, and is responsible for the international conference "Doing Memory: Art, Research and the Politics of Memory and History," Academy of Fine Arts, 2013. Since 2007, she was involved in several participatory research projects in the fields of museum education, participatory research with children, and display analyses. In 2008, she cocurated the exhibition "Overlapping Voices" Israeli and Palestinian Artists" with Tal Adler, Friedemann Derschmidt, and Amal Murkus in the Essl Museum, Austria. From 2000–07, she was staff unit for art mediation at the mumok (Museum of Modern Art, Vienna).

Primrose Sonti is an activist living in Marikana and leader of the Marikana Women's League "Sikhala Sonke" (We cry together). She wrote recently a play about the Marikana massacre.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is a university professor and founding member of the Institute for Comparative Literature and Society at Columbia University. She holds a BA in English (first-class honours), Presidency College, Calcutta (1959); PhD in comparative literature, Cornell University (1967); DLitt, University of Toronto (1999); DLitt, University of London (2003); and DHum, Oberlin College (2008). Her areas of research are feminism, Marxism, deconstruction, and globalization. Her books include *Myself Must I Remake: The Life and Poetry of W. B. Yeats* (1974), *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (1987), *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues* (1990), *Thinking Academic Freedom in Gendered Post-Coloniality* (1993; repr. 2010), *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (1993), *The Spivak Reader* (1995), *Imperatives*

to Re-Imagine the Planet / Imperative zur Neuerfindung des Planeten (edited by Willi Goetschel, 1999), *A Critique of Post-colonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present* (1999), *Death of a Discipline* (2003), *Other Asias* (2005), and *An Aesthetic Education in the Era of Globalization* (2012). Her translations, with critical introductions, include the translation of Jacques Derrida's *Of Grammatology* (1976), and several works by Mahasweta Devi, including three short-prose collections *Imaginary Maps* (1994), *Breast Stories* (1997), *Old Women* (1999). Her notable articles include "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography" (1985), "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism" (1985), "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988), "The Politics of Translation" (1992), "Moving Devi" (1999), "Righting Wrongs" (2003), "Ethics and Politics in Tagore, Coetzee, and Certain Scenes of Teaching" (2004), "Translating into English" (2005), and "Rethinking Comparativism" (2010). She has been active in rural education and feminist and ecological social movements since 1986. In 2012 she was awarded the Kyoto Prize in Arts and Philosophy.

Working Group Four Faces of Omarska is an ongoing art project that questions the strategies of production of the memorial. It constitutes networks of human relations, experiences, and discussions on the three eras and four faces of the Omarska mine: 1. The Omarska mining complex during socialism; 2. The Omarska camp, a place of mass killings and torture in 1992; 3. The Omarska mining complex, owned by the multinational company ArcelorMittal; 4. Omarska as the filming location for the historical ethno-blockbuster *St. George Shoots the Dragon*. The working group approaches strategies of memorial production from the position of those whose experience and knowledge have been subjugated, rejected, and excluded from the public sphere, memory, and history. Instead of representing such perspectives theoretically and artistically, even in the form of the unrepresented, the Four Faces of Omarska exposes itself to such knowledge, learning from it in an attempt to open up a space of subjectivation and emancipation. The group's activities comprise an ongoing process of artistic production and theoretical practice that asks: How can a site of atrocity become a location for the production of knowledge based on solidarity and equality?

Acknowledgments

The publication *On Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency* is a direct outcome of my personal theoretical and research interests, the collaboration between two different institutions, and of many planned or accidental personal encounters during my teaching period at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna as the first Endowed Professor for Central and South Eastern European Art Histories (from 2013–15). This position that was initiated in a partnership between the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna and the Programme Culture of the ERSTE Foundation provided me with the context and the necessary infrastructural conditions to start building the thematic and methodological scope of the symposium that took place in April 2014, and later on to complete this publication.

Back in the early autumn of 2013, almost immediately after my arrival to Vienna (from Skopje), I was invited by Andrea B. Braidt, the Vice-Rector for Art | Research of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, and Christine Böhler, then Director of the Programme Culture of ERSTE Foundation at the time, to organize a symposium that would be relevant in the context of my research, and as a part of my new position. I based the symposium "On Productive Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency" on my previous long-term theoretical, research, and curatorial projects in which I have already dealt with the postcolonial critique of hegemonic regimes of representation, gender issues, racism, and anti-Romaism in Central and Southeastern Europe. This initial starting sociopolitical and theoretical background was entwined with the pressuring enquiries relevant to the Austrian context as post-Nazi cultural space and the postcolonial discourse on the African countries, but also with different case studies of projects employing the potentialities of collaborative research and participatory artistic practices invested in enhancing the social transformative processes. The postcolonial theoretical concepts of Professor Paul Gilroy provided the most profound inspiration, and I am particularly indebted for the phrase "productive shame" that he coined in his seminal book *Postcolonial Melancholia*. During the research period, however, some early memories of my first visit (as a young art history student back in 1982) to the Yad Vashem memorial and the Holocaust History Museum in Jerusalem, returned very vividly. I recalled and interpreted my first personal encounter with a computer, and the enchantment of the possibility to interactively use the museum database and archive (as an ordinary museum visitor) as pertinently related to my more recent engagements in the debates about participatory art and participatory research practices, with stress on the importance of the involvement of the audience. The basic historic facts acquired during that visit (e.g., about my home town Bitola, once predominantly Jewish town, with not one single Jewish family today) had inevitably influenced my theoretical interests and shaped my ethically driven curatorial methodology and practice that developed professionally much later.

I want to mention that the most relevant contribution toward the conceptualization of the symposium and the completion of this reader came with the continuous support of all colleagues from the Institute of Art Theory and Cultural Studies at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna (that hosts the Endowed Professorship): they created the intensely inspiring and motivating intellectual environment for researching, teaching, and communicating different ideas during the different stages of this project. There were also concrete contributions from my colleagues toward the completion of the symposium and the publication including the moderation of one session in the symposium by Prof. Dr. Christian Kravagna and the editorial comments to my text by Prof. Dr. Ruth Sonderegger. My continuous participation in the meetings of the Lesekreis (an informal reading group at the Academy), the individual meetings with Prof. Dr. Felicitas Thun-Hohenstein, Prof. Dr. Elisabeth von Samsonow, Eduard Freudmann, Jakob Krameritsch, Karin Schneider, and Tal Adler were only a few of the professional and personal encounters that continuously complemented the rounding up of this complex project with some of the advice regarding the symposium and texts that are included in this volume. I also want to acknowledge the generous transcript of Marty Huber of the lecture of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, which was turned into her text that is included in this volume.

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