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Reflections on the Significance of Images in Genocide Studies: Some Methodological Considerations

Social practices such as massacres, mass violence and the extermination of entire populations are not a historical novelty. Indeed, when Raphael Lemkin coined the term genocide in 1944 –after suggesting barbarity in 1933– he was but giving a new name to an old crime.[1] Such phenomena have been witnessed by humanity since Ancient times and historians, as well as artists and writers, have utilized every tool at their disposal to find ways to depict them and impress upon their audience the impact they had. Insofar as these are extreme phenomena that challenge the very notion of our *humanity*, such events inevitably test as well the limits of representation.[2] Eyewitness accounts, historical narrations, philosophical observations, and ethical considerations, and studies from a social disciplines such as psychology, psychiatry, criminology, sociology and anthropology, have all been plagued with the difficulty posed by the comprehension and representation of genocides. As far as the visual is concerned, there has never been a lack of images attempting to depict or describe mass violence. Visual representation however, a form of representation that is adept at inciting emotions and affections, for this very reason, creates the ever-present risk of devolving into fascination, to the perversions of the gaze (voyeurism, in particular) and befuddlement of the conscience. Furthermore, as is to be expected, the disparity between the various ways of understanding, narrating and visualizing genocide and mass violence has produced complex configurations, especially since technological advances in photography allowed the visual capture of scenes as they transpired, introducing a literal notion of imprint.

Although, as a field, genocide studies has always been characterized by its interdisciplinarity, the consolidation in the last few decades of visual studies, including film and media, as academic fields, has allowed for a far more rigorous analysis of images of genocides that rests upon formal and semantic expertise specific to audio-visual representation. Thus, it is no longer a matter of invoking images as illustrations or for reinforcing other claims, but rather of wondering in what ways they contribute both to the knowledge of events and to the transmission of memory, whether individual or collective (for a family, for small communities or even for the encyclopedic by rote memory of humanity). Incidentally, it is worthwhile to recall that this "pictorial turn" has implications for the constellation of disciplines within genocide studies.[3] In light of this state of affairs, this special issue, the first to be published by *Genocide Studies and Prevention,* endeavors to undertake these challenges and to make a substantial contribution to this field, but with no intention to homogenize a landscape enriched by different and sometimes contradictory perspectives and approaches.

Another field that grew considerably at the same time as the aforementioned disciplines, especially from the 1990s onwards, has been that of memory studies. Within disciplines such as neuroscience, psychology, sociology and anthropology, memory, both social and individual, has become a main subject of analysis not only in regards to its workings, but also to its reproduction and preservation. This resurgence[4] has brought with it new debates, particularly within the field of history as a result of the disputes on history and memory[5], becoming as well a central subject of debate in genocide studies, particularly in the analysis of community, social or state forms of memory. In this context, the different approaches that incorporate visual studies, such

[1] "The word is new, the crime ancient." Leo Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 11.

[2] José Emilio Burucúa and Nicolás Kwiatkowski, *"Cómo sucedieron estas cosas." Representar masacres y genocidios* (Buenos Aires: Katz, 2014).

[3] The pictorial turn, according to W. J. T. Mitchell, refers to a set of changes and transformations undergone by society, culture and the sciences, by which "images comprise a singular point of friction and disquiet which transversely intersects a great range of intellectual research fields across disciplines." W. J. T. Mitchell, *Teoría de la imagen* (Madrid: Akal, 2009), 21.

[4] This topic was a focal point of research in these disciplines in the 1920s.

[5] Pierre Nora, "Entre memoria e historia. La problemática de los lugares," in *Pierre Nora en Les Lieux de mémoire* (Montevideo: Trilce, 2008), 19-39.

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as those of James Young,[6] Barbie Zelizer,[7] Marianne Hirsch,[8] or Alexandre Dauge-Roth,[9] have explored the various modes of memory of the traumas produced by acts of mass violence. Our approach understands images as vectors of memory and imagination in line with the perspective of historian Henry Rousso. As such, we understand as vector of memory all objects and products, including visual productions, "whose objective is to understand the past and to give it a certain intelligibility."[10] In the same vein, Rousso elaborates that a variety of things can be vectors of memory, such as history, commemorations, survivor organizations, as well as artistic creations. Moreover, images can act as vectors of memory and imagination, since they are shaped by, and often reflect, historical and symbolic debates regarding genocides. Images thus, both confirm and contest the link between what's considered (in)visible and (un)speakable in each historical context, as they selectively crystallize memories, interpretations and perspectives on the past.[11]

Image, Reality, Evidence

As technical developments in photography and the dissemination of images advanced rapidly over the past century,[12] a paradigm shift in the production and consumption of imagery took place that is still underway and has yet to be fully understood and theorized.[13] One major ramification of the invention of photography has been that the seeming visual reproduction of "reality" would ascribe specific functions to the image that modified notions of objectivity and imposes an effect of how we perceive reality *(effet de reel)* that carry with them significant consequences. In addition to this effect on conceptions of reality, advances in photographic technology have also deeply affected our relationship with time, since photographic images can now be produced contemporaneously, as events are happening. Consequently, image now operate as a form of testimony, which is regularly used to assess the accuracy of other forms of documentation (eyewitness accounts, documents, etc.). Often overlooked however, is the fact that photographic processes are, like all modes of reproduction and representation, imprecise and incomplete, thereby reproducing the same sorts of conflict and contention surrounding other forms of documentation. The expansion of the visual field with the advent of film brought with it both further possibilities and consequences. Unlike photography, video production processes allow the capture of actions in movement (that is, throughout a fragment of real time). Technological advancements now also facilitate the synchronous capture of sound and colour, allowing producers to further blur the distinction between representation and reality. Moreover, very early on, photography and film became central to propaganda efforts and news dissemination. As such, it is hardly surprising that, at least from the coverage of the First World War onwards, these mediums would be added to the broad arsenal of equipment used to capture, make a record of, denounce, and, ultimately, represent various forms of mass violence.

There are three singular episodes which allow for the analysis of these early uses of both photography and film before the latter was capable of capturing synchronous sound.[14] In the early twentieth century, photography was central to the denunciation of atrocities perpetrated by King

[6] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

[7] Barbie Zelizer, ed., *Visual Culture and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

[8] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[9] Alexandre Dauge-Roth, *Writing and Filming the Genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda* (New York: Lexington Books, 2010).

[10] Henry Rousso, *The Haunting Past: History, Memory, and Justice in Contemporary France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 9.

[11] Jessica Fernanda Conejo Muñoz, "Memory and Distance: On Nobuhiro Suwa's A Letter from Hiroshima," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, no. 2 (2018), 125-139.

[12] Examples of such advancements include increasing film speed, shortening of exposure times, massive reduction in the size and weight of cameras, and advent of social media technologies facilitating the rapid social circulation of news and imagery.

[13] Nicholas Mirzoeff, *How to See the World* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

[14] It should be noted that Thomas Edison's artisanal experiments to this effect had made it technically possible to record contemporaneous sound with video since the early 1900s, though this technology was far from widespread.

Leopold II of Belgium in the Congo Free State[15] referred to as "crimes against humanity" by George Washington Williams.[16] To this end, the resource of the "magic lantern," a device used on a mass scale in the nineteenth century, was combined with photos taken by missionaries and accompanied with writers' accounts to denounce the atrocities committed in the Congo. Years later, photographic and film processes, especially those produced by France and Germany, dominated coverage of World War I in the form of newsreels, broadcasts and documentaries. Indeed, World War I was filmed and photographed like none other before,[17] even when the technical difficulties and by propagandistic intentions combined to result in re-enacted or staged situations for the cameras.[18]

Within the context of World War I the Armenian Genocide, widely considered the first modern genocide, took place. Deportations and resultant deaths in the Syrian Desert, in the vicinity of Aleppo, were photographically documented and resulting images were used as an instrument for denunciation as well as for raising funds by the *American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief*, created in 1915 in the United States as a humanitarian organization in response to the atrocities perpetrated against the Armenian people. Among all these visual efforts, the case of Armin T. Wegner, a German medic and solder who risked his life to capture images of massacres and deportations, stands out. In defiance of the orders of his German and Ottoman superiors, Wegner managed to take hundreds of photographs which today form the core of testimonial imagery of the Armenian Genocide. Photographs, however, were not the totality of Wegner's efforts; he also wrote notes and letters and served as a courier for the deported, taking documents to American ambassador Henry Morgenthau with a view to having them sent to the United States. As Peter Balakian notes, when one of Wegner's letters to his mother describing the atrocities was intercepted, he was expelled from the Armenian zone of the conflict and forced to work in cholera wards, where he fell gravely ill, and later was sent to Constantinople, then to Germany. Despite the risk, Wegner hid negatives of the photographs he took in his belt.[19] Once the war was over, the fictional film *Ravished Armenia* (Oscar Apfel, 1919) was produced in support of the aforementioned *American Committee for Armenian and Syrian* Relief, with the objective of increasing awareness of the genocide and raising funds to aid survivors.[20] Based on the memoirs of survivor Aurora Mardiganian, who was also the lead actress in the film, *Ravished Armenia* is widely considered the first motion picture with genocide as its main subject matter. In genealogical terms, this film can thus be described, borrowing Roland Barthes' terms to describe a style that seems to be transparent and does not draw attention on its rhetorical devices, as degree zero in the relationship between film and genocide.[21]

These three examples permit us to observe, from the very early stages, different aspects of visual production and use, which, far from being homogenous, embody a variety of approaches. First, the image as witness, combined with a testimonial account. Second, archival imagery as evidence, that is to say, the image as an indelible mark deemed indisputable. Third, imagery used to raise awareness, including the at-times fraudulent use of false evidence, a tactic regularly

[15] Nora Nunn, "The Unbribable Witness: Image, Word, and Testimony of Crimes against Humanity in Mark Twain's King Leopold's Soliloquy (1905)," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, no. 2 (2018), 84-106.

[16] Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (New York: Mariner Books, 1999), 112.

[17] Laurent Véray, *La grande guerre au cinéma. De la gloire à la mémoire* (Paris: Ramsay, 2008).

[18] Susan Sontag, *Ante el dolor de los demás* (Buenos Aires: Alfaguara, 2003), 29-33.

[19] Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris. The Armenian Genocide and America's Response* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 259. See also Sévane Garibian, "Ravished Armenia (1919) desde la mirada de Walter Benjamin. Reflexiones acerca de una película-prueba," *Istor*, 15, no. 62 (2015), 173-187.

[20] From the surviving footage of the 1919 film *Ravished Armenia*, Zareh and Alina Tjeknavorian made a movie called *Credo* in 2005. Other than the original 1919 footage, the new production introduces recorded footage of Ereván's memorial site, as well as some photographs taken by Wegner. See Donna-Lee Frieze, "Three films, one genocide: Remembering the Armenian Genocide through *Ravished Armenia*(s)," in *Remembering Genocide*, eds. Nigel Eltringham et. al. (London: Routledge, 2014), 48.

[21] Leshu Torchin, "To Acquaint America with Ravished Armenia," in *Creating the Witness. Documenting Genocide on Film, Video, and the Internet* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012). Roland Barthes, *Le degree zero de l'écriture* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).

utilized by propaganda makers during the 1920s and 30s. Fourth, and finally, the recreation of imagery through staged productions, exemplified by *Ravished Armenia*.

These axes of production and dissemination of mass atrocity imagery continue to become increasingly elaborate. The common thread amongst these various modes of production and uses of atrocity imagery is that, regardless of how it is deployed, such imagery remains a powerful tool, given it ability to select a portion of what is visible and disregard other portions, and the temporal sequence it imposes. It is also important to bear in mind the fact that the tool of visual production and documentation is not universally accessible, despite the growing ubiquity of image-capture technologies, but remains subject to conditions that require specific forms of expertise and access to equipment. As such, visual documentation must be read in conjunction with other forms of documentation which contribute to our understanding of the visual, and vice versa. Consequently, a visual document is never fully transparent, but often conceals as much, or even more, than it shows. Thus, the responsible production and consumption of atrocity imagery remains contingent on our analytic, technical, and historical abilities and competencies, as well as other such skills. Only with such abilities can such imagery effectively be made to speak in a register we can hear and understand.

1945: A Point of No Return

While imagery was central to earlier events such as Dutch atrocities in the Congo, World War I and the Armenian Genocide, World War II marked an unprecedented break point in the convergence between atrocities and visual reproduction and depiction. At a time when the Holocaust was yet to be conceptualized as an independent phenomenon by the international community, Nazi atrocities, including the Holocaust, were visually documented by Allied photograph and film units when the territories occupied by the Third Reich were liberated, most notably the concentration and extermination camps, especially Soviet forces, which opened the gates of Majdanek in the summer of 1944, and then slowly advanced towards Berlin.[22] Concentration camps such as Plaszow, Gross-Rosen, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück and Stutthof were visually documented, but it was not until 27 January 1945, when they arrived at Auschwitz, that the Soviets carried out their most ambitious visual documentation efforts.[23]

At any rate, the spring of 1945 constituted a turning point in the convergence of cameras and the horrors of World War II and the Holocaust. There was a brief period in and around April 1945 when American and British forces encountered some of the concentration camps situated in the territory previously held by the Third Reich. When American generals Dwight Eisenhower, George Patton and Omar Bradley visited the Ohrdruf camp shortly after its liberation on 5 April, they made a decision which would have significant repercussions for the visual documentation practices of atrocities to this day. They chose to visually confront the world with shocking footage filmed at the camps. Amongst those first confronted with this grisly imagery were the German people, many of whom continued to deny knowledge of the Holocaust or the camps. Germans were even brought to visit certain camps and later subjected to a barrage of newscasts and documentaries describing and often viscerally depicting the horrors committed at the camps. The Allies also routinely showed such footage to their own soldiers, in order to impress upon them why they had fought. The American War Department went so far as to produce a series of propaganda documentaries produced by their War Department, employing major Hollywood directors such as John Ford and Frank Capra.[24] These early efforts were followed by an international campaign that came to be

[22] Ilya Ehrenburg and Vassili Grossman, *Le livre noire. Textes et témoignages* (Arles: Actes Sud, 1995).

[23] Valérie Pozner, et al., eds. *Filmer la guerre 1941-1945. Les soviétiques face à la Shoah* (Paris: Mémoiral de la Shoah, 2015), 56. See also Stuart Liebman, "El Holocausto en los juicios filmados: *Swastyka i Szubienca* (1945) de Kazimierz Czynski," *Archivos de la Filmoteca* 70 (2012).

[24] The propaganda series consisted of seven films under the title *Why We Fight*. It was conceived by general George C. Marshall in collaboration with Capra. See Clayton Koppes and Gregory Black, *Hollywood Goes to War. How Politics, Profits and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990); Thomas Doherty, *Projections of War. Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

known as the "pedagogy of horror",[25] and which inundated newsreels and broadcasts the world over. Such footage was also shown in judicial proceedings such as the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, where the Tribunal agreed to the display of audio-visual material.[26] The liberation of the aforementioned camps was followed by that of Buchenwald, Dachau and later Mauthausen. Finally, the most iconic images came in the form of British photographs and filmed footage at the Bergen-Belsen camp, which was liberated on 15 April 1945.

These images and films of the horrors of the concentration camps set the horizon of expectations in 1945, yet had little to do with the totality of the processes that would later become known as the Holocaust, perpetrated in its industrial phase by means of gassing in the Nazi camps in occupied Poland and by bullet in the rear-guard of the Eastern front by the *Einsatzgruppen*, in its previous phase. What we are referring to currently is more of a concentration camp imaginary modeled on images, in particular those of Bergen-Belsen, as this camp was in 1945, a heteroclite and totally exceptional condensate of its previous history, and of the vicissitudes of the withdrawal of the German forces, as it had become a destination point of the death marches, and the saturation it reached was without precedent by the last days before the defeat of the Third Reich. In any case, these images helped bring about an unprecedented transformation in western visual culture. As a young girl in California, Susan Sontag was exposed to these images despite being completely unaware of their context or the intentions of those who took them and circulated them. Sontag was so shocked by them, that years later she reflected:

> One's first encounter with the photographic inventory of ultimate horror is a kind of revelation, the prototypically modern revelation: a negative epiphany. For me, it was photographs of Bergen-Belsen and Dachau, which I came across by chance in a bookstore in Santa Monica in July 1945. Nothing I have seen –in photographs or in real life– ever cut me as sharply, deeply instantaneously. Indeed, it seems plausible to me to divide my life into two parts, before I saw those photographs (I was twelve) and after, though it was several years before I understood fully what they were about. What good was served by seeing them? They were only photographs –of an event I had scarcely heard of and could do nothing to affect, of suffering I could hardly imagine and could do nothing to relieve. When I looked at those photographs, something broke. Some limit had been reached, and not only that of horror; I felt irrevocably grieved, wounded, but a part of my feelings started to tighten; something went dead; something is still crying.[27]

The Genocidal Imaginary

The use of audio-visual images of the Holocaust and other genocide and episodes of mass violence has engendered various controversies and challenges, the disputes regarding the representation of the Holocaust being, without a doubt, in the center of the discussion. In this regard, some authors have suggested that the Holocaust is non-representable, that it escapes the competence of any language to describe it or of any medium to represent it. As George Steiner puts it: "the world of Auschwitz exists outside of words and reason."[28] However, the impossibility of conceiving these events contradicts the meaningful visual material as well as the need of the victims, witnesses and liberators to document the genocide.[29] Indeed, the Holocaust created a fracture in twentieth century western culture, thought, narrative, and image. For this reason, one can identify a triad of impossibilities: inconceivable, ineffable (or untellable) and non-representable. The truth is,

[25] Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci and Edouard Lynch eds., *Le libération des camps et le retour des déportés* (Brussels: Complexe, 1995).

[26] Christian Delage, *Caught on Camera. Film in the Courtroom from the Nuremberg Trials to the Trials of the Khmer Rouge* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013) and Lawrence Douglas, *The Memory of Judgment. Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001). Additionally, regarding the use of audiovisual material in an International Tribunal see: Iva Vukušić, "Nineteen Minutes of Horror: Insights from the Scorpions Execution Video," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, no. 2 (2018), 35-53.

[27] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 1973), 20

[28] George Steiner, *Lenguaje y silencio* (México: Gedisa, 1990), 166.

[29] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Imágenes pese a todo* (Barcelona: Paídós, 2005).

regardless of the historical timing of its recognition as a specific and unique crime, the Holocaust radically changed the way we view the world and its representations have been paradigmatic in discussions of the limits of what is visible in any genocide.

As previously mentioned, the representation of such types of mass violence is a question that dates back to Ancient times, and which seems to have, at its core, a question that reappears time and again: is there such a thing as an adequate representation? And if so, what features should it have? Seeing as the term adequate is polysemic, these questions beget new ones: adequate in relation to reality? In relation to the experience of the victims who suffered the violence? In relation to the transmission of memory? In relation to what perspective? In regards to the Holocaust, the matrix of these reflections, some researchers have suggested that the impossibility and uniqueness is "a matter of identity politics rather than empirical findings."[30] We cannot in this introduction aim to explore all the debates on the subject[31] but the fact is that, as other authors point out, the Holocaust became a "metaphor or universal trope of historical trauma"[32] reaching the status of being the paradigm in terms of representation of genocide. And while this has served to forge highly pertinent intellectual tools to decipher other genocides or episodes of mass violence, it also threatens to cloud some specifics of other cases if these are forced to fit into the parameters established by the Holocaust. In other words, to uphold the incomparability of the Holocaust while at the same time using it as a model can be paradoxical and paralyzing if we aspire to understand other cases. It is therefore necessary to learn from the abundant reflections on the Holocaust, but to avoid exporting a normativity to other cases, which was never the intention of the great scholars of the Holocaust.

So then, what implications stem from having the Holocaust as a representational paradigm? On one hand, this paradigm has established narratives, ways to recount the facts, which have been applied to other cases. Consequently, we find that the film *Hotel Rwanda* (Terry George, 2004) has been described as the black version of *Schindler's List* (Steven Spielberg, 1993)[33] thus marginalizing any possible discussion regarding the historical figure of the main character. But above all, the Holocaust has established a "genocidal imaginary." In this way, when analyzing images of Armenian activists, Leshu Torchin finds iconographic elements similar to those of the Holocaust, stating that:

> images of emaciated bodies, mounds of corpses, barbed wire and box cars – images that saturated the public, political and juridical arenas – have crystallised into a set of universalized symbols for the Holocaust, functioning as a kind of genocidal imaginary. These images provide an interpretative frame through which other genocides are produced and understood[34]

Rebecca Jinks also adopts this notion and, in the same vein, defines genocidal imaginary as "the mental creativeness and fluidity to envisage and conceive of a genocide (as with any historical event), but equally to emphasize that all imagination is derived from, and a composite of, the

[30] Rebecca Jinks, *Representing Genocide. The Holocaust as Paradigm?* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 6. On this question of identity, A. Dirk Moses has referred to how scholarly discourse has referred to and understood the relationship between the Holocaust and genocide as a concept and as an event. See A. Dirk Moses, "The Holocaust and Genocide," in *The Historiography of the Holocaust*, ed. Dan Stone (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[31] For further insight on this discussion, see Sven-Erik Rose, "Auschwitz as Hermeneutic Rupture, Differend, and Image malgré tout: Jameson, Lyotard, Didi-Huberman," in *Visualizing the Holocaust. Documents, Aesthetics, Memory*, ed. David Bathrick et al. (Rochester: Camden House, 2008).

[32] Andreas Huyssen, *En busca del futuro perdido. Cultura y memoria en tiempos de globalización* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 17.

[33] See this discussion in Madelaine Hron, "Genres of 'Yet An Other Genocide.' Cinematic Representations of Rwanda," in *Film & Genocide*, ed. Kristi M. Wilson and Tomás F. Crowder-Taraborrelli (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 140.

[34] Leshu Torchin, "Since We Forgot: Remembrance and Recognition of the Armenian Genocide in Virtual Archives," in *The Image and the Witness: Trauma, Memory and Visual Culture*, eds. Frances Guerin and Roger Hallas (London: Wallflower Press, 2010), 91.

images and narratives that form the various representations of genocide circulating within the public sphere."[35] But the Holocaust did not simply become a paradigm of representation in visual terms, it also did so in narrative and interpretative terms; thus, this paradigm established models and styles which were, bit by bit, exported to other historical cases. When, in 1979, the detention and torture center codenamed S-21 was discovered by Vietnamese soldiers after the fall of Phnom Penh, they decided to photograph and film the place following cinematographic parameters that revealed an understanding, whether direct or indirect, of panoramic and tracking shots continually used in the exhibition of the camps in 1944-1945.[36] Furthermore, when the decision was made to convert the aforementioned center into a museum to denounce the atrocities perpetrated there, the Vietnamese colonel Mai Lam, who had been the man responsible for the Museum of the American War Crimes of Ho Chi Minh City, and survivor Ung Pech, who would later be named director of the Tuol Sleng Museum for Genocidal Crimes, travelled to Auschwitz, among other places, for inspiration. Both the display of certain images and, most notably, the use of victims' clothing exhibited in the cells, reflected the paradigmatic capability the Holocaust had in general, and Auschwitz in particular.[37] In Argentina, the Trial of the Juntas, which took place in 1985, was called the "Argentinian Nuremberg,"[38] and the clandestine detention center which functioned in the Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy (*Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada*) was called the "Argentinian Auschwitz."[39] In Argentina, during the period of time when the prosecution of the perpetrators was banned, there was a specific popular practice of protest: the *escrache*. The aim was to point out the perpetrator outside their house; while the protest took place, protesters sang "they'll meet the same fate as the Nazis, wherever they go we'll come find them".

On the other hand, such dominant paradigmatic representations lock in a specific type of relationship with knowledge, that of awareness raising. We can thereby list a number of cases where audio-visual representations sparked discussions, debates and even social and political recognition. The raised awareness regarding the Holocaust has a particular relationship with television; as it was through television broadcasts that the public first started to become aware of the scope of the Holocaust, rather than the cinema.[40] It was the impact of the TV miniseries *Holocaust* (Marvin Chomsky, 1978), which enabled Western Germany to discuss the genocide as it never had been before.[41] Likewise, other films also managed to bring various cases to the public's attention, reaching audiences that no academic study had: *Hotel Rwanda*, *The Killing Fields* (Roland Joffé, 1984), *La Noche de los Lá,pices* (Héctor Olivera, 1986) or *The Act of Killing* (Joshua Oppenheimer, 2012), are all examples of such works. All of these films spurred heated debates in the public sphere, especially around the topic of their fidelity to history. The standing of these films highlights the possibilities and the status these audio-visual productions can reach. As a counterpart, films and images are not a history book, and therefore we should not ask them for what they cannot give us.[42] Rather we must approach such films from the perspective of a particular methodology. In this sense, real-time images captured during the processes of genocide and mass violence can function as evidentiary documents, but we must also remain aware that imagery operates largely on the plane of sensation and emotion, opening up the possibility of imagining the past, of becoming acquainted with something, of becoming conscious of something. And in this process, images

[35] Jinks, *Representing Genocide*, 29.

[36] Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, "Non-Author Footage, Fertile Re-Appropriations. On Atrocity Images from Cambodia's Genocide," in *A History of Cinema Without Names*, ed. Diego Cavallotti et al. (Udine: Mimesis, 2015).

[37] David Chandler, *Voices from S-21, Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 5-6.

[38] Carlos Alberto Silva, *El Nüremberg Argentino* (Madrid: Aura, 1986).

[39] Emilio Eduardo Massera and Juicio A Las Juntas, "La Esma, tierra del horror y de Massera," *Clarín*, November 8, 2010, accessed March 26, 2018, https://www.clarin.com/politica/ESMA-tierra-horror-Massera_0_HkSGpj56P7l.html.

[40] Jeffrey Shandler, *While America Watches. Televising the Holocaust* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[41] Andreas Huyssen, "La política de la identificación: 'Holocausto' y el drama en Alemania Occidental," in *Después de la gran división. Modernismo, cultura de masas, posmodernismo* (Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo, 2002).

[42] Robert Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

are also valuable tools to explore social imaginaries, both those of the victims and those of the perpetrators.[43]

Crisis of the Paradigm

As Thomas Kuhn pointed out, paradigms can be thrown into crisis, and in this sense, the Holocaust as a paradigm also has undergone at least two crises. The first crisis concerned the very representational model of the Holocaust itself. The proliferation of images in the globalized era, as well as the generational renewal in the arts, has led to a change in strategy in its representation: from sacralization to desacralization.[44] While the first style invokes authors such as Elie Wiesel or Claude Lanzmann, artists and creators using the latter strategy may conceive the representation of the Holocaust either as strategies for memory or as wider modalities of representation which do not shy away from comparing the Holocaust with other genocides, or with racial, national or biopolitical issues. In other words, within the framework of the sacral representation, we can find survivors and direct witnesses (first generation), while those who have adopted demystification strategies can be thought of as "the generation of postmemory."[45]

In effect, there is also a factual element to take into account. At present, the production of images is facing (and is aimed at) generations not only born after the Holocaust, but who also do not have direct ties with survivors or witnesses of Nazism. Therefore, the representation models that came into play for those contemporary to the events might not be the most adequate, or might not work the same way, for their successors.

The crisis of the paradigm also had a historical/political side. On the one hand, history has shown that mass atrocities such as the Holocaust have occurred repeatedly in the post-World War II era and therefore, the phenomena of mass violence and extermination efforts turned out to be not so unique or even exceptional, but rather a specific way to resolve political disputes. On the other hand, the "lessons of the Holocaust", that is, universal lessons taken from that case which were supposed to aid in the prevention of genocides,[46] entered into crisis mode when they became ineffective in the face of the Rwandan genocide against the Tutsi, or the Srebrenica genocide, to mention but two examples.

As such, these crises permit us to bring into question the current status of the Holocaust as an effective representation paradigm. In this sense, and borrowing from the debates regarding the adequate modes of representation, we argue that talking about strategies of representation is a valid option. In this way, rather than consider a single or imperative representation model, representation strategies have exploded in a variety of complex models and formats. As the articles of this special issue will elaborate on, representations continue to be produced in their traditional formats, such as photography and film, but have also expanded to other formats as well, such as the performing arts,[47] animation,[48] and graphic novels,[49] among others.

The Power and Limits of Images

"Photographs attract false beliefs the way flypaper attracts flies," wrote Errol Morris in a provocative study on the photographs of events at the Abu Ghraib prison which shook public

[43] Ana Ros, "*El Mocito*: A Study of Cruelty at the Intersection of Chile's Military and Civil Society," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, no. 2 (2018), 107-124; Christophe Busch, "Bonding Images: Photography and Film as Acts of Perpetration," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, no. 2 (2018), 54-83.

[44] Dora Apel, *Memory Effects. The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

[45] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory.*

[46] Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Mariner, 1999).

[47] Lacey Schauwecker, "'You Could See Rage:' Visual Testimony in Post-Genocide Guatemala," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, no. 2 (2018), 18-34.

[48] Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, "Challenging Old and New Images Representing the Cambodian Genocide: *The Missing Picture* (Rithy Panh, 2013)," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, no. 2 (2018), 140-164.

[49] Deborah Mayersen, "Cockroaches, Cows and 'Canines of the Hebrew Faith:' Exploring Animal Imagery in Graphic Novels about Genocide," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, no. 2 (2018), 165-178.

opinion in 2004.[50] The American filmmaker pronounced these paradoxical words in response to the alleged evidence of snapshots that the American media published in the spring of 2004 and which depicted practices of humiliation and physical violence perpetrated by Military Police representatives on Iraqi prisoners, all of them captured by the very perpetrators of said acts during the previous autumn. The immediate reaction of the intellectual community and, subsequently, the international community, went beyond mere accusations against the Bush administration in regards to their contempt for the administration's self-described "war on terror" and the various human rights violations committed as part of it. They did something else as well. Seymour M. Hersh expressed it with candor in the pages of *The New Yorker*: "The photographs tell it all."[51] The thing that Errol Morris' book, as well as his film *Standard Operating Procedure* (2008), highlighted, however, was something very different: that the pictures of those individuals posing with a sense of triumph in front of the abased bodies of prisoners were concealing the reality of what had happened as much as they showed it. In other words, while they elicited mass repudiation for the obscenity of the perpetrators objectifying their prisoners to make them puppets in their sexual fantasies, and objects of their perversions and scorn, this did not mean that their content provided the reality of what went on inside the walls of the prison.

Let us take a brief look into a single case: the infamously obscene photograph of Sabrina Harman posing with her thumb up by the plastic-wrapped body of a prisoner named Al-Jamadi. In said picture, Harman's smile displayed a sort of mix between the traditional trophy picture and the selfie – *avant la lettre*. However, this piece of evidence, which was used against her in court, conceals a more relevant fact: that the prisoner had not been tortured by this woman nor by any of her companions who took the photograph. Historical investigation revealed that the perpetrators were members of the Military Intelligence, who form the true elite of interrogations and torture. Thus, Sabrina and her colleagues from the Military Police were tasked with the cleaning duty and wiped the traces of torture from the body so as to make the murderers unidentifiable. In light of this, whatever their accountability and complicity, the clear evidence of the photograph as it was presented by the press turns out to be equivocal, as it conceals, in effect, the real killer at the same time that it generates a reaction of such outraged condemnation in the public that it deters them from wondering about what could be behind the photograph.

The Abu Ghraib photos are a good example to introduce a question that we consider crucial in regards to the mechanisms and resources of photographic representation and, by extension, of all images, at least those captured directly from reality.[52] The photograph's first condition is that it is the representation of something, that is to say that while the mechanic and digital media conserve a stringent trace of reality (what in linguistic terms and according to American pragmatist Charles Sanders Pierce we call its indexical status),[53] the other elements that come together to compose the photograph answer to codes of the device which are subject to manipulation by means of technical-linguistic procedures and which, in any case, are anything but natural: setting the frame in accordance with the possible formats of the device, decisions on the composition of the forms within the frame, selecting the viewpoint, use of the depth of field, among others. Whether these decisions are made consciously and deliberately or, conversely, at random and determined by the conditions they were taken in, does not change in the slightest its status as codified, but it is pertinent when it comes to understanding the circumstances operating at the time the scenes were captured, as any images captured during an instance of violence are often accompanied by danger, tension and a transience of the details. Consequently, the first precaution an interpreter of such images should take is to be suspicious of their transparency, that is, they should eschew the prospect of reading them as an accurate reflection of a pre-existing reality that is reproduced and wholly incarnated in the resulting visual product. To challenge this notion means to bring

[50] Errol Morris, *Believing is Seeing. Observations on the Mysteries of Photography* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 92.

[51] Seymour M. Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib," *The New Yorker*, May 10, 2004.

[52] Another classic author will posit that photography carries its referent within itself, see: Roland Barthes, *La cámara lúcida. Nota sobre la fotografía* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1982), 33.

[53] Philippe Dubois, *L'acte photographique* (Paris & Bruxelles: Nathan & Labor, 1983), 49.

to the foreground the need for specific competences for the study of images; skills that are partly technical and partly semiotic (that is, relating to the production of meaning).

In short, the production of an image is the result, in the first place, of the transformation of one particular gaze through the options offered by a technical stylistic device; in the second place, of the compromise between the intent of an author and the pragmatic conditions of the shot. When capturing a scene of violence, the author of the image selects a position from those that are open to them given the conditions of urgency/emergency the scene is taking place in, but also according to the role they play in the course of the scene. We call this the image modality, namely: a set of factors which entail a physical point of view but which also imply a perspective towards the action, and which can, ultimately, reveal a moral or political stance on the facts.[54] Hence why it is justified to speak of at least three distinct modalities which establish, in semiotic terms, the relationship between the subject and the object of the representation: images by the perpetrators, images by liberators, and images by direct witnesses. The first category is composed of the ones taken by those inflicting the violence or by their accomplices, at the time (or around the time) of the violence. The second category, such as the aforementioned ones concerning the liberation of the concentration camps in the spring of 1945, or those taken by the Vietnamese in January 1979 in Phnom Penh, comprises the images captured by those who, having missed the violence as it was taking place, represent it through a metonymic procedure, namely, displaying its effects or consequences. Given the limitations these will face from the start, there will be a natural tendency to mitigate that deficiency through an excess in results or, in other words, the more violent the evidence in these images, the more effective and damning they will appear to be. However, we must not forget the hiatus that mediates between the infliction of violence (invisible and past) and the moment its effects are captured. Therefore, it becomes necessary to take into consideration the errors, deceptions, simulations or staged scenes that could have been produced, deliberately or not, between both instants, and regardless of any intent of its authors to be realistic. Finally, the images by witnesses, most of which are taken by photojournalists from the press, newsreels or television, whose physical proximity, respect or lack thereof by the perpetrators and knowledge of the factors which remain outside the sphere of representation of the images can vary greatly. Given the proliferation of visual devices in our time, it is becoming increasingly frequent for these images to be registered by non-professional devices, to the point that it will be difficult in the future to conceive of acts of violence without a visual record of the events.

In all three of the modalities listed, historians of genocide must be aware that the resulting image is an emanation, a remnant and a part of a bigger event and that their interpretative work of the event must be coupled with a deciphering of codes, as well as determining, insofar as it is possible, everything that remained outside of the shot which, rather than being lost forever, could be deduced or revealed, whether through a thorough examination of the internal elements of the image itself (projected shadows, body fragments, gazes directed off-screen, signs of surprise, terror, dismay, threats, et cetera) or through other images captured from different angles. Assembling these puzzles (which in analog photography stemmed from something so elemental, and so eloquent, as identifying the original negative film and comparing it with the pictures circulated) constitutes a specific and inalienable task of those trained in this type of image analysis. Let us look briefly at three examples.

One instance of images created by atrocity perpetrators is the nineteen-minute long video taken by the Serbian Scorpions squad after the fall of Srebrenica, which constitutes the body of research of Iva Vukušić's text. What information does this video provide us with that could not have been obtained through other sources, as the author establishes? First, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator in the instants before the crime. Second, the physical conditions in which the crimes took place (humiliation of the victims, physicality, etc.), as well as the intention

[54] Narratology studies formalized concepts such as "ocularization" to refer to the adoption of the physical position of a subject relating to its surroundings, distinguishing it from other concepts such as focalization (which has a function of knowledge in relation to the narrative). See François Jost, *L'œil-caméra. Entre film et roman* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1987). Evidently, this is not the place to delve into such complex matters, but we must note that these notions can be recovered to apply to documentary material in order to enlighten our subject matter.

of committing the crime. Third, the duration of the events. Fourth, the exact words pronounced coupled with the language used (the tone, the imprecation, the accent). Fifth and finally, the link between the perpetrators themselves, the team spirit that bonded them together in the perpetration of the crimes depicted. To this list should be added the communal transmission, the spirit of belonging to the point that these images by the perpetrators become a kind of site of memory, discreet, intimate, and hidden to outsiders until there was a leak.

We will not expand on the images by the liberators since we have already discussed their mechanisms in relation to the discovery of the camps in the spring of 1945. Yet let us linger for a second in the third modality. On Monday 11 April 1994, at around 10 in the morning, reporter Nick Hughes captured some horrifying images of a killing on a road in Kigali from the top floor of a building known as the French school.[55] His video is interrupted at several points as he captures the strange normalcy, periodically punctuated by extreme manifestations of violence when several Rwandan Tutsi victims are executed with machetes. The difficulty to see clearly is determined by a combination of a series of technical constraints and stylistic options, namely: the vast distance separating the camera from the violent acts hinders the identification of the victims and the perpetrators of the actions. This distance is a product of the danger presented by such documentation, as if Hughes moved closer, he would increase the risk to his own life. However, Hughes pushes his camera device to its limits in relation to its telephoto lens usage: the telephoto lens naturally flattens the image and produces a lot of instability in the take. Therefore, the conditions in which the images were captured have left perceptible marks in the recording of the film, and deciphering these marks will provide us with clues to understand what happened, always in conjunction with other complementary sources of information, of course. On the other hand, the camera was unable to capture the sounds, screams and begging of the perpetrators and the victims of the massacre, so the video only picks up children's voices and the reactions of fear and terror of the people close to the camera. These comprise some of the very few images we have of the Rwandan genocide. And they represent the modality of images taken by witnesses. As follows from this brief description, the analysis of such images will also provide us with clues to evaluate the quality of the resulting document (its deficiencies, the straining of the device's capabilities, the asynchrony between sound and image, the disruptions due to the shortage of tape and battery power, etc.).

Circulation and Narrative

The images that crystallize the genocides and violence do not stop circulating, both in a synchronic sense, that is to say, through the media (from photography to the press, from the newscast to the documentary or social media) and in a diachronic or historical sense, in that they are repurposed by later films in order to conjure those moments they are associated with, as well as to actualize, modify or even subvert their original meaning.[56] This circulation of images is crucial for the cases in question, precisely because of the dearth of available visual evidence in relation to many such episodes of violence. In other words, the more sparse these images are, the more frequent their use to evoke the events swiftly and, furthermore, the more varied the meanings ascribed to said images become within new narrative contexts, such as fiction and documentary, imitation and rewriting, altering meaning, et cetera. Truth be told, the changes in perspective in the study of genocide and mass violence could even be studied in relation to the rewritings these images are subject to. For example, the video footage of the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw, produced by a Propaganda Kompanie of Joseph Goebbels' Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in the May 1942, was later utilized to denounce Nazism after being discovered rolled up in coils and abandoned in German archives. Erwin Leiser, Frédéric Rossif, and Yael Hersonski, among many others, would use them in very different settings, displaying at once stylistic tendencies and period-typical narratives which were very disparate: editing, conventional documentaries, testimonial context, archive era,

[55] Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, *Miradas criminales, ojos de víctima. Imágenes de la aflicción en Camboya* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2017), 31-36.

[56] Alice Cati and Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, "Questioning Images of Atrocity: An Introduction", *Cinéma & Cie* 15, no. 24 (2015).

and so forth.[57] And to merely touch upon this circulation in the field of photography, it is worth mentioning how an image of the Holocaust has survived, transformed, for decades until it became one of the symbols of human suffering. The famous photograph included in the *Stroop Report* titled *Es Gibt Keinen* Jüdischen *Wohnbezirk in Warschau Mehr!* (The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw Is No More), which shows a child with his arms raised, slightly apart from a group of Jewish people who are abandoning a household with their bags.[58] The uses of said photograph within and outside the scope of the Holocaust have been innumerable, and many books have been dedicated precisely to its study.[59]

The preceding considerations regarding the modalities of the image, that is, the determination of the position (both physical and, partly, ethical) of the one capturing the image in relation to the acts represented in it, and to the circulation of the image, are only part of the problem. Whether we are referring to the snapshot of a photograph or to a more prolonged time frame, as is the case with film footage and video, a narrative dimension is almost necessarily superimposed on atrocity imagery. Fragmented or meticulously built, limited to a series of actions hastily put together, or subject to the structure of a written script, both in the realm of documentaries and in the format of fiction, the dimension of narrative is always invoked by the image. And given the specific context of genocide and mass violence, such narratives tend to perform an explanatory function, by which we mean the identification of a cause and effect of the actions and the articulation of the interactions between characters, real and fictitious. In this last case, genre framing is crucial, along with the emotional expectations inherent to film codes. Thus, melodrama, the different subgenres of drama, thrillers, art films, TV series, or even the Hollywood blockbusters managed to crystallize an iconography and spectacular narrative form. The aforementioned examples of *Schindler's List*, *The Killing Fields* and *Hotel Rwanda* are quite eloquent regarding three of the genocides from the twentieth century.

Historicity of the Facts and Historicity of the Image

Images of the past always pose a dialectic that is difficult to analyze between the consideration to its production coordinates and the adaptation of its historical marks to the present. This aspect is, so to speak, the other side of the coin of the historicity of the image. According to Sylvie Lindeperg, images possess a historicity that is inscribed in them in ways sometimes near invisible to the uninitiated (markings in the film, format –35mm, 16mm, 9.6mm, 8mm or Super 8, among others; soundtrack; photographic cameras –6x6mm, 35mm; etc.).[60] In consequence, the images filmed capture that which remains imperceptible in a time period, the part of the event that is unintelligible for its contemporaries, and such images retain that which has eluded the gaze of the cameraman in his mechanical record of a portion of reality. These "fuites de sens" (Lindeperg invokes this term in the sense that it was used by historian Carlo Ginzburg) are expressed by means of discreet elements present in the shot.[61] Conversely, the visit to the past through its images in our time happens through an adaptation of the formats of the past to the consumption norms and interpretative habits of the present day. Thus, for example, images are digitally colorized, adapted to a surround sound system or, in a less perceptible way, 4:3 formats are converted to 16:9 for the purpose of making them more legible. In all of these cases, the consumption of images of the past, including those linked to history tourism,[62] goes hand in hand with an adaptation, and therefore with the erasure of the historicity of the image; an error that any historian would condemn without

[57] Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, "Disparos en el ghetto. En torno a la migración de las imágenes de archive," *Secuencias* 35 (2012). The archive era has been treated comprehensively in Jaimie Baron, *Archive Effect: Found Footage and the Audiovisual Experience of History* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[58] Jürgen Stroop, *The Stroop Report. A Facsimile edition and translation of the official Nazi Report on the Destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).

[59] Frédéric Rousseau, *L'Enfant juif de Varsovie: Histoire d'une photographie* (Paris: Seuil, 2009).

[60] Sylvie Lindeperg, *La voie des images. Quatre histoires de tournage au printemps-été 1944* (París: Verdier, 2013).

[61] Ibid., 11.

[62] Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

reserve if it pertained to written documents, for which there exists a long and substantial tradition of exegesis and textual critique. This defect constitutes the worst blunder a historian can commit: anachronism, a form of presentism. Nevertheless, this perversion of history, scandalous for anyone trained in this field, continues to be all too common in the present with barely a few protests voiced.

This is, then, the challenge this special issue faces. *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, aims to take images seriously as carriers of historicity, both in the technical and formal sense, from the question of who captures a scene of violence and how they view it, what their spatial and temporal conditions were in relation to the events, their degree of involvement, to the way in which the narrative acts as a form of interpretation, that is to say, as a way to establish cause and effect relationships that produce explanations that recognize a single cause for phenomena that tend to be heavily over determined. Thus, to ponder images representing genocide and atrocity does not consist of viewing such images as transparent pieces of data, as unmarked instruments, but rather to observe them as historical products of multiple levels. In accordance with their origin and the context they were produced in. In terms of their circulation, normative capacity and heritage. How they are adapted in other directions, and so on. To interpret images of genocide consequently means to possess a double competence, which puts genocide specialists (historians, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, among others) and image analysts (semiologists, film or photography historians, new media specialists) in a separately fragile situation. There are at once, multiple fields of expertise demanded by the task, as well as specialized instruments for analysis necessary to make the best out of efforts to read and scrutinize such visual texts. The question continues to be: what can the image contribute –as iconography and as a narrative– to the comprehension of genocide and mass violence that could not be gained from any of the other documents available, but the interpretation of which requires the comprehension, study and consideration undertaken by history as a discipline? This is a delicate question, and therefore its answers must be both ambitious and open to discussion and contestation. This is the challenge we have undertaken as editors of this special issue. We believe that the eight articles that make up this publication are concrete answers to aspects of the questions raised in this introduction,, all of them significant to the study of genocide.

The Articles in this Special Issue

The special issue begins with the aforementioned text by Iva Vukušić, *Nineteen Minutes of Horror: Insights from the Scorpions Execution Video*. The Scorpions unit, dispatched to support the Bosnian Serb Army participated in the Srebrenica genocide in the summer of 1995 and a member of the unit filmed some of their executions. Fragments of the video were first shown during the Slobodan Milosevic trial, and multiple times in the years after, in the courtrooms in The Hague and Belgrade. The author notes that the video provides unique insights into the nature of the crime, as well as the behavior of the perpetrators, and it constitutes a significant contribution to our knowledge of the events at Srebrenica, and concerning how individuals are held accountable for mass atrocity crimes.

Christophe Busch's article focuses on the photographs taken by the Nazis so as to study the images taken by perpetrators. In this way, the author analyses how photography is utilized to create an in-group (an us opposed to a them), noting that, as images are performative, the imagery bound the in-group (us) in processes of perpetration of violence and bound the out-group (them) in processes of victimization. In consequence, Busch argues that capturing and presenting the incremental stages of "otherization" through photographic imagery contributed to the intense bond of perpetration and victimization for each respective group separately.

The figure of the perpetrator is also analyzed by Ana Laura Ros in her analysis of the documentary film *El Mocito: A Study of Cruelty at the Intersection of Chile's Military and Civil Society* (Marcela Said and Jacques de Certau, 2011). *El Mocito* tackles Chile's dictatorial past through the perspective of a civilian who was closely connected to the Armed Forces. It addresses the case of an individual living on the border between worlds often perceived as mutually exclusive (i.e. the victim and the perpetrator of atrocity). He is a civilian, but he was also a member of the DINA– Chile's secret police under Pinochet– though not as a member of the Armed Forces, but rather in the role of a butler. The author posits that the film poses questions about responsibility for,

and complicity with, the cruelty that took place during the military regime and beyond, which all members of Chilean society must consider.

In Vicente Sánchez-Biosca's article, *Challenging Old and New Images Representing the Cambodian Genocide: 'The Missing Picture'*, the author examines the film *L'image Manquante* (Rithy Panh, 2013) to highlight the way in which the French-schooled Cambodian director approaches the classical question inherited from the Holocaust of the non-representability of a genocide, applying it this time to a different case– the one perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge– under very different conditions. Rithy Panh starts with an analysis of the few archival images which have been used to evoke the violence of Pol Pot's regime in all its variants and, perceiving them to be insufficient, he sets in motion an original procedure: he manifests his memories through clay figures which, once sculpted and painted, would be placed on a diorama to represent lived experiences of the protagonist.

In *"You Could See Rage": Visual Testimony in Post-genocide Guatemala*, Lacey M. Schauwecker analyses the link between narrative and audio-visual testimonies to study the Guatemalan genocide. Using the notions of visuality and countervisuality, the author analyses the visual testimony as that which acknowledges the dynamic interplay between word and image, as well as various power relations. In this context, she examines how survivor Rigoberta Menchú and performance artist Regina José Galindo utilize this type of testimony to express rage. Thereby, the author associates this type of testimony with the witnesses' right to testify on their own terms beyond institutional processes and imperatives.

In *Cockroaches, Cows and "Canines of the Hebrew Faith": Exploring Animal Imagery in Graphic Novels about Genocide*, Deborah Mayersen suggests that graphic novels about genocide feature a surprisingly rich array of animal imagery. While there has been substantial analysis of the anthropomorphic animals in *Maus*, Mayersen argues that the roles and functions of non-anthropomorphized animals have received scant attention. In this vein, in her article she carries out a comparative analysis of ten graphic novels about genocide to identify and elucidate the archetypical functions of non-anthropomorphized animals. She posits then that animal imagery can be a powerful technique for creating an affective context, communicating both simple and complex emotions in an effective way and this could explain the prevalence of animal imagery in graphic novels about genocide.

Nora Nunn's article, *The Unbribable Witness: Image, Word, and Testimony of Crimes against Humanity in Mark Twain's King Leopold's Soliloquy (1905)*, studies the crimes committed in the Belgian Congo Free State through the work of Mark Twain. The author suggests that this text aimed to evoke its Euro-American audience's empathy by activating their imaginations. In this way, Nunn considers how the visual imagery in Twain's text engenders questions about fact, testimony, and witnessing in the realm of human rights and mass violence –both in the Congo Free State and, indirectly, in the United States. Nunn suggests that the relation of visual imagery to written text in this relatively unknown and understudied work by Twain yields vital implications for scholars of genocide.

In her article *Memory and Distance: On Nobuhiro Suwa's A Letter from Hiroshima*, Jessica Fernanda Conejo Muñoz analyses said 2002 short film from the aforementioned Japanese director. This short film allows the author to examine various memory strategies regarding the atomic bombing in the Japanese city referenced in the title. Conejo Muñoz argues that this short film is a reflective game whose approach to the past is based on distancing effects. The distanciation effect, understood in the sense of Bertolt Brecht's theatrical strategies and counter cinema, is part of an experimental process that becomes a political technique of construction and decipherment of memory. Suwa's work is opposed to the belief that history is something that can be narrated, since the process of addressing the past is not carried out through a causal story, but by the principles of intransitivity, estrangement and narrative aperture.

With the different articles included in this special issue, we aim at offering the reader an overview on the various perspectives from which contemporary disciplines address the visual aspect of genocide and mass violence and contemporary artistic and media discourses represent them. Whatever these perspectives might be, and beyond the absence of definitive answers, the analysis must not be carried out in the absence of one specific competence: the analysis of the visual resources through which the infamous event is represented. These cases extracted from different geographical and historical contexts are but samples of a variety of visual modes and supports to the challenge of how to represent a genocide.

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"You Could See Rage": Visual Testimony in Post-Genocide Guatemala

Lacey M. Schauwecker
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California, USA

Introduction

Evidence of the Guatemalan genocide is expansive, including narrative testimonies, forensic exhumations, institutional records, and documentary footage. From 1981 to 1983, the Guatemalan military waged scorched earth campaigns against Maya populations in the country's highlands. According to defenders of this violence, such populations were conspiring with the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, a leftist movement against whom the military had waged a 36-year-long war (1960-1996). Yet both of Guatemala's truth commission reports, *Guatemala, Never Again* (1998) and *Guatemala: Memory of Silence* (1999), demonstrate an intent to exterminate Maya peoples simply because their existence disrupted the establishment of a colonial and capitalist order.[1] Identifying indigenous populations as an "internal enemy" in their own right, the military executed widespread massacres designed to eliminate even the "bad seeds," meaning even innocent children.[2]

Despite this abundance of evidence, as well as the support of international human rights organizations, legal victories in post-genocide Guatemala have been few and fleeting. In May of 2013, Guatemala's congress nullified a brief court conviction of President José Efraín Ríos Montt for charges of genocide. This ruling would have been the first domestic conviction of a former Latin American dictator but, in a regressive change of events, the Guatemalan congress thereafter began debating whether a genocide had occurred at all.[3] Ríos Montt was eventually exonerated from retrial on account of his late age, yet President Otto Pérez Molina was impeached and jailed on charges of fraud in 2015. Since Pérez Molina is also a former military officer and suspected génocidaire, his pending prosecution has offered new hope to some human rights activists. Though Guatemala's judicial system still struggles to imprison prominent culprits, its multiple trials do at least garner domestic and international recognition of the country's violent history.

At the same time, some survivors and activists have begun to doubt human rights' legal paradigm, which maintains that sufficient evidence can prove past war crimes, condemn their perpetrators, and thereby secure justice. Even if all of the genocide's perpetrators were indeed convicted, this paradigm does little to challenge the neocolonial policies and practices that continue to oppress certain Guatemalan populations, particularly indigenous and female ones. Critics of this legal paradigm's insufficiency encourage a reimagining of truth beyond juridical standards, as well as a rethinking of justice beyond mere retribution. This conceptual turn coincides with the trajectory of scholarship on testimony, which has expanded its strict focus on narrative testimony to also account for visual possibilities of representation. Much of this scholarship understands visual testimony to be more complex and open to interpretation than its narrative counterpart, often identifying it with extralegal modes of witnessing. I acknowledge these claims, yet side more closely with scholars who argue for the need to consider narrative testimony and visual testimony as existing in a dialectical relationship. In this article, I show how narrative testimony can be read and represented in visual ways, thus complicating their distinction and revealing both modes of testimony to be more critical of human rights' legal paradigm than heretofore acknowledged.

To do this, I turn to testimonies by two different but complementary witnesses: genocide survivor Rigoberta Menchú and performance artist Regina José Galindo. More than simply demand human rights, Menchú and Galindo claim a right to express rage, which I associate with witnesses' right to testify on their own terms, beyond juridical processes and imperatives. Menchú identifies as a human rights activist, yet she nevertheless expresses rage against the ways she and fellow Mayas

[1] Egla Martínez Salazar, *Global Coloniality of Power in Guatemala: Racism, Genocide, Citizenship* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2012), 101.

[2] Ibid., 103.

[3] Juan Carlos Pérez Salazar, "Guatemala: ¿Por qué el congreso dice que no hubo genocidio?," *BBC Mundo*, May 16, 2014, accessed April 12, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2014/05/140515_guatemala_genocidio_resolucion_congreso_jcps.

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have been rendered inaudible by various institutional authorities, including legal and academic ones. Though Galindo did not experience the genocide as intimately or intensely as Menchú, she describes a similar sense of indignation against injustice in post-genocide Guatemala. Repurposing narrative testimony in many of her performances, Galindo foregrounds how Guatemala's history of genocide relates to ongoing violence against women, indigenous and not. While analyzing the work of Menchú and Galindo, I explore the relationship between narrative testimony and visual testimony, using both to reimagine truth and justice beyond institutional frameworks, including that of human rights.

The Turn to Visual Testimony

The relationship between narrative testimony and human rights' legal paradigm is historical, yet it only dates back to the 1960s. As Fernando Rosenberg notes, verbal accounts of genocide survivors were first used as judicial evidence in the trial against Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann.[4] In addition to helping secure Eichmann's guilty sentence, and eventual death penalty, these narrative testimonies seemed to imbue survivors with an unprecedented authority over historical memory. Discussing a later debate concerning curatorial matters at the United States Holocaust Museum, Deborah Lipstadt recounts how survivors' opinions trumped those of fellow museum committee members, including psychologists, historians, and other experts.[5] Yet, as widespread as this authority may have appeared, it was never considered absolute.

Scholarship on the Holocaust and its aftermath tends to focus on the particular deficiency of survivors' narrative testimony. Because juridical processes valorize eyewitness testimonies as most credible, such witnesses are often the firsthand victims of crime, and thus trauma. According to Sigmund Freud, trauma escapes narrative by definition, referring to violent experiences that overwhelm the subject with "large amounts of stimulus" that appear entirely senseless.[6] In an influential study of various Holocaust testimonies, ranging from literary accounts to audiovisual archives, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub corroborate psychoanalytic claims that narrative testimony indeed fails to coherently and comprehensively represent the traumatic events that it references. As Laub observes in his study of survivors interviewed at the Yale Video Archive, "there are never enough words or the right words, there is never enough time or the right time."[7]

Considering this impossibility of narrating the Holocaust, Laub, Felman, and other scholars deem it an event that resists its own witnessing. Indeed, it is precisely the inadequacy of narrative testimony that prompts these scholars to also consider visual modes of representation. In an analysis of Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985), a 10-hour film comprised of numerous survivor testimonies, Felman claims that the visual medium only further foregrounds the Holocaust as a limit-experience, or what she calls "a historical assault on seeing."[8] Many of the survivors do not wish to be filmed, causing Lanzmann to include a variety of walls and screens that mimic the very structures and logics employed by Nazi génocidaires. Yet, while Lanzmann also argues for the absolute unintelligibility of the genocide, other scholars appeal to visual images as at least partially informative.

In his reading of four photos from Auschwitz, Georges Didi-Huberman argues for a dialectical relationship among narrative and visual testimony. As he states, "An image often appears where a word seems to fail; a word often appears where the imagination seems to fail."[9] While Didi-Huberman also understands narrative and visual testimony as necessarily incomplete

[4] Fernando Rosenberg, *After Human Rights: Literature, Visual Arts, and Film in Latin America, 1990-2010* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 126.

[5] Deborah Lipstadt, *The Eichmann Trial* (New York: Shocken Books, 2011), xi.

[6] Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XVIII (1920-1922): Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Group Psychology and Other Works* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 14.

[7] Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 63.

[8] Ibid., 209.

[9] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, trans. Shane B. Lillis (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 26.

representations, he claims their lacunae to exist in a reciprocal exchange that is illustrative of historical violence, both past and present. Siding with Didi-Huberman in noting that images "appear to dominate the historical record precisely where words fail," Sharon Sliwinski asserts the need for more investigations into how visual testimonies contribute to public domains of history and memory.[10]

In her own study of photos from the Holocaust, as well as the genocides in Congo and Rwanda, Sliwinski explores the ways in which the mass circulation of images has challenged institutional understandings of humanity and human rights. Contrary to documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Sliwinski does not recognize human rights as universal by nature. For her, visual testimony has been critical to the creation of a worldwide network of witnesses, which she situates as necessary to the judgement and enforcement of human rights. As she explains, photos of violence represent dehumanization in a way that "anguishes" viewers, thereby activating a shared sense of humanity and associated ethical behavior.[11] These photos interpellate cosmopolitan spectators, compelling them to bring those deprived of human rights back into the protection of a global community.

While Sliwinksi does acknowledge the historical relationship between human rights and narrative testimony, she privileges visual testimony as a more affective, and also more urgent, mode of witnessing.[12] This argument coincides with much of the scholarship on visual testimony and human rights in the field of Latin American Studies. Having sustained lengthy debates on the differences between literal and literary testimony, this field also began exploring the personal and political importance of alternative modes of testimony. In *Pushing the Boundaries of Latin American Testimony: Meta-morphoses and Migrations*, an edited volume, multiple scholars examine the way testimony has expanded "from text to textiles, radio and graphic art; from transcribed and written to spoken, public and performative; […] and from nonfiction to fiction and film."[13] For these authors, such expansion is especially significant amid institutional impunity, which refuses to recognize victims' narrative accounts of injustice as indeed veridical. Likewise, books on postwar Peru, Argentina, and Guatemala, among other countries, argue that testimony's varying forms facilitate the sharing of manifold memories, emotions, and politics.[14]

In *War by Other Means: Aftermath in Post-Genocide Guatemala*, editors Carlota McAllister and Diane Nelson claim that this Central American country still suffers from military, political, economic, and spiritual projects aimed at thwarting "hopes for structural transformation."[15] This counterinsurgent network involves international policies such as the Central American Free Trade Agreement (2005) and the Mérida Initiative (2006), which purport to benefit Central America but meanwhile increase the United States' control over the region, thereby functioning as neocolonial policies.[16] Additionally, domestic practices of state terrorism, structural racism, and institutional impunity continue to harm the same populations that were most victimized by the genocide, including the indigenous, women, and children. Coining this phenomenon an ongoing "war by other means," McAllister and Nelson argue for a rethinking of truth and justice beyond human rights' legal paradigm, which they recognize as insufficient to acknowledging and resisting this war. Though post-genocide truth commissions and associated legal cases have gathered thousands

[10] Sharon Sliwinski, "Visual Testimony: Lee Miller's Dachau," *Journal of Visual Culture* 9, no. 3 (2010), 404, accessed July 10, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1177/1470412910380358.

[11] Sharon Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 138.

[12] Sliwinksi, *Human Rights in Camera*, 7.

[13] Louise Detwiler and Janis Breckenridge, eds. *Pushing the Boundaries of Latin American Testimony: Meta-morphoses and Migrations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[14] Brenda Werth's *Theatre, Performance, and Memory Politics in Argentina* (2010); Cynthia Milton's *Art from a Fractured Past: Memory and Truth-Telling in Post-Shining Path Peru* (2014); and Diane M. Nelson's *Reckoning: The Ends of War in Guatemala* (2009) are three books that make this argument.

[15] Carlota McAllister and Diane M. Nelson, eds. *War by Other Means: Aftermath in Post-Genocide Guatemala* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 16.

[16] CAFTA is a bilateral free trade agreement eliminating tariffs on trade between Central America and the United States. The Mérida Initiative is a security cooperation agreement between the United States, Mexico, and Central America, with the stated purpose of mitigating transnational drug trafficking and organized crime.

of survivor testimonies, McAllister and Nelson claim that such testimonies have been limited and devalued by juridical epistemologies and processes.[17]

While these scholars make a cogent argument that I will soon address further, it is first worth noting their edited volume's limited engagement of visual testimony in post-genocide Guatemala. Though these authors point out the importance of expanding "scholarship's sensorial range" to include image and sound, they focus predominantly on narrative testimonies.[18] In doing so, they neglect to acknowledge one of the most internationally recognized witnesses of the Guatemalan genocide. As an employee of various news agencies, as well as Guatemala's first truth commission, photojournalist Daniel Hernández-Salazar was responsible for documenting the genocide, as well as its aftermath. Commissioned to create the cover for *Guatemala, Never Again*, he shot a quadriptych consisting of four images, each of the same angel as he covers his ears, eyes, and mouth before ultimately cupping his mouth and screaming.

According to Hernández-Salazar, *Clarification* demonstrates the process of proclaiming truth in post-genocide Guatemala. Having created the angel's wings by transposing a photo of a shoulder blade exhumed from the country's highlands, this self-identified "artivist," or artist-activist, intended for *Guatemala, Never Again*'s cover to be just as evidentiary as its content.[19] Explaining the screaming angel, which Hernández-Salazar called *So that all shall know*, he states, "I made it because ODHA, with its reporting on [human rights] violations was going to break the silence."[20] Yet, two days after *Guatemala, Never Again* was publicly released by Monsignor Juan José Gerardi, an organizer of this truth commission, members of the Guatemalan military murdered him.[21] When the anniversary of this assassination occurred with its perpetrators still benefitting from impunity, Hernández-Salazar posted enlarged versions of *So that all shall know* throughout Guatemala City. As he states, "Years pass. They peel away like pages in a book. Everything remains unpunished. I must scream it."[22]

As even more years have passed, and impunity has continued to reign, Hernández-Salazar has installed additional versions of his screaming angel, both in Guatemala and in other sites of mass violence, including Auschwitz, Poland and Hiroshima, Japan. Having also appeared in multiple international exhibitions, *So that all shall know* has attracted the scholarly attention of Macarena Gómez-Barris, Steven Hoelscher, and Magdalena Perkowska, among others. For Gómez-Barris, Hernández-Salazar's photos demonstrate how visual testimony provides "a wider set of representational strategies" for the public sphere.[23] Whereas legal standards place restraints on narrative testimony to be as direct and reasonable as possible, this scholar joins Sliwinski in valorizing visual testimony as less objective and more open to "affective" and "experiential" complexity.[24]

Hoelscher and Perkowska also view Hernández-Salazar's photos as a more emotional, and notably extralegal, mode of witnessing; yet they focus on the particular significance of visual screaming. For Hoelscher, these images "scream for the memory of the dead," effectively speaking

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[17] Fernando Rosenberg's *After Human Rights: Literature, Visual Arts, and Film in Latin America, 1990-2010* (2016) and Kate Jenckes' *Witnessing Beyond the Human: Addressing the Alterity of the Other in Post-Coup Chile and Argentina* (2017) also critique human rights' legal paradigm as incapable of adequately addressing ongoing political and social violence in Latin America.

[18] McAllister and Nelson, *War by Other Means*, 95.

[19] Daniel Hernández-Salazar, "Así me convertí en Daniel Hernández–Salazar," *ContraPoder*, December 31, 2014, accessed February 6, 2015, http://www.contrapoder.com.gt/es/edicion7/actualidad/337/.

[20] *La Palabra Desenterrada*, directed by Mary Ellen Davis (New York: Cinema Guild, 2001), DVD; ODHA refers to Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado en *Guatemala* (*Human Rights Office* of the Archdiocese of *Guatemala).*

[21] In 2001, three army officers were convicted of committing Gerardi's assassination. This trial marked the first time that members of the Guatemalan military were tried in a civilian court.

[22] Oscar Iván Maldonado. *So that all shall know/Para que todos lo sepan: Photographs by Daniel Hernández-Salazar* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 1.

[23] Macarena Gómez-Barris, "Visual Testimonies of Atrocity: Archives of Political Violence in Chile and Guatemala," *Journal of Visual Culture* 9, no. 3 (2010), 417, accessed July 10, 2017, doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/1470412910380345.

[24] Ibid., 417.

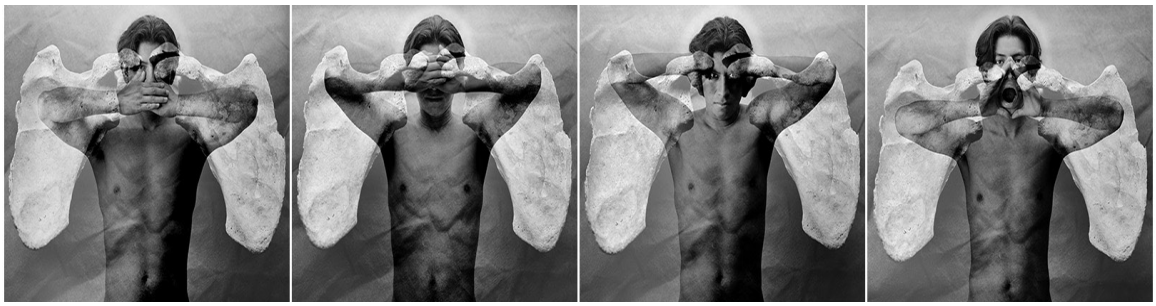

Figure 1. Daniel Hernández-Salazar, Clarification, 1998, © 1998 Daniel Hernández-Salazar, www.danielhernandezsalazar.com

on behalf of those who did not survive the genocide.[25] In contrast, Perkowska understands such screaming to figure the ongoing inaudibility of those who did survive, including the witnesses who have shared their narrative testimonies. Noting how viewers likely identify with the angel's screaming, as well as its silence before institutional authorities, she claims the image to evoke feelings of "frustration, indignation, and rage."[26]

Throughout this article, I further investigate the significance of rage as a mode of visual testimony within post-genocide Guatemala. While doing so, I demonstrate the importance of analyzing visual testimony and narrative testimony together, showing them to be more closely connected than commonly acknowledged. While many scholars, including those mentioned above, distinguish visual testimony as an alternative to narrative testimony, few have followed Didi-Huberman's example in examining their dialectical relationship. What does Hernández-Salazar's cover image reveal about the narrative testimonies within *Guatemala: Never Again*? Is the rage that *So that all shall know* expresses the same as that experienced by genocide victims, as well as survivors? Instead of addressing these exact questions, I turn to two of Hernández-Salazar's contemporaries and explore related issues. Though the narrative testimony of Rigoberta Menchú and the performance art of Regina José Galindo are just as well known as Hernández-Salazar's photography, neither has yet been read as a mode of visual testimony.

Doing so requires an understanding of "visual" that differs slightly from "visible." While visual testimony can include image-based media such as photography and film, it is not reducible to them. Throughout this article, I scaffold my readings of Menchú and Galindo's work with Nicholas Mirzoeff's concepts of "visuality," "countervisuality," and "the right to look," which address the ways that institutional authorities try to limit what is "sayable" and "visible" as truth.[27] Informed by Mirzoeff, I here distinguish visual testimony as one that acknowledges the interplay between word and image, as well as various power relations. In *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality*, Mirzoeff conceptualizes visuality as a power complex that has been present throughout modern history, linking it to plantation slavery, imperialism, and today's military-industrial complex.[28] For him, authority justifies its own power by attempting to enforce a particular historical perspective. Identifying visuality as this hegemonic, or dominant, worldview, Mirzoeff also elaborates on its inherent instability and points out the ever-present possibility of countervisuality. As "dissensus with visuality," countervisuality includes an assertion of the right to look, which Mirzoeff defines as the assertion of one's own authority over truth.[29] While reading Menchú and Galindo's respective testimonies as countervisual, I focus on these witnesses' practices of "seeing rage" as indeed practices of claiming the right to look.

[25] Steven Hoelscher, "Angels of Memory: Photography and Haunting in Guatemala City," *GeoJournal* 73 (2008), 206.

[26] Magdalena Perkowska, "'Para que todos lo sepan': Poética visual de emoción y disenso del Ángel de Daniel Hernández-Salazar," *Esferas* 7 (2017): 198, accessed July 6, 2017, https://wp.nyu.edu/esferas/2017/05/04/issue-7-velar-la-imagen/; author's translation.

[27] Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 7.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 24.

Seeing Rage with Rigoberta Menchú

I am not the first scholar to argue for the importance of witnessing rage in post-genocide Guatemala. I am, however, the first to recognize rage as central to Rigoberta Menchú's internationally read account of the armed conflict, *My name is Rigoberta Menchú and this is how my consciousness was born*.[30] In this book, Menchú narrates the systemic oppression and eventual massacre of her family and fellow Mayas, as well as the gradual development of her critical consciousness. While this publication was understood to constitute a new form of *testimonio* literature, which differs from legal testimony by granting witnesses more expressive freedom, it has nevertheless been subjected to extreme scrutiny.[31] Some critics argue that Menchú's testimony does not do justice to Guatemala's revolutionary movement and the passions that informed it, while others dismiss her account as communist propaganda. In this section, I review these viewpoints before analyzing the ways in which visuality and countervisuality play into this polemical narrative. By engaging Mirzoeff's concepts, I show how seeing rage in Menchú's narrative foregrounds this witness' subtle refutation of her critics' claims, as well as their attempted control over her own testimony.

According to Carlota McAllister and Diane Nelson, Menchú's testimony is more radical than most insofar as Menchú openly acknowledges her involvement with the revolutionary movement. Yet, McAllister also critiques Menchú for later abandoning her revolutionary commitments in favor of human rights ones. As the young activist recounts in *My name is Rigoberta*, she chose to follow her father's example in becoming a community organizer for the Peasant Community Committee, which collaborated with the Guerrilla Army of the Poor. Meanwhile, some of her siblings became guerrilla fighters. Having helped gather narrative testimonies in Guatemala's highlands, McAllister and Nelson first lament other survivors' reticence to acknowledge their similar participation in such efforts. According to these anthropologists, such reticence partially results from the way that human rights' legal paradigm only values survivors' testimonies insofar as they evidence such witnesses' absolute innocence. In this sense, such legal standards force survivors to identify as helpless victims, not one side of a grossly uneven, and indeed genocidal, war. At the risk of also being indicted for crimes such as treason and murder, former community organizers silence the very causes, including indignation against injustice, that motivated their self-defense in the first place.

In post-genocide Argentina, a similar devaluation of revolutionary militancy results from a hegemonic "theory of two demons," which squares political subversion with state repression as equally violent. Guatemala's defenders of genocide likewise foreground indigenous populations conspiracy with the Guerrilla Army of the Poor in order to exonerate the state army's scorched earth campaigns. Even when survivors do mention Guatemala's leftist movement, such references fall on deaf ears, and are often omitted in the circulation of printed materials, such as truth commission reports.[32] Thus distinguishing unspeakable from inaudible testimony, McAllister and Nelson try to practice "nonhumanitarian forms of listening" in which they pay special attention to the otherwise unheard "revolutionary call to 'go on.'"[33] They describe this call as an affirmation of the passions, including suffering and rage, that propel Maya populations to continue fighting for their rights, be they through armed conflict or more peaceful methods. For McAllister and Nelson, remembering Guatemala's history of insurgency is especially important because the country continues to suffer from the aforementioned "war by other means."

Rather than recognize human rights' legal paradigm as adequate to acknowledging, let alone resisting, this war, McAllister and Nelson privilege "revolutionary testimony" as necessary to educating Guatemalans about "the enduring possibility of transformation."[34] For them,

[30] Menchú's book, originally titled *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia* (1983), was translated by Ann Wright into a version titled *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (1984). I am using my own translations because they are more literal and more relevant to this article's arguments.

[31] John Beverley, "The Margin at the Center: On *Testimonio* (Testimonial Narrative)," *MFS Modern Fiction Studies* 35, no. 1 (1989): 13, accessed February 2, 2015, doi: 10.1353/*mfs*.0.0923.

[32] McAllister and Nelson, *War by Other Means*, 97.

[33] Ibid., 98.

[34] Ibid., 114.

revolutionary testimony normally recounts the harmful state relations between indigenous people and *ladinos* throughout the 1960s and 1970s, stirring the development of the witness's political consciousness and eventual involvement in leftist organizations aiming to overcome oppression.[35] McAllister and Nelson briefly mention *My name is Rigoberta* as an example of this type of testimony, yet McAllister elsewhere critiques Menchú for describing Guatemala's revolutionary movement as entirely past.[36]

Discussing Menchú's role as a survivor and witness in Pamela Yates' documentary film, *When the Mountains Tremble* (1983), McAllister notes the ways in which Menchú "ends up denying the power of the guerrilla experience."[37] In this film, Menchú summarizes select excerpts from *My name is Rigoberta* while dressed in traditional Maya clothing and staring softly into the camera. Poised as harmless and somewhat naïve, she recounts the murder of her brother and father, a direct result of their revolutionary commitments. Yet, while she does acknowledge her family's past involvement with the Guerilla Army of the Poor, Menchú consistently distinguishes herself as more of a social organizer and human rights activist. This testimonial approach causes McAllister to question Menchú's commitment to the aforementioned "call to 'go on.'" As McAllister explains, "She says 'I used to be a romantic but, after genocide, what's the point of talking about that? Now I know that it was false hope.'"[38] For McAllister, this reframing of hope as false is problematic because it devalues Menchú's, as well as other genocide survivors', experiences with revolutionary projects, as well as the "passions" that informed them.[39]

Yet, rather than blame Menchú herself, McAllister again notes how human rights' legal paradigm makes it hard for indigenous populations "to talk about their own history, which is a history of revolution."[40] In identifying themselves as guerrillas or militants, for example, genocide survivors are often understood as taking responsibility for their own victimization. Far from supporting survivors' cases for legal recognition and retribution, such information is said to corroborate claims about communism, as well as indigeneity, as internal enemies indeed worthy of counter-insurgency. Critics who contrarily claim *My name is Rigoberta* to be too radical to count as testimony at all, for example, read Menchú as a "Marxist terrorist" and liar.[41]

American anthropologist David Stoll is among the most vocal of these critics. In *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*, he accuses Menchú of falsifying personal information and sociopolitical history throughout her book. Asserting that Menchú received more formal education than she claimed and recounted events that she never eyewitnessed, Stoll concedes that these contentions are beside the point or, rather, only part of a larger point. More than simply discredit Menchú as a witness, this scholar aims to defame the revolutionary movement in which she participated. Regarding the protest in which student and indigenous organizers, including Menchú's father, were burned to death by Guatemala's National Police in 1980, Stoll revises history to describe this event as one in which "the Guatemalan left's cult of martyrdom" set itself aflame.[42] Acknowledging that most of Menchú's account is "basically true," he nevertheless concludes that the Menchú family's alliance with peasant movements and insurgent forces was not based on a legitimate attempt to overthrow Guatemala's government. Rather, he claims it was for their own economic and social benefit.[43]

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[35] In the Central American context, *ladino* refers to people of mixed race, usually involving more Spanish than indigenous ancestry.

[36] Ibid., 101.

[37] "Granito: Film Screening Panel Discussion," filmed February 2013, YouTube video, 1:07:51, posted [February 20, 2013], accessed February 12, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5PSsgAIpVg&app=desktop.

[38] Ibid.

[39] McAllister and Nelson, *War by Other Means*, 97.

[40] *Granito: Film Screening Panel Discussion*.

[41] Greg Grandin, "It was Heaven That They Burned," *The Nation*, September 8, 2010, accessed February 8, 2015, http://www.thenation.com/article/it-was-heaven-they-burned/.

[42] David Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), quoted in Grandin, *It was Heaven That They Burned*.

[43] Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story*, 125.

Multiple scholars have rushed to Menchú's defense against Stoll's vitriolic attacks. Yet, in doing so, they often appeal to their own empirical research, or evidence, as necessary support for the survivor's ostensibly deficient testimony. In contrast, I show how Menchú's narrative can be read visually and, in doing so, foreground a rage that effectively defends itself. As aforementioned, visuality here refers to the ways in which institutional authorities, including seemingly benign ones, try to regulate what counts as truth and history. According to Mirzoeff, legal, military, and other institutions commonly do this in order to justify their own usage of force, making it appear more "real" and "right" than it actually is.[44] As he states, "Visuality sutures authority to power and renders this association 'natural.'"[45] Offering a concrete example, Mirzoeff references how police often cordon off crime scenes in an attempt to discourage witnessing. "Move on, there's nothing to see here," they demand.[46] In Menchú's own responses to criticisms of her testimony, she demonstrates a similar understanding of institutional authorities as police who try to control the memory of the genocide, indeed limiting the visibility and audibility of certain truths.

These authorities include scholars such as Stoll, as well as actual police and related law enforcers. As a human rights activist, Menchú first lead charges against Guatemala's National Police for silencing student and indigenous protestors by indeed burning them to death. When Pedro Garcia Arredondo was condemned for this crime, Menchú connected this especially brutal act of visuality with the ways in which other institutional authorities have likewise refused to hear these populations' legitimate complaints, including her own. Affirming the importance of proving the truth, she states, "they have told us lies, they have denigrated the memory of the victims, they have said that they have burned themselves."[47] Clearly referencing Stoll's remarks, Menchú proceeds to explain how she must "gather the record" and "guard the evidence," tirelessly consulting archival and forensic experts, instead of simply tell the truth as she witnessed it.[48] As she explains in a recent *Democracy Now* interview, "Every time I raise my voice, they say, 'Oh, you're a communist, you don't have to speak.'"[49] Here, Menchú also seems to address the critics who claim she is not radical enough, suggesting that defending Guatemala's revolutionary history would only render her testimony even more inaudible than it already appears to be. Had she upheld the insurgency's militancy, for example, her likelihood of becoming an internationally recognized spokesperson would have severely diminished.

As a human rights activist, Menchú knows that she indeed has to speak. Additionally, she acknowledges that such speech must comply with juridical standards and processes if it is to be institutionally recognized as truth. According to human rights' legal paradigm, such recognition is necessary to pursuing justice, which it equates with retribution. In *My name is Rigoberta*, this young genocide survivor commits herself to pursuing justice as indeed retribution, not revolution. Unlike other members of her family, she chooses words over weapons, and diplomatic compromise over armed conflict. Yet, this development of Menchú's critical consciousness does not restrict her to speaking *only* in words. Considering the witnesses' demonstrated awareness of how visuality works to police truth, limiting what is seeable and sayable, it should not be surprising that Menchú's narrative testimony also can be read as visual testimony, rendering it radical in ways that differ from those already acknowledged.

In fact, the very editor of *My name is Rigoberta*, Elizabeth Burgos, sets readers up for a visual reading of Menchú's testimony. In the book's preface, she details the first time she met Menchú, noting how the young Maya appeared timid and reserved. Nevertheless, Menchú soon after

[44] Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*, 7.

[45] Ibid., 7.

[46] Ibid., 3.

[47] "'Le prometí a Guatemala que lucharía contra la impunidad': Rigoberta Menchú celebra el fallo por la quema de la embajada española y el juicio a Ríos Montt," *Democracy Now*, January 21, 2015, accessed February 8, 2015, http://www.democracynow.org/es/blog/2015/1/21/le_prometi_a_la_memoria_de.

[48] Ibid.

[49] "A Watershed Moment for Guatemala: Nobel Laureate Rigoberta Menchú Celebrates Jailing of Ex-President," *Democracy Now*, September 4, 2015, accessed July 30, 2017, https://www.democracynow.org/2015/9/4/a_watershed_moment_for_guatemala_nobel.

narrated much of her life story, including her experience of the Guatemalan genocide, to Burgos, who then transcribed and revised such narration into *My name is Rigoberta.* Foregrounding the autobiographical nature of this book, Burgos encourages readers to envision themselves as being in Menchú's physical presence. As she states, "We must listen to the call of Rigoberta Menchú and be guided by this unique voice that transmits its internal cadence so powerfully that sometimes one has the impression of hearing her tone or feeling her breath."[50] For Burgos, this intimate hermeneutic is important because it allows the reader to imagine and experience otherwise repressed sensations. Describing the world as "inhuman and artificial," Burgos distinguishes Menchú's particular voice as capable of "showing us what we have always refused to see," including her and our own humanity.[51]

Yet, contrary to Burgos' seemingly empowering claims, multiple scholars have read her portrayal of Menchú as self-contradictory and inaccurate. Though Burgos encourages readers to imagine that they are seeing and hearing Menchú in the flesh, she also notes having corrected some of her language and grammar errors, which would have made her look "folkloric."[52] Rather than allow Menchú to speak for herself, Burgos censors the survivor's account according to her own editorial standards. She wants Menchú to appear real but refined, approachable but articulate. Yet, as Burgos tries to regulate the sayable and visible in *My name is Rigoberta*, she instead exposes how visuality factors into seemingly more benign, and even humanitarian, projects. This exposure likely prompts readers to discern different ways of reading and hearing Menchú's account, paying particular attention to how the witness represents her own voice. Against Burgos' original intentions, therefore, her preface arguably attunes readers to a scene of seeing rage.

In this scene, Menchú both anticipates and critiques her own inaudibility before institutional authorities, including a merciless Guatemalan military. In doing so, she figures rage as a passion that can be witnessed visually or, to be more exact, countervisually. While Menchú cannot vocalize a direct denunciation of the very authorities threatening to censor, let alone kill, her, she nevertheless expresses herself through a narrative description of visible rage. I read this reaction as countervisual insofar as it condemns institutional authorities as being far less just, as well as absolute, than they claim it to be. As Mirzoeff explains, visuality inevitably produces its own resistance by founding itself on contradictory, and often violent, grounds. When an authoritative power uses brute force to control people and their truths, for example, it exposes itself as undeserving of such authority. According to Menchú's description of her younger brother's torture and murder by the Guatemalan army, such exposure is precisely what occurs when one indeed witnesses a genocide.

After mangling the bodies of Menchú's brother and his fellow guerilla suspects, the military put them on display in their own village. Shortly thereafter, they set such bodies aflame, causing them to desperately cry for help, only to be silenced by death itself. As Menchú states, "Some even screamed, many jumped, but their voice did not come out. Clearly, their breath was immediately blocked."[53] For Menchú, this is another scene of communists – or at least accused communists – being told not to speak. These suspects include more than just the captives themselves, for Menchú recognizes this public act of violence as a counter-insurgent maneuver. As she states, "More than anything, it was to fulfill [the army's] objectives of putting terror into the town so that nobody spoke."[54] As the victims finished burning, Menchú recalls how the army proceeded to celebrate and congratulate its own savagery, raising its weapons and yelling "Long live the homeland! Long live Guatemala!"[55] According to Mirzoeff's understanding of visuality, the fact that the military had to make this show of force is only further proof that its very power was indeed under threat. For him, visuality that becomes visible as such transforms into countervisuality, instead showing the ways in which institutional authorities try, yet fail, to completely control the truth.

[50] Rigoberta Menchú, *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 10; author's translation.

[51] Ibid., 204.

[52] Ibid.,18.

[53] Ibid., 204.

[54] Ibid., 204.

[55] Ibid., 205.

Recognizing that the military gathered witnesses only to then silence them through state terror, Menchú employs a more figurative form of speaking: seeing. That is, she privileges what she sees as more expressive than what she can say and make heard. Looking around at the crowd of her fellow Mayas, many of them unable to bear the sight of their murdered relatives any longer, she describes a reticence that nevertheless surfaces on their very faces. As she states, "You could see rage even in the children, but they did not know how to show it."[56] Here, Menchú is slightly self-contradictory. The fact that she sees such rage means that her peers were already, in fact, showing it. To qualify her statement, such witnesses did not know how to make their rage recognizable to the very military that caused it, here exhibiting an understandable distrust of institutional authorities. Had they indeed vocalized their rage, Menchú notes that "the people would have been massacred."[57] Yet, the fact that such witnesses nevertheless managed to display their anger, however subtly, shows the limit of this counter-insurgency's control or, indeed, visuality.

Here, this limit is visual testimony in the form of countervisual rage, which visuality here fails to recognize, or repress, as truthful. Yet while this scene most directly condemns Guatemala's military, it is important to remember that many of these same actors since have become leaders of this country's post-genocide government: one that ostensibly upholds, and enforces, the very human rights that it here violates. More than simply express dissent with the army and its visuality, Menchú's narrative description of her peers' anger arguably functions as a hermeneutic for seeing rage into other scenes of violence. These scenes include those from the civil war itself, as well as their reframing and repurposing in the work of Regina José Galindo. As aforementioned, Galindo's performances frequently reference narrative testimonies from Guatemala's truth commission reports. Yet, like Menchú, Galindo does not employ narrative and visual testimony as simple representations of events. Rather, she uses them to display how violence and power continue to limit what is seeable and sayable in post-genocide Guatemala, pointing out the continuation of war in this seemingly postwar country.

Seeing Rage with Regina José Galindo

In first proposing the term "post-genocide," McAllister and Nelson clarify that their understanding of "post" differs from "after." Concerned with how the occurrence of a genocide, as well as its likewise violent legacy, continue to surface in Guatemala's current reality, they mean "post" to convey "'a place for displaying notices' and 'a strong timber set upright, a point of attachment.'"[58] As they note, death tolls in Guatemala are now at rates comparable to the worst years of civil war, resulting from a mixture of neocolonial policies, poor infrastructure, drug trafficking, land abuse, and forced migration.[59] More than Menchú, Galindo employs post-genocide visual testimony in this "displaying" and "attaching" sense, also situating her work as at odds with human rights' legal paradigm insofar as it defies institutional standards of truth and justice.

While scholars unanimously recognize Galindo's work as addressing issues of ongoing violence, none have identified or analyzed it as an example of visual testimony. Nevertheless, they often focus on the embodied, affective, and indeed visible nature of Galindo's performances. According to Clare Carolin, Galindo's aesthetic is distinct for its "unambiguous visual immediacy" and its "emotional proximity to its subject."[60] Many of Galindo's performances are not just public but also intriguing and shocking in ways that turn into spectacle. Sometimes she is naked; other times she is injured and bloody. In nearly every case, the artist subjects herself to some sort of symbolic or physical violence, thereby eliciting a variety of emotions from her viewers. As Jane Lavery and Sarah Bowskill point out, this approach challenges Galindo's audience to "engage with, rather than look away from" the violence that her performances represent.[61] Like Lavery, Bowskill,

[56] Ibid., 205.

[57] Ibid., 205.

[58] McAllister and Nelson, *War by Other Means.*

[59] Ibid., 7.

[60] Clare Carolin, "After the Digital We Rematerialise: Distance and Violence in the Work of Regina José Galindo," *Third Text* 25, no. 2 (2011), 214, accessed July 12, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2011.560636.

[61] Jane Lavery and Sarah Bowskill. "The Representation of the Female Body in the Multimedia Works of Regina José

and multiple other scholars, Emilia Barbosa focuses on the ways in which Galindo draws attention to the mistreatment of women, foregrounding the simultaneous hypervisibilty and invisibility of female bodies.[62]

Though scholars commonly discuss Galindo and women's rights, little scholarship explores her work's relation to human rights. Such oversight may seem a bit odd, especially considering the artist's repeated engagement of narrative testimony from truth commission reports and legal trials. Yet while Galindo's work obviously treats multiple human rights issues, she does not explicitly critique the aforementioned human rights' legal paradigm. Rather, she shows how certain feelings, and truths, cannot be made known within this paradigm's strict legal standards. In this section, I argue that such exposure renders Galindo's work even more radical, and elaborate on how she both critiques and supplants visuality's authority with her own practice of seeing rage.

This rage is personal *and* political. Distinguishing herself as an artist, not activist, Galindo claims, "I will not subscribe to the idea that art has to be political or focus on the defense of certain rights. Art is a completely free expression. I have chosen a trajectory that corresponds with my concerns."[63] Yet, as limitless as the expressive possibilities of art may be, Galindo's concerns are nevertheless very political, and indeed about rights. Rather than work toward human rights, this artist testifies to her own right to publically proclaim individual and social truths, which Mirzoeff deems "the right to look." As he explains, the authority of visuality tries to dispossess people of this right by usurping their autonomy, forcing them to witness according to predetermined, and limiting, institutional standards. While such standards are frequently enforced in the name of certain freedoms and protections, including those upheld by human rights' legal paradigm, Mirzoeff maintains that "the right to look came first, and we should not forget it."[64]

For Mirzoeff, the fact that this right precedes the establishment of human rights discourse and institutions means that it is even more critical to democratic politics.[65] For Galindo, however, this right is first and foremost necessary to her, as well as other Guatemalans', very survival. Like Menchú, Galindo associates her personal truth with visual rage. As she pithily states, "Art is a scream, it's what one has inside."[66] Yet, rather than describe a desire, yet inability, to express her rage as explicitly as she would like, which Menchú does, Galindo uses visual testimony to publicly assume her own authority over truth. In doing so, she dismisses human rights' legal paradigm and its imperatives of institutional recognition. Throughout her performances, moreover, Galindo shows such imperatives to be ignorant of the ways in which victims of violence, especially those who are indigenous and female, remain invisible and inaudible before institutional authorities. Using this institutional ignorance to her own advantage, at least in avoiding censorship, Galindo instead appeals to public audiences for acknowledgement of her own capacity to rearrange power relations, which she uses to reframe war as indeed ongoing.

Yet, though Galindo's work testifies to genocidal and post-genocidal violence, her own rage is slightly different from Menchú's, as well as fellow genocide survivors. Unlike Menchú, Galindo was never the firsthand victim of genocidal violence. Born in 1974, she was too young to be politically involved during the war and, as she foregrounds in her own work, she is not indigenous. Aware of her sociopolitical privilege as a *ladina* woman, she is forthright about the risk she runs of upsetting actual victims and eyewitnesses, many of them self-identified human rights activists. While it is not clear what, if any, relationship exists between Menchú and Galindo, the performance artist has collaborated with Maya poet Rosa Chávez in multiple performances, including *Sister*. In this

Galindo," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 31, no. 1 (2011), 51, accessed July 12, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1470-9856.2011.00606.x.

[62] Emilia Barbosa, "Regina José Galindo's Body Talk: Performing Feminicide and Violence against Women in *279 Golpes*," *Latin American Perspectives* 14, no. 1 (2014): 59-71, accessed July 12, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X13492131.

[63] Vinicio Chacón, "Los gritos de la psicomagia," *Seminario Universidad*, July 21, 2005, accessed December 1, 2013, http://www.semanariouniversidad.ucr.cr/component/content/article/3902-Cultura/10213-los-gritos-de-la-psicomagia.html.

[64] Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*, 2.

[65] Ibid., 4.

[66] Chacón, *Los gritos de la psicomagia*.

ironically titled piece, Chávez slaps and spits on Galindo. Such treatment is opposite of what one would expect, symbolically reversing centuries of colonial repression.

More than expose power relations, or visuality, Galindo clearly intends to challenge and undo them. In this sense, her work takes countervisuality one step further than *My name is Rigoberta* and continually asserts the right to look. Unlike artists who identify as activists in order to represent certain populations, Galindo does not claim this right on behalf of anybody but herself. Yet, as cautious as Galindo is of conflating her own rage with that of others, her feelings are indeed born out of a particular sociopolitical situation: one in which anger is everywhere, if only one knows how to look for it. As aforementioned, Menchú provides a hermeneutic for seeing rage by exposing the ways in which institutional authorities try, and fail, to completely control their witnesses. Yet, while Menchú uses her own inaudibility to foreground visuality and countervisuality, Galindo uses it to share her message – or, more specifically, her scream – in public space. For Mirzoeff, such publicity is crucial to an effective claiming of the right to look because it reasserts people's power to witness and validate each other's testimonies, beyond any concern for legal authorization.[67]

Elaborating on how she understands her art as a scream, Galindo describes one of her earliest street performances. In 2003, Ríos Montt successfully challenged the constitutional ban on ex-dictators from presidential candidacy and was nominated by the party he founded. As an advertising consultant, poet, and occasional performance artist at the time, Galindo recalls feeling especially upset about news of this candidacy. In her words, "I suffered an attack of panic and depression. I cried out, I kicked and stomped my feet, I cursed the system that rules us […] I decided then and there that I would take to the streets with my shout and amplify it. I had to do it."[68] On the same day that Ríos Montt's candidacy was announced, she performed *Who can erase the traces?*, during which she quietly yet audaciously dipped her bare feet in a tub of human blood and marched from Guatemala's Constitutional Court to the Presidential Palace.

Also traversing a crowd of fellow protestors, many of whom faced police and military censorship, Galindo managed to complete her performance without any resistance. Though her footsteps were clearly marking the ex-dictator's political maneuvering with bloodshed, she notes how art is commonly perceived as "trivial."[69] Unlike legal testimony and associated human rights activism, aesthetic modes of witnessing do not seem to assert or demand anything. Using such semblance again to her advantage in *I will scream it to the wind*; Galindo read her feminist poetry aloud while hanging from the archway of a building in Guatemala's historic city center. Gathering spectators stopped, took photos, and mistook her for a hysteric on the verge of committing suicide. According to the artist, she is most commonly mistaken as a madwoman, or as an actual victim of violence.[70] Yet, for Galindo, such misperceptions become part of her performances insofar as they make visible dominant relations of looking, allowing her the possibility of also visibly rearranging such relations.

Like Menchú, Galindo exhibits a basic understanding of how visuality and countervisuality function. Noting her work to entail "a triad of the victim, the victimizer, and the intellectual author," she adds, "it is very, very important to stress that I am the intellectual author."[71] In other words, she is the one who frames the scenes of her performances, thereby deciding what is visible and sayable. As the intellectual author, Galindo also assumes the capacity to *re*frame certain scenes, notably exposing different ways of understanding witnessing, as well as war. Describing "frames of war" as the "normative conditions of recognizability" that state and other institutional authorities produce in order to regulate the public's perception of war, Judith Butler notes the possibility of reproducing such frames in ways that actually exceed them.[72] As an example, she describes how

[67] Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*, 1.

[68] "Regina José Galindo," *BOMB – Artists in Conversation*, January 1, 2016, accessed July 28, 2017, http://bombmagazine.org/article/2780/regina-jos-galindo.

[69] Regina José Galindo, "Central American Studies Lecture Series," (lecture, Northridge, CA, November 14, 2014), California State University Northridge.

[70] "Regina José Galindo," *BOMB – Artists in Conversation*.m

[71] Galindo, *Central American Studies Lecture Series*.

[72] Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso, 2009), 4.

Figure 2. Regina José Galindo, *Who can erase the traces?, 2003,* © 2003 Regina José Galindo, http://www.reginajosegalindo.com/

when images of war circulate, they break away from their original contexts and thereby make recognizable what was previously unrecognized or misrecognized. Though Galindo's work is not commonly viewed as being about war, she often reframes scenes from Guatemala's civil war in ways that connect it to the ongoing war by other means.

In *Meanwhile, they remain free*, she does this by referencing and representing a narrative testimony from *Guatemala: Memory of Silence*, one of Guatemala's truth commission reports. Here, she restages a scene of sexual violence against Maya women, citing one that reads, "They tied me and bandaged my eyes […] they hit me and raped me. I began to bleed a lot, and in that moment I lost my baby."[73] Herself, seven months pregnant at the time, Galindo ties her parted legs and clasped hands to a small bed frame with real umbilical cords from a local abortion clinic. In doing so, she appears to anticipate this described violence, or the legacy of it. Because Galindo's body is both visibly pregnant *and* non-indigenous in *Meanwhile, they remain free*, her performance relates this genocide tactic to the more general violence now being waged against Guatemalan women.

This violence is likewise sexual and often fatal: according to Guatemala's National Police, there were 9.1 murders for every 100,000 women within Guatemala between 2007 and 2012.[74] In 2014, moreover, 846 women were murdered, mostly by men, in a population of about 15 million.[75] Yet, as Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano note, "rape as a tool of war" rarely receives the same recognition and condemnation as other modes of torture or declared warfare.[76] In their own act of reframing such warfare as a legacy of genocide, they coin this epidemic violence against women

[73] Regina José Galindo, "Regina José Galindo," accessed February 5, 2015, http://www.reginajosegalindo.com/; author's translation.

[74] Candace Piette, "Where women are killed by their own families," *BBC News Magazine*, December 5, 2015, accessed March 4, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34978330.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano, eds., *Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Américas* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 2.

a "feminicide," meaning a "genocide against women."[77] Throughout her oeuvre, Galindo shows this violence to involve the simultaneous hypervisibility *and* invisibility of women: that is, they are visible only as sexual objects, not as human rights subjects. In *279 Blows* (2005), Galindo performs her most literal version of screaming, hiding herself from sight, hitting herself, and vocalizing cries a total of 279 times, once for every act of feminicide that had occurred so far that year. The unseen nature of this rage starkly contrasts with much of Galindo's oeuvre, suggesting the need for a particular type of looking.

According to Barbosa, Galindo's strategic reenactment of this feminicide provokes spectators to go beyond empathizing and likewise "rewrite history from a new, informed position."[78] Such rewriting entails asserting their own right to look, thereby acknowledging not just a problem but also part of its solution. As Galindo explains, performative reenactments like *Meanwhile, they remain free* and *279 Blows* work to show that Guatemala's civil war has ended but it has a "new face": one that requires rearranging power relations so to expose the reproduction, and continuation, of genocidal practices.[79] As aforementioned, this artist rearranges such relations in a way that evades and exceeds legal recognition, instead appealing to the Guatemalan public. Yet rather than simply make herself seen as an intellectual author, Galindo works to connect the right to look with the right to survival, as well the right to rage.

According to Mirzoeff, the right to look is indeed "a right to existence."[80] As a form of biopolitics, visuality works to police not only what is visible and sayable but also what and who counts as life. The fact that religious, educational, professional, and political institutions in Guatemala still do not recognize and empower female authorities closely, if not causally, relates to the country's ongoing feminicide. Since women are not seen or heard in life, they also go unnoticed and unprotected in death. For this reason, Galindo positions her rearrangement of power relations as indeed critical to the creation of another reality: a countervisual one in which the disempowered become equally authoritative. Aware that the full realization of this project is still very far away, Galindo also discusses the importance of endurance. Explaining her own capacity to continue producing testimonial performances, she states, "Rage has sustained me, and I've watched it grow since I first became aware of what was happening. It's like an engine—a conflict inside me that never yields, never stops turning, ever."[81] According to Galindo, expressing rage in her artwork allows her to channel such conflict into something creative and collective, if not immediately world-changing.[82]

In a later performance, titled *Earth* (2007), she equates the act of seeing rage to "a story of survival."[83] Here, Galindo again engages a more official narrative testimony, this time from a witness testifying in Ríos Montt's trial over charges of genocide. After being asked how indigenous populations were murdered during the war, the legal witness describes a process of excavating a hole, partially killing the victims, and then hastily burying them in mass graves. In *Earth*, Galindo stands naked on a small plot of land while a bulldozer digs nearby, forming an island around her visibly vulnerable body. Meanwhile, the artist stands completely still, staring straight ahead with a gaze that is reminiscent of that in *My name is Rigoberta*. With full but heavy eyes, she looks like she has just witnessed and closely survived a massacre. Just as Menchú describes of her fellow Mayas, who watched their loved ones being burned to death by the Guatemalan army, "You could see rage." Menchú further describes such witnesses as unable to fully express their rage, yet Galindo indeed knows how to show it, using her own seeing and breathing body to claim the right to look as also the right to life.

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[77] Ibid., 9.

[78] Barbosa, *Regina José Galindo's Body Talk*, 60.

[79] Galindo, *Central American Studies Lecture Series*.

[80] Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*, 1.

[81] "Regina José Galindo," *BOMB – Artists in Conversation*.

[82] Ibid.

[83] "Regina José Galindo, 'Tierra' 2013," filmed June 2013, YouTube video, 15:35, posted June 29, 2013, accessed February 12, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mlteAI2P_98; author's translation.

As Galindo states, "For me, this work is more utopian and hopeful because everything destroys your surroundings and you stay standing."[84] In a later work, *Testimonies* (2014), Galindo again connects narrative testimony with visual testimony while emphasizing the truth and importance of survival. This time, she uses the words of Maya genocide survivors and legal witnesses, preserving some of their literal statements in wrought iron letters. Such statements include "They all raped us in the parish hall," "The soldiers took away my shame," and, finally, "I am alive."[85] Having carried these letters throughout the city of Antigua, Guatemala and then hung them in a public gallery, Galindo claims that she created this performance so that the voice and memory of these women will not be forgotten.[86] Yet, more than function to preserve memories of the past, Galindo again connects this past to the current moment: a moment still replete with violence, as well as survival. In this performance, "I am alive" is emphatically worded in the present tense, showing how these witnesses continue to face and defy numerous threats of silencing them, including through death.

Yet, such defiance does not only occur through the tireless reassertion of these witnesses' narrative testimonies, constantly appealing to the very legal authorities that fail to recognize such witnesses as worthy of any rights, including the right to look. As Galindo shows, political resistance also occurs through visual testimony: one that expresses rage without regard of any institutional authorities, including legal ones. Rather than subscribe to juridical standards and processes of witnessing, Galindo continually asserts her own imperative. Speaking about another performance, *I am alive* (2015), she summarizes this injunction as "You have to say it, express it, scream it […] you have to release the truth, release your scream."[87] In other words, you have to assert authority over your own truth, making it public in a way that practices witnessing beyond human rights' legal paradigm. For as war by other means continues to dominate post-genocide Guatemala, inventing and enforcing new forms of visuality, contervisuality functions to foreground this war, as well as its resistance.

Such countervisuality, as Menchú and Galindo show, starts with seeing rage: that is, with recognizing institutional authorities as less just and more fallible than they claim to be. As a genocide survivor and human rights activist, Menchú foregrounds the inaudibility, yet slight visibility, of her own indignation, which she figures through looks of rage. Intent upon convicting the state criminals who murdered most of her family, however, Menchú neglects to acknowledge the insufficiency of a human rights' legal paradigm that does not account for the genocide's similarly violent legacies, as well as the multimedial ways of testifying to such legacies. In layered performances connecting genocide testimonies with an ongoing feminicide, as well as other neocolonial policies and practices, Galindo demonstrates a more explicit, as well as self-empowering, practice of screaming rage. As the artist anticipates, Guatemala's legal institutions do not recognize such screaming as indeed testimonial. Yet, I argue that Menchú and Galindo's rage could be enough to sustain another insurgency, if only more survivors and spectators were willing to look for it, and with it. This insurgency would differ from human rights' legal paradigm in avoiding its emphasis on victimhood, removal of agency, and exclusionary standards of truth. In this article, I have argued for the importance of claiming the right to look, suggesting a necessary reexamination of visual testimony as more critical to post-genocide politics than heretofore acknowledged.

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[84] Ibid.

[85] Galindo, *Regina José Galindo*.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

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Nineteen Minutes of Horror: Insights from the Scorpions Execution Video

Iva Vukušić
Utrecht University
Utrecht, The Netherlands

Introduction

The so-called Scorpions video is one of the most disturbing audiovisual traces of the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. It shows one of the many mass executions that followed the fall of the United Nations' protected area around the town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, in mid-July 1995. The crime itself was a culmination of the brutal war that was ripping Bosnia and Herzegovina apart from the spring of 1992. The video, described as shocking after it emerged, shows men in dark uniforms, some wearing red berets, executing six men, three of whom were underage, in a deserted hamlet in the hills of Bosnia.[1] That video is a key piece of evidence used to prosecute perpetrators for the executions committed in the aftermath of the Bosnian Serb Army entering the town, led by its charismatic, yet brutish commander, Ratko Mladić.[2] Mladić, his subordinates, and civilian counterparts like Radovan Karadžić have been tried and convicted at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, and this video is part of the trial record in many of those cases.[3]

The video was first shown during the trial of the Serbian president Slobodan Milošević, in June 2005, and it immediately caused a storm, both in international and Serbian media outlets.[4] Milošević died before judgment, less than a year later, and the storm was short-lived, especially in Serbian society.[5] If it can be said that it led to a sort of reckoning, it was a brief one.[6] However, perpetrators have been convicted, some for committing genocide, due also to this crucial piece of evidence. Apart from that judicial value, the video tells us a lot about the nature of the crime itself, and the attitudes perpetrators held towards their victims. That is why this article aims to revisit those crucial nineteen minutes of video footage, and dissect it; with a purpose of understanding what it tells us about the executions following the capture of Srebrenica, but also about the prosecution of international crimes.[7] In this article, the focus is on those who actually participated in the killings, in the precise moments when the massacre was committed, and not those who sent them to fulfill this task. Sources from the proceedings against those pulling the trigger will be drawn on most. In sum, the primary questions concern the characteristics of the act of execution, and those who commit it, as well as the importance of this particular video as evidence in court.

The Crime After The Fall of Srebrenica

> All my close relatives, my entire family, was under the ground.
> I had no hope whatsoever.
> There was no one I could wait for.

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[1] Melissa Block, "Execution Video Shocks Serbia," *NPR*, June 3, 2005, accessed July 18, 2017. http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4679742.

[2] *Prosecutor v. Mladic*, Fourth Amended Indictment, December 16, 2011, IT-09-92-PT, accessed July 25, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/mladic/ind/en/111216.pdf .

[3] Srebrenica-related ICTY cases are against accused: Dražen Erdemović, Slobodan Milošević, Vidoje Blagojević and Dragan Jokić, Radislav Krstić, Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić, Momir Nikolić, Dragan Obrenović, Momčilo Perišić, Popović et al., Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović, and Zdravko Tolimir. More information available at the ICTY website, accessed July 22, 2017, http://www.icty.org/en/action/cases/4.

[4] *Prosecutor v. Slobodan Milosevic*, Initial Indictment Kosovo, May 22, 1999, IT-99-37, accessed July 25, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/slobodan_milosevic/ind/en/mil-ii990524e.htm.

[5] Eric Gordy, *Guilt, Responsibility and Denial: The Past at Stake in Post-Milosevic Serbia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 124.

[6] Vladimir Petrović, "A Crack in the Wall of Denial: The Scorpions Video in and out of the Courtroom," in *Narratives of Justice In and Out of the Courtroom: Former Yugoslavia and Beyond*, ed. Dubravka Žarkov and Marlies Glasius (New York: Springer, 2014), 103.

[7] The precise nineteen minutes can be accessed here, along with other, related evidence material: http://srebrenica.sense-agency.com/en/. The transcript of the video is available in English.

Iva Vukušić. "'Nineteen Minutes of Horror: Insights from the Scorpions Execution Video" 12, 2 (2018): 35-53. ©2018 *Genocide Studies and Prevention.*
https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.12.2.1527

> The truth had come out,
> And it became apparent that I'm really alone.
>
> Mirsada Malagić, witness at the ICTY trial of Ratko Mladić, May 16, 2013[8]

Before this video was shown in court, much was already known about what happened in those days following the fall of Srebrenica.[9] That is largely due to the work of the investigative team at the Prosecutor's Office at the ICTY, and in particular its lead investigator on the case, Jean-Rene Ruez.[10] He led his team, for years, tirelessly, in putting together this puzzle. Ruez was already in Bosnia in the weeks following the Bosnian Serb takeover of the territory, as it was becoming increasingly clear that thousands of men were unaccounted for.[11] His team of investigators, along with analysts, and prosecutors at the ICTY managed to reconstruct the sequence of events up to knowing what important actors were doing, hour per hour. Before the video was released, several people pleaded guilty at the ICTY for crimes related to Srebrenica, and gave statements about the event and their participation in it.[12] Early on, it was Dražen Erdemović, member of the Tenth Sabotage Detachment of the Bosnian Serb Army, who came forward in 1996, and shed much-needed light as to what happened at execution sites such as Branjevo farm, and in Pilica, in eastern Bosnia.[13]

It was known, in 2005, that thousands were executed in areas across northeastern Bosnia in the week following the fall of Srebrenica, many of them around Zvornik. The victims were not only pre-war Srebrenica area residents, but also refugees from eastern Bosnia towns that fled to Srebrenica, to escape from the violent campaigns to expel them, that began in 1992. In July 1995, victims were hunted down, captured, and executed, sometimes weeks after the town fell. It was known that victims were killed in large numbers after being bussed to, at times, remote locations, and then buried at or close to the scene of the crime, often by civilians drafted through Bosnian Serb local authorities, manning heavy machinery. This was known because several men testified in court about getting rid of those bodies.[14] The few survivors came forward and spoke in court in The Hague, sometimes with their identities concealed, about what they lived through.[15] Researchers, journalists, and activists collected information, and published it.[16]

Testimonies emerged that corroborated those horrific accounts and added stories of incredible suffering, almost too difficult to put into words.[17] Those left behind spoke about the effects the crime had on their lives, recounting how much they missed their children,[18] and how not knowing

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[8] *Prosecutor v. Ratko Mladic*, testimony of witness Mirsada Malagić, May 16, 2013, IT-09-92. Transcript page 11218, lines 21-23, accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/mladic/trans/en/130516IT.htm.

[9] *Prosecutor v. Slobodan Milosevic*, testimony of witness Obrad Stevanović, June 1, 2005, IT-02-54, accessed July 30, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/slobodan_milosevic/trans/en/050601IT.htm.

[10] Sonja Biserko, "Intervju sa Žan-Rene Ruezom: Srebrenica je više od tragedije," in Srebrenica: Od poricanja do priznanja, ed. Sonja Biserko (Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2005), 738.

[11] United Nations Security Council, *Press Release SC/6122/Rev. 1 3591st Meeting (Night)*, November 9, 1995, accessed July 10, 2017, http://www.un.org/press/en/1995/19951109.sc6122.r1.html.

[12] See ICTY cases against Momir Nikolic (IT-02-60/1), Dragan Obrenovic (IT-01-43), accessed July 30 2017, http://www.icty.org/en/action/cases/4.

[13] *Prosecutor v. Drazen Erdemovic*, IT-96-22, accessed July 30 2017, http://www.icty.org/cases/party/683/4.

[14] *Prosecutor v. Blagojevic and Jokic*, testimony of witness Krsto Simić, February 23, and 24, 2004, IT-02-60, accessed July 20 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/blagojevic_jokic/trans/en/040223IT.htm, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/blagojevic_jokic/trans/en/040224ED.htm.

[15] Testimonies of several survivors are available here, accessed July 20, 2017, http://srebrenica.sense-agency.com/en/.

[16] The report on Srebrenica was published by NIOD, the Dutch Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam, accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.niod.nl/en/srebrenica-report/report.

[17] *Prosecutor v. Vujadin Popovic et al.*, testimony of witness PW-101, February 22, 2007, IT-05-88. Transcript pages 7581-7582, accessed July 28, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/popovic/trans/en/070222ED.htm; *Prosecutor v. Ratko Mladic*, testimony of witness RM-313, June 6, 2014, IT-09-92, accessed July 30, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/mladic/trans/en/130606ED.htm.

[18] *Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstic*, IT-98-33, testimony of witness DD, and other testimonies of survivors are available here, accessed July 28, 2017, http://srebrenica.sense-agency.com/en/.

where they ended up haunted them.[19] Experts in archeology, pathology, and anthropology spoke in court about the efforts the Bosnian Serb Army put in place about two, three months after, to hide the crime.[20] Their re-digging of large primary mass graves included taking out the bodies that had been decomposing already, again with heavy machinery, and transporting them to remote locations.[21] This process led to the bodies being ripped apart, which made the subsequent process of their identification, and return to families for a proper burial, that much harder. There were instances in which one person's remains were found in three, or even four different mass graves—sometimes with some bones still missing.[22] Nevertheless, the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) has managed to recover, and identify, the remains of more than 6,930 people, and, by July 2015, 6,241 have been buried in the Memorial in Potočari, just across the road from the UN base where many sought refuge.[23]

In 2005, all of that was known to those who cared about knowing it. However, what the Scorpions video showed was, for the first time, and in only a few minutes of footage, what it was like for those men who were captured, and then executed. It showed how they were treated, without mercy, and the condition that they were in. Their experience, captured on camera, made it possible for those watching to imagine what those thousands of people went through, in a way that was previously impossible. The video provided the opportunity to hear, from the mouths of the perpetrators, how they spoke to the victims. It was no one else, and it was not a recollection after the fact. It was the perpetrators themselves speaking. The overwhelming amount of evidence collected and verified in court, of which this video is a crucial part, led to the ICTY and the International Court of Justice,[24] describing the executions after the fall of the enclave as a genocide. It is important to remember, all genocide convictions at the ICTY were related to mass executions after the fall of Srebrenica.[25]

Theoretical Framework, Approach and Method

Images of mass atrocity have been the subject of study and debate ever since the development of technology allowed cameras to be carried around to document events. The Second World War, the horror of the Holocaust and the trials that followed in Nuremberg and elsewhere, made images of crime available – to judges, but also historians, and the wider public. Much about images has been discussed, and a central point has been the value of images depicting violence for history, as well as their probative value. Audiovisual material was crucial to how we think of, and remember, the Holocaust.[26] In court, the first use of film as evidence of mass atrocity was at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg in 1945. [27] Among those films, "Nazi Concentration Camps" is

[19] Expert testimony of witness Teufika Ibrahimefendić is available here, accessed July 28, 2017, http://srebrenica.sense-agency.com/en/.

[20] Expert testimony of several anthropologists, archeologists and pathologists is available here, accessed July 28, 2017, http://srebrenica.sense-agency.com/en/.

[21] The distinction between primary and secondary graves are explained well in the expert witness testimony clips available here, accessed July 28, 2017, http://srebrenica.sense-agency.com/en/.

[22] *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadzic*, testimony of witness Amor Mašović, April 10, 2012, IT-95-5/18. Transcript page 27300, lines 12-20, accessed July 27, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/trans/en/120410ED.htm. Mašović is the Chairman of the Bosnian Federal Commission for Missing Persons. He has been involved in finding missing persons and the recovery of remains since the time of the war.

[23] International Commission on Missing Persons, "Srebrenica Figures as of 02 July 2015," Press Release, accessed September 11, 2018, https://www.icmp.int/news/infographic-provides-latest-facts-and-figures-on-srebrenica-genocide/.

[24] International Court of Justice, Case Concerning the Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, February 26, 2007, accessed July 12, 2017, http://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/91/091-20070226-JUD-01-00-EN.pdf. More information about this case, Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro can be accessed here: http://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/91/judgments.

[25] More information about ICTY Srebrenica cases available here, accessed December 14, 2017, http://www.icty.org/specials/srebrenica20/?q=srebrenica20/.

[26] James Gow and Cathie Carmichael, ed., *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, Vol. 98, Issue 4, No. 332 (2013).

[27] Helen Lennon, "A Witness to Atrocity: Film as Evidence in International War Crimes," in *Holocaust and the Moving Image: Representations in Film and Television since 1933*, ed. Toby Haggith and Joanna Newman (London: Thomson Press, 2005), 67.

likely the most well-known, and contains images that have forever shaped public perceptions of the Holocaust, and in particular, the camps. Such films, containing images of atrocity, represent some of the most powerful obstacles to denial available. In the context of ICTY trials, there were at least six hundred video exhibits in the unfinished trial of Slobodan Milošević.[28] In that case, as in others, the question of authenticity of footage was a key point of contention.[29]

As Helen Lennon demonstrates, images can be immediate, spontaneous, and chillingly succinct. They can be circulated rapidly, viewed by many individuals at once, and permanently archived in collective memory.[30] What the Scorpions video depicts, similar to images from Nazi camps, is the labor that was necessary to exterminate people, and the matter-of-factness with which this was done. It is precisely that, writes Judith Keilbach, which causes a shock.[31] It is the ease that comes with this labor, so painfully obvious in the Scorpions footage that is perplexing.

The Scorpions video, and evidence like it, stands alongside some of the previous examples of visually documenting atrocity crimes, as they are committed. That is why records i.e. evidence material such as documents, testimony and other moving or still images, are important for creating a narrative about past events—both in and out of the courtroom. All of that evidence works in concert to tell a story. Wilson wrote about history in international criminal trials,[32] and others studied the use of historical forensic evidence in court[33], and the potential of the ICTY archive specifically, as a rich resource for researchers interested in the former Yugoslavia.[34] There is thus substantial agreement about evidence presented in trial having an important role in historical research.

Audiovisual records and images of executions from the wars that engulfed the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, are rare.[35] One other example comes from the ICTY trial of Goran Jelisić, for crimes in Brčko, early on in the conflict, in 1992.[36] In that trial, still images of Jelisić executing unarmed men have been included in the trial record.[37] Videos recorded by perpetrators themselves—during the act of killing—where what they say is audible, are even harder to find. The Scorpions video is thus a unique opportunity to come closer to the act, in order to scrutinize it. While doing that, the men whose lives were so brutally cut short are nevertheless not removed from the analysis. From here, the article proceeds in three sections. The first discusses the unit whose members committed the murders in the video in question. The second analyzes the nineteen minutes of video in detail, taking apart some of the spoken, and unspoken, elements of it. Finally, the third section looks at the judicial and social aftermath of the release of the video, primarily within Serbian society.

This article is the result of a critical assessment of primary sources from trials, and attentive viewing of the video, that enabled a scrutiny of the spoken and the unspoken in it. Conclusions are based on juxtaposing the video with elements of various trial records, and interpreting them

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[28] Lennon, *A Witness to Atrocity*, 69.

[29] Ibid.; More on the Milošević trial, see: Gideon Boas, *The Milosevic Trial: Lessons for the Conduct of Complex International Criminal Proceedings* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Timothy Waters, ed., *The Milosevic Trial, An Autopsy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Judith Armatta, *Twilight of Impunity: The War Crimes Trial of Slobodan Milosevic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Nevenka Tromp, *Prosecuting Slobodan Milosevic: The Unfinished Trial* (Routledge, 2016).

[30] Lennon, *A Witness to Atrocity*, 66

[31] Judith Keilbach, "Photographs, Symbolic Images, and the Holocaust: On the (Im)possibility of Depicting Historical Truth," *History and Theory*, Theme Issue 47 (2009), 54-76.

[32] Richard Ashby Wilson, *Writing History in International Criminal Trials* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[33] Vladimir Petrović, *The Emergence of Historical Forensic Expertise: Clio Takes the Stand* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

[34] Iva Vukušić, "The Archives of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia," *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, Vol. 98, Issue 4, No. 332 (2013).

[35] It is entirely possible that more recordings and images exists, but they have not surfaced yet, and have not been used in court.

[36] *Prosecutor v. Goran Jelisic*, Trial Judgment, December 14, 1999, IT-95-10, accessed on July 30, 2017 http://www.icty.org/x/cases/jelisic/tjug/en/jel-tj991214e.pdf. More about Goran Jelisić can be found in the book by Slavenka Drakulić, *They Would Never Hurt a Fly: War Criminals on Trial in The Hague* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 66.

[37] *Prosecutor v. Goran Jelisic*, Image, Exhibit P3, December 1, 1998, IT-95-10, accessed on July 20, 2017, http://icr.icty.org/LegalRef/CMSDocStore/Public/English/Exhibit/Indexable/IT-95-10/ACE2782R0000021509.jpg.

together. The exploration thus includes words spoken by the same individuals in the video, and later, at their trial in Belgrade in 2005, and 2006. The article further draws on the records of other proceedings relating to Srebrenica, primarily those of Popović et al., Zdravko Tolimir, Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić.

The Scorpions Unit

The Scorpions are one of the most long-lasting units in the entire Yugoslav conflict between 1991, when violence erupted in Croatia, until 1999, when it ravaged Kosovo. In that period, it changed shapes and affiliations, at least on paper, but its core remained largely the same.[38] It was a paramilitary unit, operated covertly, like other units such as Željko Ražnatović Arkan's Serbian Volunteer Guard, under the umbrella of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and specifically, its State Security Service.[39] The unit was named after a type of weapon originally developed in Czechoslovakia and later produced in Yugoslavia. The unit first became active in Croatia, being tasked with securing the newly conquered oil fields in Slavonija, a rich region in the east, close to the border with Serbia. Their base was in Đeletovci, a small town on the eastern edge of Croatia, then held by a mix of forces including the Yugoslav People's Army, local Serbs and units from Serbia proper. The Scorpions' war path is marked in particular by the executions some of the members committed in the hamlet of Godinjske bare near Trnovo, Bosnia, in 1995, and the murders they carried out in the small town of Podujevo, Kosovo, four years later.[40] What is particularly interesting about this unit is that the members often originated from the same town, and were relatives, friends and acquaintances long before the war. That, according to one member, brought a special sense of closeness to the unit.[41]

The Scorpions were established early on in the war, as local Serbs rebelled against Croatian independence, and formed the para-state called Republika Srpska Krajina.[42] The initial guarding of the oil fields was part of resource exploitation that funded the war effort, and made some of those involved rich.[43] They fought alongside the army of the Republika Srpska Krajina, within which they were incorporated, and later with the Bosnian Serb Army. Finally, after the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, the Scorpions became the reserve of the Special Anti-terrorist unit of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs.[44] Apart from oil, they were involved in widespread harvesting of local high-quality oak that they transported out of the territory, and sold.[45] There are instances of the Serbian State Security providing them with IDs, and a salary.[46] According to some of the members, the

[38] Dejan Anastasijević, "Kratka istorija paravojnih jedinica u jugoslavenskim ratovima 1991-1995 – Grabljive zveri i otrovne bube," *YU Historija*, n.d., accessed on July 25, 2017, http://www.yuhistorija.com/serbian/ratovi_91_99_txt01c.html; Miloš Vasić and Filip Švarm, "Paramilitary Formations in Serbia: 1990-2000," in *In the Triangle of State Power: Army, Police, Paramilitary Units*, ed. Stipe Sikavica (Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2001).

[39] Anastasijević, *Kratka istorija paravojnih jedinica u jugoslavenskim ratovima*, James Gow, *The Serbian Project and its Adversaries: A Strategy of War Crimes* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003).

[40] Saša Cvjetan has been tried for the crime in Podujevo, where fourteen Albanians were killed, and at least five children wounded in March 1999. Cvjetan was convicted in Belgrade in 2005, just days after the Scorpions video was released in The Hague. Tanja Tagirov, "Škorpion pred sudom," *Vreme*, June 16, 2005, accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=419054.

[41] Lazar Stojanović, Škorpioni *Spomenar*, film (2007; Belgrade: Humanitarian Law Center), min 28, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nqsDRw04Z6U; Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina do pravde*, 2008, accessed July 24, 2017, http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Skorpioni.pdf.

[42] Anastasijević, *Kratka istorija paravojnih jedinica u jugoslavenskim ratovima*; Miloš Vasić and Filip Švarm, "Paramilitary Formations in Serbia: 1990-2000," in *In the Triangle of State Power: Army, Police, Paramilitary Units*, ed. Stipe Sikavica (Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2001).

[43] Miloš Vasić, "Poreklo moći i bogatstva," *Vreme*, June 16, 2005, accessed July 30, 2017, http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=419055.

[44] Helsinški odbor, *Slučaj* Škorpioni, Peščanik, September 14, 2008, accessed July 20, 2017, http://pescanik.net/slucaj-skorpioni/.

[45] Helsinški odbor, *Slučaj* Škorpioni.

[46] Dejan Anastasijević, "Ubod Škorpiona," *Vreme*, December 25, 2003, accessed July 21, 2017, http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=361981.

pay in the unit was better than that in other units active at the time.[47] The unit's insignia evolved with time, including an image of a scorpion superimposed on a black background, and the Serbian three-colored flag. When deployed in Bosnia, the members were advised to remove their insignia, so in case of capture, they could deny which unit they belonged to.[48]

This unit is well known for its engagement in the Yugoslav wars, their notoriety brought about in no small measure by the video, and the trials where members were convicted for crimes in Trnovo and Podujevo. Arguably, its notoriety has not eclipsed that of Arkan's men, also captured in action, this time by a photographer, Ron Haviv, earlier in the war.[49] The profile of Scorpions commander Slobodan Medić Boca was, after all, no match for Arkan's, who was a state security hit man, bank-robber with an active Interpol arrest warrant and international notoriety, a paramilitary leader, a political party president and parliament representative, a cultural icon married to a folk star, and a football manager.[50]

Units like the Scorpions were useful to the Serbian regime, as they provided plausible deniability—the opportunity for the regime to distance itself from the unlawful, the illegitimate and the unsavory part of the conquest of territory.[51] The Scorpions' warpath, as of the other paramilitaries, is best described by the writings and work of Dejan Anastasijević, Filip Švarm and Miloš Vasić, all Serbian journalists.[52] Scholars, such as Schlichte, Horncastle, Milichevic, Vivod, Čolović, and others wrote about the characteristics of those units, and their role in the war.

The Scorpions Video

Wednesday, June 1, 2005, was supposed to be a regular court day in The Hague, at the ICTY, where Milošević was facing charges for crimes committed in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo, during the 1990s. That day, witness Obrad Stevanović was on the stand, former assistant to the minister of internal affairs in Serbia, testifying in the former president's defense. Stevanović was claiming that, essentially, Serbia's institutions had nothing whatsoever to do with whatever happened in Srebrenica.[53] During the cross-examination, prosecutor Geoffrey Nice played the video of the murders in Trnovo, in order to counter the witnesses' claim. Milošević, and his court-appointed counsel, Steven Kay, both objected, questioning authenticity, connections to Srebrenica, and accusing the prosecution of purposefully being manipulative, constructing relationships between the murders and the Serbian state. In the months that followed, the video proved to be authentic, showing a Serbian unit shooting unarmed men. The video was ultimately not admitted into evidence in the Milošević trial, but in the trials that followed it became immensely important.[54]

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[47] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina do pravde*, 108.

[48] Stojanović, Škorpioni *Spomenar*, min 37; Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina.*

[49] Vladimir Petrović, "Power(lessness) of Atrocity Images: Bijeljina Photos between Perpetration and Prosecution of War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia," *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 9 (2015), accessed July 20, 2017, doi:10.1093/ijtj/ijv010. See also: Photographer Ron Haviv talking about the images for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, August 7, 2013, accessed July 21, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lsg_AHcQPUA.

[50] Christopher S. Stewart, *Hunting the Tiger: The Fast Life and Violent Death of the Balkans' Most Dangerous Man* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007).

[51] Jan Willem Honig and Norbert Both, *Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 75; James Ron, "Territoriality and Plausible Deniability: Serbian Paramilitaries in the Bosnian War," in *Death Squads in Global Perspective*, ed. Bruce B. Campbell and Arthur D. Brenner (London: Palgrave, 2000).

[52] Anastasijević, *Kratka istorija paravojnih jedinica*; Vasić and Švarm, *Paramilitary Formations in Serbia.*

[53] The arguments regarding Srebrenica presented by the defense teams in various ICTY trials, but also within the nationalist circles of Serbian society is that: a) what happened in Srebrenica was not a systematic effort to exterminate a group (and they adamantly reject the legal qualification of 'genocide' and claim it is a manipulation to smear the Serbs as a nation, b) deaths that occurred among the Bosniaks were a result of the spontaneous revenge of local Serbs for crimes they themselves have suffered during the war, by the Bosnian Muslims, and c) they passionately reject the broadly accepted number of those killed (around eight thousand individuals) and claim many of the victims died while fighting (making them 'legal' casualties, as according to international humanitarian law, it is only illegal to kill civilians, prisoners of wars and others *hors de combat*). Finally, and most importantly, what happened in Srebrenica was a Bosnian Serb affair and Serbia had nothing to do with it.

[54] Petrović, *A Crack in the Wall of Denial*, 97

The video was filmed by a member of the unit, Slobodan Stojković Bugar. It was not intended for publication and sharing widely, and thus, depicts members of the Scorpions unit, presumably, doing what they do, in its truest form. If it can be at all said that they are performing, then they are performing for those immediately around them, and possibly others who approve of the act. The video also shows that, at that time, even though this was two years after the establishment of the ICTY, these men had no fear about recording a murder, nor particular worries that it may lead to them being prosecuted for what they have done. In 1995, the ICTY was hardly a considerable threat, barely a case or two in the making, not yet powerful enough in the eyes of those men who probably thought they were engaging in legitimate state business. This is, furthermore, an amateur video—it only films, somewhat with a shaky hand, what *was*—there does not seem to be much of an agenda behind it. The video includes Scorpions banter, jokes, and what seems to be unrehearsed behavior.

The nineteen minutes that show the execution are actually part of a two-hour collage, filmed largely by Scorpions member Duško Kosanović Sova, who on that fateful day was not present. Sova had had, as he described, a fight with the commander the day before, and left.[55] The camera stayed, and Slobodan Stojković Bugar took over the filming duties. As part of the collage, the viewer can see scenes from a blessing ceremony, where an orthodox priest named Gavrilo sends the men off to go to the war theater, asking the almighty to give strength to the most faithful Serbian army to fight and win against the enemy of the Serbian people.[56]

The answer to the question of why the execution was filmed is still largely speculative.[57] Journalist, researchers and analysts looked into statements made by members of the unit, the commander Boca, the videographer, trying to understand the reasoning behind the decision to film. During the trial Boca responded to the judges' question about why he ordered it to be filmed with a counter question, asking, essentially, if the judge thought he was an idiot. Boca was, clearly, becoming well aware of the judicial value of this footage.[58]

Pero Petrašević, one of the members of the unit who was charged but, unlike others, pleaded guilty, told the court that Boca seemed visibly agitated as he issued the order to his closest subordinates, all members of his personal security detail, which made Petrašević think that Boca himself received the order to execute these men. Petrašević immediately asked his commander why the execution was being filmed, to which Boca told him to relax, suggesting the footage would later be deleted. Petrašević speculated that the video was created in order to prove to those that issued the order to Boca, that the execution indeed took place. If that is true, and executions were being filmed, why has no other footage emerged by now? However, once back in Đeletovci, Petrašević realized that some of the men who were not deployed around Trnovo saw the footage and then it occurred to him that recording it was the stupidest thing to do.[59] The videographer of most of the other footage, Sova, spoke about filming as one would about documenting an interesting excursion, to make something of a memento to their time in the field. Was the execution video a memento, or not, it is hard to know.

According to the testimony of Slobodan Stojković Bugar, he was filming simply because Sova

[55] Stojanović, *Škorpioni Spomenar*, min 32-34; Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina*. In his testimony, Slobodan Stojković Bugar claims that Sova got ill and that was the reason he returned home, 348, http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Skorpioni.pdf.

[56] The segment depicting the ceremony with the orthodox priest can be viewed here, accessed on July 30, 2017, http://srebrenica.sense-agency.com/en/.

[57] Multiple theories were presented through the years about why the camera was there, and none was so far proven. One was centered on the assumption that the State Security demanded to record the shootings, as a proof that they were done. That theory would mean that there may be other images and footage still to be uncovered. Another theory is that they filmed themselves on their own accord, but that this was not done in order to have a memento, but as a way to pressure the State Security with potentially uncovering the story of the murders, and speaking publicly about who gave them the order to execute the men. A similar theory is that the footage was made in order to keep the executioners in line, as leverage against them ever going to the authorities to rat out their comrades.

[58] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina*, 59.

[59] Ibid., 92

was not there to do it.[60] While testifying in the trial in Belgrade, Bugar stated that, overall, the unit was being filmed so that the commander would have the recording as a souvenir. Sova was apparently brought into the unit with the particular task of filming.[61] Slobodan Stojković Bugar recalled, during the Scorpions Belgrade trial, that on the morning of the event, he was told by the commander to go and film "it," and said that he did not ask what precisely "it" was. This is what Bugar was told, according to his testimony, by Slobodan Medić Boca, as he was instructing the others to go complete the assignment.[62] The commander, Boca, gave a completely different account. He was claiming in court that he had nothing to do with the crime, that he did not order it and that most certainly, he had nothing to do with it being taped. According to Boca, he had learned of the event much later.[63] If he had known that a crime had taken place and that someone filmed it, Boca stated, "*Ja bih ga ko zeca ubio*" or "I would have killed him like a rabbit."[64]

The commander's position during the entire trial was that he did not order any execution, and that his men acted independently. That is a claim all but one of his former subordinates rejected.[65] According to Pero Petrašević, Boca issued an order—to kill the "soldiers" in the truck. According to Boca, they were captured soldiers.[66] The accused Petrašević, like others such as the cameraman Slobodan Stojković Bugar, testified that Boca was an authority in the unit and that his men respected him.[67] Without the commander's approval, they could not move from their positions.[68] To the judges at the opening of the trial, Petrašević said that in front of god, he is guilty, but what the judges have to determine is if he is guilty for executing an order in war.[69]

The video circulated in the town of Šid, somewhat underground, among members of the unit, their supporters, and others with some connections to the right people. In 2004, the tape was given by one of the Scorpions to the NGO Humanitarian Law Center (HLC), a well-known Serbian human rights organization specializing in documenting crimes and wartime abuses. Nataša Kandić, the head of the Center, approached the Serbian War Crimes Prosecutor Vladimir Vukčević and demanded action. Action did, after significant pressure, follow.[70] During that period, another tape with the same content, originating in Bosnia, found its way to the ICTY Prosecutor's Office in The Hague. As this case shows, secrets like this are hard to keep when there is a tape recording somewhere.

The Execution

From the crime after the fall of Srebrenica, and the set of events that create that cluster of organized, systematic executions, this particular fragment of video emerges to depict the atrocity. The relevant bit of the video, for the purposes of this article, begins in the back of a truck. Men are seen on the floor, and it is difficult to see where one person ends, and another begins. We see the legs of a Scorpions member later identified later as Pero Petrašević, sitting in the back of the truck, wearing army boots. All of a sudden, one boot kicks a body on the floor: "*Šta se treseš, pička ti materina?"* or "Why are you shaking, you motherfucker?"[71]

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[60] *Prosecutor v. Zdravko Tolimir*, November 25, 2010, IT-05-88/2, 8118 – 8119, accessed July 28, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/tolimir/trans/en/101125ED.htm.

[61] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina*, 346

[62] Ibid., 327.

[63] Ibid., 55.

[64] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina*, 55

[65] Ibid., 82. Branislav Medić supported Boca's version of events.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 94, 355.

[68] Centar za mir Osijek. *Zločin u Godinjskim Barama 1995. godine, opt. Milorad Momić*; Testimony of witness Damir Hovan, March 26, 2015, accessed July 26, 2017, http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/sudenja-za-ratne-zlocine-2015/zlocin-u-godinjskoj-bari-1995-godine-opt-milorad-momic/.

[69] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina,* 593.

[70] Nataša Kandić, Introduction, Škorpioni *od zločina do pravde* (Belgrade: Humanitarian Law Center, 2008), 7-8.

[71] Sense News Agency, "Prisoner Execution Footage," Srebrenica: Genocide in Eight Acts, accessed September 11, 2018, http://srebrenica.sense-agency.com/en/. All translations are by the author, unless otherwise specified.

Members of the unit around the truck make comments about the detainees smelling badly. The Scorpions use particular words one would use with a toddler, and a particularly high-pitched voice, when suggesting that the men defecated, and urinated on themselves. They do this to mock them, make them feel emasculated. It is worth remembering, the killings took place in July, and the detainees have probably been captured several days before. It was a hot summer, and temperatures rose upwards of 30 degrees Celsius. They probably had not eaten or drank in days, not to mention showered, or changed their clothes.

After the initial few minutes where the camera is pointing to the group of people on the floor, in the back of the truck, we see them emerge from the truck, while the Scorpions yell at them "*yalla, yalla*,"[72] Arabic for "come on, come on", and asking rhetorical questions such as if they were rushing when they were murdering Serbs. The unit members yell, go on, on your knees — "*klanjaj, pička vam materina*" — "pray, motherfuckers,"[73] a reference to the Muslim prayer, performed on the knees. Both the term "*yalla*" and the reference to Muslim prayer seem to be used to re-confirm the identity of the detainees as non-Christians, Islamists, Turks, and undeserving of humane, dignified treatment.[74]

> *"Kad si Srbe ubijao, nisi čeko', pička ti materina."*
>
> "When you murdered Serbs, you didn't wait around, did you, you motherfucker."[75]

The unit members taunt the prisoners, saying they will kill two of them, and let four go—the four best ones. One person lying in the ditch says, calmly, "*ubijte me, al' dajte mi vode*"—"kill me, but give me water." The unit members respond with: "silence, head down!"[76] There is no evidence of the Scorpions ever trying to check if the men they had in their custody were suspected of any crimes, or if they were soldiers. For them, it seemed enough that they were Muslims, and that was the reason these men were killed. That is what Pero Petrašević said to the mothers and family members of the victims in court, after pleading guilty: "*Ubili smo ih zato što su bili Muslimani*" or "We killed them because they were Muslims."[77]

The six detainees jumping out of the truck were rushed to a nearby ditch, next to the road, where they were told to lie down. The first to jump out was seventeen-year old Safet Fejzić. The detainees were dirty, their clothes stained and wrinkled, at least one of them had what looks like blood and swelling on his face, and shoeless… Their hands were tied behind their backs. They looked at the floor at all times. They spoke little, and mostly in response to questions. The younger among them seemed particularly petrified, their shoulders down, as if trying to become so small that they would disappear from that moment, from that place. Once on their feet again, the members of the Scorpions unit kept yelling at the prisoners to move quicker.

Once the men are out of the truck, it was easier to see them, and they were identified as: Safet Fejzić (17 at time of death), Azmir Alispahić (17), Sidik Salkić (36), Smail Ibrahimović (35), Dino Salihović (16), Juso Delić (25). That identification was confirmed as bodies were found close to the execution site around the time the video became public, and DNA analysis established that it was indeed them. In sharp contrast to the mood and appearance of the captured men and boys, are the

[72] "Yalla, yalla" is also a common term in that region, used when moving cattle in the field (e.g. cows or sheep) and it may indicate that, apart from being a reference to the Muslim origin of the captives, the Scorpion members yelling it also considered the detained men and boys to be cattle-like.

[73] Sense News Agency, *Prisoner Execution Footage*.

[74] In this context "Turk" is a reference to the Ottoman empire and its rule in the Balkans when some of the local populations converted to Islam. The fact that they left Christianity for a perceived better social position is considered by many contemporary nationalists as something Bosnian Muslims should be ashamed of, as an act of opportunism and weakness by their ancestors. For more on the term "Turk", see Michael Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

[75] Sense News Agency, *Prisoner Execution Footage*.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Bojan Tončić, "Ratni zločinac Slobodan Medić poginuo na slobodi," *E-Novine*, January 3, 2014, accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.e-novine.com/srbija/96448-Ratni-zloinac-Slobodan-Medi-poginuo-slobodi.html.

Figure 1. Scorpions member standing next to the victims.

members of the unit surrounding them. They seem well fed, and well dressed, in dark uniforms, some wearing red berets, carrying rifles. Some of them are bulky and muscular. There are one or two seemingly older men, while the rest look to be in their twenties. They comment, with laughter and slight irritation, when the filmmaker yells out, somewhat bemused, that the battery ran out, and that he would have to rush back to the camp for a full one. It is then clear that what is about to happen could not happen without a camera present.

We hear another Scorpions member, Aleksandar Medić, turn towards the 17-year old Azmir on the ground and say: "*Jesi li prcao? … E pa ni nećeš*" or "Have you ever fucked? … Well, you won't."[78]

If it is not clear up to that point to the viewer, what is going on, at this precise moment, it becomes clear. There is no doubt in the minds of those present about what is about to happen. Interestingly, the same man, Aleksandar, who spoke those horrible words to the petrified young man—did not shoot when the time for it came. Aleksandar Medić kept his barrel raised in the air, and he did not fire just minutes after this short conversation took place. For it, he suffered ridicule and humiliation from his comrades.[79]

In the video, men walk around carrying weapons, while captives lie in the dirt next to a road. After that, they are escorted to a nearby meadow, lined up in tall grass, close to some holiday cottages long unused due to war, and shot. Each victim looks on, as others standing in front are shot in the back by outbursts of fire. One by one, four fall down. Two are left to pick up the four bodies, their hands now untied, and take them inside an abandoned house.[80]

As the two carry the bodies, they are advised not to look at the faces, presumably not to feel sick, as they drag the lifeless bodies away. The last two men are then shot. Just before that, one of the two asked to drink some water he saw in a bowl, or ashtray, on the windowsill of the abandoned house. He was allowed to do so.[81] One of the unit members then used his last remaining bullets on them, while another walks in and says he'll 'stamp' them, meaning—put another bullet in their heads, just to make sure they are dead. As they inspect the bodies, a unit member says "*a u*

[78] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina*, 365.

[79] Ibid., 100.

[80] Centar za mir Osijek. *Zločin u Godinjskim Barama 1995.* Testimony of witness Amor Mašović.

[81] Fond za humanitarno pravo, *Škorpioni od zlocina*, 389.

Figure 2. Victims being escorted to the execution site.

pičku materinu, ovaj jos diše" or "For fucks' sake, this one is still breathing."[82] After the members of the unit make sure the last victim is dead, they leave the house. Bodies are then left, piled up in the corner. When they were found, as Amor Mašović had testified, their bones were burned, and that made the process of DNA extraction and identification harder.[83]

The victims never pleaded for their lives, even when it became painfully clear that they were about to end. They never fought, or tried to escape. They asked for water, and asserted their innocence when taunted and accused of abusing Serbs. None of it mattered. The perpetrators did not face any punishment at the time, and members of the same unit deployed again, in four years time, to Kosovo. In this respect, it can be argued that a lack of punishment for the execution in Trnovo made the crime in Podujevo in 1999, more likely.

The Consequences

The executed men were found in shallow graves close to the execution site, identified, and returned to families for proper burial. However, at the time when the video was released, members of the families were shocked to see it replayed on TV, over and over again. Until then some were still probably holding on to some hope that their loved ones may be alive, somewhere, maybe in a detention camp. As the video was released, that hope was shattered. Azmir Alispahić's mother turned on the TV to watch the evening news that day, while in a refugee camp near Tuzla, Bosnia, and then she saw him. He was the second in line to get shot. She recalls the men in the video pushing him, and just seconds later they shot him. She said to those interviewing her: "no one can understand how I feel."

The son of Sidik Salkić spoke publicly, many years later, about seeing his father being murdered, on TV, while living as a refugee in Australia. Sidik worked in the hospital in Srebrenica, and his son remembered his father wearing the same blue shirt on the video, that he wore when they said goodbye, as Srebrenica was falling.[84] He was wearing that same shirt that his son had seen

[82] Sense News Agency, *Prisoner Execution Footage*.

[83] Centar za mir Osijek. *Zločin u Godinjskim Barama 1995*. Testimony of witness Amor Mašović.

[84] Families separated as the enclave was falling and many women, children and elderly people went to the UN compound in Potočari (just a few kilometers from Srebrenica), and men went towards the forests, and tried to make their way to the territory held by the Bosnian government. The men wanted to reach Tuzla and did not want to be captured by the Bosnian Serb forces. On their way, many were attacked, captured and taken to execution sites in the days and weeks that followed.

him wear countless times before.[85] Hana Fejzić recognized her seventeen-year-old son Safet Fejzić in the footage and testified about it in court. She said that he was wearing the tracksuit she bought for him.[86]

The experiences of family members of these victims raise an important ethical question: do families need to be identified, contacted, and consulted, before any footage of this sort is broadcast in court? The answer is yes, whenever possible, absolutely. There is no need for families to be further traumatized by insensitive judicial institutions. In cases where there are conflicts between the needs and desires of families of victims with respect to evidence like this, and the requirements put forward by the judicial process, relatives need to be consulted, informed and warned, and treated with utmost care and respect, as to avoid inflicting additional harm. A separate issue concerns the ethical use of images like this in the media (in this case, in particular TV and print). Following the video being shown in the ICTY courtroom, it was broadcast at least two thousand times, and TV stations in Serbia and Bosnia showed it more than 500 times.[87] That in itself made it impossible for most family members to escape seeing it, repeatedly, for weeks. The pain and anguish that that caused the family members of the victims is difficult to imagine.

Judicial and Social Aftermath

Srebrenica-Related Trials

Broadly speaking, in war crimes trials, there are two kinds of evidence presented by the prosecution: crime-base and linkage.[88] Furthermore, there is lead evidence, and corroborative evidence.[89] For judges, evidence must work well together to convincingly prove allegations. For anyone working on prosecuting those cases, crime-based evidence tends to be easier to obtain, verify, and present in court because it speaks about a crime that was committed, and those immediately at the crime scene. It may contain testimonies of eyewitnesses, survivors, and alike. Linkage, on the other hand, focuses on those higher up the chain of command, most often far away from the crime scene, who claim they had no intention to commit any crime, had no information their troops were engaging in crimes, and whoever may have transgressed was doing so on their own accord, and not based on any orders. Linkage is necessary to convict anyone higher up—it needs to prove that commanders and politicians ordered, or were aware of what was happening, and intended the outcome, or at least tolerated it, and that troops were acting under a functioning authority. In this case, the Scorpions video was proof that a crime had been committed by a unit, which was, we now know, affiliated with the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs.[90]

The emergence of the video had a great impact on trials going on in The Hague and in Serbia. In the days after its release, members of the Scorpions were arrested, and in the following two years faced trial at the newly established War Crimes Chamber at the Belgrade District Court.[91] This video made it impossible to paint Srebrenica as a purely Bosnian Serb affair, completely detached from Belgrade. The video has been shown in multiple ICTY trials after 2005, and is currently among the most important visual evidence in the retrial of Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović. Key post-

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[85] Insajder, *Paravojna Jedinica* Škorpioni, film (2006; Belgrade: TV B92), min 18, 28, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQNePutCvPk.

[86] Blic, "Priznao zločin posle izjava majki ubijenih," January 26, 2006, accessed July 22, 2017, http://www.blic.rs/vesti/hronika/priznao-zlocin-posle-izjava-majki-ubijenih/jef0v8v.

[87] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina,* 9.

[88] Maria Nystedt, Christian Axboe Nielsen, and Jann K. Kleffner, *A Handbook on Assisting International Criminal Investigations* (Stockholm: Swedish National Defense College, 2011), 43, accessed July 26, 2017, https://fba.se/contentassets/6f4962727ea34af5940fa8c448f3d30f/handbook-on-assisting-international-criminal-investigations.pdf.

[89] Witness, *Using Video for Documentation and Evidence*, July 21, 2014, accessed July 22, 2017, https://www.newtactics.org/conversation/using-video-documentation-and-evidence.

[90] The trial record in the Stanišić and Simatović ICTY case (and now MICT), testimonies of former members such as Goran Stoparić, as well as statements members gave after the war in documentaries point to this conclusion. See, for example, accessed December 12, 2017, http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/scorpions-ex-fighter-says-belgrade-controlled-paramilitaries-12-01-2017.

[91] OSCE. *War crimes proceedings in Serbia (2003-2014)*, 2015, accessed July 23, 2017, http://www.osce.org/serbia/194461?download=true.

2005 ICTY Srebrenica trials include Zdravko Tolimir, Popović et al., and Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić (both currently awaiting appeal judgments). In those trials, a number of Bosnian Serb officers were convicted of genocide and other crimes, for executions following the fall of Srebrenica.[92] In November 2017, Mladić heard the first instance judgment, sentencing him to life imprisonment.[93]

For the purposes of this article, the focus is on those who actually committed the massacre, and not those who ordered it, or have done nothing to prevent it, or punish the lower-level perpetrators in the aftermath. That is because the video and testimony of unit members in subsequent trials speak volumes about these men, the unit, and the crime they committed. After the footage was released, some of them were charged, along with their commander (who was not at the execution site and is not captured on video). The accused were commander Slobodan Medić Boca (39 at time of charging), Pero Petrašević (36), Aleksandar Medić Zara (38), Aleksandar Vukov Vuk (33) and Branislav Medić Zekan (36). The trial had flaws critics were eager to point out, such as the fact that genocide was not charged and that the court was not convinced that the victims had anything to do with Srebrenica, but overall, it was fair to the accused, and a step in the right direction for Serbia and its judiciary.[94]

The Scorpions were charged with committing crimes against civilians, a war crime.[95] Slobodan Medić and Branislav Medić were convicted to the maximum available sentence, twenty years in prison, while Aleksandar Medić got five. Aleksandar Vukov was acquitted. Pero Petrašević, after pleading guilty, was sentenced to thirteen years in prison.[96] The Supreme Court largely upheld convictions, but reduced Branislav Medić's sentence to 15 years, and returned the case of Aleksandar Medić for retrial.[97]

Other trials were conducted in the following years. Slobodan Davidović Boda, and Milorad Momić, both members of the unit present at the execution, were tried in Croatia. Both were convicted.[98] On December 31st 2013, as he was on his way to the New Years' celebration with his wife and seventeen-year old son, Slobodan Medić Boca, the commander of the Scorpions, was killed by a drunk driver. The Toyota Medić's family was in, was crushed. His wife and son were killed too.[99] Boca was out of prison for the holidays, something that was later heavily criticized by human rights advocates and the families of the victims.[100]

Impact of the Video on Serbian Society

In the days after it was released, reactions poured in, and politicians and public figures gave statements with varying degrees of genuine shock, and demands for justice.[101] The video was

[92] The treatment of the massacre in Trnovo in a number of ICTY cases against higher-level accused requires a lengthy discussion that falls beyond the scope of this paper.

[93] *Prosecutor v. Ratko Mladic*, Trial Judgment, November 22, 2017, IT-09-92, accessed on December 3, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/mladic/tjug/en/171122-1of5_1.pdf.

[94] Tanja Tagirov, "Istina, ali samo pravosudna," *Vreme*, April 12, 2007, accessed July 20, 2017, http://vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=494573.

[95] Fond za humanitarno pravo, Škorpioni *od zločina*, 13.

[96] Ibid., 599.

[97] Blic, "Vrhovni sud uvažio žalbe Škorpiona," September 11, 2008, accessed July 21, 2017, http://www.blic.rs/vesti/hronika/vrhovni-sud-uvazio-zalbe-skorpiona/f1ssmrv.

[98] Slobodan Davidović Boda was convicted to 15 years in prison in December 2005, for war crimes against the civilian population in Bosnia, and against prisoners of war in Croatia. Davidović was arrested in the aftermath of the release of the video. More here, accessed December 10, 2017, http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/en/ps/zlocin-u-trnovu-i-boboti/. More on the Momić case, accessed December 10, 2017, http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/sudenja-za-ratne-zlocine-2015/zlocin-u-godinjskoj-bari-1995-godine-opt-milorad-momic/.

[99] Blic, "Komandant Škorpiona sa porodicom krenuo na doček, ubio ih pijani vozač," January 1, 2014, accessed July 21, 2017, http://www.blic.rs/vesti/hronika/komandant-skorpiona-sa-porodicom-krenuo-na-docek-ubio-ih-pijani-vozac/mb0x0jv.

[100] Bojan Tončić, "Ratni zločinac Slobodan Medić poginuo na slobodi," *E-Novine*, January 3, 2014, accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.e-novine.com/srbija/96448-Ratni-zloinac-Slobodan-Medi-poginuo-slobodi.html.

[101] Petrović, *A Crack in the Wall of Denial*, 104.

viewed by many, and quickly, as the Milošević trial was followed by the media with greater attention than any other trial.[102] Nothing like this video had ever been shown in mainstream media in Serbia. There were also outright denials following the video being released, coming mostly from the nationalist right.[103] Serbian politicians, to this day, in accepting facts from Srebrenica and referring publicly to it, tend to, with the very next breath, refer to crimes suffered by Serbs. While it is absolutely true that Serb civilians suffered as victims of crimes, no genocide was established to have been committed against them in the 1990s wars.[104] However, in an attempt to equalize, balance and dismiss any notion that troops fighting for the Serbian political project perpetrated a crime that is in any way different from other crimes in the 1990s, politicians emphasize crimes against Serbs. It is rare to hear a singular acceptance of what happened after Srebrenica fell, without the mandatory "but" coming right after it.

As for the social aftermath of the release of the video, now, more than twelve years on, it is clear that its impact was limited, but it did fundamentally change how Srebrenica is perceived. Serbian journalist and ICTY prosecution witness Dejan Anastasijević concluded that there would always be a number of people who will deny that any crime was committed. There are those that will, because of political interests or direct involvement, refuse to acknowledge the crimes no matter the evidence. However, in the aftermath of the video, the average Serbian citizen will, Anastasijević argues, probably think twice before saying that no crimes were committed in Srebrenica, or that it was not really a big deal.[105]

Importantly, Serbian civil society, and organizations like the Helsinki Committee, and the Humanitarian Law Center, continue to work tirelessly on disseminating important facts about Srebrenica in Serbia. In 2017, the HLC released a dossier that concluded, based on credible evidence, that Serbian institutions were responsible for turning men who fled from Bosnian Serb troops after the fall of Srebrenica and reached Serbia, right over to those that would later kill them.[106]

Conclusion

The Scorpions video is among some of the most recognizable imagery of the Yugoslav wars, alongside Ron Haviv's series of images of Arkan's unit in Bijeljina in April 1992, and the footage British journalists filmed in the summer of the same year in Omarska and Trnopolje, two large camps close to Prijedor in western Bosnia. That material has been made part of the trial record in numerous cases, in multiple jurisdictions, most notably in The Hague. For Srebrenica, we also have the footage Serbian journalist Zoran Petrović Pirićanac filmed while being embedded with Bosnian Serb forces after the fall of Srebrenica. Out of that footage, a few seconds depicting dead bodies in front of the Kravica warehouse, is most relevant. Those images helped prosecutors prove the organized and systematic expulsions, detentions and executions. In the case of Srebrenica, they helped prove genocide.

However, there is only one video of executions that has emerged—the video discussed in this article. The killing of the six men and boys sometime after July 16, 1995, in a hamlet near Trnovo, almost two hundred kilometers from Srebrenica, was, unlike others, recorded. In that respect, it is different than other mass executions at sites like the Kravica warehouse, Orahovac, the Petkovci dam, Kozluk, Pilica or Branjevo farm, all locations of mass executions in the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica. The murder of the six unarmed men took place after the mass executions that followed in the week after July 11, but is part of the efficient system of killing the Bosnian Serb Army, and in particular its security apparatus, aided by the police, committed in various locations around eastern Bosnia.

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[102] Ivan Zverzhanovski, "Watching War Crimes: The Srebrenica Video and the Serbian Attitudes to the 1995 Srebrenica Massacre," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 7, no. 3 (2007), 422.

[103] Gordy, *Guilt, Responsibility and Denial*, 133.

[104] At the International Court of Justice, at the ICTY, and in national courts – no such finding was made at any of the courts, in relation to individual criminal responsibility or state responsibility.

[105] Block, *Execution Video Shocks Serbia*.

[106] Humanitarian Law Center, "Deportation of Srebrenica Refugees," July 13, 2017, accessed July 28, 2017, http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=33971&lang=de.

This video provides, in the words of the perpetrators themselves, a sense of just what sort of humiliation the victims had to go through before they were murdered. It gives insight into how the victims were perceived by the perpetrators: as weak, unmanly, dirty and smelly. The victims were yelled at and insulted. Victims were thirsty, a particular detail that already emerged in previous Srebrenica trials at the ICTY.[107] As evidence, the video was crucial in proving that Srebrenica was not a completely Bosnian Serb affair, with which Belgrade's institutions had nothing whatsoever to do with. As Dejan Anastasijević argued, the Scorpions were not a Bosnian Serb unit. This video was the key evidence proving participation of units from Serbia proper in the crimes committed after the fall of Srebrenica.[108]

For prosecuting mass atrocity crimes, it is further important to point out that this video has not only been used to prosecute individuals up the chain of command, but has served to pressure Serbian institutions into arresting and prosecuting members of the Scorpions unit that committed the crime. Without the video, these men almost certainly would not have been held accountable. It is unlikely they would have come forward on their own. What the developments surrounding the video prove is that evidence like this can push institutions into action. It can, however briefly, open the space for discussions about what was done in war, and in whose name.[109] The question remains, how many murderers and war criminals are currently on the streets of the former Yugoslavia, because they were never shortsighted enough to film what they were doing?

The Scorpions told stories of unit honor and sacrifice in court, about how life on the frontline is hard, and how they obeyed orders. As the trial transcripts show, the unit commander denied having anything to do with the crime, and members claimed they were ordered to do it, and put on the spot with little choice. They argued that commander Boca had absolute power and that they would never have done something like that without clear instructions, as he was perceived to be a tough commander, and one that does not tolerate disobedience.

The video and subsequent trial record show that the perpetrators had no doubt about what they were doing, and that there was little insecurity or remorse. Maybe the fact that Aleksandar did not shoot can be interpreted as insecurity, and Petrašević pleading guilty could be understood as a sign of remorse. However, some members seemed to have enjoyed the act of killing. They seemed absolutely untouched by what they had done and their acts appeared to be part of a routine—nothing in their behavior suggested that this was in any way a new situation for them. In the years after, unit members did not come forward, tormented by guilt, to confess their crime.

What the video reveals about perpetrators is that they escape simplistic qualifications and labelling as monsters or sadistic psychopaths.[110] Reading the words of Pero Petrašević in the Scorpions trial in Belgrade, one sees a man who regrets his act, and claims the duty to obey orders was the reason why he did what he did that day. But do orders justify him kicking a man, while he's on the floor, in the back of a truck? He is the one in the video who asked a frightened detainee why the fuck he was shaking. Aleksandar Medić, who teased with vulgar jokes a 17-year old who was lying on the ground, waiting to be shot, did not pull the trigger when the time came to do so. He was later resented for it by his peers. Not all members of notorious units participate in committing crimes, and some later step forward and speak about the acts of their comrades, sometimes putting their own lives in grave danger, and subjecting themselves to pressure, threats, and rejection by their social circles. For men like Goran Stoparić, a former Scorpions member who came forward and spoke out, it was anything but easy to testify; yet he has done so repeatedly.

The video and subsequent trial in Belgrade emerged as a result of the dedication and persistence of one individual in particular, Nataša Kandić, an iron-willed human rights advocate. As in other cases around the globe, when it comes to facing the past, human rights groups are the ones pressing for it. The role of HLC in this particular case proves the importance of civil society engagement

[107] *Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstic*, testimony of witness O, April 13, 2000, IT-05-88/2. Transcript page 2911, lines 13-14, accessed July 22, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/krstic/trans/en/000413ed.htm.

[108] Block, *Execution Video Shocks Serbia*.

[109] Petrović, *A Crack in the Wall of Denial*, 107

[110] An interesting perspective is provided by Saira Mohammed in "Of monsters and men: perpetrator trauma and mass atrocity," *Columbia Law Review*, 115/5 (2015), 1157-1216.

in the painful process of facing the past in Serbia.[111] As unsuccessful as this process seems to be at times, the existence of this video did show, quite literally, to people in Serbia, that men in uniforms, speaking Serbian, did kill unarmed victims in the aftermath of Srebrenica. Up until that point, there was still doubt about Srebrenica in much of Serbian society, and the notion that it was all some kind of fabrication to vilify the Serbs still held, especially in nationalist circles. After the Scorpions video came out, that is no longer the case.[112] As Orentlicher wrote when referring to the trials at the ICTY, what took place was a "shrinking space for denial"[113], however briefly.[114] That is what happened: today, only those at the very margins of the political discourse would claim nothing at all happened in Srebrenica. There is widespread recognition that the massacre took place, albeit often coupled with efforts to minimize the number of victims.

Currently, the Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals in The Hague, the daughter-institution of sorts to the ICTY, is conducting the re-trial of Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović, the former head of the Serbian State Security, and his trusted associate. They are charged with crimes committed by units such as the Scorpions, as the two accused were, according to the prosecutors, responsible for their establishment, training, financing and deployment. The crimes charged include persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, a crime against humanity, and murder as a violation of the laws and customs of war, committed in a number of municipalities in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.[115] They were previously tried by the ICTY, and acquitted in 2013, in a controversial decision based on a particular understanding, later dismissed by judges as erroneous, of aiding and abetting as a mode of liability.[116] The Appeals Chamber of the ICTY then returned the case for re-trial.[117]

In sum, what these nineteen minutes of horror have shown us was tragic, and painful, but also something we had to know if we wanted to know about Srebrenica, the crime that was committed, and the men that committed it. Without it, one could still ask: was it really that horrific? After this video we can confidently say, yes it was, it was that horrific, and worse. It is nineteen minutes of what is among the worst things imaginable that a human being can be subjected to, and that must not be forgotten. Thanks to the evidence that was collected and used in court, and this video, it cannot be.

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[111] Olivera Simić and Zala Volčič, eds., *Transitional Justice and Civil Society in the Balkans* (New York: Springer, 2013).

[112] Beti Bilandzic, "Murder video broadcast stuns disbelieving Serbs," *Reuters*, June 4, 2005, accessed July 24, 2017, http://www.theage.com.au/news/World/Murder-video-broadcast-stuns-disbelieving-Serbs/2005/06/03/1117568372197.html.

[113] Diane Orentlicher, *Shrinking the Space for Denial: The Impact of the ICTY in Serbia* (New York: Open Society Institute, 2008).

[114] Petrović, *A Crack in the Wall of Denial*, 107.

[115] *Prosecutor v. Jovica Stanisic and Franko Simatovic*, Third Amended Indictment, July 9, 2008, IT-03-69-PT, accessed on July 20, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/stanisic_simatovic/ind/en/staj-in3rdamd080710.pdf.

[116] *Prosecutor v. Jovica Stanisic and Franko Simatovic,* Trial Judgment, May 30, 2013, IT-03-69-PT, accessed on July 20, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/stanisic_simatovic/tjug/en/130530_judgement_p1.pdf.

[117] *Prosecutor v. Jovica Stanisic and Franko Simatovic,* Appeals judgment, December 09. 2015, IT-03-69-A, accessed on July 20, 2017, http://www.icty.org/x/cases/stanisic_simatovic/acjug/en/151209-judgement.pdf.

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Bonding Images: Photography and Film as Acts of Perpetration

Christophe Busch
Kazerne Dossin: Memorial, Museum and Research Center
Mechelen, Belgium

"Schöne Zeiten"

On December 2, 1959, SS-Untersturmführer (second lieutenant) Kurt Franz was arrested at his home in Düsseldorf. As a former cook, he joined the Waffen-SS in 1937 (Third SS-Totenkopfstandarte Thuringia) and worked at the Buchenwald concentration camp near Weimar. At the start of the Second World War, he was summoned to the Führer's chancellery and was asked to serve as kitchen chief at Grafeneck, Hartheim, Brandenburg and Sonnenstein. At these psychiatric institutions, the T4 euthanasia program, which included the killing of psychiatrically ill people in Germany and Austria, was executed. In late 1941, Franz was stationed at the headquarters of the euthanasia program at Tiergartenstrasse 4 (T4) in Berlin from where this murderous program was planned and ordered.[1] Together with several other T4 colleagues, he was transferred to the Belzec extermination camp in the spring of 1942 and to Treblinka in midsummer that year. There the former cook rose to become the deputy of camp commander Franz Stangl and finally became the last camp commander of Treblinka from August until November 1943. Until the end of the war, Franz was deployed in Trieste and northern Italy and engaged in the persecution of partisans and Jews. After the war, he worked until 1949 as a construction worker on bridges and later became a cook again in Düsseldorf just until his arrest. Five years later (1965), he was sentenced to life imprisonment for his criminal actions in Treblinka.[2] The Landesgericht in Düsseldorf stated "he ill-treated, punched, beat and killed when it gave him pleasure and when he felt like it. Did not bother him in the least when his St. Bernard dog Barry leapt at helpless Jews at his bidding … and wounded and tore them to pieces in his presence … A large part of the streams of blood and tears that flowed in Treblinka can be attributed to him alone."[3] Franz often incited his dog against the prisoners with the words "Man, grab the dog!" The verdict of the Treblinka tribunal clarifies that with the word "man", he referred to Barry and that the word "dog" referred to the prisoner. Franz was released in 1993 due to health reasons and finally died in 1998 in a home for the elderly in Wuppertal.

Aside from his remarkable pathway from Buchenwald through the T4 institutions to the extermination camps and his incremental career steps from cook/guard to (deputy) camp commander, Franz has also left us an intriguing time document. During his arrest in 1959, the investigators discovered a photo album with snapshots taken in the Treblinka extermination camp and of his activities later in Italy.[4] The album had the inscription "Schöne Zeiten" (Beautiful Years) on the first page and was a carefully made visual memory of the highlights of his military service.[5] It showed photos of him together with the camp commander Franz Stangl at the door of the commandants' barracks at Treblinka, his dog Barry at the zoo, the construction of the extermination camp Treblinka[6], him posing with his brother who worked as a Luftwaffe soldier and several other memories in Italy during the last years of the war.[7] After the war, the word "Schöne" was erased (but still readable), and two photos on the bottom-left and bottom-right areas of the page were torn out. It is left to researchers' imaginations what these two photos could have shown, but the erased word and the missing photos share a story on their own. It is clear that for Franz the context after 1945 dramatically changed. What was once proof of the most "beautiful years" of his life could now

[1] Sara Berger, *Experten der Vernichtung: das T4-Reinhardt-Netzwerk in den Lagern Belzec, Sobibor und Treblinka* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2014), 45.

[2] Ibid., 404.

[3] Ernst Klee, et al. *The good old days: the Holocaust as seen by its perpetrators and bystanders* (Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky & Konecky, 2005), 291-292.

[4] Volker Rieß, "20 Jahre nach 'Schöne Zeiten.' Ein kritischer Rückblick mit Bildern," *Mitteilungen aus dem Bundesarchiv* (2008), accessed May 1, 2017, https://www.bundesarchiv.de/fachinformationen/01816/index.html.de.

[5] Klee, *The good old days*, 225-227.

[6] Berger, *Experten der Vernichtung*, 205-212.

[7] Clément Chéroux, *Mémoire des camps: photographies des camps de concentration et d'extermination nazis (1933-1999)* (Paris: Marval, 2001), 76-77.

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be seen as possible proof of involvement in the Nazi extermination policy, but the album never lost its authentic meaning to Franz as a private family album that was carefully made and kept all these years. In the after-war period, he chose not to get rid of the album but only to mildly intervene and delete the photos and text fragments that were possibly incriminating and provocative. Even though the remaining photos were still undeniable proof of his involvement, he chose to cherish this visual reminder of his successful career.

Two pages from the Kurt Franz photo album. On the first page of the album, two photos were torn out, and the inscription "Schöne" was erased, most likely after the war. The album was discovered by police investigators after the arrest of Kurt Franz at his home in Dusseldorf.[8]

[8] "Abteilung Rheinland," n.d., Landesarchiv NRW collection, RWB 18244a_0008 and RWB 18244a_0011.

Perpetrator Photography

The Franz album and similar collections, such as the Karl Höcker album from Auschwitz, can be seen as visual sources that shed some light on the perpetrators' networks and their framework of reference. [9] Their world is often a parallel one that we barely know and also prefer to place outside our world of conscience. Evilness is more likely to be seen as a characteristic of the others, something that is exclusively preserved for them, i.e. the Nazis, the collaborators and the perpetrators. When the public at large is (visually) confronted with some of the everyday aspects of this perpetrator world, they usually examine and evaluate it as proof of their inhumanness and perversity. Camaraderie, social activities and other signs of bonding in such spaces of cruelty are seen as evidence of their psycho-pathological make-up or other malicious character elements. In spite of this understandable viewpoint related to our empathic and compassionate feelings towards the victim group, the mad or bad hypothesis, which reduces perpetrator behavior as a dispositional characteristic of madness or evilness, rarely appears to be the case.[10] Of course we wonder how it was humanly possible to commit these atrocities and even more how and why they were able to photograph suchlike events and situations. However, due to problems of positionality, these visual perpetrator sources are mostly unseen or misinterpreted. We rarely analyze this imagery on the multitude of meanings or functions they can have, considering the limitations of studying these sources. An in-depth analysis of these camp albums and other atrocity imagery can help us in understanding how the perpetrators reflected upon the world, how they positioned themselves in it and how it shaped their respective behavior.[11] In doing so, we realize that making family albums is what human beings have done since the inception of photography. Susan Sontag stated "through photographs, each family constructs a portrait chronicle of itself - a portable kit of images that bears witness to its connectedness. It hardly matters what activities are photographed so long as photographs are taken and cherished."[12] Many perpetrators of collective violence took personal or official snapshots during their military service, collecting moments of togetherness and documenting the sometimes-violent spaces in which they operated.[13] Places such as Belzec, Treblinka, Chelmno, Sobibor, Lublin and Auschwitz resulted in the annihilation of millions of people and represent for us the darkest pages in our human history. Nevertheless, for most of the perpetrators, these places seem to be mere stations in their career pathways and often opportunities for professional advancement.[14]

It is also important to realize that these extermination camps were only the end stage in a process of cumulative radicalization that had started many years earlier.[15] This gradual process leading to the extermination camps was continuously shaped from top to bottom and vice versa during the 12 years of Nazi power.[16] This process of cumulative radicalization was intensively documented with a vast amount of imagery showing scenes of racial degradation, humiliation, exclusion, isolation and finally the extermination of specific targeted groups within the Nazi community. These visual traces are not only extensive but also diverse in nature. They are gradually built from personal anti-Semitic carnival photos, over private and official dehumanizing and humiliating photos, towards the imagery of executions in the killing fields and finally the almost industrial murder

[9] Christophe Busch, et al, eds., *Das Höcker-Album: Auschwitz durch die Linse der SS* (Darmstadt: Von Zabern, 2016).

[10] Christophe Busch, "Demonic Transitons: How Ordinary People Can Commit Extraordinary Evil," in *Genocide: New perspectives on its causes, courses and consequences*, ed. Üngör Uğur Ümit (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 49-50.

[11] Michael Wildt, "Die Epochenzäsur 1989/90 und die NS-Historiographie," *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* no. 5 (2008), 369–370.

[12] Susan Sontag, *On photography* (New York: Picador, 2010), 8.

[13] Janina Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust: interpretations of the evidence* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 66.

[14] Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Gerhard Paul, eds. *Karrieren der Gewalt: nationalsozialistische Täterbiographien* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2013), 4-5.

[15] Hans Mommsen, "Cumulative radicalisation and progressive self-Destruction as structural determinants of the Nazi dictatorship," in *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*, eds. Ian Kershaw and Lewin Moshe (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 75-87.

[16] Ian Kershaw, "'Working towards the Führer': reflections on the nature of the Hitler dictatorship," in *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*, eds. Ian Kershaw and Lewin Moshe (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 88-106.

of hundreds of thousands of victims in the Aktion Reinhard camps. This so-called "processing of numbers or cargo,"[17] where the victims were completely dehumanized and reduced to objects, can be seen in the Auschwitz presentation album that was discovered in 1945 by former prisoner Lili Jacob-Zelmanovic.[18] In this unique album, each step of the extermination process, except the gassings themselves, was carefully captured and brought together by the SS-Erkennungsdienst (photographic department) in Auschwitz.[19] It shows the most gruesome pictures of Jewish fathers, mothers, grandparents and children fearfully waiting for their deaths in the woods near the gas chambers at Birkenau. This specific Auschwitz album is the only one that was discovered after the war portraying the arrival of victims, the selections, the Kanada barracks where the stolen goods were collected and processed, the intake process of the small group that was sent to the surrounding labor camps and, of course, the majority of victims that were forced to the gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. According to Wilhelm Brasse, a Polish prisoner and photographer who worked at the Erkennungsdienst of Auschwitz, 15 of such presentation albums were made for high-ranking officers.[20] This album shows not only a part of the extermination process but also the ideological lens that the SS handled. All the photos from the SS albums (personal or official) were made through the Nazi ideological viewfinder and focused on the one hand on honor, obedience, camaraderie, cleanliness and so-called superiority of the perpetrators (Übermenschen) and on the other hand on the supposedly subhuman racial characteristics of the victims (Untermenschen). SS-Oberscharführer Walter Bernhard, the head of the Erkennungsdienst in Auschwitz, captured together with his deputy Ernst Hofmann several Jewish disabled people for the Lili Jacob album.[21] Many Nazi photographers hunted for such scenes for visual proof of the alleged degenerative characteristics of the Jewish race, which confirmed their racial framework of reference that divided Us from Them.[22]

The imagery from the camps displays the final phase of an incremental process of de-subjectification, from alleged inferior human beings towards beasts and finally cargo. In analyzing how this ultimate destruction - and capturing it - was humanly possible, we have mainly relied on millions of written documents such as orders, speeches, testimonies, et cetera. Photos and films were often used as an additive in books and exhibitions to visually validate what the words were explaining. However, one can question if that is the only possible and interesting handling of this imagery and if we are not using it almost exclusively as a form of confirmation or projection of what we (think) we already know. This rather simple interpretation often results in the confirmation bias that these pictures and footage are proof of the innate evilness and madness of the perpetrators. Being confronted with photo albums of "Schöne Zeiten," showing camaraderie and other group dynamics, we need to wonder what these visual narratives are really saying. The multitude of functions they can have may help explain, not excuse, perpetrator behavior. One may wonder how to contextualize and interpret this imagery beyond the classical projection of evilness. In addition, researchers undertake the difficult task of determining how to archeologically excavate the different layers of information in these pictures, the motives for photographing and filming the atrocities, the effects of capturing, viewing and sharing such imagery on the broader process of perpetration, the diverse networks and relations and their significant interactions we can distinguish, the behavioral group dynamics at play and all other possible insights that are enclosed in these visual sources. My argument is that the imagery of the Holocaust has gradually shaped a visual framework of

[17] I refer to the visit of Fritz Hensel, Rudolf Höss's brother in law, in Auschwitz. Upon asking what the term *Untermensch* meant, Höss replied: "Look you can see for yourself. They are not like you and me. They are different. They look different. They do not behave like human beings. They have number on their arms. They are here in order to die." Quoted in: Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), 264.

[18] Israel Gutman and Guṭerman Belah, *The Auschwitz album: The Story of a Transport* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2008), 101-274.

[19] Wilhelm Brasse and Maria Anna Potocka, *Wilhelm Brasse, Fotograf, 3444, Auschwitz 1940-1945* (Berlin: Revolver Publ. by VVV, 2011), 11-17; Struk, *Photographing the Holocaus*t, 102-116.

[20] Brasse, *Wilhelm Brasse, Fotograf*, 121. In an interview with Janina Struk, Brasse claimed earlier that at least three such albums were made. Some of them were sent to Berlin. See: Struk, *Photographing the Holocaus*t, 111.

[21] Struk, *Photographing the Holocaus*t, 120.

[22] Ibid., 108.

reference that has effected, among other elements, the process of perpetration. In other words, we need to shift from monocausal or dualistic explanations towards this complex interplay of a multitude of motives for perpetrator behavior and how film and photography circularly has affected in a more positive attitude towards violence against the targeted out-group. In this article I firstly want to reflect on a specific historical case to demonstrate the complexity of contextualizing, categorizing and analyzing perpetrator imagery. Subsequently I want to explore the diversity of motives for capturing atrocities and finally connect with some insights from social (neuro-) science how violent imagery affects a broader acceptance of violence as a legitimate means for a certain goal, like an exclusionary racial state. A clear example of such a complex visual perpetrator narrative is the massacre at the Lietūkis garage in Lithuania at the start of the Russian campaign in June 1941.

The Report of a Photographer

The imagery of the Holocaust consists of more than personal or official snapshots made in the camps. German soldiers, SS and local residents shot a vast amount of perpetrator photos and footage during the invasion of Poland and the Soviet Union. These photos portray not only the period of "Shoah by bullets" by German troops (Einsatzgruppen) but also the many atrocities committed by armed militia, auxiliaries and civilians. They were mostly brutal displays of collective violence targeting their Jewish residents and neighbors.[23] One of these well-documented massacres occurred in the courtyard of the Lietūkis garage in Kovno, Lithuania on June 27, 1941.[24] Wilhelm Gunsilius, a German Wehrmacht photographer from the Propaganda Kompanie (PK), reported and also took a series of photographs from this significant spectacle.[25] As a PK photographer, he was a member of an advanced military unit and in search for quarters when he heard and saw a crowd of people in the forecourt of a garage in front of the cemetery in the center of Kovno. When he approached the courtyard, he saw a group of 40 to 50 Jewish residents, some very well dressed, that were being publicly humiliated, abused and one by one brutally killed by civilians with armbands and armed with rifles, shovels and iron crowbars. In his testimony, German colonel L.Von Bisschoffshausen stated that there "were women in the crowd and many of them clambered onto chairs and crates so that they and their children could get a better view of the 'spectacle' taking place in the yard below."[26] As the site was probably also used as a horse stable, the courtyard was littered with animal droppings. The Jewish victims were herded and guarded by these Lithuanian auxiliaries and relentlessly battered. After they fell on their knees and were forced to gather the faeces, they were showered with a water hose and cleaned for a new round of abuse.[27] Laimonas Noreika, a famous Lithuanian actor and poet, was at that time 15 years old and lived in Kovno. On that day, he witnessed together with his older brother the massacre at the Lietūkis garage. He testified that these events were deeply burned in is memory and that he would remember them until his death. He described how

> in the middle of the yard, in broad daylight and in full view of the assembled crowd, a group of well dressed, spruce intelligent looking people held iron bars which they used to viciously beat another group of similarly well dressed, spruce, intelligent people. … They kept hitting them until they lay inert. Then, using a hosepipe for washing cars, they doused them with

[23] The International School for Holocaust Studies, "The Eastern Front: Photographs as Propaganda," accessed May 1, 2017, http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/29/photographs_propaganda.asp; Judith Levin and Daniel Uziel, "Ordinary Men, Extraordinary Photos" *Yad Vashem Studies* no. 26 (1998), 276.

[24] The massacre is dated by some witnesses on 25th and by others on the 27th of June 1941.

[25] Klee, *The good old days*, 31-32.

[26] Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team, "The Massacres in Kovno Reports and Eyewitness Accounts," accessed May 1, 2017, http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/einsatz/kovnomassacres.html; "Augenzeugen der Pogrome auf dem Lietukis Garagenhof Kaunas 1941," History, Litauen (Fast) alles ueber Litauen!, accessed May 1, 2017, https://www.alles-ueber-litauen.de/litauen-geschichte/lietukis-massaker-1941.html.

[27] Noreika Laimonas, "Oral history interview with Laimonas Noreika," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, RG-50.473*0096, accessed June 1, 2017, https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn518271.

> water until they came round following which the abuse would start all over again. And so it went on and on until the hapless victims lay death. Bodies began to pile up everywhere.[28]

Laimonas watched the entire barbaric scene until his brother pulled him away. Among the assailants was a young Lithuanian blonde man, with rolled up sleeves and armed with a crowbar. He selected one man at the time from this group and would beat him with one or more blows to death. The German colonel Von Bisschoffshausen described the unknown perpetrator as follows:

> However, when I asked what was happening I was told the 'death dealer of Kovno' is at work and he would make sure that all 'traitors and collaborators' received a fitting punishment for their 'treachery.' When I drew closer I witnessed a display of brutality that was unparalleled by anything I saw in combat during two world wars. … Standing on the tarmac in the yard was a fair haired young man of around 25. He leaned on a long iron bar as thick a human arm and around his feet lay between fifteen to twenty people who were either dying or already dead. A few feet away from him stood another group of individuals who were guarded by armed men. Every few minutes he signaled with his hand and another person quietly stepped forward and had his skull shattered with one blow from the huge iron bar the killer held in his hand. Each blow he struck drew another round of clapping and cheering from the enthralled crowd.[29]

Within the hour all these people were killed in this bestial manner. The many testimonies of this garage massacre confirm the reactions of the bystanders witnessing the events. They all specified that each murderous blow was accompanied by enthusiastic shouts from the audience. The German photographer Gunsilius reported that after the killings, the young man stood among the corpses and played with his accordion the Lithuanian national anthem. The large group of bystanders, including "women with small children on the first row,"[30] clapped after each killing blow and sung or cheered during the final anthem. Upon asking, the photographer was informed that the parents of the perpetrator, "the death dealer of Kovno," were shot two days earlier because they were nationalists. It seems that the young man could have partly been driven by his urge to revenge the death of his parents and the manifold crimes by the Soviet NKVD (secret police) towards nationalistic Lithuanians. Of course, a complex interplay of (f)actors made this behavior possible, but that is not the scope of this article.

The remarkable aspect of this massacre is the openness in which this pogrom took place. A large group of Wehrmacht and SS soldiers, as the local population, not only witnessed the spectacle but also encouraged and energized the dynamics by cheering and clapping. In addition, the lack of any form of resistance, the non-intervention by the German soldiers and the abundant photographing and filming of this and similar events created an enabling space to commit these crimes that are described as *Selbstreinigungsaktionen* (self-cleaning actions) by Lithuanian partisan groups.[31] Thousands of Jews perished over the next few days in related pogroms. In a similar manner, many German soldiers reported and photographed massacres, such as in Ponary (Panieriai), where a large number of Jews from Vilna were murdered in July 1941.[32] Another example occurred in Zhitomir where a Wehrmacht vehicle with a megaphone informed the inhabitants and soldiers in German and Russian (Ukrainian) that Jews would be shot in the market place and that they should follow the lorry to the shooting. Soldiers were "sitting on rooftops and platforms watching the show."[33] Mass murder took the form of public entertainment and was generally photographed by those who were in the neighborhood.

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[28] Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team, *The Massacres in Kovno Reports.*

[29] Ibid.

[30] Klee, *The good old days*, 31-32.

[31] Elisabeth Boeckl-Klamper, "Pogrome in Kowno (Kaunas/Kauen), Juni 1941," Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, accessed May 1, 2017, https://www.doew.at/erinnern/fotos-und-dokumente/1938-1945/pogrome-in-kowno-kaunas-kauen-juni-1941.

[32] Klee, *The good old days*, 38-45.

[33] Ibid., 108-117.

Despite it being illegal to photograph these atrocities, and sometimes there were attempts to prevent taking and sharing these photographs, that did not at all stop the universal tendency to watch and document the atrocities in the East. Gunsilius claimed that at the Lietūkis garage, an SS officer tried to confiscate his camera but was unsuccessful. As a frontline photographer from the PK, he had a special pass from the Sixteenth Army High Command stating that he could take photographs everywhere. He boldly informed the SS officer that he could take it up with Generalfeldmarschall Busch and was allowed to further capture the entire massacre.[34] Another soldier and amateur photographer was less fortunate and had his camera confiscated but was able to save the film.[35] Of all the massacres during that period, the incident at the garage was the most infamous one, probably due to the richness and large number of testimonies and photos. Elisabeth Boeckl-Klamper highlighted the fact that there are photos of the Lietūkis garage massacre in different European archives, which make us suspect that the photos were duplicated and shared among several soldiers. [36] The nine massacre photos shown here were anonymously donated to the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (DÖW) with the message that they were taken by a German soldier. They show the abuse, the humiliation and the killings but also the bystanders and the general openness of the events that occurred. Capturing the photos from such a close range and several perspectives leads us to wonder why and for what purpose the photographer made this series. It was, of course, his job to visually record the world he was in, but in relation to the testimonies, the many bystanders also expressed emotions of curiosity, arousal and bewilderment. This massacre occurred in the first days of the Russian campaign and (revenge) atrocities by local auxiliaries were probably a new phenomenon for the military troops. Being suddenly confronted with them questions how ordinary people[37] would react in such an extraordinary situation. One might look away or speak out against it, be intrigued in the dynamics at play or just silently capture the situation out of curiosity and the urge to document the unbelievable. As Sontag said, "As photographs give people an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal, they also help people to take possession of space in which they are insecure."[38] To understand these motives, we first need to contextualize, categorize and analyze the field of perpetrator photography.




[34] Ibid., 32.

[35] Ibid., 33.

[36] Boeckl-Klamper, *Pogrome in Kowno*.

[37] Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993).

[38] Sontag, *On photography*, 9.

Nine photos that were anonymously donated to the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (DÖW). The photos were taken by a German soldier at the Lietūkis garage massacre. They show the victims, perpetrators (Lithuanian auxiliaries) and several bystanders (locals and German soldiers) who witnessed the abuse, humiliation and brutal killings on June 27,1941.[39]

Contextualizing Perpetrator Photography

The imagery discussed here, atrocity and camp photography, cannot be explained without knowledge of the specific contexts in which they were made. The atrocities seen in the nine photos of the Lietūkis garage massacre would be difficult to deconstruct if we did not have so many witness testimonies available that dated and localized the events, clarified which actors were present and how we need to decipher this within the historical context of the Russian campaign during the summer of 1941 and the related crimes committed by local auxiliaries. Furthermore, we already mentioned the fact that the SS camp albums staged a framework of reference through an ideological lens in the final stage of a cumulative process of destruction. Perpetrator photography is difficult to analyze without additional information on who, what, when, where and why something was photographed. In contextualizing these visual documents, we need to reflect on the historiographical details of the captured situation as well as on the media channels and what new technological and societal advances have influenced these forms of communication. In this light, it is obvious that war photography is not a new phenomenon. Since the first use of cameras in the

[39] Archive DÖW collection, n.d., 2441/1-9.

19th century, this technology has been also used on the battlefield for personal or propagandistic purposes. Together with its usage came the practice of censorship, because one soon realized that seeing was believing. Noel Whitty emphasized the strong relationship that always existed between governments, the military and media organizations in relation to the imagery of war.[40] Governments, and also terrorist groups, are aware of the strong emotional and ideological potential that visual signs and narratives have. A clear example is the high level of attention the Nazis had for mass demonstrations and mass media. These highly visually orchestrated events created an intense sense of belonging. Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf* that

> mass demonstrations on the grand scale not only reinforce the will of the individual but they draw him still closer to the movement and help to create an esprit de corps. … [the individual] has need of that reinforcement which comes from the consciousness that he is a member of a great community. And only a mass demonstration can impress upon him the greatness of this community.[41]

Ross Corey demonstrated that the role of mass media entertainment functioned somewhere "between mobilization and distraction,"[42] and that this relation shifted throughout the course of the war: mobilizing first and distracting afterwards when the war opportunities turned against the Nazis. This dual approach resonated with new patterns of pleasure seeking, consumption and tourism on the one hand, and the need for "the cultivation of a wholesome and assimilationist national culture shared by all 'national comrades'," [43] on the other hand. Vacation organizations such as *Kraft durch Freude*, the myriad of highly illustrated magazines like the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* and *Die Woche*, anti-semitic films including *Jud Süß*, *Der ewige Jude*, *Die Rothschilds*, or highly successful movies such as *Der Wunschkonzert* or *Die Große Liebe* combined with the weekly news bulletins of the *Wochenschau* not only entertained but also intensively shaped a strong visual framework of reference based on past humiliations of a proud nation, the current patriotic and triumphant years and a permanent threat to the national community or *Volksgemeinschaft*.[44] Furthermore, the radio was mass produced and widely distributed as an effective instrument with a blurry line between political and entertaining broadcasts. Publications such as *Der Rundfunk als Führungsmittel* (the radio as a guiding instrument) by Gerhard Eckert made it clear that the overall goal was binding the listeners with entertaining broadcasts to the radio and thereby make them more receptive for the political broadcasts that only took a small part of the broadcasting time.[45]

All available media channels and technological innovations were deployed in (group) identity politics. Habbo Knoch[46] argued together with Paul Gerhard[47] that mainly the imagery was the central component in creating the National Socialist Movement and the group's dominance. It was not the speeches and writing but the massive use of images and staged performances with Swastika flags and Hitler greeting people at mass meetings filmed by Leni Riefenstahl that created an affirmative space as breeding ground for the National Socialist community and their so-called superiority. The imagery created in this process can be seen as "collective reference points" and "visual anchors of the ruling policy."[48] It was evident, as Elisabeth Harvey described, that

[40] Noel Whitty, "Soldier Photography of Detainee Abuse in Iraq: Digital Technology, Human Rights and the Death of Baha Mousa," *Human Rights Law Review* 10, no. 4 (2010), 689.

[41] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (English edition, 2015), 355.

[42] Corey Ross and Fabrice d'Almeida, "Radio, Film and Morale: Wartime Entertainment between Mobilization and Distraction," in *Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany*, eds. Pamela E. Swett et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 171.

[43] Ibid., 155.

[44] Ibid., 160.

[45] Ibid., 163; Gerhard Eckert, *Der Rundfunk als Führungsmittel,* vol. 1, Studien zum Weltrundfunk und Fernsehrundfunk (Heidelberg: K. Vowinckel, 1941), 179.

[46] Habbo Knoch, "Die 'Volksgemeinschaft' der Bilder: Propaganda und Geselschaft im frühen Nationalsozialismus," in *Attraktion der Nazibewegung*, ed. Gudrun Brockhaus (Essen: Klartext, 2014), 133.

[47] Gerhard Paul, *Aufstand der Bilder: die NS-Propaganda vor 1933* (Bonn: Dietz, 1992), 258.

[48] Knoch, *Die 'Volksgemeinschaft' der Bilder*, 134.

"photography and photojournalism thus became forms of 'emotional management' that tried to tie the notion of spaces through pleasurable feelings associated with the Nazi New Order in Europe."[49] The camera became a key tool in building the national community and had already been widely available for the public since the Weimar period. Cheap and lightweight cameras, such as Leica, Ermanox, Kodak, Agfa and Voigtländer, were easily accessible in Germany, and their production rose during the Weimar years.[50] In only two years since 1930, more than a million Agfa-boxes were sold, and by 1939, more than 10% of the German population owned a camera.[51] In summary, many German households were able to capture the world as an everyday practice.[52]

The emergence of the camera during these years created an "army of millions of amateur photographers"[53] and resulted in additional propaganda photos taken by a vast community of soldiers and community members who often used the many camera shops for development or reproduction and shared or traded their imagery as a social practice. The propagandistic imagery that was created and directed from the political center could now be amplified by the viewfinders of millions of amateur photographers. In an opening speech at the photo fair Die Kamera in Berlin in 1933, Joseph Goebbels addressed the topic of how "the experience of the individual has become a popular experience, and that only by the camera."[54] In the article "Der neue Weg" (the new way) in the magazine Photofreund, the author defined how photography needed to become "a tool, a weapon" to portray and shape the "German spirit and sentiment."

> We ought and want to create a German photography … The heart must speak in it, the German heart; the spirit must form it, the German spirit; sentiment must be tangible in it, German sentiment; and from this the new German photo will be born … The German people have been rapidly united in the spirit of National Socialism … All that seems in some way appropriate and good should and must be placed at the service of this tremendous idea, and thus photography too is called upon to help and contribute … Photography should no longer distract from the struggle; no, it should lead into the midst of the tray and become a tool, a weapon in this struggle. The fact that it can be an explosive and powerful weapon is something the men of the new Germany have recognized clearly. Let the Führer determine the direction in which photography should develop.[55]

Photography was not to be used solely as an individual experience but mainly as a tool to rise in the masses or the new national community. Alien elements (*Fremdkörper*) had no place in this new Germany. Janina Struk explained how all opponents of the state were seen as undesirable, with the Jew as the primary target.[56] This mythical Jew had many disguises and was portrayed in anti-Semitic publications, such as the newspaper *Der Stürmer* with its slogan 'the Jews are our misfortune' or their book *Der Giftpilz* (poisonous mushroom) intended to indoctrinate youngsters, as so-called carriers of disease, lacking in morality, parasitize on the society and infecting all that was pure and good. Goebbels clarified in the chapter titled *Die Juden sind Schuld* (The Jews are to blame) that the nation was in a war with these unwanted alien elements:

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[49] Elizabeth Harvey, "Seeing the World: Photography, Photojournalism and Visual Pleasure in the Third Reich," in *Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany*, eds. Pamela E. Swett et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 178.

[50] Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 67.

[51] Michael Wildt, "Picturing Exclusion: Race, Honor, and Anti-Semitic Violence in Nazi Germany before the Second World War," in *Violence and visibility in modern history*, eds. Jürgen Martschukat and Silvan Niedermeier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 140.

[52] Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance*, 67.

[53] Petra Bopp, "Images of Violence in Wehrmacht Soldiers' Private Photo Albums," in *Violence and visibility in modern history*, eds. Jürgen Matschukat and Silvan Niedermeier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 2.

[54] Rolf Sachsse, "'Es wird nochmals ausdrücklichst darauf hingewiesen...' Aspekte der Bildzensur im NS-Staat und im Zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Fotografieren verboten! Heimliche Aufnahmen von der Zerstörung Kölns*, eds. Thomas Deres and Martin Rüther (Köln: Emons, 1995), 12.

[55] C.A. Kanitzberg, "Der neue Weg." *Photofreund 1933*, no. 13 (July 29, 1933), 259-260; Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 23.

[56] Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 20.

> For their sake alone we must win the war. If we lose it, these harmless-looking Jewish chaps would suddenly become raging wolves. They would attack our women and children to carry out revenge. There are enough examples in history. That is what they did in Bessarabia and the Baltic states when Bolshevism marched in, even though neither the people nor their governments had done anything to them. There is no turning back in our battle against the Jews — even if we wanted to, which we do not. The Jews must be removed from the German community, for they endanger our national unity.[57]

The Nazi visual representation of this mythical Jew fit this centrifugal framework of reference. Stereotypical images portrayed the Jew as a threat to society. This visual framework was gradually created through articles focusing on the alien types present in society and that the community needed to be protected against them. As a striking example, the magazine *Illustrierter Beobachter* published a special article on the Dachau concentration camp on 3 December 1936.[58] In a four-page photo essay by Friedrich Franz Bauer, "three typical subhuman specimens in the Dachau concentration camp" were shown: "the communist, the work shy professional criminal and the Jewish national (Volks)criminal." Lombrosian typologies and characteristics were used to visually categorize the threat. On June 28, 1933, the *Coburger Zeitung* described the Dachau camp as a program that needed to traceless eradicate the "sick and alien part of the German Blood". More than 80% of the prisoners at Dachau were "bastards of mixed race with Jewish, Negroid, Mongolian or - the devil may know - any other types of blood attack."[59] Nazi propaganda was stuffed with this kind of speech and imagery showing facial and physical features and the accompanying mug shots of the criminal type.[60] The most shocking representation that divided Us from Them was the SS publication *Der Untermensch* that was translated in many European languages for maximal dissemination.[61] The publication was similar to the newspaper *Der Stürmer* in that it was freely available in the many newspaper boards erected in the public space and used the tactics of naming and shaming to maximize the separating forces. In local editions, Germans who bought from Jewish shops were named in the magazine and considered to be traitors to the community.[62] In a similar manner, the German population was warned during the national boycott on April 1, 1933 with posters and slogans that stated, "Jewish Business! Whoever buys here will be photographed!"[63] Footage of these boycotts was widely shown in several screenings of the *Wochenschau* newsreels in April 1933.[64] These specific and recurring events created a Manichaean view and representation of German society.

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[57] Joseph Goebbels, *Das eherne Herz. Reden und Aufsätze* (München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1942), 85.

[58] Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 20.

[59] Hans Dietrich, "Bericht des NSDAP-Reichstagsabgeordneten," *Coburger Zeitung*, June 28, 1933.

[60] Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 17.

[61] Der Reichsführer SS. *Der Untermensch* (Berlin: Nordland-Verlag GMBH, 1942).

[62] Wildt, *Picturing Exclusion*, 142.

[63] Sybil Milton, "The Camera as Weapon: Documentary Photography and the Holocaust," *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual* no. 1 (1984), 45–68, accessed May 1, 2017, http://motlc.wiesenthal.com/site/pp.asp?b=394975&c=gvKVLcMVIuG.

[64] More specific: "Boykottaktion gegen jüdische Geschäfte in Berlin," *Deulig Tonwoche*, nr. 66, 1933 (DTW 66/1933) and Fox *Tönende Wochenschau* 1933 (2600/1933). See: Peter Bucher, *Wochenschauen und Dokumentarfilme 1895-1950 im Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv* (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 2000), 29.

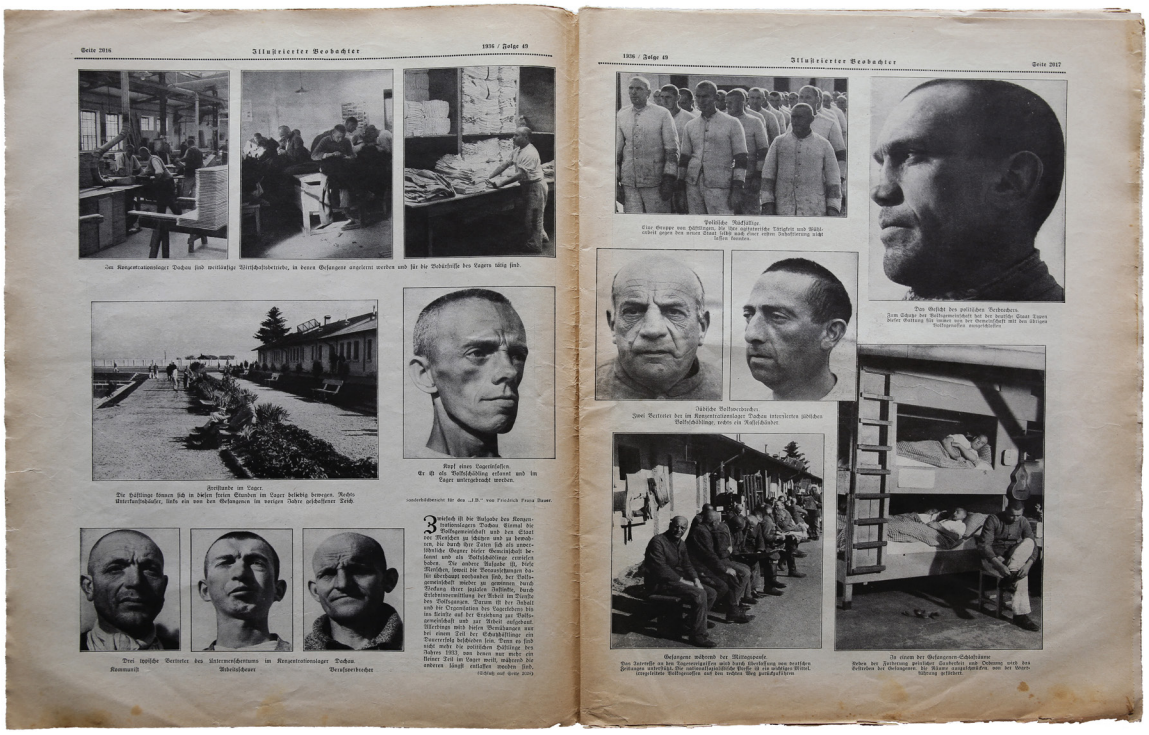

Photo report on the concentration camp Dachau in the *Illustrierter Beobachter*, December 3, 1936. Photos taken by Friedrich Franz Bauer. One of the photo captions reads: "The face of the political criminal. To protect the national community, the German state has excluded forever these types of this category from the fellowship with the rest of the people."[65]

Three-language versions of the SS magazine *Der Untermensch*, published by the Reichsführer-SS in 1942. The publication extremely positioned the Untermensch (Jews/Soviets) against the Übermensch (Aryans) and was widely distributed in Nazi Germany and occupied countries.[66]

[65] Author's personal collection.

[66] Author's personal collection.

The mythical Jew was created not only through such propaganda efforts but also with the active participation of the public.[67] Thousands of visitors went to the *Der ewige Jude* exhibition that opened in Munich, Vienna and later toured to other major cities in the occupied territories.[68] Many visitors bought the exhibition booklet or the postcard with the eternal Jew on it to keep as a souvenir or to mail to their acquaintances just as the wider public participated in the humiliation of Jews and Germans who committed the crime of *Rassenschande* (racial dishonour) through their relationships. During the run of the Neurenberg race laws, the number of cases of public humiliation rose to a maximum, as illustrated extensively in special editions of *der Stürmer*. Picturing the Jews' exclusion from the national community ("*aus der Volksgemeinschaft gestoβen*") was widespread. Michael Wildt mentions the story of a couple that was publicly humiliated for racial dishonor in Norden (northern Germany) on July 22, 1935.[69] They were publicly exposed and photographed with placards around their neck stating, "I'm a race defiler" and "I am a German girl and let myself be defiled by a Jew." A German pharmacist who witnessed and photographed the events decided later to put a print of this photo in his shop window. Photography was no longer a means of creative expression but a political tool to create a superior national community. Michael Wildt referred to this calibrated practice when he analyzed the numerous photos taken by German Wehrmacht soldiers during their military campaigns.[70] Apart from the everyday scenes, they photographed the gruesome executions as just a reality that was present. "At the same time, the photos position the photographing actors in the process, give self-descriptions and self-understanding of the soldiers and lead to questions about their perceptions and presentations of themselves and their actions, after consent, participation or distance."[71] Thousands of community members and soldiers were "keen photographers"[72] of the new societal order to which they contributed and were incrementally exposed.

Categorizing and Analyzing Perpetrator Photography

The diverse assemblage of perpetrator photography complicates an easy classification and analysis. The imagery can be sorted on the basis of the photographer's identity, the perspective and intention, the context of origin or the wider socio-political context, elements of composition (framing, exposure, distance and sharpness), the aesthetics and attractiveness, the impact and (mis)uses that the imagery has, the people or things that are presented, who took or shared the image, if it was an official or unofficial/amateur recording and finally, how the relation between the photographer and the subject could be defined.[73] The one thing that is clear is that the photographs all were taken for a variety of official and/or personal reasons. Due to my later focus on the motives and effects of perpetrator photography, I have chosen to categorize the imagery here in those pictures that were produced, and sometimes censored, for official purposes and those that were produced for personal reasons, with particular reflection on some of the aspects of atrocity photography.

The official imagery of the Third Reich was one that was controlled through instructions and censorship.[74] After the Nazi power takeover in 1933, the official image in politics was swiftly incorporated by the new regime. Photos of armed SA members who patrolled the streets together with regular police officers or the well-documented arrests of political opponents and their supposedly re-education in camps like Oranienburg, showed the public who was in power. The

[67] Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 64.

[68] Ibid., 20.

[69] Wildt, *Picturing Exclusion*, 137-140.

[70] Ibid., 140.

[71] Wildt, *Die Epochenzäsur*, 369-340.

[72] *Photoblätter*, vol. 18 (1941), 29. As quoted in: Bopp, *Images of Violence*, 181.

[73] Milton, *The Camera as Weapon*, 45–68; Thomas White, et al., "Dehumanization and Incitement: The Use and Abuse of Holocaust Photographs and Images," Cohen Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, handout, accessed May 1, 2017, http://www.keene.edu/academics/ah/cchgs/resources/educational-handouts/decoding-images/download/.

[74] Sachsse, *Aspekte der Bildzensur*, 14.

overall purpose was to disturb the former structures of media organisations and to transform and secure the new media architecture based on clear ideological objectives and totalitarian methods.[75] A prominent example was the illustrated article in the *Völkischen Beobachter* on August 8, 1933 regarding the intake of six new prisoners in KZ Oranienburg near Berlin. During the evening, social democrats Friedrich Ebert Jr and Ernst Heilmann were locked up together with four leading officials of the German radio. Among them were directors Dr Kurt Magnus and Heinrich Giesecke, the radio presenter Alfred Braun and the intendant of the Berlin radio hour, Hans Flesh.[76] The former prisoner Gerhart Seger, who wrote the book *Oranienburg, First authentic report of a fugitive escaped from the concentration camp* in 1934, described in detail how these six leading civil servants were humiliated in public.[77] Their imprisonment was shown widely in the German media and can be seen as a reckoning with the radio system of the Weimar republic and the Nazification of the media (*Gleichschaltung*). Furthermore, all photojournalists were obliged to join the new organization for photojournalists (*Bildberichtstatter*) within the Reich Association of the German Press (*Reichsverband der Deutschen Presse*).[78]

This system of total control and coordination was also the case in the several propaganda units that were installed in the army, the navy and air force. These PK photographers and camera operators received basic military training and served alongside the frontline units, suffering the same casualty numbers.[79] What they captured was hard to control in these chaotic spaces, but of course afterwards, a deliberate selection was made for propaganda uses. Similar to how Gunsilius had and utilized the freedom to photograph the garage massacre in Kovno, PK Sonderführer Albert Cusian captured the creation of the Warsaw ghetto during 1939 and 1940. With his Leica camera and a 3.5 Elmar lens, he meticulously documented the life and suffering of the Jewish inhabitants: "I photographed everything in sight. The subject matter was so interesting. I took pictures in the morgue and at the Jewish cemetery. Bodies of Jews who had died during the night were laid out on the pavements for collection in the morning. I'd wait until the collectors came and then take pictures of them."[80] The war effort had its official lens and censorship, so the imagery was deployed carefully to win the hearts and minds of the national community. Millions of photos found their way to selected target groups in a variety of magazines from illustrated newspapers, to tourist magazines such as *Kraft und Freude*, to special magazines for the *Hitlerjugend* or *Bund Deutcher Maedel* and the anti-Semitic publications by *Der Stürmer*. The imagery was selected, edited, cropped and printed to maximize its propagandistic effects. A solid example of this is the photo that was made in the fall of 1939 in occupied Poland. In this photo, we see a German soldier harassing a Jew during forced labor. Two other soldiers are watching this together with two small children who observed the situation at the edge of the pit.[81] The photo was released in a series of articles in *Der Stürmer* focusing on the forced deployment of Jews in the East. But the final image that was used for publication was cropped so that the two children who stand on the edge were no longer visible in the picture.[82] Around the same period, the German newsreels (*Wochenschau*) showed similar footage of forced Jewish labor that was filmed during the occupation of Poland and

[75] Ibid.

[76] Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten, "VI. Wie Ebert, Heilmann und die Leiter des Rundfunks eingeliefert wurden," *Die politischen Häftlingen des Konzentrationslager Oranienburg*, accessed May 1, 2017, http://www.stiftung-bg.de/kz-oranienburg/index.php?id=37.

[77] Gerhart Seger, *Oranienburg: erster authentischer Bericht eines aus dem Konzentrationslager Geflüchteten* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt Graphia, 1934), 41-42.

[78] Harvey, *Seeing the World*, 180.

[79] Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 241.

[80] Ibid., 241.

[81] Volkhard Knigge, et al., *Forced labor: the Germans, the forced laborers, and the war: companion volume to the exhibition* (Weimar: Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora Memorials Foundation), 2010.

[82] Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora, "Fotos: Radikalisierung. Zwangsarbeit im besetzten Europa," *Ausstellung Zwangsarbeit – Presseinformation*, accessed May 1, 2017, http://www.ausstellung-zwangsarbeit.org/aktuelles/presseinformation/?L=0.

later the Soviet Union in 1941.[83] The central topic in these bulletins was that the 'work-shy' Jews were now dominated by Germany and forced to work.

A German soldier harasses a Jew during forced labor in occupied Poland in the fall of 1939. A part of the photo was used by the anti-Semitic newspaper *Der Stürmer* without the two children observing the humiliation.[84]

Next to war photography for propagandistic uses, official photography was also set up within the camp administrations. Since 1933, documentary photos and albums had been made in the operation of camps such as Oranienburg and Dachau. This imagery was widely published in popular news media or books like *the anti-Brown Book on the first concentration camp Oranienburg* by SA camp commander Werner Schäfer.[85] Such publications and photo albums were made for the Nazi hierarchy and broader public to present the camp as an effective instrument of re-education. Later, the larger camps had their own photographic service (*Erkennungsdienst*) under the administration department, which produced and developed the imagery in and round the camp system. They took mug shots of prisoners for the administrative records, photos of the architecture and erection of the camp's infrastructure, photos of suicides or medical experiments, the SS households, social activities, SS military parades, official portraits and, of course, the official visits by high-ranking officers.[86] This capturing of everyday life contributed to the normality of the entire operation.[87] Photos of high-ranking visits, camaraderie, social activities at the *SS Küche* (kitchen barracks) and

[83] More specific: "Polnische Juden bei Aufräumungsarbeiten," *Ufa Tonwoche*, nr. 475, 42, 1939 (UTW 475/1939); "Aufräumungsarbeiten durch jüdische Bevölkerung," *Deutsche Wochenschau*, nr. 567, 30, 1941 (DW567/1941) and "Arbeitseinsatz von Juden," *Deutsche Wochenschau*, nr. 570, 33, 1941 (DW 570/1941). Also see, Bucher, *Wochenschauen*, 88 and 110.

[84] Stadtarchiv Nürnberg collection, n.d., E39 nr. 1703/21.

[85] Werner Schäfer, *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg. Das Anti-Braunbuch* ***über*** *das erste deutsche Konzentrationslager* (Berlin: Buch u. Tiefdruckgeselschaft m.b.h., Abt. Buchverlag), 1934.

[86] Brasse, *Wilhelm Brasse, Fotograf*, 11-17; Struk, *Photographing the Holocaus*t, 102-116.

[87] Pflug, Gabriele, ed., *Das sichtbare Unfassbare: Fotografien vom Konzentrationslager Mauthausen: Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung = The visible part: photographs of Mauthausen Concentration Camp* (Wien: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2005), 122.

the *Führerheim* for officers, the camp zoos and the simple and tidy quarters gave confirmation to the lower ranks that everything was legitimate and also created a space of connectedness, a unique bond with a higher purpose. It projected hierarchy, structure, order, elite awareness and above all, comradeship.[88]

Two photos from a personal album showing the simple and tidy quarters of the guards at the Neuengamme concentration camp, 1941.[89]

The pictures were often reproduced, made into postcards and sold to the camp guards "as souvenirs to be hung on the wall and looked at later,"[90] similar to what Franz and Höcker had done when creating their visual memory albums. SS guards posted a postcard made by the Erkennungsdienst of Auschwitz of the Solahütte in 1941 to the home front showing the idyllic space of the Beskiden, which was 30 kilometers from the camp complex. It was a place where the SS guards could relax when they were off duty or during team building.[91] The postcard was made by the photo department in Auschwitz I, in the same way the team-building photos from the Höcker album had been created at the Solahütte. This unique collection has demonstrated SS comradeship and SS service after the killing of more than 320,000 Hungarian Jews during *Aktion Höss*. These binding images showed not only the elite family or SS community and their absolute dominance but also the need for a normal social life and leisure time.[92] It confronts us not with the demonic characteristics of the perpetrators but rather with the "banality of evil" and the total exclusion of their murderous actions to others from their own moral world. The victims were no longer human beings but a job to be done, and after that job, these SS men and women brought their kids to the *SS kindergarten*, went to the opera at the *SS Küche* and participated in a normal social life in and around the camp complex. The many official and personal photos of atrocities and normal social life display the parallel worlds and separately bind both the victim and perpetrator group to their own reality.

[88] Ibid., 114.

[89] Author's personal collection.

[90] Ibid., 108.

[91] Piotr Setkiewicz, "Außenkommando SS-Hütte Solatal," in *Das Höcker-Album Auschwitz durch die Linse der SS*, eds. Christophe Busch, et al. (Darmstadt: Von Zabern, 2016), 168.

[92] Christophe Busch, "Karl-Friedrich Gottlieb Höcker, der Adjutant von Lublin und Auschwitz," in *Das Höcker-Album Auschwitz durch die Linse der SS*, eds. Christophe Busch, et al. (Darmstadt: Von Zabern, 2016), 60-62.

A postcard of the SS-Hütte Solatal, still in construction, near the Auschwitz camp complex, 1941. The postcard was sent by a SS-Mann from the second company of the SS-Totenkopf battalion. These postcards were made by the Erkennungsdienst in Auschwitz 1 and sold to the soldiers.[93]

The staff of the Auschwitz complex posing on the bridge in front of the Solahütte, 15 July 1944. The photo shows a team-building day just after the murder of 320,000 Hungarian Jews, called Aktion Höss.[94]

[93] Author's personal collection.

[94] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum collection, n.d., photo-nr. 34739.

The official Nazi photography was coordinated and controlled, but intertwined with personal amateur photography. Several guards in the camps, as well as soldiers on the battlefield, owned a camera. SS-Obersturmführer Walter Schmidetzki, head of the *Kanada II* barracks for stolen goods in Birkenau, can be seen holding a camera in a picture of the Solahütte photo series.[95] In spite of the restrictions with photographing in the camps, as frequently stated in the *Kommandanturbefehle* (commandant orders) by camp commander Höss,[96] the *Erkennungsdienst* and the photo shops in the city of Oświęcim had their work to develop all the personal pictures that were made by the SS or their family members living there. Sandra Stark states in her article *Papa macht Witzen, SS Soldaten als Knipser* that a lot of photographs were made on the weekend.[97] Making family albums seemed to be a favorite pastime when the guards were off duty. In addition, the family members that lived near the camp, mostly family of officers, were capturing their lives and providing us insight into their supporting social activities and sometimes also their ideological framework of reference. The images of the private lives of the SS officers showed a comfortable degree of luxury, far away from the war reality in which Germany was involved. Photos of the children, an often photographed subject, occasionally showed a young Polish house maid who took care of the children and the household.[98] Some of these Polish girls testified of the horror they witnessed, but others had fine memories of the family and even possessed some photos together with them or kept in touch after the family moved.[99]

The collections and albums of personal and official imagery regularly included some atrocity photos. This imagery spans a continuum that starts with documenting bodies of past atrocities to taking pictures during the process of humiliation, abuse and even killing. The spectrum shifts from a more passive documenting approach[100], as a souvenir or talisman[101], to the direction of a more active dominating approach, as visual trophies[102] or rituals of dominance[103]. Both ends of this spectrum of atrocity photography can be seen as acts of perpetration. I fully agree with Sontag who stated that "there is something predatory in the act of taking a picture. To photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed. Just as the camera is a sublimation of the gun, to photograph someone is a sublimated murder - a soft murder, appropriate to a sad, frightened time."[104] The difference between this *passive documenting approach* and the *active dominating approach* is that the first one works mainly indirectly. By capturing, presenting and sharing the imagery of atrocities (ex post facto), they are influencing the general framework of reference, "de-subjectifying" the victims and neutralizing normal inhibitions we have towards the perpetration of such atrocities.[105] The imagery creates an enabling space or sets a stage where the other is outlawed, even if this passive form of perpetration is motivated by "a mixture of disbelief, repulsion and feelings of discomfort, combined with curiosity."[106] The second approach is much

[95] Christophe Busch, et al., eds. *Das Höcker-Album: Auschwitz durch die Linse der SS* (Darmstadt: Von Zabern, 2016), 198.

[96] Norbert Frei, et al. *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940-1945* (München: K. G. Saur, 2000), 8, 214, 422.

[97] Sandra Starke, "'Papi macht Witzchen' SS-Soldaten als Knipser," (lecture, June 6, 2008), Medienamateure: Wie verändern Laien unsere visuelle Kultur, 3.

[98] Piotr Setkiewicz, *The Private lives of the Auschwitz SS* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2014), 22.

[99] Ibid., 9

[100] Bernd Hüppauf, "Emptying the Gaze: Framing Violence through the Viewfinder," *New German Critique*, no. 72 (1997), 36.

[101] Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Trophäen in Brief-Taschen – Fotos von Wehrmachts-, SS- und Polizei-Verbrechen," *Kunsttexte.de*, no. 3 (2002), 8.

[102] Jürgen Martschukat and Silvan Niedermeier, "Violence and Visibility: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives," in *Violence and visibility in modern history*, eds. Jürgen Martschukat and Silvan Niedermeier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1.

[103] Alexander B. Rossino, "Eastern Europe through German eyes: Soldiers photographs 1939–42," *History of Photography* 23, no. 4 (1999), 320.

[104] Sontag, *On photography*, 14-15.

[105] Hüppauf, *Emptying the Gaze*, 30.

[106] Ibid., 27.

more a direct form of perpetration. Here, capturing the moment is intertwined with the process of dehumanization and was often staged with strong symbolical aspects and rituals, such as cutting beards or Payot (long curling sidelocks). The abusive act is a staged group performance showing dominance. Just as cut sidelocks, ears or other body parts can be seen as war trophies,[107] this new visual technology capturing these symbols of power on film, could incorporate similar functions as a talisman or a trophy. Such visual symbols are also to be seen as social signs and honest signals.[108] They show the affirmation and commitment to a "just cause"[109] and their connectedness with the inner group of the soldiers' community.[110] Janina Struk stated that "publicly to humiliate, degrade and possibly kill the 'real' Jew was metaphorically to destroy the image of the mythical Jew. Taking photographs was an integral part of the humiliation process, in the sense it completed the violation."[111] Gerhard Paul also verified that this kind of photography and filming could be seen as acts of perpetration.[112] The photographers and cameramen are getting involved in the act, placing themselves in and contributing to the abusive situation, then and afterwards. After all, the captured moment can be reproduced, shown and shared with others. It was a social and centrifugal practice that was widespread within the war and camp zones. Daniel Goldhagen described in *Hitler's Willing Executioners* how photographs taken by the members of the German Police Battalion 101 were "generously shared among the entire battalion."[113] The photographs were publicly displayed on the wall of barracks so that colleagues could order copies of them. Kurt Wafner, a member of the territorial defense battalion in Minsk, testified that himself made none of the atrocity photos in his personal album. He exchanged these photos "usually for a little tobacco."[114] Even though we can agree that capturing these atrocities can be seen as a part of the perpetration process by shaping a visual framework of reference, it does not immediately confirm the statement that they were motivated by an exclusively "German eliminationist attitude"[115] or "psycho-pathological mentality."[116] Although ideology and the general anti-Semitism played a tremendous role, the motives for taking pictures will be much more diverse, layered and complex.

Motives of Perpetrator Photography

Next to commissioned Nazi photography and filming, there was a ban on capturing atrocities during battle or in the camps. The Nazi high command, by means of the Chief of Staff of the 11th Army, Otto Wöhler, clearly forbade such photographs that could undermine "the decency and discipline" of his soldiers:

> It goes without saying for any normal human being, that no photographs will be made of such abominable excesses, and no report of them will be given in letters home. The production and distribution of such photographs and reports on such incidents are looked upon as undermining the decency and discipline into armed forces and will be severely punished. All existing photographs and reports on such excesses are to be confiscated together with the negatives and are to be sent to the Ic/ counter intelligence officer of the army giving the

[107] Hilary Roberts, "War Trophy Photographs: Proof or Pornography," in *Picturing atrocity: photography in crisis,* ed. Geoffrey Batchen et al. (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 202.

[108] Amotz Zahavi and Avishag Zahavi, *The Handicap Principle: A Missing Piece of Darwins Puzzle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 218.

[109] Roberts, *War Trophy Photographs*, 202.

[110] Thomas Kühne, "The Pleasure of Terror: Belonging through Genocide," in *Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany*, eds. Pamela E. Swett et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 237.

[111] Struk, *Photographing the Holocaus*t, 63-64.

[112] Paul, Gerhard, *BilderMACHT. Studien zur visual history des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2013), 162, 175-177.

[113] Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 246.

[114] Struk, *Photographing the Holocaus*t, 68.

[115] Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 247.

[116] Rossino, *Eastern Europe through German Eyes*, 314.

name of the producer or distributor. It is beneath the dignity of a German soldier to watch such incidents out of curiosity.[117]

On November 11, 1941 and April 16, 1942, Reinhard Heydrich, the head of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Head Office) reiterated the order of Woehler.[118] It was explicitly forbidden to capture mass executions and asked that the commanders of the Order Police would trace and confiscate pictures and films that circulated among the men. In a well-described case, the SS-Untersturmführer Max Taubner was even sentenced to ten years of imprisonment for disobedience.[119] In his verdict from the military court on May 24, 1943, we learned that he took a number of photographs, knowing that this was forbidden, "which showed the most deplorable excess, many are shameless and utterly revolting."[120] Taubner had the pictures developed in two photo shops in southern Germany and had showed them to his wife and friends. The SS court feared that "such pictures could pose the gravest risks to the security of the Reich if they fell into wrong hands,"[121] and could be used for enemy propaganda. However, Taubner was clearly disobedient. When reading the minutiae of the verdict, one must conclude that his sensation-seeking behavior and his widely discussed enjoyment for tormenting Jewish victims, combined with an attempted abortion with his wife, made this a symbolical case that the SS court saw as "the expression of an inferior character."[122] He was sentenced to ten years without the possibility to deduct the time already served. On November 3, 1943, Heinrich Himmler gave the order to burn the 69 photos and to destroy the negatives.[123] In January 1945, Himmler finally pardoned Taubner after serving less than two years.

Despite the several military orders and court cases that clearly forbade capturing these atrocities, there was a massive production and dissemination of atrocity imagery.[124] One can wonder what motivated and attracted so many soldiers to decisively disobey this *Bilderverbot* (picture ban) of violent excesses.[125] In recent literature regarding perpetrator photography, a variety of reasons and motives are formulated.[126] They are often single causal explanations that are framed within a paradigmatic view on the phenomenon. My proposition is that a diverse number of situational and dispositional motives are at play and that these motives interact with each other and the social situation (interplay) as well as affect further forms of perpetration within the system (circularity). The main motivational forces, in my opinion, are the following non-limitative functional elements:

Nazi-ideology and Anti-Semitism

Almost all authors acknowledge the significant role that Nazi ideology has played in shaping the polarized and xenophobic framework of reference. The totalitarian control and coordination of the media incrementally shaped a worldview that divided Us from Them, so-called Übermensch from Untermensch or the Superior from the Inferior. A large number of sources have indicated that many perpetrators incorporated feelings of racial superiority and uniqueness. They testified through their imagery and in their letters to the home front on the inhumane character and living conditions of conquered people such as Jews, Slavs, Roma and Sinti, Russians and other enemies.[127] Their imagery both confirmed and contributed to the Manichean world they lived in. A visual framework that engaged some in the direct and willing participation to create the German

[117] Milton, *The Camera as Weapon*, 45–68.

[118] Ibid., 45-68; Struk, *Photographing the Holocaus*t, 70-71.

[119] "NS-Prozesse: Nicht deutsche Art" *Der Spiegel*, May 21, 1973; Klee, *The good old days, 196-207.*

[120] Klee, *The good old days, 199.*

[121] Ibid., 202.

[122] Ibid., 203.

[123] Ibid., 286.

[124] Dieter Reifarth and Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, "Die Kamera der Henker. Fotografische Selbstzeugnisse des Naziterrors in Osteuropa," *Fotogeschichte* 3, no. 7 (1983), 61.

[125] Ibid., 58.

[126] Whitty, *Soldier Photography*, 699.

[127] Rossino, *Eastern Europe through German Eyes*, 316.

Volksgemeinschaft, just like the pharmacist in Norden who presented the *Rassenschande* photo in his shop window.[128]

Neutralization and Distancing

Another possible motive for capturing violent excesses is the nature of the subject itself. Often the scenes photographed showed extreme brutal and abusive behavior towards the victims, as can be witnessed in the photo series of the garage massacre in Kovno. For many soldiers, this was their first encounter with such gruesome atrocities. Andèn-Papadopoulos stated that capturing this violence could function "simultaneously to authenticate and filter a hurtful reality where death or serious injury is an all too real possibility."[129] In the same line, Petra Bopp questioned what exactly happens when we photograph the unimaginable.[130] She reflected on the emotional distance by inserting a camera between the observer and the event that is observed. This technological device has a neutralizing effect on the other senses such as smell, hearing and feeling. The camera as such is objectifying the perception of what can be seen. The viewing process is seen as a pure optical process and is thereby separated from emotional feelings like empathy and compassion, an effect she also calls the "cold eye."[131] In addition, Hüppauf mentioned that photography of that period is marked with an amorality and absence of resistance, which he called a perspective of neutralization and de-subjectification: "They presuppose an eye no longer clearly connected to the 'I' of the photographer, but in search for a gaze that comes from a timeless and spaceless nowhere."[132] This way, the "I" can have the illusion of being present but not involved or engaged in the situation. Indeed, this "unusual degree of documentary neutrality"[133] can be interpreted as an objectification through the camera lens and is a completely different type of motivation from the ideological willingness as described above.

Social Dominance and Control

Collective violence can also be visualized through photography or film with the purpose to reinforce a notion of superiority or a dominant position. Atrocities that degrade, dehumanize or humiliate a person or group are mostly the relational output of an extreme power imbalance.[134] Capturing scenes of abuse and mass murder confirms and strengthens the absolute position, and also stimulates submission by the victim group. It controls and freezes the situation for the victims and triggers further victimization processes.[135] When analyzing the photographs of the garage massacre in Kovno, we notice that the victim group is paralyzed by the abuse, the openness of the atrocities and the enthusiastic reactions by the bystanders. The fact that the Germans or other locals were not intervening but photographing the entire event psychologically limited the behavioral options for the victims. In such extreme situations, victim groups shrink and cling together, which in this case resulted in one person at a time stepping forward when called, knowing that he would be brutally killed with a blow from an iron crowbar.

Torture and Fear Inducement

From an even more instrumental perspective, photography can also be used as a specific instrument of torture. Photographing ritualized torture practices, that often include nudity, is not directed towards the destruction of the body per se but rather focused on destroying the personal identity

[128] Wildt, *Picturing Exclusion*, 139.

[129] Karin Andén-Papadopoulos, "Body horror on the Internet: US soldiers recording the war in Iraq and Afghanistan," *Media, Culture & Society* 31, no. 6 (2009) 922.

[130] Bopp, *Images of Violence*, 187

[131] Ibid., 187; Reifarth, *Die Kamera der Henker*, 66.

[132] Hüppauf, *Emptying the Gaze*, 30.

[133] Ibid., 36.

[134] Martschukat, *Violence and Visibility*, 5.

[135] Jeffrey H. Goldstein, "Why we watch," in *Why we watch: the attractions of violent entertainment*, ed. Jeffrey H. Goldstein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 222.

and psychological well being. [136] In this light, a camera can be seen as an additional instrument to induce fear and break down the mental health of the targeted subject. Furthermore, the threat of using and disseminating the imagery can be seen as a prolonged form of perpetration. Although I have not discussed any cases of torture by camera during the Holocaust, the manifold pictures taken by U.S. soldiers at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq are clear examples of this kind of practice.

Curiosity, Sensation Seeking and Sadistic Impulses

Another often cited motive for perpetrator photography is what I would call the continuum of curiosity, sensation seeking and sadistic impulses.[137] Atrocities, abusive situations and death can trigger curiosity. Such attractions and death-defying behaviors are also observed in other species.[138] This curiosity towards death and violence can have different gradations from a normal level to a morbid curiosity, ranging from enjoyment for risk and sensation-seeking behavior to sadistic impulses. Here, the actor no longer observes out of curiosity but actively triggers a situation for the satisfaction of his sadism. The origin of this curiosity and sensation seeking can, according to some researchers, be explained as an outcome of the civilization process as described by Norbert Elias. This behavior could be "a way to fill the void left by diminished opportunities to experience the real thing."[139] Likewise, Vicky Goldberg suggested that in our Western world, death is more and more excluded from our everyday lives.[140] Where we used to see public executions on the market square as a form of deterrence and popular entertainment, we have placed these executions behind the prison walls to be no longer public. Since the late 18th century, we have undergone a gradual and imperceptible reduction of death and dying. Convergent social, religious and medical changes have resulted in the near exclusion of death-related processes in larger society. Goldberg noticed that this process more or less coincided with our visual interest in imagery of death, e.g. the post mortem photography that was widely accepted until the Second World War.[141] The same type of atrocity imagery can find its origin in the normal curiosity we all have towards these extreme situations as it can also function as trophies to triumphantly satisfy sadistic impulses. For me, this is the same kind of motivation but with a different level of gradation.

Mood Management and Emotional Expressions

Photography can also be motivated by the need to express emotions in ways that are most of the time prohibited or socially not accepted.[142] It is clear that soldiers during their war efforts experienced intense emotions and feelings. The fear and stress over death (negative emotions) can be intertwined with feelings of euphoria and joy (positive emotions).[143] Soldiers have repeatedly testified that during the war, they never felt so alive, being continuously confronted with death. War triggers intense emotions, and soldiers are in need of social and psychological means to cope with them. Photography can have a neutralizing and distancing effect, as described above, but it can also be used as a tool to overcome the social pressures in mood management within mainly male groups. Many of these soldiers had limited experiences in emotionally expressing these situations about which they were insecure and searched for socially accepted ways of understanding and reflecting upon these atrocities. A general pattern within male groups is socially objectifying the

[136] Paul, Gerhard. *Der Bilderkrieg: Inszenierungen, Bilder und Perspektiven der "Operation Irakische Freiheit"* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verl., 2005), 192-195.

[137] Goldstein, *Why we watch*, 217; Dolf Zillmann, "The Psychology of the Appeal of Portrayals of Violence," in *Why We Watch: The Attractions of Violent Entertainment*, ed. Jeffrey H. Goldstein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 199.

[138] Zillmann, *The Psychology of the Appeal*, 191-192.

[139] Goldstein, *Why we watch*, 217.

[140] Vicki Goldberg, "Death Takes a Holiday, Sort Of," in *Why We Watch: The Attractions of Violent Entertainment*, ed. Jeffrey H. Goldstein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 27-30

[141] Ibid., 35

[142] Bopp, *Images of Violence*, 181

[143] Goldstein, *Why We Watch*, 218.

emotional arousal or traumatic experience.[144] Capturing and sharing atrocity imagery can socially regulate these emotions and traumas.

Justice Motives and Revenge

Dolf Zillmann stated that "one person's joy is another's pain and one person's pain is another's joy."[145] Feelings of injustice can be strong motivators for violence and the ritualistic portrayal of it.[146] Atrocities that were previously committed by the targeted victim group or those that were labeled to be responsible for the atrocities, can trigger feelings of hatred that need to be retributed. Such strong negative attitudes towards the victims as alleged former perpetrators can invoke "counter-empathy"[147] and set the stage for revenge killings and often contribute to the enjoyment of the degradation and humiliation.[148] It is a form of punitive violence that is considered to be morally right and fully deserved. As stated earlier, this justice motive was probably also one of the factors that influenced "the death dealer of Kovno." He revenged the murder of his parents and other nationals by the retreating Soviet NKVD (secret police). It is important to emphasize that these were relative feelings of injustice towards the victim group. The Jewish residents that were murdered by the Lithuanian auxiliaries were not responsible for the past atrocities by the NKVD, but they were considered to be indirectly responsible. Targeted groups such as the Jews were often linked with other enemies like the Bolsheviks. The irony is that most victims of collective violence were seen as a threat that needed to be eliminated or as perpetrators of former atrocities that had to be revenged. Needless to say, victims of genocidal violence were rarely a threat or related to former atrocities, but the mere notion was sufficient.[149]

Peer Group Binding and Camaraderie

Oskar Gröning, the Auschwitz bookkeeper who was recently sentenced to four years as an accessory to murder in 300,000 cases, testified earlier that leaving Auschwitz was difficult due to the friendships he made there. He stated that "the special situation at Auschwitz led to friendships which, I still today, I think back on with joy."[150] Much of the photography seemed to be produced as a result of camaraderie or male bonding. It created a group identity and established the boundaries of the military community and their core values of honor, obedience and connectedness.[151] This is what can be seen on the team-building photos of the Auschwitz staff at the Solahütte. Pierre Bourdieu reflected on this matter as follows: "If one accepts, with Durkheim, that the function of the festivity is to revitalize and recreate the group, one will understand why the photograph is associated with it, since it supplies the means of solemnizing those climatic moments of social life in which the group solemnly reaffirms its unity."[152] The image has binding qualities, both for the perpetrator and victim group. Michael Wildt noticed also that acts of humiliation, and photographing them, are predominantly organized by men.[153] There seems to be a gender-specific reinforcement for men needing to prove themselves before their peers and to be considered as fearless in contrast with women who may demonstrate their sensitivity and their need to be caring.[154] Such societal schemes highly influence the social roles and specific forms of (violent) group behavior.

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[144] Zillmann, *The Psychology of the Appeal of Portrayals of Violence*, 196-199.

[145] Ibid., 202.

[146] Ibid., 203-204.

[147] Ibid., 202.

[148] Goldstein, *Why We Watch*, 220.

[149] Dawn L. Roth and David Kauzlarich, "A Victimology of State Crime," in *Towards a Victimology of State Crime*, eds. Dawn L. Roth and David Kauzlarich (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 9.

[150] Laurence Rees, *Auschwitz: The Nazis and the Final Solution* (London: BBC Books, 2005), 206.

[151] Andén-Papadopoulos, *Body Horror on the Internet*, 922; Goldstein, *Why We Watch*, 215-215.

[152] Pierre Bourdieu and Luc Boltanski, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 20-21.

[153] Wildt, *Picturing Exclusion*, 145.

[154] Zillmann, *The Psychology of the Appeal*, 197.

Technological Motives and Cultural Shifts

In addition, technological advancements and cultural transitions can trigger new forms of visualizing atrocities.[155] As the acts of public shaming on the market square were relatively limited in their reach before photography, they gradually reached wider audiences as the images of degradation could be captured, duplicated and printed in popular media. New technology, from steam-driven presses to the Internet, can broaden and decentralize these acts of perpetration. Often these technological advances are accompanied with cultural transitions and rapid social change. During the Nazi era, the further industrialization, the rise of capitalism and the expansion of tourism had their effects on the masses and the capturing of their complex societies and layered frameworks of reference. These accumulating and resonating visual discourses at that time are one of the early examples of the rapid transition towards a (visual) information-based society.

These are some major motives for photographing and filming atrocities committed during episodes of collective violence. Of course, this list is not limitative and can be enriched with additional motives as we gradually better understand the complexity and the reasons why people become engaged in perpetrator photography, in spite of official bans or social pressures. In contrast with other authors, I am not convinced that single causes can motivate such behavior. The complex interplay of a multitude of motives is more likely from a behavioral point of view.[156] I also want to stress the fact that these motivational causes do not work in a social or causal vacuum; one cause can affect another cause and another. The continuous social polarization within a society, as seen in National Socialism,[157] can lead to the creation of more space, attraction or tolerance for sensation-seeking, sadistic behaviors and more positive attitudes towards violence. After all, people and their motives live and interact together. They are highly active and social elements that continually impart meanings to their situations. From this perspective, it is not only important to see photographing and filming as acts of perpetration[158] but also to appreciate them as performative actions that will be interpreted and given several meanings by other possible perpetrators. In this way, the creation and dissemination of atrocity imagery has a circular effect and can lead to a downward spiral of further abusive and murderous actions.

Photo and Film as Performatives

According to Sontag, "photos echo photos."[159] As an example, she connected the photos of Bosnian prisoners in the Serbian camp of Omarska in 1992 with the Auschwitz imagery during the liberation of the camp in 1945. The Abu Ghraib photos, depicting the torture scenes of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers, were publicly presented on mural paintings in Iran[160] and inspired terrorist groups such as ISIS to mirror the orange jumpsuits in their highly staged atrocity imagery. Photos and film capture a momentum and also become tools that can be used, that have an effect, that prompt for action, et cetera. Whatever the motivations were to capture them, we also need to analyze what these photographs and films do. It is certain that atrocity imagery will shape a certain reality and that it will affect and emotionally impact people. Paul Lowe and Peggy Phelan both emphasized the performative power of such imagery. Phelan used the analogy of performative speech, where saying something is the same as doing something, e.g. saying I do during a wedding ceremony.[161] She described atrocity imagery as "theaters of humiliation."[162] A photo can justify certain actions, can neutralize emotions and feelings, can inflame rage and can shock an individual, a group and even an entire society. This performative power of imagery was well understood during the National Socialist era. In 1933, just after the regime change, Dr Hans Traub wrote the booklet *Der*

[155] Goldstein, *Why We Watch*, 221.

[156] Zillmann, *The Psychology of the Appeal*, 209.

[157] Wildt, *Picturing Exclusion*, 142-144.

[158] Paul, *BilderMACHT*, 175-177.

[159] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2010), 84.

[160] Paul, *BilderMACHT*, 615.

[161] Peggy Phelan, "Atrocity and Action: The Performative Force of the Abu Ghraib Photographs," in *Picturing Atrocity: Photography in Crisis*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen et al. (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 52-53.

[162] Ibid., 55.

Film als politisches Machtmittel (The Film as an Instrument of Power). Traub explained that film is the second most important medium in propaganda; the most important medium is, of course, the voice of the Führer. [163] In analyzing film as a performative instrument, he also focused on movement and rhythm, which are both tools of propaganda and ideology, a language that Leni Riefenstahl mastered perfectly. Lowe argued that this is also the case for photography: "The photographs become an imaginatively performative space, in the multivalent senses of the performance: of taking the image, the choreography of the photographer, subject and environment; in terms of the production and dissemination of images in an ecology of meanings; and in terms of the invitation to the viewer to engage in a performative reading of the imaginative meanings of the image."[164] Likewise, Sontag stated that (atrocity) photographs "lay down routes of reference, and serve as totems of causes."[165]

The visual portrayal of acts of aggression (media violence) affects the viewer. Since the rise of popular media, there has been a keen interest in the effects of exposure to visual frames of violence. Since 1960, criminologists, pedagogues and psychologists researched extensively what the risks were for youth being exposed to such violence in television, movies, video games, the Internet, et cetera.[166] In recent years, from a more neurobiological approach, one examines how such imagery effects brain processes and what the social effects could be. Of course, as Huesmann emphasized, "no reputable researcher is suggesting that media violence is 'the' cause of violent behavior."[167] We need to look at violent imagery from a developmental or transitional perspective, where atrocity imagery can impact—together with other causes that interplay—the demonic transition on the continuum of perpetration.[168] In this light, it seems necessary to mention the main psychological theories on why and how visual frameworks of violence stimulates possible aggressive behavior of the viewer. Huesmann divided the effects of such exposure in the long and short term.[169]

The short-term effects include priming, arousal and mimicry.[170] Priming can be seen as a process that by presenting a certain stimulus, a specific cognition, emotion or behavior is triggered. For example, seeing a gun can excite the cognition of aggression and stimulate fight or flight reactions. In our case, an ethnic group, such as the stereotypical portrayal of the mythical Jews, can become linked to certain degrading beliefs and emotions or behaviors connected to that. When some form of degrading imagery is implemented through mass media, it will possibly also arouse the observers through the mechanisms of excitation transfer[171] (e.g. provocation that arouses anger) and generate a higher level of general arousal. This diminishes the inhibitions of inappropriate responses to certain events or groups and installs the dominant learned processes as socially accepted methods of representation or problem solving. An example of these short-term arousal effects is the Antwerp *Kristallnacht* on 14 April 1941. After the screening of the infuriating movie *Der ewige Jude*, two synagogues and several Jewish houses were destroyed by extreme right-wing groups. The screening of the movie angered the crowd and triggered an aggressive outburst that gradually grew within these extremist groups.[172] Another social-psychological mechanism is mimicry or the imitation of specific behavior. Much of learning mechanisms are socially construed through observation and imitation. Humans and other primates have an innate tendency to mimic the thinking and acting in their environment. Mass movements that are visually reinforced, such as described above, only strengthen these mechanisms.

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[163] Hans Traub, *Der Film als politisches Machtmittel* (München: Münchener Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1933), 28.

[164] Paul Lowe, "Picturing the Perpetrator," in *Picturing atrocity: photography in crisis*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen et al. (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 198.

[165] Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 85.

[166] L. Rowell Huesmann, "The Impact of Electronic Media Violence: Scientific Theory and Research," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 41, no. 6 (2007), 1.

[167] Ibid., 2.

[168] Busch, *Demonic Transitons*, 52.

[169] Huesmann, *The Impact of Electronic Media Violence*, 3-4.

[170] Ibid., 3.

[171] Zillmann, *The Psychology of the Appeal of Portrayals of Violence*, 207.

[172] Lieven Saerens, *De jodenjagers van de Vlaamse SS: gewone Vlamingen?* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2008), 67-76.

In the long term, the effects of exposure to visual violence are mainly observational learning, desensitization and enactive learning.[173] Social behavior of a person is the result of the interplay between situational and dispositional elements. Besides situational dynamics such as conformity and obedience, the dispositional aspects include the emotional state, normative beliefs, frameworks of reference about the world and behavioral scripts that people have learned socially.[174] These behavioral scripts are formed through observation of family, peers, colleagues, community members and mass media. If dehumanization and social exclusion are abundantly present and have become the social norm within a community, it is reasonably certain that this will influence behavioral scripts towards the targeted groups. The long-term effects of this kind of socialization will therefore lead to a process of desensitization.[175] Multiple exposure to emotionally disturbing imagery can lead to habituation. The negative emotional feelings that are connected with the visual atrocities will decline after repeated and different forms of exposure. Huesmann suggested that people are "not just observers, but also active participants."[176] This observational learning and systematic desensitization will interplay with other learning processes, such as enactive (action-based) learning and mechanisms including conditioning, (self-)selection, recruitment, et cetera.[177] Although the research and discussions on the effects of media violence are still highly debated, it has been increasingly accepted that exposure has a certain effect on the viewers. Seeing atrocity imagery is therefore not a direct cause of violence, but it influences the psychological processes that promote tolerance towards violence.[178] In analyzing the photos and letters from German soldiers on the battlefield, Rossino indicated that the extensive ideological exposure in their private lives and the active indoctrination during their military training greatly impacted their consciousness.[179]

Conclusion

The multitude of motives for atrocity imagery, the circular effects it has and interplay of motives and effects result in a cumulative learning process that can build schemas that strongly divide the social reality in Us versus Them.[180] Visual media in general and atrocity imagery in particular contribute tremendously to the process of "Otherization" or what Kathleen Taylor detailed as "an increasingly impassable social gulf between Us and Them".[181] The Nazi regime invested highly in this visual process of otherization through photography and film, resulting in a broad acceptance of a *Volkgemeinschaft* (national community) that applied a different set of moral rules towards the in-group and the out-group. The performative power of photography and film had binding qualities that demarcated the boundaries between these groups. As performatives, the imagery bound the in-group (Us) in processes of perpetration and bound the out-group (Them) in processes of victimization. The two Auschwitz albums (Karl Höcker versus Lili Jacob) clearly visualized these parallel worlds. On the one side, you have the perpetrator reality expressing camaraderie, absolute dominance and superiority or Schöne Zeiten in summary, and on the other side, there was the reality of the victims that gradually became totally excluded from a moral world. Capturing and presenting the incremental stages of otherization through celluloid contributed to the intense bond of perpetration and victimization for each respective group separately. The intensifying investments by the Nazi society in creating and sharing a visual framework of reference affected the process of perpetration. However that perpetrator behavior is always the result of a complex interplay of many (f)actors, it is clear that the cumulative imagery of atrocities has affected gradually the

[173] Huesmann, *The Impact of Electronic Media Violence*, 4.

[174] L. Rowell Huesmann, "Psychological Processes Promoting the Relation Between Exposure to Media Violence and Aggressive Behavior by the Viewer," *Journal of Social Issues* 42, no. 3 (1986), 130.

[175] Huesmann, *The Impact of Electronic Media Violence*, 4.

[176] Ibid., 4.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Ibid., 6.

[179] Rossino, *Eastern Europe through German Eyes*, 315.

[180] Huesmann, *Psychological Processes*, 125.

[181] Kathleen E. Taylor, *Cruelty: Human Evil and the Human Brain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 8.

broader society towards a more positive attitude in using violence against the targeted out-group. *The camera as a crucial weapon for a divided world.*

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The Unbribable Witness: Image, Word, and Testimony of Crimes against Humanity in Mark Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905)

Nora Nunn
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina, USA

Introduction

In 1904, Edmund Dene Morel, co-founder of the British-based Congo Reform Association (CRA), put faith in the power of written language and visual imagery when he asked Mark Twain to brandish his sword-like pen for "the cause of the Congo natives."[1] As its title suggests, the resulting work, *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*, puts its readers in imaginative proximity to the machinations of the Belgian despot. Twain, known for his anti-imperialist work such as the 1897 collection Following the Equator, chose to depict Leopold II as a bloodthirsty monomaniac of Shakespearean proportions. Like his peers in the CRA, the American writer realized the power of visual cultures to craft his narrative, insisting on the juxtaposition of graphic imagery with the written word. Though a slender 58 pages, the kaleidoscopic document circumnavigates the globe, from the king's opulent palace in Brussels to rubber-collection stations in the Congo Free State—a swath of land more than 70 times larger than Belgium. At times, its visual style is phantasmagoric, as in the case of a ghoulish drawing in which Leopold greedily clings to bags of gold, daydreaming of Congolese amputation. In other moments, the text shifts into a more documentary mode; several images, based on eyewitness photographs obtained by European and American missionaries, portray nightmarish scenes, including the smoking of several amputated right hands over a fire. Other woodcut prints of limbless children, or, inversely, severed limbs, also provide stark visual proof of collective colonial violence.

Such evidential images were reproduced from those taken by the Kodak camera, or the "only witness," Twain's imagined Leopold ruefully fumes, that he "couldn't bribe."[2] In tandem with their written captions, these images of mutilation and its aftermath provided a way to contest Leopold's well-oiled propaganda machine, which exploited the rhetoric of philanthropy to claim the Congo Free State as a "humanitarian" venture that would "pierce the darkness of barbarism" in Africa.[3] As Sir Arthur Conan Doyle observed in the preface to his own contribution to the reformist cause, *The Crime of the Congo*, a gruesome reality belied Leopold's altruistic appearances: "never before has there been such a mixture of wholesale expropriation and wholesale massacre all done under an odious guise of philanthropy."[4] Enter stage left: the king's nemesis, Mark Twain. His weapons were the same, but his goal was radically different.

By enlisting a palimpsest of mediums and genres, both written and visual, in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, Twain sought to convey what Achille Mbembe calls colonialism's "topographies of cruelty," or the ways in which the living were systematically subjected to terror and death.[5] As visual historian Sharon Sliwinski points out, the CRA was the first international humanitarian movement to mobilize atrocity photographs as a tool for social and political change.[6], [7] A soldier of

[1] Stefan Heym, introduction to *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, by Mark Twain (New York: International Publishers, 2014), 17.

[2] Mark Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*, 2nd ed. (Boston: P.R. Warren, 1905), 39-40. In referring to the camera as "the Kodak," Twain used a brand name as a generic name; in actuality, several of the images heavily enlisted by the CRA were not taken by Kodak cameras, which had become popular after their release by American entrepreneur George Eastman's company in 1888. For instance, Alice Harris, the British missionary who took some of the most famous images of atrocities in the Congo Free State, used a dry plate box camera instead of a Kodak. See Kevin Grant, "The Limits of Exposure: Atrocity Photographs in the Congo Reform Campaign," in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 67.

[3] Marouf Hasian, Jr., "Alice Seeley Harris, the Atrocity Rhetoric of the Congo Reform Movements, and the Demise of King Léopolds's Congo Free State," *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 23, no. 3 (2015), 181.

[4] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Crime of the Congo* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1909), iii.

[5] Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003), 40.

[6] Sharon Sliwinski, "The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo," *Journal of Visual Culture* 5, no. 3 (2006), 334.

[7] Still, as Christina Twomey reminds us, the CRA's narrative strategies did not emerge from thin air. After all, the CRA built on the international humanitarian rhetoric of 19th-century historical precedents such as the Bulgarian atrocities

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https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.12.2.1525

this campaign, Twain mustered a hodgepodge of materials in his case against Leopold: photographic journalism, sketches, cartoons, diary extracts, Juvenalian satire, poetry, Shakespearean soliloquy, and late 19th century human rights rhetoric. In the creation of a textured, visually irrefutable, and darkly satirical account of human rights abuses, he aimed to evoke his audience's empathy by activating their imaginations. If the readers could only understand the extent of colonial violence, the text intimates, then perhaps they could help make possible political interventions in the Congo Free State, which Leopold ruled as his own private domain from 1885 to 1908. At the same time, however, Twain's yoking of dramatic monologue with a patchwork of violent imagery creates a virtual courtroom that interrogates the very limits of human empathy. As if daring readers to prove him wrong, Twain's Leopold gleefully predicts that "the human race" will ultimately "shudder and turn away" from the suffering of others.[8] Yet, most ironically, while it critiques the American government's failure to intervene in the Congo Free State, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* remains willfully deaf to the echoes of violence in Twain's own backyard, a nation in which white citizens routinely sent postcards of lynched black citizens, sprawled with messages such as "Warning" or "This is the Barbecue we had last night."[9] These white American spectators did not shudder, but instead turned to face—and actively participate in—the horrific suffering of others.

If, as cultural critic Susan Sontag writes, photographs "haunt us" and narratives can "make us understand," I propose that we consider the political possibilities in the chasm between image and written narrative, haunting and understanding.[10] Informed by the work of cultural and literary critics including Roland Barthes, Susan Sontag, and Fred Moten, this paper will consider different modes of visual imagery in Twain's text, ranging from documentary to abstract, from realist to phantasmagoric. Read side by side, these images engender questions about fact, testimony, and witnessing in the realm of human rights and collective violence. I argue that the relation (or dissonance) of visual imagery to written text in this relatively unknown and understudied work by Twain yields vital implications for scholars of genocide. I will show how Twain employed to great effect a multisensorial and multigeneric strategy in crafting his narrative with the goal of forcing his readers to reckon with—and ultimately act upon—knowledge of the magnitude, scope, and gravity of Leopold's crimes against humanity. The study of a literary text such as *King Leopold's Soliloquy* and the responses to its circulation—such as Leopold's propagandist tract, *An Answer to Mark Twain*—illuminates both the possibilities and the limits of literature in instrumentalizing visual imagery to catalyze political interventions in collective violence.

When founding the field of genocide studies, Raphael Lemkin did not privilege literary or visual studies, instead emphasizing economics, law, history, and sociology as disciplines of relevance to understanding the phenomenon of mass slaughter. To this day, Lemkin's disciplinary myopia continues to leave an imprint on the field: a survey of several genocide anthologies and readers attests to the marginalization of literary studies as compared to the social sciences.[11] A consideration of literary works such as Twain's underscores the value of a more capacious interdisciplinary approach to genocide studies, especially since Lemkin himself included the Belgian Congo in his unfinished and unpublished multi-volume history of crime.[12] This epic war of stories surrounding the Congo Free State—Twain's versus Leopold's—was a matter of lives and deaths. Mute as it was, the Kodak proved the most formidable witness called to testify against the king.

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and the Indian famine of the 1870s: "There was an extant language of atrocity and moral outrage available to Congo reformers that amplified the resonance of their claims." Christina Twomey, "Framing Atrocity: Photography and Humanitarianism," in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 60.

[8] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 42.

[9] James Allen et al., *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*, 10th ed. (Santa Fe: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000), 174, 186.

[10] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2003), 89.

[11] For examples of anthologies and genocide readers that either neglect or marginalize literary considerations of the topic, see Adam Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2017); Samuel Totten and Paul R. Bartrop, eds., *The Genocide Studies Reader*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009); Jens Meierhenrich, ed., *Genocide: A Reader*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[12] Raphaël Lemkin, *Lemkin on Genocide*, ed. Steven Leonard Jacobs (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2012), 18.

Leopold's Crime Against Humanity

By 1904, the year in which the CRA was founded by E.D. Morel and Roger Casement in England, several millions had already perished in Central Africa under the murderous rule of the Belgian monarch. Leopold's sadistic regime had inspired Joseph Conrad, who had worked for a Belgian steamer, *Roi des Belges*, on the Congo River in 1890, to pen his 1899 novella Heart of Darkness as well as the 1897 short story "An Outpost of Progress."[13] Of course, other Western witnesses had preceded Morel, Casement, and even Conrad in publicizing their outrage over the systematic atrocities—the mutilation of limbs, the flagellation of flesh, and the systematic execution of rubber plantation laborers—occurring in the Congo Free State. In fact, it was George Washington Williams, an African American lawyer, Civil War veteran, minister, and journalist, who first applied "crimes against humanity," a phrase that had originated in the early 1800s, in reference to Leopold's rule in 1890.[14] Shortly before his death, a bone-chilling visit to the Congo Free State compelled Williams to compose an open letter that would make him the first public critic of the king.[15] He methodically enumerated 12 specific charges against Leopold, including "deceit, fraud, robberies, arson, murder, slave-raiding, and [a] general policy of cruelty."[16] Williams relied on the written word to relay his eyewitness account: "Your Majesty's Government has sequestered their land, burned their towns, stolen their property, enslaved their women and children, and committed crimes too numerous to mention in detail."[17] Much like the tone of Émile Zola's open letter about the Dreyfus Affair (which it anticipated by eight years), Williams' message was unambiguous: *j'accuse!* First published in *The New York Herald* and then widely reprinted on both sides of the Atlantic, the letter shares many rhetorical and generic qualities of reports from present-day human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.[18]

Americans and their British counterparts read reports such as Williams' or those of other Western eyewitnesses of the Belgian atrocities in the morning papers. In the evening, these same citizens, especially city dwellers, might conclude the day by attending a touring magic lantern show hosted by Christian missionaries recently returned from the place they had labelled the "Dark Continent." A precursor of the slide projector, the magic lantern projected images painted on a glass plate onto a large screen such as a canvas or sheet, often accompanied by live background music. By the 1880s, it had become common practice for Christian missionaries returning from Africa to leverage the magic lantern show as a tool with which to promote what they called the "civilizing mission" of their work, often with accompanying lectures and religious hymns lasting up to several hours at a time.[19] Evangelical zeal, white racism, and voyeuristic hunger conspired to gaze upon the "savage" Congolese in need of Western Christian salvation. By grossly exaggerating the polygamy, cannibalism, and slavery practiced in the Congo Free State, the missionaries perpetuated narratives in which the white man was hero—whether a swashbuckling explorer or minister of salvation. Their behavior fits what the writer, photographer, and art historian Teju Cole

[13] Adam Hochschild surmises that Conrad at least partly based his character of Kurtz on the Belgian colonial official Léon Rom: "It is from Rom that Conrad may have taken the signal feature of his villain: the collection of African heads surrounding Kurtz's house." See Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, First Mariner Books ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 145.

[14] Ibid., 111–12. See also Dean Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896-1913* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 179.

[15] John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 241.

[16] George Washington Williams, "An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of Congo, by Colonel the Honorable Geo. W. Williams, of the United States of America," in *George Washington Williams: A Biography*, by John Hope Franklin (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 253.

[17] Ibid., 246.

[18] Sliwinski, *The Childhood of Human Rights*, 338.

[19] As T. Jack Thompson notes, these magic lantern shows, such as the ones given in Britain by missionary Dr. Harry Guinness, who would later appropriate the technology to expose Leopold's atrocities in the early 1900s, "had something of the same public appeal as a modern rock tour, with thousands of people attending a given lecture." See T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness?: Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2012), 213, 229-230.

would deem, over a century later, in reference to campaigns such as Kony 2012, the "White-Savior Industrial Complex."[20]

Yet these magic lantern shows of Western witnessing in the Congo Free State also drew from the more supernatural tradition of phantasmagoric theater. Like the magic lantern, the genealogy of phantasmagoria can be traced to Europe—specifically German séances in the late 18th century in which spirits were called back from the dead. The word's etymology yields its necromantic secrets from ancient Greek by way of French: *fantasme* means ghost, and *agoria* signifies a place of assembly.[21] Enlisting the technology of the magic lantern, the phantasmagoric shows trafficked in preternatural horror, projecting optical illusions of ghouls, ghosts, and demons on large screens. During such *fantasmagorie*, sound effects often accompanied the moving images, which had grown out of the optical experiments conducted by its inventor, Belgian showman and famed balloonist Étienne-Gaspard Robert. Robert's bar for success required that the images capsize his audience's sense of reality: "I am only satisfied if my spectators, shivering and shuddering, raise their hands or cover their eye out of fear or ghosts and devils dashing towards them," he claimed.[22] By May 1803, the magic lantern had arrived in the United States; throughout the century, the shows, often dabbling in necromancy, continued to voyeuristically titillate—and petrify—giant crowds.

By the dawn of the 20th century, however, reports of the atrocities taking place in the Congo began to circulate, and the tides of support for Leopold began to shift. For example, in 1904 the gruesome crimes documented by Irish diplomat Roger Casement's "The Congo Report" caused a political outcry in Britain. Consequently, in the early 1900s, a phalanx of social activists on both sides of the Atlantic began advocating for reform in the Congo Free State. From New York City to London, these reformers conscripted the magic lantern as a tool with which to publicize visual evidence no longer of Leopold's philanthropy but of his crimes against humanity.[23] It was Dr. Harry Guinness, a British missionary returning from the Balolo mission, who spearheaded this shift with "A Reign of Terror on the Congo," a collection of magic lantern slides first shown in Scotland in 1903, to expose the Belgian colonial atrocities.[24] Crowds inundated such sold-out magic lantern shows. After their return from the Baringa mission, John and Alice Harris, a British missionary couple, followed E.D. Morel to the United States addressed more than 200 public meetings in 49 cities.[25] These double-edged spectacles simultaneously perpetuated stereotypes of the "savagery" of the Congolese in need of Christian conversion and also raised awareness about the atrocities taking place in the Congo Free State.[26] Like the abolitionist iconography of the late 18th century of which Saidiya Hartman has written, the magic lantern shows "reproduced the abject position" of the African in need of white Christian salvation.[27]

Accompanied by religious music, Christian lectures, and xenophobic zeal, the magic lantern shows straddled the realms of the ethnographic and the supernatural. As Sliwinski notes, these mass public gatherings blurred the line between phantasmagoric and documentary mode:

> These highly structured 'shows' could be considered a derivative of phantasmagoria: scripted horror narratives illustrated with 60 photographic slides, of which perhaps a half

[20] Teju Cole, "The White-Savior Industrial Complex," *The Atlantic*, March 21, 2012, accessed July 25, 2017, http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/.

[21] Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "Phantasmagoria, N.," accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.duke.edu/view/Entry/142184.

[22] R. Bruce Elder, *Harmony and Dissent: Film and Avant-Garde Art Movements in the Early Twentieth Century* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010), 104.

[23] Other social reformers, such as Jacob Riis, author of the muckraking 1890 photographic exposé *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*, had also enlisted the magic lantern with the goal of inaugurating political interventions, even as he circulated demeaning stereotypes of the denizens of the New York ghettos.

[24] Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 230.

[25] Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 242.

[26] Sliwinski, *The Childhood of Human Rights*, 347.

[27] Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 167.

> dozen represented various atrocities…interspersed with hymns, prayers, and melodramatic evangelical appeals, all of which meant to elicit a strong emotional response.[28]

Under the weight of evangelism, imperialism, and the legacy of phantasmagoria, the fragile walls between reality and fantasy could not always hold for the spectators. The very name of the show—the "magical" quality of the lantern as technological apparatus—illuminates the confusion between the paranormal and the real.

Twain personally spurned missionary work, calling it "the least excusable of the spiritual petty larceny industries."[29] Yet, in spite of his disdain for spiritual petty larcenists, he took his cues from the missionaries' tactics to raise awareness about the crimes against humanity. With its collection of imagery spanning from the phantasmagoric to the documentary, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* would plumb this liminal space exposed in the magic lantern show. In doing so, Twain's pamphlet intimated to his audience that the cold documentary reality of Leopold's crimes surpassed the most nightmarish of supernatural horrors.

Whether in the form of writing, such as Williams' open letter, or imagery, such as the missionaries' magic lantern shows, both word and image conspired to systematically present evidence of collective violence. Certain reformers, such as Morel, had already juxtaposed written and visual testimony in weekly journals, such as the *West African Mail*, and in exposés, such as Morel's 1904 *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*, which included photographs of rubber-collection stations, Congolese amputees, and Western reformers like Casement. Twain's unique contribution to the cause was the pairing of word and image within the literary genre of the dramatic monologue. His protagonist follows in the footsteps of other monologists: like Shakespeare's Macbeth or the narrator of Robert Browning's 1842 poem "My Last Duchess," Leopold inevitably condemns himself. Through the rhetorical move of paralipsis, or the discussion of a topic only to deny it, Twain imprisons Leopold in his own language.

In the guise of this classical literary form, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* traffics in human rights rhetoric and imagery, enlisting a chorus of witnesses who condemn the systematic violence of Belgian colonialism. American and British missionaries, Congolese rubber collectors, European parliamentarians, and Western writers (including Conrad) take the virtual stand, testifying against a colonial tyrant. Ultimately, this heteroglossia, or variety of conflictual voices—Leopold's versus his enemies'—refracted in a single text, resists the very title of Twain's work. It is not as much a soliloquy as a noisy conversation. In fact, it is a shouting match between Leopold and his hemispheric army of sworn enemies. The text is a wolf, a human rights manifesto, disguised in the sheep's clothing of a satirical soliloquy from the mouth of a sadistic king.

But Twain knew that word alone was not enough; imagery was needed, too. Cultural critic Roland Barthes describes this ecosystem between image and text as "the totality of the information… carried by two different structures (one of which is linguistic)."[30] Twain consequently turned to sketches and drawings based on missionaries' journals and eyewitness testimony. He also enlisted images reproduced from the photographs taken by the British missionary Alice Harris, whose work had already begun to circulate in Morel's 1904 publication, *King Leopold's Rule in Africa.* By yoking together word and image in this way, Twain's text emulated a non-textual experience in the tradition of the magic lantern show, a multimedia theatrical phenomenon leveraged by social reformers such as Riis and the Harrises.

Whether in word or in image, the humanitarian movement of the Congo Free State amplified the voices of Westerner (predominantly white) men like Casement, Morel, and Twain over those of Western women and the Congolese people. While certain white Western women such as Alice Harris actively participated in the campaign, their roles were complicated: while they were not

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[28] Sliwinski, *The Childhood of Human Rights*, 348.

[29] Hunt Hawkins, "Mark Twain's Involvement with the Congo Reform Movement: 'A Fury of Generous Indignation,'" *New England Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (1978), 171-172.

[30] "Of the two structures, one is already familiar, that of language…while almost nothing is known about the other, that of the photograph." Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 16. Barthes also discusses the differences between the denoted and the connoted messages of the photograph.

completely silenced, they did not enjoy the privileges granted to many of their male counterparts. For example, from 1905 to 1910, Harris lectured prolifically on the Congo Free State, giving a minimum of 220 lectures in England alone, often without her husband.[31] Yet, in the caption of what would become one of the CRA campaign's most well-known photographs—of a Congolese father named Nsala peering at the remains of his daughter, who has been killed and eaten by rubber sentries—Morel's *King Leopold's Rule* misattributes credit to Alice's husband, "Mr. John H. Harris."[32] As Kevin Grant writes, though her camera captured the atrocity images, Harris "did not, initially, author the narrative that defined the significance of the photographs for the British public."[33] As a white woman at the turn of the century, Alice Harris was both present and absent within the shaping of the CRA's story.

As Laura Wexler has argued, these nuanced shifts in power for white, middle-class, Western women photojournalists in the late 19th century were double-edged. No longer always sitting in front of the camera as they had in previous decades, "their shift from object to operator emboldened justifications of Anglo-Saxon aggression at the start of the American century."[34] The Congolese people, on the other hand, often found themselves in directly in front of the cameras, their image framed by Westerners such as Alice Harris. On the whole, the CRA muffled Congolese voices—other than the testimonies, such as those woven into the narrative tapestry of Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, that were recorded and mediated by Western bystanders, often male missionaries.[35] As witnesses to or survivors of Leopold's collective colonial violence, these two groups—Western women and the Congolese survivors—usually remained either directly behind or in front of the camera. Far from Morel's headquarters in Liverpool, their voices were often stifled, and their names were often erased.[36] Yet, paradoxically, though mute in many ways, they testified most loudly as witnesses to crimes against humanity.

In the arithmetic of collective violence, these images of atrocity may have been equal to the thousands of words with which they were paired. But in the end, even such documentary evidence—of arms without hands, feet without legs, and fathers without daughters—did not staunch the hemorrhaging of Congolese lives or compel Western governments to intervene quickly enough. In 1906, Twain resigned from the movement; increasingly pessimistic in his final years, he had become estranged from the American CRA and exasperated with the relatively slow pace of diplomatic change.[37] By that time, several million Congolese lives had been lost to Leopold's violence.[38] Despite Twain's eventual pessimism regarding the CRA (by 1907, his copy of Morel's exposé, *Red Rubber*, was "in constant use as a window prop"), his own pamphlet helped galvanize the American public's awareness and outrage.[39] In December 1906 newspapers exposed the

[31] Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism,* 119, 122.

[32] Grant speculates on the possible reasons for this photographic misattribution, including patriarchal gender roles within Western missionary structures at the turn of the century. See Grant, *The Limits of Exposure*, 74.

[33] Ibid., 74.

[34] Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*, New ed. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 6. In her study of several "New Women" American photojournalists in the late 1890s and early 1900s (such as Frances Benjamin Johnson, Alice Austen, et al.), Wexler discusses how what she terms "the innocent eye," a representational practice afforded by "white domestic sentiment" enabled these women to occlude the violence, racism, and war within the colonies by framing these spaces as sites of peace. Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 6-7.

[35] Here, it is important to keep in mind what Saidiya Hartman notes: how the power differential between interlocutors in such transcribed testimonials can occlude transcriptions with racism, historical revisionism, and factual error; drawing on the work of Gayatri Spivak, she writes, "there is no access to the subaltern consciousness outside dominant representations or elite documents." Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America,* 1st ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 10.

[36] For more on the imbrications of photography, race, colonialism, and the optical unconscious, see Shawn Michelle Smith and Sharon Sliwinski, eds., *Photography and the Optical Unconscious* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

[37] Hawkins, *Mark Twain's Involvement*, 165.

[38] Twain's text accuses Leopold of being "the King with Ten Million Murders on his Soul." Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 25; Historian Adam Hochschild also estimates that "during the Leopold period and its immediate aftermath the population of the territory dropped by approximately ten million people." He notes that Congolese scholar Ndaywel é Nziem has put the number near 13 million. Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 233, 315.

[39] Hawkins, *Mark Twain's Involvement*, 172.

revelations that American lawyer Henry Kowalsky, suborned by Leopold's agents, had not only accepted Belgian bribes but had also attempted to influence Congress through lobbying efforts. By the time the story was published, the American Senate and the public at large were familiar with the CRA's publicity campaign and, thus, were primed for indignation. In the wake of the Kowalsky scandal, widely publicized atrocity images—such as those photos of severed Congolese hands—gave visual weight to newspaper headlines such as "Infamous Cruelties" and "U.S. Amazed at Crimes of Congo."[40] If the Kowalsky revelations were a match, then the CRA and Twain's efforts were the kerosene, both elements contributing to the conflagration of American public uproar about Leopold's regime. In tandem, this public awareness and subsequent indignation set the stage for President Theodore Roosevelt's decision in late 1906 to officially condemn the Congo Free State.[41] As a result, historians consider *King Leopold's Soliloquy* a document that contributed to the catalyzing of American political reform that would ultimately oust the "blood-drenched king."[42]

The Blood-Drenched King

As Barthes notes in *Image – Music – Text*, because of its inherent communication with written text, such as a caption, title, or article, a visual image such as a press photograph never stands in complete isolation.[43] The images in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* illustrate this point. A drawing of Leopold atop a pyramid, flanked by throngs of marching skeletons, for example, resides in the realm of the phantasmagoric, nearly supernatural mode. A mountain of Congolese skulls scattered in a field lingers in a liminal register somewhere between abstraction and realism. A woodcut print of a bereft Congolese father, based directly on Alice Harris' already infamous photograph, is documentary in its realist depiction of collective violence.[44] By relying on both documentary and abstract visual depiction, Twain hoped to telegraph to his readers the gravity of what Conrad's Kurtz had so famously called "the horror" of the Belgian Congo. Paired with their respective captions, these images illustrate how Leopold's crimes simultaneously stretch the very limits of the imagination and yet exist as documented fact.

In including different modes of visual imagery—both realist and abstract—each depicting a different scale and mode of genocidal carnage, Twain aimed to haunt his readers. Through the rhetoric of each image—the combination of the visual and linguistic structures such as captions—and the several appendices of official reports, eyewitness interviews, and parliamentary proceedings well outside the literary genre—Twain hoped to inspire a response that would lead to political intervention. According to Twain, the problem lay not in a lack of empathy (a slippery concept in itself) with the Congolese subjects, but in his European-American audience's disbelief in Leopold's crimes against humanity. In the soliloquy's final pages, the monarch reads aloud from an unnamed reformist publication. This particular swatch of text, made up by Twain, draws inspiration from rhetoric found in Morel's *West African Mail*, an object of Leopold's scorn. Here Twain, ventriloquized through Leopold, describes the collective Western public reluctance to confront the crimes of the king:

> We see this awful king, this pitiless and blood-drenched king…and—well, it is a mystery, but we do not wish to look; for he is a king, and it hurts us, troubles us, by ancient and inherited instinct it shames us to see a king degraded to this aspect, and we shrink from

[40] Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 248-249.

[41] On December 11, 1906, President Roosevelt wrote to the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, notifying him of a decision to official condemn the Congo Free State and describing being "moved by the deep interest shown by all classes of the American people in the amelioration of the conditions in the Congo State." Hawkins, *Mark Twain's Involvement*, 172-173.

[42] See Hawkins, *Mark Twain's Involvement*, 172-173; Joan Baum, "Mark Twain on the Congo," *Mark Twain Journal* 17, no. 2 (1974), 7.

[43] Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, 16.

[44] Here, I am following the lead of visual historians such as Sliwinski who have identified this particular image of Nsala as a woodcut print based on Alice Harris' photograph. Sharon Sliwinski, *Human Rights In Camera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 71. Also see Christina Twomey, *Framing Atrocity*, 59.

> hearing particulars of how it happened. We shudder and turn away when we come upon them in print [emphasis in original].[45]

As writer of this fictitious reform pamphlet read aloud by Leopold, Twain employed the first person plural pronoun of "we" to include himself with his imagined Western readership. For Twain, "to see" the "pitiless and blood-drenched king" is not the same as "to look" at him. By this logic, "seeing" implies a passive disengagement. The active practice of "looking," on the other hand, would require a radical resistance to the "ancient and inherited instinct," a refusal to believe a king so "awful." In turn, such looking results in "shuddering," a physical reaction that encompasses an affective response (empathy, disgust, horror). This effervescent shuddering overpowers the spectator, compelling him to "turn away" when coming upon "the particulars of how it happened in print." Strikingly, this passage locates the horror of the situation not so much in Leopold's campaign of collective violence against the Congolese subjects as in the depravity of a Western ruler.

A true reckoning with Leopold's crimes, Twain's soliloquy suggests, requires the engagement of multiple senses. "We shrink," Twain writes in the soliloquy, "from *hearing* particulars of how it happened." Images, or objects at which one may look or see, are intertwined with sounds, or words that may be heard. For Twain, it is not so much a matter of believing, or activating the imagination, but looking at the evidence in front of one's eyes. Their relationship of looking and hearing, by extension, is chiastic: in regard to the implications of Leopold's crimes, one cannot be fully understood without the other. Alongside hearing, the act of looking—a refusal to avert one's eyes, an invitation to shudder—becomes a political act. In other words, to engage with Leopold's crimes requires a multi-sensorial looking, or, in the words of critic Fred Moten, a practice of "looking that cannot be sustained as unalloyed looking but must be accompanied by listening."[46] In this light, as Moten writes in his reading of Roland Barthes alongside the open-casket photo of Emmett Till and the sounds surrounding his 1955 death, "a lingering look at—aesthetic response to—the photograph manifests itself as political action."[47] Black feminist critic Tina Campt also emphasizes the importance of listening, but departs from Moten in terms of her specific attention to the frequencies of what she terms "quiet" photographs taken of the Black Diaspora; attentive to what she terms the "haptic encounter," her methodology attends to a "practice of looking beyond what we see and attuning our senses to the other affective frequencies which photographs register."[48] Taking inspiration from these scholars, if we as readers resist what Moten terms "occularcentrism" and listen to the words and sounds surrounding the imagery in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, we may arrive one step closer to finding out what happens in the gulf between haunting and understanding.[49] We must first return to Barthes' rhetoric of the image.

Too Horribly Picturesque It Is

From the outset, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* muddles genres, defiantly refusing to adhere to a single category. The text hopscotches from satirical soliloquy to eyewitness testimonials in the name of human rights, such as excerpts of reports from African American missionary W. H. Sheppard, who describes witnessing the roasting of eighty-one right hands over a fire during a visit to the Congo Free State in 1890.[50] In this vein, a single page in the text may suture together a rhetorical crazy

[45] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 41–42. In a dictation for his autobiography, Twain called the apocalyptic carnage of the Middle Ages, which he had lampooned in his 1889 satirical novel, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, "heaven itself" compared to the violence of the Belgian Congo. See Hawkins, "Mark Twain's Involvement with the Congo Reform Movement," 172.

[46] Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 200.

[47] Ibid., 210.

[48] Tina M. Campt, *Listening to Images: An Exercise in Counterintuition*, Reprint ed. (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2017), 9.

[49] Fred Moten, "Black Mo'nin'," in *Loss: The Politics of Mourning*, ed. David L. Eng, David Kazanjian, and Judith Butler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 62–63.

[50] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 24.

quilt—stage directions for the king, Leopold's own ravings, a missionary's diary entry—alongside an illustrative sketch of a heap of skulls and femurs, with a caption lifted from the diary of A.E. Scrivener, a British missionary: "Some bones which they had seen." On this same page, Scrivener concludes this passage with a verdict on the visual evidence, which "all went to prove the state of terrorism that exists and the virtual slavery in which the people are held."[51]

Though Scrivener's description refers to bondage in the Congo Free State, the phrases "states of terrorism" and "virtual slavery" could also describe the status of many African Americans in Twain's own country. After all, in the early 20th-century United States, Jim Crow laws institutionalized economic enslavement—and ritualized lynchings perpetuated physical terror. The text as a whole, however, makes no explicit reference to these twinned, Transatlantic violences against black bodies. At his most direct (which isn't direct at all), Twain tacks on a "supplementary" appendix to condemn the U.S. government's complicity in formally recognizing Leopold's International Association of the Congo in 1884.[52] (He does, however, enlist satirical censure through Leopold himself, who, using some fin-de-siècle slang, boasts, "I certainly did bunco a Yankee"[53]). Even though Twain had written extensively on the legacy of slavery in the United States, most famously in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, his 1885 novel seems to exist in a parallel universe from his writings on Leopold. For all of its gestures toward awareness about crimes against humanity abroad, the 1905 soliloquy remains politically tone deaf to the racialized atrocities taking place in Twain's own backyard.

Yet alongside the acrobatics of language—exclamations, diaries, reports, poems, and paralipsis—in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, there is the rhetoric of the image. Throughout the document, images transmit their own messages, a series of signs that reverberate with the written text. Take, for instance, a drawing that protrudes, midway through the text, onto a single page from the left margins. Its square borders force Leopold's words to sidestep a sketch of six Congolese who approach a man dressed in Western attire of a safari helmet. In the sketch, five children surround a Congolese woman: an infant sits in the crook of her arm, and the other four, dressed in white, huddle beside her. Two of the boys, kneeling in the left-hand corner of the sketch, each thrust out a right arm. The boy's hand-less arm points diagonally upward toward the white Western man, whose back is turned to the reader. The sketch literally fractures Leopold's soliloquy, demanding that the written words give way to the visual imagery. The seven figures stand on a slender caption that has been extracted from Leopold's script: "They go to them with their sorrows."[54] Here, the caption functions as what Barthes calls "anchorage," or "a means of an often subtle *dispatching*, it remote-controls him toward a meaning chosen in advance."[55] In this case, the seven-word caption connects, or anchors, the image to a linguistic message: "They go to them with their sorrows." The word "sorrows" dispatches a meaning, transposing a narrative that hovers over the image. This is a scene of nonverbal testimony, in which the word "sorrows" resonates with the two children's arms without hands, thrust toward the man in the safari attire. In causing the reader to witness the eye-witnessing of the missionary, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* creates a mise-en-abîme, a story within a story, literally placing the reader into the abyss. If the missionaries can speak out as eyewitnesses, the text implies, then so too can the reader.

After the physical intrusion of the sketch, the text continues, unabated, for several pages. Here, the subsequent stage directions—once again, in italicized font—signal the splitting of genre, the approach of a generic borderline about to be crossed. The text transitions from satirical soliloquy to eyewitness report as stage directions guide Leopold's actions: *"Takes up a pamphlet. Reads a passage from a report of a 'Journey made in July, August, and September, 1903, by Rev. A. E. Scrivener, a*

[51] Ibid., 17.

[52] Ibid., 45-46. According to Hawkins, this mistaken claim that the U.S. had a legal connection to the Congo Free State (since the U.S. had never formally signed the 1885 Berlin Agreement) would haunt Twain, contributing to his eventual resignation from the CRA in 1906. See Hawkins, "Mark Twain's Involvement with the Congo Reform Movement," 165.

[53] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 7.

[54] Ibid., 14.

[55] Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, 40.

British missionary." In the following breath (and for the next couple of pages) Scrivener's testimony transcribes a nightmarish world of violence, famine, and terrorism: "Lying about on the grass, within a few yards of the house I was occupying, were numbers of human skulls, bones, and in some cases complete skeletons. I counted thirty-six skulls, and saw many sets of bones from which the skulls were missing."[56] He records the explanation of the collection of bones given by a Congolese man:

> I called one of the men and asked the meaning of it. 'When the rubber palaver began,' said he, 'the soldiers shot so many we grew tired of burying, and very often we were not allowed to bury; and so just dragged the bodies out into the grass and left them.' But I had seen more than enough, and was sickened by the stories that came from men and women alike of the awful time they had passed through.[57]

Scrivener makes a request of the man for words that may explain "the meaning" of the carnage before his eyes. Overwhelmed by his own vision, the missionary has "seen more than enough." Yet it is the "stories that came from men and women alike" as much as the sights that leave him "sickened." The spoken narratives of the Congolese survivors become virtual captions, words that contextualize the gruesome sights around the missionary. By pairing Scrivener's transcription of Congolese testimony with a sketch of skulls in the grass, Twain sutured together word and image. In providing the sketch of the evidence witnessed by Scrivener, *King Leopold's Soliloquy a*ctivates its readers' imaginations, beginning to fill the visual landscape: a skeletal sketch of skeletons. Here, words and images conspire to force the audience to navigate the perilous gulf between haunting and understanding. Between the two, they must confront their imaginations. On the other side, Twain seems to hope, the readers would advocate political interventions.

It is worth dwelling for a moment on the meaning of "imagination" and its etymological kinship with imagery. The verb "imagine" means "to form a mental image of, picture to oneself (something not real or not present to the senses)."[58] The post-classical Latin noun *imago*, meaning a representation of a likeness, bequeathed the verb *imaginer* to Middle French before migrating into English as "imagine." To imagine, therefore, requires the creation of a mental image, the building of a virtual universe that exists outside of one's own immediate environment. Barthes goes one step further; pointing out that the word *image* (from *imago*) is linked to the root *imitari.* This etymology, he continues, exposes a philosophical quandary about the relationship between word and image: "Thus we find ourselves immediately at the heart of the most important problem facing the semiology of images: can analogical representation (the 'copy') produce true systems of signs and not merely simple agglutinations of symbols?"[59] Is, as Barthes wonders, the image "re-presentation, which is to say ultimately resurrection"? *King Leopold's Soliloquy* suggests that Twain would have responded yes: to *re-present* Leopold's crimes to the world was to *represent* them. The tightrope of the hyphen—between re-presentation and representation—made all the difference in bridging worlds through words *and* images.

A reader's response to an early version of *King Leopold's Soliloquy* illuminates how words may kindle mental images, generating pictures of other worlds beyond the immediate senses. In early 1905, Twain read aloud excerpts of a draft to his secretary Isabel Lyon and his sister-in-law Mrs. Crane. On February 22, Lyon reflected in her diary on the horror elicited by Twain's writing:

> It was yesterday that Mr. Clemens read King Leopold's Soliloquy to Mrs. Crane & me. Breathless we sat & were weak with emotion when he finished the bald truthful statements that rolled from Leopold's vicious lips. Horribly—too horribly picturesque it is, & Mr.

[56] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 16.

[57] Ibid., 16-17.

[58] Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "Imagine, V.," accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.duke.edu/view/Entry/91651.

[59] Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, 32.

> Clemens will cut out some of it—It's a pity too—but I suppose it would be too strong a diet for people and governments.[60]

For Lyon, listening to the words requires the envisioning of new worlds. The "bald truthful statements that rolled from Leopold's vicious lips" act as verbal brushstrokes, painting an imaginative portrait of a tyrant. Ventriloquized through Twain, Leopold's words generate the envisioning of something Lyon called "too horribly picturesque." The unsettling reality portrayed by Twain upends the normal rules of grammar; Lyon's inversion of adjective and noun ("too horribly picturesque it is"), or anastrophe, suggests a world, like her syntax, temporarily turned upside down. The cataclysmic pairing of the adverb "horribly" with the adjective "picturesque" teeters on the precipice of sublimity: a mix of terror and beauty—all from the safe vantage of a sitting-room canapé. Twain's narrative physically affects its two auditors, leaving Lyon and Crane "breathless and weak with emotion"—not far from the very "shuddering" described by Leopold in the soliloquy's final pages. With its haunting descriptions and eliciting of horror, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* veers into the realm of the phantasmagoric, taking away the breath of its audience. It was like a magic lantern show—only without the magic lantern.

The physical layout of this particular page mirrors the interdependence of image, text, and imagination in *King Leopold's Soliloquy.* By extracting a fragment of Scrivener's text ("some bones which they had seen"), the anchorage of Twain's caption dispatches meaning to the image of skulls and bones. Even if these sketched skulls, dragged and scattered in a Congolese field, nestled in the grasses, were drawn by hand, they were doubly seen—both by the Congolese and the British witnesses. The sketch, which occupies nearly a third of the page, foregrounds a single skull, resting beside a femur, partially occluded by the stalks of grass. As the skulls (there are at least 36 of them) recede into the background, shrinking in size, they become uncountable. Collective violence renders precision impossible. Image and text chafe against one another; the image literally rests on Scrivener's testimony, buttressed by the written word. Twain imbued the text with panoramic immediacy, as if voyeuristically placing the reader in Scrivener's position, squarely in his point of view. The reader, by implication, becomes an indirect eyewitness to the carnage, now fleshless, in the wake of massacre.

As Barthes delineates, each image telegraphs both a connotative and a denotative quality. Given the Shakespearean overtones of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, it is hard not to think of the famous skull in *Hamlet*: poor Yorick's "infinite jest." Without context, stripped bare of the caption or the written word, the image, especially the foregrounded skull, may connote the seventeenth-century motif of *memento mori* ("remember that you will die"). Embedded within the written landscape, however, the skulls in Leopold's realm denote a calculated, collective violence far from the realm of Shakespeare's Danish cemetery. This violence is necropolitical, subjugating life to the power of death, banishing individuated meaning from each person's demise. Achille Mbembe writes of how, in the case of colonial massacres, "lifeless bodies are quickly reduced to the status of simple skeletons. Their morphology henceforth inscribes them in the register of undifferentiated generality: simple relics of an unburied pain, empty, meaningless, corporealities, strange deposits plunged into cruel stupor."[61] Unlike Yorick, these skulls remain nameless, undifferentiated, unburied—united by violence and its aftermath. To paraphrase Twain's secretary, Ms. Lyon, "too horribly picturesque" it is.

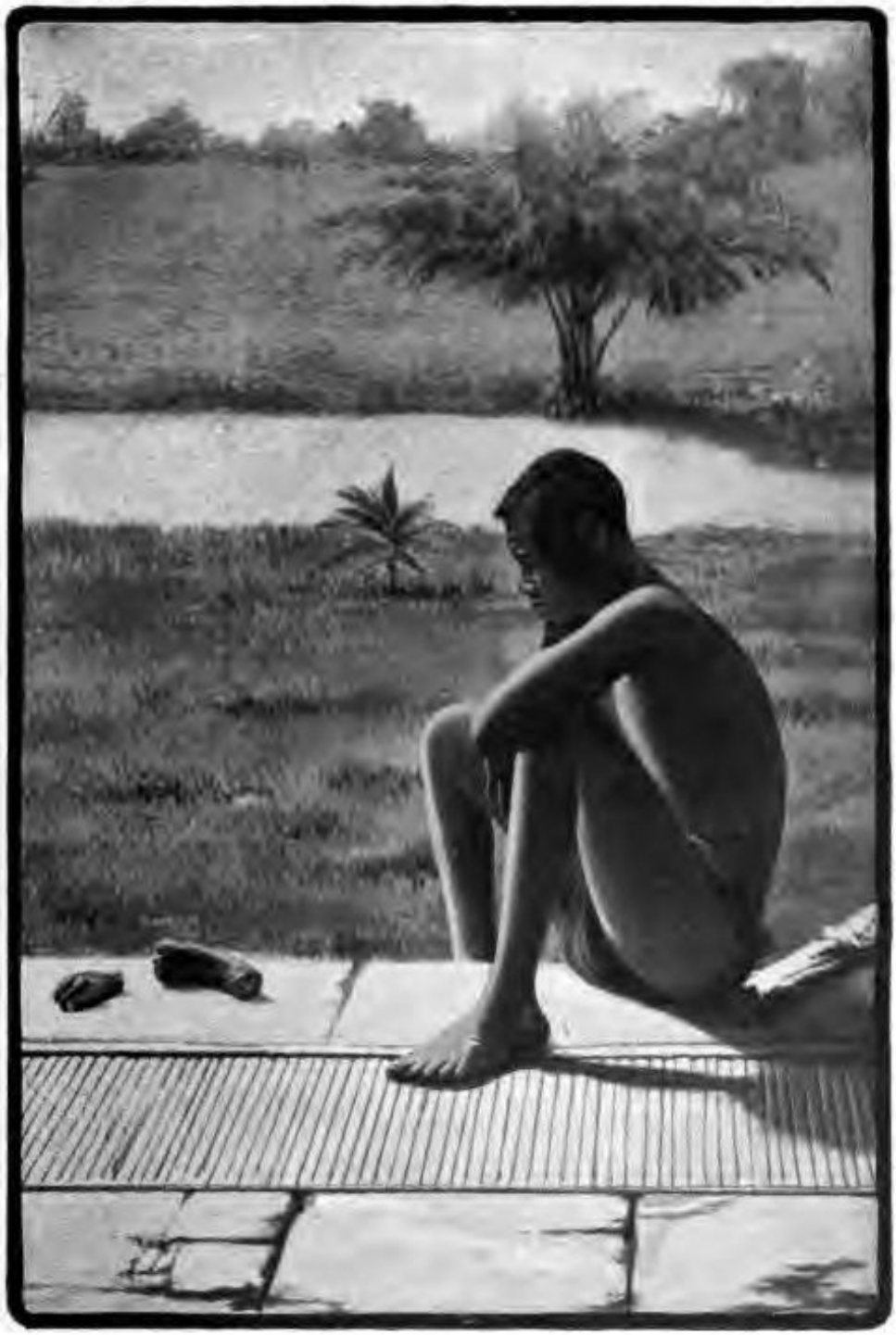
The Incorruptible Kodak

Midway through the text, directly across from Leopold's script (in this case, his ravings against Roger Casement), an image—this time, a woodcut print reproduced from Alice Harris' photograph—occupies an entire page (Figure 1).[62] Here, the landscape is pastoral: a gentle stream transects the

[60] Hawkins, *Mark Twain's Involvement*, 155.

[61] Mbembe, *Necropolitics*, 35.

[62] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 18. Woodcut prints based on photographs dated back to the American Civil War photography of Alexander Gardiner and Timothy O'Brady, often resorted to because of the technological limitations of mass circulation of photographs. For more historical context about the reproduction of photographs as woodcuts



FOOT AND HAND OF CHILD DISMEMBERED BY SOLDIERS, BROUGHT TO MISSIONARIES BY DAZED FATHER. FROM PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT BARINGA, CONGO STATE, MAY 15, 1904. SEE MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS, JANUARY, 1905

"Imagine the output of the whole vast State!"— *Page 18.*

Figure 1.

scenery, and equatorial trees populate the top section of the background. A Congolese man sits on the ground, contemplatively, in profile, gazing at two small objects only an arm's length from his own body. An oblique triangular constellation comprises the man's torso, his head, and then the focus of his vision: the two small objects, nearly the same shade as the man's own complexion.

This image perches on two different captions, each in its own distinct font. Directly below the image, text written in all caps contextualizes the portrait. "FOOT AND HAND OF CHILD DISMEMBERED BY SOLDIERS," it begins. In conversation with the caption, the lines of these two objects violently, grotesquely come into focus as a foot and a hand—creating what Barthes calls the "studium"—or the aspect of the photo serving as a "kind of education" and recognition of the photographer's (in this case, Alice Harris') intentions: visual exposure of colonial carnage.[63] This section of the caption, which provides anchorage to the image, grounding it in narrative context, identifies the perpetrators (the soldiers) and the victim (a child, of whose body we only see fragments—the hand and the foot). The child is both physically present—in a gruesome synecdoche, if the hand and foot can possibly stand in for the whole body—and also absent, without even a name.

The caption continues to contextualize the image: "Brought to Missionaries by Dazed Father."[64] Here, it's important to consider how this caption speaks—or doesn't speak—to the image. It frames the identity of the man in the photo—he has become a "dazed father." Morel's previously mentioned 1904 *King Leopold's Rule in Africa* had included the same image and had provided further context, including the father's name (Nsala) as well as the daughter's (Boali).[65] Yet Twain's pamphlet denies Nsala—unlike the British or American missionaries—his proper name. In a metonymic logic, this one man's tragedy, it seems, must stand in for all Congolese fathers, as a part for a whole. In this regard, the caption's rhetoric thematically rhymes with what literary critic Lynn Festa calls "sentimental humanitarianism."[66] Evident in 18th-and 19th-century anti-slavery literature, sentimental humanitarianism can be found where "suffering masses are condensed into a single unthreatening figure."[67] In this case, the father is speechless—both in terms of being "dazed," but also in terms of being denied any voice—or name—of his own in the text. Sontag elucidates how images, specifically those of nameless African victims, can perpetuate insidious narratives. She writes, "These sights carry a double message. They show a suffering that is outrageous, unjust, and should be repaired." Yet, "they confirm that this is the type of thing which happens in that place."[68]

In keeping with Sontag's attention to such contradiction, while there are no details of the name of "the dazed father," the caption does provide a nearly surgical precision in terms of the time and place: "From Photograph take at Baringa, Congo State, May 15, 1904."[69] The caption telegraphs a message to the reader: the woodcut print—is only a single preposition away *from* an actual photograph, taken at a single moment in time. Thus, the image walks a tightrope between imagined reproduction and visual evidence. Like the text as a whole, it resides in a liminal space between the real and the (sur)real. Later in the text, after studying what Twain's stage directions call "some photographs of mutilated Negroes," Leopold rages against "the incorruptible *kodak*…

in the 19th-century United States, see Bob Zeller, *The Civil War in Depth: History in 3-D*, Book and Access ed. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997). African American social reformer Ida B. Wells-Barnett also enlisted the woodcut—based on a photograph of the 1893 lynching of C. J. Miller in Bardwell, Kentucky—in her 1895 publication *The Red Record*. See Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States* (1895), chap. 4., https://www.gutenberg.org/files/14977/14977-h/14977-h.htm.

[63] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard, Reprint ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 28.

[64] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 18.

[65] Edmund Dene Morel, *King Leopold's Rule in Africa* (London: W. Heinemann, 1904), 444.

[66] Lynn Festa, "Humanity without Feathers," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 1, no. 1 (2010), 16, accessed July 21, 2017, doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hum.2010.0007.

[67] Ibid., 6.

[68] Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 71.

[69] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 19-20.

the only witness I couldn't bribe."[70] Here, Twain underscores the difference between the Kodak, a machine, which seemingly cannot lie, and humans, all to susceptible to bribes. Yet, at the same time, this logic anthropomorphizes the Kodak by endowing it with the humanlike qualities of an "incorruptible witness." By metonymizing the camera—making the machine stand in for the human who actually frames and shoots the picture—Twain, through Leopold, constructs the "incorruptible kodak" as the ultimate witness, as if free of human influence and immune from corruption.

But the camera as eyewitness was not exactly "incorruptible." To the contrary, as many scholars have shown, this technology was often leveraged as a tool of empire, colonialism, and white supremacy.[71] As Cole reminds us, the camera, especially when pointed at the racial Other in the name of ethnographic "fact," often inflicts its own insidious violence: "Photography is particularly treacherous when it comes to righting wrongs, because it is so good at recording appearances."[72] Furthermore, as Dean Pavlakis has pointed out, Alice Harris staged several of her photographs as re-enactments of atrocity crimes for "dramatic effect;" for example, the photograph of Nsala was "a carefully arranged tableau of onlookers, grieving father, and severed hand and foot"—a fact that would soon be seized upon to discredit the CRA by Leopold's propagandists (who staged their own photos—an irony apparently lost on the king's Brussels-based publicists).[73] Many readers of Twain's text would have recognized these recorded appearances such as the one of the dazed father from the photographic magic lantern shows, those spaces in which the real and the phantasmagoric blurred under the Western Christian gaze.

Fresh Skeletons Enough

As early as the soliloquy's first pages, Twain relied on both documentary and abstract, realist and supernatural, imagery to tell his whole story. Opposite the soliloquy's title page, an image of Leopold looms, as if menacing even the typeface listing the author, publisher, and edition. In the background, Leopold stands atop a pyramid, hoisting a flag in his right hand and what appears to be a scepter in his left. Throngs of headless skeletons, linked by their arms, radiate from the base of the pyramid. In the drawing's foreground, lightning bolts cast their spindly shadows onto the grasslands. Unlike the more documentary drawings, this image resides firmly in the abstract realm: there may be headless skeletons in the Congo Free State, but they cannot rise from the dead and form chains around the despot. In terms of symbolism, in Leopold's body politic, he is the only one with a head—the Congolese skeletons denied of even their own skulls, and, by extension, their humanity. Like photographs projected in the magic lantern shows, the drawing lingers in the phantasmagoric mode. By turning to the fantastical, Twain aimed to show his readers that the reality in the Belgian Congo was simultaneously based in documentary evidence—and yet it surpassed the imaginative boundaries of a reader's most obscene visions. The collective violence lurked in broad daylight, under the "unbribable" lens of the Kodak, but also after dark, in the territory of nightmares.

The image rests upon a slender caption— "A memorial for the perpetuation of my name. — Page 27."— which signals the interdependency of image and text.[74] The reader must turn to page 27, nearly halfway through the tract, in order to find context for the caption. The drawing shares a

[70] Ibid., 39-40.

[71] See Sliwinski, *Human Rights In Camera*; John Peffer, "Snap of the Whip/ Crossroads of Shame: Flogging, Photography, and the Representation of Atrocity in the Congo Reform Campaign," *Visual Anthropology Review* 24, no. 1 (2008), 55–77; Wexler, *Tender Violence*; Fehrenbach and Rodogno, eds., *Humanitarian Photography: A History*.

[72] Teju Cole, "Getting Others Right," *New York Times Magazine*, June 13, 2017, accessed July 23, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/13/magazine/getting-others-right.html.

[73] Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896-1913*, 185-186. It is important to keep in mind that, as Peffer points out, in spite of being "staged," the veracity of the colonial violence surrounding the photographs such as those taken by Alice Harris is not at issue. See John Peffer, *Snap of the Whip*, 67. The act of staging photos, especially in the shadow of collective violence such as war, was a practice dating back to the mid-19th century. Susan Sontag describes the staging of photographs in the Crimean War, and Franny Nudelman glosses the practice during the American Civil War. See Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, chap. 3; Franny Nudelman, *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, & the Culture of War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), chap. 4.

[74] Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, 2.

synapse with the caption, which then directs the reader to the middle of one of Leopold's rants: in this case, a description of a "memorial for the perpetuation of my name" designed by a "madman" who is "full of vindictive enthusiasm over his strange project."[75]As the monarch disdainfully describes the memorial, the details bring the drawing into sharp focus: a mausoleum, modeled on the Great Pyramid of Cheops, will be built out of 15,000 skulls and skeletons, with a base of 13 acres and 451 feet above the ground. Robed and crowned, Leopold holds "his 'pirate flag'" in one hand and his "butcher-knife and pendant handcuffs" in the other.[76] Text spills onto the following page as the tract of land has been "depopulated," its former denizens transformed into "the spirits of the starved and murdered dead... [who] voice their laments forever in the whispers of the wandering winds."[77] Leopold resides not over a colony, but a necropolis.

Examined side by side, an arithmetic of human suffering emerges from the image and the text. A macabre calculus infiltrates Leopold's description of the memorial. Each "osseous fence," he explains, consists of "200,000 skeletons on a side, which is 400,000 to each avenue."[78] In trying to communicate the scale of the violence in the Congo Free State, Twain turned to United States geography, a narrative strategy indicative of an appeal to his American readership. Twain ventriloquized a revealing analogy through Leopold: "It is remarked with satisfaction that it aggregates three or four thousand miles (single-ranked) of skeletons—15,000,000 all told—would stretch across America from New York to San Francisco."[79] Veering into bureaucratic rhetoric, king prognosticates an "output of 500,000 corpses a year when my plant is running full time" before projecting "fresh skeletons enough to continue the transcontinental file…a thousand miles into the Pacific."[80] In tandem, the drawing and the paragraph enable Twain to create a cartography of collective violence and to better communicate the scale of Leopold's carnage to his American readership. By providing his readers with a geographical scope, however U.S.-centric, Twain provided them the imaginative longitudes and latitudes of scenes of crimes against humanity.

The Terrible Story, Brought Thoroughly Home

At the home of a New Hampshire neighbor in autumn of 1905, mere months after the publication of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, Twain met a fellow reformist who shared his growing exasperation with the tactics of the CRA. Unlike Twain, Dihdwo Twe, a Liberian student, had actually visited the Congo Free State prior to studying at Cushing Academy in Ashburnham, Massachusetts. In a letter dated February 8, 1906, Twe confided in Twain his frustration with the reform movement's reliance on printed materials to reach its intended audience:

> …To speak the truth, I am dissatisfied with the method of the 'Congo Reform Association'; they are trying to influence this great country by distribution of printed circulars. This will take too much money, too long time, and besides the result will always remain uncertain.[81]

Twe's letter evinces skepticism about the CRA's faith in "printed circulars"—such as Twain's own *King Leopold's Soliloquy*—to inaugurate political reform. The Liberian student's concerns were rooted in finances ("too much money") and temporality ("too long time"). But most of all, he pinpointed his doubts in something that haunts literary efforts to sway human rights to this day—the lack of a quantifiable barometer with which to measure the effects of the literature: "the result will always remain uncertain."[82] Of course, readers like Ms. Lyon might recoil from the nightmarish imagery. But after the shuddering, as Twain's own Leopold predicted, would she and

[75] Ibid., 27.
[76] Ibid., 27.
[77] Ibid., 28.
[78] Ibid., 28.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid., 28-29.
[81] Hawkins, *Mark Twain's Involvement*, 170–71.
[82] Ibid., 171.

her fellow readers turn away? For the Liberian reformer, printed materials—the written words, the printed photographs—were simply not enough.

If Twain's pamphlet had failed to bring the Americans to the Congo Free State, then Twe wanted to bring the corporeality of the Congo Free State to the Americans. It turns out that Twe had his own scheme in mind: a proposal to bring two or three Congolese children with mutilated limbs to the United States. The CRA, approximately $5,000 in debt (in spite of the soliloquy's proceeds, donated by Twain), refused.[83] According to a note penned by Lyon, written on the back of Twe's letter, the American author endorsed the idea, deeming it "excellent, but he doubts if it is really worthwhile to continue to the agitation in America with the idea of getting help from our government."[84] The volition of the Congolese children, it seems, was never in question for either Twe or for Twain.

While Twe's proposal never came to fruition, his idea brings to light the political limits and possibilities of the paired printed word and image. Let us consider Barthes' claim that images, such as photographs, pin their subjects to a single moment, "anesthetized and fastened down, like butterflies."[85] If an image tethers its subject to a single instance in the past, then the presence of a human being—a survivor of Leopold's violence brought over to America, for instance—would shift temporality. No longer fastened down on the page, the Congolese survivor would breathe, move, and inhabit the present tense, no longer captive on the page, and no longer surrounded by words of others. Twe's idea rests on the faith in naked eye-witnessing: if only the American people could *see t*he evidence of Leopold's carnage not in a photograph or a drawing, but in real life, bridging the gulf between page and reader, witnessing without the intermediary of the Kodak. By this logic, if the American people could not only read, but also *hear* the testimony of the Congolese children—translated both literally and figuratively into a language accessible to the audience—then they would be unable to turn away. By eschewing adults as representatives of Leopold's violence in his humanitarian appeal, the Liberian activist relied on the visual registers of children as what anthropologist Liisa Malkki has called "embodiments of a basic human goodness" and as sufferers.[86] Twe wanted to correct what Sir Arthur Conan Doyle would later point to as the failure of the CRA: poor storytelling ("the terrible story has not been brought thoroughly home to the people").[87] If the story had not been thoroughly brought home to the American people, then Twe would turn to the interpellating act of the physical presence of human beings. According to this logic, the Congolese children would be made to literally stand in for the story—one that had to be told even better than before.

By eliminating the camera, Twe would bring the American audiences one step closer to believing the crime with their own eyes. Twe assumed that belief of this crime's existence—what George Washington Williams had in 1890 called a "crime against humanity" and what Raphael Lemkin would later list as an example of genocide—would leave its witnesses with no choice but to act.[88] The preposition shifts, and the game changes: Twe aimed for Americans to no longer linger in the realm *between* word and image, but *beyond* word and image. According to this idealist logic, having survived the harrowing journey of the imagination, they would emerge on the other side, ready to slay the man whom Twain called a "bloody monster whose mate is not findable in human history anywhere."[89] These limbless children were never brought from Africa to America as evidence of Leopold's murderous campaign. Meanwhile, in Brussels, the monster and his publicists were preparing to strike back against Twain—not only with words, but also with images.

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 57.

[86] Liisa Malkki, "Children, Humanity, and the Infantilization of Peace," in *In the Name of Humanity: The Government of Threat and Care*, ed. Ilana Feldman and Miriam Ticktin (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 60.

[87] Doyle, *The Crime of the Congo*, vii.

[88] Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, First Mariner Books ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 111-112. See also Dean Pavlakis, *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896-1913* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 179.

[89] Hawkins, *Mark Twain's Involvement*, 172.

Answering Twain

Though Twain and Twe may have despaired of the ability of printed materials to affect quantifiable political change, evidence suggests otherwise: Twain's salvo of the soliloquy prompted a counter-attack from Leopold's propaganda machine. In 1907, a Brussels-based publishing house issued *An Answer to Mark Twain*, a 47-page tract written in English, presumably aimed at the American and British readers of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. While the opening and closing pages of *An Answer* rely on language—several paragraphs accuse the American author of "an infamous libel" against the Congo Free State—the majority of the document places its faith in photographic evidence to contradict Twain's claims.

The Belgian propaganda participates in an irrational game of mixing and matching word and image: for every accusation of violence in Twain's soliloquy, *An Answer* responds with a pastoral photograph. Specifically, the tract takes aim at the reliance on illustrations in the reform efforts of Morel, who, in asking Twain to pen an attack on Leopold, "knew perfectly well that the soliloquy could not meet with success unless it was illustrated by the usual drawing of alleged acts of cruelty which had been promenaded all over England for years in the West African Mail."[90] Explanatory paragraphs bookend the middle section of *An Answer*, which follows a pattern: each page juxtaposes Twain's words, pastoral photographs of the Congo Free State, and captions of enthusiastic Western bystanders. The featured images include the following subjects: (a) landscapes, usually grasslands, emptied of humans, (b) infrastructure projects built with Congolese labor, such as railroads and bridges, and (c) medical clinics, technical schools, or churches, in which white men oversee what the Belgians term Congolese "progress." The visual scaffolding belies the tract's trust in its imagery to demolish the factual claims of Twain's language. In its Belgian creators' absurd calculus, the pastoral nature of the images could outweigh the American author's excoriating sentences, as if the existence of able-bodied Congolese people in selected photos precluded the occurrence of sadistic mutilation and systematic massacre occurring outside of the aperture's purview.

Somewhat ironically, both Twain and Leopold's publicists (the Bulens Brothers of Brussels) relied on the same strategy: faith that imagery—bolstered by written captions—would annihilate the other side's narrative. In this particular war of stories told by Western men about the Congo Free State, images were cannon fodder, and words the match to ignite the salvos against the other side. For example, a quotation plucked from *King Leopold's Soliloquy* marches across pages 20 and 21 of *An Answer to Mark Twain*: "The Congo State is wiping a nation of friendless creatures out of existence."[91] A series of four photographs, two on each page, depicts Belgian physicians in the proximity of Congolese subjects ("Doctor attending patients"), ostensibly tending to patients outside of thatched huts or brick buildings.[92] These four images, plus the captions detailing the scientific inquiry into "tropical diseases," serve as a direct rebuke to Twain's quotation.

Yet the piece de resistance of the propagandist tract was its back cover: a case of fearful symmetry. In this visual sleight-of-hand, two nearly identical photos depict two Congolese women who sit outside a thatched dwelling, shaping pots. Beneath the first photo, a caption reads, "Potters at Work in the Congo."[93] In the second photo, Belgian legerdemain has swapped one type of object for another: the handicrafts are no longer pots, but skulls. In reference to E.D. Morel's headquarters, the caption reads, "The Same Photo at Liverpool."[94] Through this doctoring of photographs, this technological abracadabra, the pamphlet implicitly accuses the CRA of hyperbole. In doing so, it erases the colonial erasure of humans left outside the camera's frame.

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[90] A. Bulens and G. Bulens, eds., *An Answer to Mark Twain* (Brussels: Bulens Brothers,1907), 41.

[91] Ibid., 20-21.

[92] Ibid., 22. Read retrospectively, the images of medical experimentation eerily resonate with the colonial campaigns of collective violence elsewhere on the continent: the German massacres of the Herero peoples in German South West Africa from 1904 to 1907, during which certain prototypes of medical experiments were first tested by Eugen Fischer, later to be taught to Nazi physicians and used during the Holocaust. Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 12.

[93] Bulens and Bulens, *An Answer to Mark Twain*, 48.

[94] Ibid.

History that Rhymes

I have argued herein that the relation (or dissonance) of visual imagery to written text in this relatively unknown and understudied work by Twain yields vital implications for the field of genocide studies. *King Leopold's Soliloquy* bequeaths two key lessons for scholars of genocide and collective violence. First, literary texts deserve fuller attention within the discipline. A close reading of *King Leopold's Soliloquy* reveals both the political possibilities and limitations in the chasm between image and written narrative, haunting and understanding, in the portrayal of collective violence with goals of political interventions. At the crossroads between documentary and abstract depictions of collective violence, the eclectic variety of images in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* raises questions about fact, testimony, and witnessing in the realm of human rights and collective violence. Following in the lineage of the phantasmagoric magic lantern shows, Twain's text puts forth an implicit claim: that documentary realism—such as the image of the nameless father staring at the childless limbs—is, in a way, more nightmarish than a fantastical, abstract drawing of Leopold, flanked by headless skeletons. The study of a literary text such as *King Leopold's Soliloquy* and the responses to its circulation, such as readers' reactions or Leopold's propagandist tract, *An Answer*, illuminates both the possibilities and the limits of literature in instrumentalizing visual imagery to catalyze political interventions in collective violence.

Like the audiences of the phantasmagoric magic lantern shows, Twain's readers constructed a virtual landscape of the "horribly picturesque," their imaginations activated by both word and image. Still, as Twe pointed out to Twain, the political results of such reactions were nebulous—did American readers, as Twain's Leopold predict, simply "shudder and turn away?" Could literature move masses of readers to lobby for reform? As writer Zadie Smith has observed, without legal interventions, literature alone—and the empathy that it may inaugurate—is not always enough: "You need to protect the weak, ring-fence them, with something far stronger than empathy."[95] In a similar vein, nearing the end of his life, Twain considered his reform work a failure, lamenting that, unlike Morel, his own "literary interests" made him "not a bee, but a lightning bug."[96] Yet even as a self-proclaimed "lightning bug," he shed enough light on Leopold's necropolitical crimes—the mutilations and the massacres—to rouse a reaction from the monarch's own propaganda machine.

The resulting cataclysm of literary word and image initiated imaginative possibilities with political imperatives. Only weeks after Twain's resignation from the CRA, a letter from a reader, one Mrs. Howland, briefly rekindled his faith in his own literary efforts. Ms. Lyon recounted how, after Howland's "tribute to the power of the pamphlet she wrote—'Money have I none, but I'll work like 'Hell' to help the cause.' Her zeal moved Mr. Clemens almost to tears. He shouted with joy & then read it all over again—& said he'd 'take that letter to Washington next week.'"[97] Later that year, Theodore Roosevelt, with whom Twain had met several times to advocate for reform in the Congo Free State, reached out to Britain to put diplomatic pressure on Belgium; in 1908, Belgium annexed the colony, removing it from the hands of Leopold, who ordered all archives of the Congo Free State destroyed. Yet, in 1909, after Sir Arthur Conan Doyle had appealed via letter to the American author to return to the movement, Twain excoriated the apathy of so-called Christians in his written response:

> It seems curious that for about thirty years Leopold & the Belgians have been daily and nightly committing upon the helpless Congo natives all the hundred kinds of atrocious crimes known to the heathen savage & the pious inquisitor without rousing Christendom to a fury of generous indignation.[98]

To know, it seems, was not necessarily to be roused.

[95] Cressida Leyshon, "This Week in Fiction: Zadie Smith," *The New Yorker*, February 3, 2013, accessed July 20, 2017, http://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/this-week-in-fiction-zadie-smith-2.

[96] Robert Wuliger, "Mark Twain on King Leopold's Soliloquy," *American Literature* 25, no. 2 (1953), 237.

[97] Hawkins, *Mark Twain's Involvement*, 168.

[98] Ibid., 175.

Literature invites the depiction of current conditions and the envisioning of new possibilities with a latitude denied to other disciplines. By wandering into the fantastical, the real, or the phantasmagoric, zigzagging across genre, mode, and symbol, it offers something that no other discipline can: a space in which to radically question the very nature of storytelling itself. In the war of stories, Twain and Leopold were fighting in hand-to-hand combat. Was Leopold a humanitarian or a monster? By re-presenting visual imagery of Leopold's collective violence, Twain enlisted literature to in his attempt to represent the atrocities taking place across the Atlantic. And that's precisely why this chimerical work of literature—part satire, part manifesto, and part soliloquy—deserves our attention as scholars of genocide.

King Leopold's Soliloquy also imparts a second lesson: it underscores the importance of broadening our time and space continuum in contemplating instances of genocide. In one regard, we should resist Lemkin's disciplining of his own discipline: the field of genocide studies would do well to make more room for scholars of the humanities in its anthologies. Yet, on the other hand, we would benefit from a return to Lemkin's own unfinished multi-volume history of genocide, which includes the Belgian Congo and German South West Africa (now known as Namibia), among others. Lemkin's neologism was, after all, a retrospective label, naming crimes that preceded the very term that would come to describe them. In this spirit, we would do well to consider not only the Holocaust and the genocides that came afterwards—Indonesia, Cambodia, Rwanda—but those that came before it, such as the settler genocides in German South West Africa and the United States. We should see Lemkin not only as a Cassandra, predicting the crimes of the future, but also as an Orpheus, looking backwards over his shoulder. These interlocking instances can help us understand the kinship between word and image—and haunting and understanding—across space and time, including in Twain's native land.

Kin to the King

In 1905, when Mark Twain enlisted imagery and literature to censure the colonial atrocities occurring a world away in the Belgian Congo, it was at the zenith of American imperialism and racial consolidations promoting Anglo-Saxon supremacy at home. That same year witnessed the publication of Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman* (adapted ten years later as the film *The Birth of a Nation*). Across the American South, white citizens, equipped with cameras, documented the spectacle of the ritualized lynchings of African American citizens. Anticipating the organized terror of what would be known as the second wave of the Klan (considered by many to begin in 1915 after the release of Griffith's film), white spectators scrawled captions such as "Let the White Supreme Forever Be" beside these gruesome photographs.[99] Perpetrators and bystanders alike mailed these snapshots of collective violence as postcards, which crisscrossed the continent under the auspices of the U.S. Postal Service.[100] Ironically, this point was made by none other than the Belgian writers of *An Answer*, who observed that the Twain's "sympathy is exclusively extended to the Congo natives. He is not in the least interested in a better understanding between blacks and whites in the United – States."[101] While deeply attuned to issues of international human rights, the 1905 soliloquy is tone deaf to its own *intra*national violence.

Walter Benjamin once wrote, "There is no document of civilization that is not at the same time a document of barbarism."[102] For all of Twain's appeal to human rights, political reform, and his readers' empathy, there is—to quote Hamlet—a "rub": a narrative hypocrisy, a willed blindness to the necropolitical violence within America's own borders—the very violence documented by Ida B. Wells and anti-lynching activists in the United States. Decades later, African American leaders

[99] Patricia Bernstein, *The First Waco Horror: The Lynching of Jesse Washington and the Rise of the NAACP*, New (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 54.

[100] Due to the mass influx of lynching photographs as postcards, in 1908 the U.S. Postmaster banned the practice by adding section 3893 to the Comstock Law, thus expanding the meaning of "indecent" material to include those that might "incite arson, murder, or assassination." See Linda Kim, "A Law of Unintended Consequences: United States Postal Censorship of Lynching Photographs," Visual Resources 28, no. 2 (2012), 174.

[101] Bulens and Bulens, *An Answer to Mark Twain*, 7.

[102] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 256.

William L. Patterson, Paul Robeson, and the Civil Rights Congress would draw upon Lemkin's own language to argue that the newly named crime of genocide had taken place on American soil. In their 1951 manifesto, *We Charge Genocide*, the CRC appealed to the United Nations to charge the American government with crime of genocide against the black population within the United States.[103] Lemkin, however, publicly opposed the CRC's use of the term, as indicated in a special report that ran in the *New York Times* the same year.[104] In private correspondence, Lemkin wrote to Patterson that "the provisions of the Genocide Convention bore no relations to the U.S. Government or its position vis-à-vis Black citizens."[105] Yet historical facts erode the foundations of Lemkin's logic: after all, in the architecture of the Third Reich, the Nazi party had looked to none other than the eugenics practices and Jim Crow laws in the United States for inspiration.[106] The legacy of the CRC's petition continues to this day, as evident in the name of the grassroots social justice organization, We Charge Genocide.[107]

As documented in the pages of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, on May 15, 1904, a "dazed father" gazed at his daughter's hand and foot in Baringa, Congo Free State. Meanwhile, on the very same day, across the Atlantic, in the town of Appling, Georgia, a white mob lynched John Cummings, an African American citizen.[108] Though these white American spectators didn't fear the Kodak—in fact, they embraced it—time and time again they proved themselves kin to King Leopold, thirsty for blood and hungry for violence.[109] To borrow an adage commonly misattributed to none other than Mark Twain, while history may not have repeated itself, it rhymed.[110] Whether in Baringa or in Appling, the Kodak—a mute witness that resisted bribery—testified to crimes against humanity. If we look closely enough across the centuries, we can listen to history, and we can even hear it rhyme.

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[103] William L. Patterson, ed. *We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People* (New York: International Publishers, 1970).

[104] "U.S. Accused in U.N. of Negro Genocide," *The New York Times*, December 18, 1951, 13.

[105] William L. Patterson, *The Man Who Cried Genocide: An Autobiography* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 179.

[106] For example, the 1927 U.S. Supreme Court case *Buck v. Bell*, which legitimized eugenic sterilization, was cited in the Nuremberg trials as a legal precedent for the Nuremberg Laws. Recent scholarship on the influence of American racist practices on Nazi Germany includes James Q. Whitman, *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); Adam Cohen, *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck*, Reprint ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 2017).NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017

[107] For further discussion, see Dylan Rodríguez, "Inhabiting the Impasse Racial/Racial-Colonial Power, Genocide Poetics, and the Logic of Evisceration," *Social Text* 33, no. 3 (2015), 19–44.

[108] Ralph Ginzburg, *100 Years of Lynchings* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1962), 258.

[109] As Shawn Michelle Smith writes of lynching in the Jim Crow United States, the act of documenting the crime was both part of and proof of the white supremacist violence: "Making a photograph became part of the ritual, helping to objectify and dehumanize the victims…[Photographs] expanded the domain of lynching to those absent, extending the culturally divisive function of lynching beyond the purview of any particular mob." Dora Apel and Shawn Michelle Smith, *Lynching Photographs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 16–17. See also Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), chap. 5.

[110] Several academic sources join the chorus of voices who misattribute this quotation to Mark Twain. For examples, see Aaron David Miller, "For America, An Arab Winter," *The Wilson Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (2011), 36 and Donald F. Moores, "History Doesn't Repeat Itself, But It Sure Does Rhyme (With Apologies to Mark Twain)," *American Annals of the Deaf* 142, no. 1 (1997).

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El Mocito: A Study of Cruelty at the Intersection of Chile's Military and Civil Society

Ana Laura Ros
Binghamton University
Binghamton, New York, USA

Introduction[1]

The more time that passes since the fall of the last military regimes in Latin America's Southern Cone, the more public expectation of moving beyond the transition period and toward democratic consolidation grows. This consolidation can only begin to develop when social actors transform themselves into "active partners" of democracy, as Mayoraga affirms.[2] In the case of the Armed Forces, this transformation presumes accepting a subordinate role to civilian governments and recognizing democracy as the only possible political system. According to Narcís Serra, a specialist on the subject, democratic consolidation begins after the elimination of military interference in governmental and judicial tasks, a process typical of the transition phase. Civilian leaders then assume the work of establishing a new defense policy, guaranteeing its implementation, and directing all activities of the Armed Forces.[3] In practice, however, this process is filled with challenges, as it necessarily implies carrying out changes to profoundly established structures, such as the institutional character of the Armed Forces, and its relationships with the civilian government and the population. As a result, in many countries, some aspects of the transition phase are prolonged, coinciding with important steps in the process toward democratic consolidation, thus causing confusion and frustration within the society.

Twenty-five years after the end of the Chilean military dictatorship (1973-1990), the redemocratization process still has not drawn to a close. Although strides have been made to subordinate the Armed Forces to civilian governments and the needs of the current society, vestiges of the dictatorship era and authoritarian enclaves still exist and impede democratic consolidation. These tensions in civil-military relations have sparked the concern of national and international human rights organizations and a large portion of Chilean society to such a degree that they have even begun to occupy a space in the country's cultural production. In recent years, various films have been released that reflect upon how the military and the civil society affect one another, particularly in relation to crucial subjects, such as the production of cruelty. Examples of these films are: *El soldado que no fue/The Soldier That Was Not*[4], *El mocito/The Young Butler*[5], *El tío/The Uncle*[6], and *La odisea de Ulises/Ulysses's Odyssey*.[7]

Although my forthcoming book will offer a comparative analysis of these works, in this article I will focus on the film that has had both the biggest impact and generated the greatest response in different formats and outlets, including academic articles, journalistic notes, blog entries, and radio and television interviews with the directors and with the protagonist.[8] The film, *El mocito*, tackles

[1] Since this article was submitted, important developments occurred in the field of civil-military relations in Chile. These are some of the most relevant events: in 2016, the parliament passed law 20.968, proposed by President Bachelet, which defines torture as a crime and excludes civilians from military courts, both as plaintiffs and as defendants. Also, in 2017, President Bachelet drafted a bill to compensate 27,952 prison survivors with a one-time payment of 3 million Chilean pesos (surviving spouses would receive 60% of the amount). Finally, in 2017, a new bill was drafted to eliminate the Amnesty Law from the constitution, even though judges had stopped invoking it after 2006 when the ICHR requested its repeal.

[2] René Antonio Mayoraga,"Las perspectivas de consolidación de la democracia y los problemas delas relaciones institucionales cívico-militares," in *La cuestión militar en cuestión. Democracia y Fuerzas Armadas*, ed. Raúl Barrios Morón and Rene Antonio Mayoraga (La Paz: Centro Boliviano de Estudios Interdisciplinarios, 1994), 55.

[3] Narcís Serra, *The Military Transition: Democratic Reform of the Armed Forces* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 28.

[4] Leopoldo Gutiérrez, *El soldado que no fue* (Santiago de Chile: Polo Comunications, 2010).

[5] Marcela Said and Jean de Certeau, *El mocito* (Santiago de Chile: Icalmafilms, 2011), DVD.

[6] Mateo Iribarren, *El Tío* (Santiago de Chile: Monkey Puzzle Media, 2013), DVD.

[7] Lorena Manríquez and Miguel Picker, *La odisea de Ulises* (Los Angeles: Andes Media LLC, 2014), DVD.

[8] In addition to the article by Eva Usi and the two articles by Michael Lazzara cited in this work, the film has been addressed in many publications, including those by José Parra, Jorge Morales, Jara Villalobos, Camila Gutiérrez, Lucía

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Chile's dictatorial past through the perspective of a civilian who was closely connected to the Armed Forces. In contrast to earlier journalistic works about the dictatorship, which concentrated on well-known official perpetrators and/or repressive actions,[9]this documentary focuses on an ambiguous actor, and, by doing so, shines a light on grey areas of the regime and the civil society. *El mocito* addresses the case of an individual living on the border between worlds often perceived as mutually exclusive. He is a civilian, but he was also a member of the DINA—Chile's secret police under Pinochet— though not as a member of the Armed Forces, but rather in the role of a butler. Although, as far as the public knows, he never participated in torture or assassinations, through this position, he was aware of what was taking place, bore witness to events related to state repression, and by fulfilling the tasks of his work, in many ways sustained the framework of the authoritarian system.

By focusing on an atypical actor who is simultaneously an outsider and an insider in both the Armed Forces and the civil society, the documentary presents a unique perspective on these two groups and their intersections. In so doing, the film poses questions about responsibility for, and complicity with, the cruelty that took place during the military regime and beyond that all members of Chilean society must consider. How far can we extend responsibility for what happened? How do we measure the guilt or innocence of those who did not commit or order the perpetration of crimes, but were nevertheless part of the system that condoned such acts? Can victims exist within the group typically thought of as victimizers? What forms does cruelty take in civil society in non-authoritarian contexts? These queries imply a questioning of the military institution in its present form and challenge both the concept of the citizen shaped within democracy and the possibilities of *nunca más/never again*[10] in Chile today. They are questions that the filmmakers leave unanswered with the intent, perhaps, of allowing them to be explored in other realms, such as political and educational spaces where they can be debated and may eventually generate potential solutions.

Before beginning to discuss the documentary, I will first offer a brief reflection on the latest developments in Chile's redemocratization process, which, as I propose, inform and drive the type of documentary production with which films such as *El mocito* are associated. The theoretical framework that will inform my analysis of the film is rooted primarily in the work of Zygmunt Bauman (particularly his reflections on Milgram and Zimbardo's experiments) and Hannah Arendt, with important contributions from Daniel Feierstein on the sociology of genocide at the regional level.

Civil-Military Relations in Chile: Significant Gains and Unsettled Accounts in the Redemocratization Process

As civil-military relations expert Narcís Serra has noted, the redemocratization of a nation depends upon the success of its leaders in transforming the Armed Forces, a highly autonomous and politically powerful institution, into a state actor lacking powers of deliberation, one that faithfully executes the government's policies in order to ensure democracy.[11] This process proves challenging for both civil and military groups, given that they must adopt new roles and new forms of interacting while avoiding direct conflict.[12] As previously mentioned, in the twenty-five years that have passed since the fall of the Chilean military regime, important gains have been made; however, unsettled accounts and authoritarian enclaves, both of which are incompatible with democratic order, persist

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Quaretti and Olga Larrazaba.

[9] For example: Nancy Guzmán, *Romo, confesiones de un torturador* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 2000); Patricia Verdugo, *Caso Arellano: Los zarpazos del puma* (Santiago: CESOC Ediciones, 1989); *Pruebas a la vista: La caravana de la muerte* (Santiago: Sudamericana, 2000); Patricia Verdugo and Sebastian Brett, *De la tortura no se habla: Agüero versus Meneses* (Santiago: Catalonia, 2004).

10 A motto used by relatives of disappeared prisoners and human rights activists to express the need for truth, justice, and remembering in order to ensure that another coup d'état never occurs in Chile.

[11] Serra, *The Military Transition*, 26.

[12] For a detailed reflection on the long process of democratization in Chile, see Ana Ros, "Los otros con armas: Las complejas relaciones cívico-militares en el Chile de postdictadura," *A Contracorriente. Revista de historia social y literatura de América Latina*, 14, no. 2 (2017), 17-42, https://acontracorriente.chass.ncsu.edu/index.php/acontracorriente/article/view/1560.

in Chile and have caused alarm among various international groups such as The United Nations (UN), The Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR), and Amnesty International. I will now discuss some of the most troubling examples. However, the significance of these gains and unsettled accounts can only be fully grasped in relation to the challenges faced by the governments that succeeded the military regime.

As Felipe Aguero[13] affirms, in contrast to neighboring countries, where the end of the regime was preceded by a gradual opening to democracy or by a negotiation between the army and the opposition, the democratic transition in Chile followed the terms established in the 1980 Constitution, as proposed and approved by the military regime. Neither side, however, was satisfied with the implementation of these terms, which was mainly determined by the results of the 1988 plebiscite. While the regime had to accept that Pinochet could not rule the country again until 1997, the opposition had to move forward with the democratic elections enabled by the plebiscite, and in order to not place the redemocratization[14] process at risk, they could not attempt to negotiate the validity of the documents produced under the regime. As a result, the first elected governments had to deal with a highly independent and influential Armed Forces built on prerogatives that were derived directly from preexisting official documents: the 1978 Amnesty Law, the 1980 Constitution, and the 1989 Organic Military Law.[15]

The Organic Military Law allowed the army to remain in control of its resources, which was crucial for preserving autonomy from, and supremacy over, the civilian government. It established that the army's budget could never be lower than it was in 1989, and it validated the Reserved Copper Law. According to this law, the Armed Forces received 10% of the yearly revenues obtained by CODELCO, the state-owned copper exportation company, for maintenance and weapons acquisition, with a minimum income of 180 millions dollars.[16]

Similarly, the 1980 Constitution granted the Armed Forces an active role in political life. It designated former dictator Augusto Pinochet as Chief Commander of the Armed Forces until 1998, thus eliminating the President's ability to dismiss military leaders. It also created the COSENA, or Counsel of National Security, an institution formed mainly by members of the Armed Forces and the police that possessed veto power over the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive branches, and was responsible for advising the President on subjects related to national security. Moreover, this constitution established the incorporation of Pinochet to the Senate after the end of his term as Commander, in Chief in 1998, and until the end of his life, thereby creating designated lifelong senators. As a result of this arrangement, nine of the thirty-eight members of the Senate were not elected democratically, but rather were nominated by the COSENA, the Supreme Court, and the President.

The Amnesty Law extended the Armed Forces' impunity by giving them the power to pardon regular and political crimes that occurred between the 1973 coup and 1978, which was the cruelest repressive period for all involved (perpetrators, accomplices, accessories to crimes). Therefore, many tribunals, predominantly in agreement with the regime, have declared themselves unable to judge human rights violations, thereby transferring the cases to military courts.

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[13] Aguero, Felipe, "Treinta años después. La ciencia política y las relaciones Fuerzas Armadas, Estado y Sociedad," *Revista de Cienca Política*, 23, no. 2 (2003), 251-272.

[14] This risk was mainly linked to conflicts generated by the possibility of prosecuting the human rights violations and investigating the Pinochet family's illicit gains. The constant tension between the army and civil politicians materialized in two episodes that conveyed the threat of a new coup, respectively known as "el día del enlace" and "el boinazo," For more information on this subject, see Steve Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2010).

[15] David Álvarez Veloso, "Fuerzas Armadas en Chile: entre la configuración de nuevos roles y la normalización de las relaciones cívico-militares," *Red de Bibliotecas Virtuales de Ciencias Sociales de América Latina y el Caribe*, accessed May 6, 2016, http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/ar/libros/becas/2003/mili/alvarez.pdf.

[16] Cristina Florina Matei and Marcos Robledo, "Democratic Civilan Control and Military Effectiveness in Chile," in *The Routledge Handbook of Civic-Military Relations*, ed. Florina Cristiana Matei and Thomas Bruneau, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 284.

Moreover, the post-dictatorship governments inherited systems that extended military control and outlook in civic society. Under the regime, the police force, *Carabineros*, was part of the Defense Cabinet, participated actively in the repressive system, and had their crimes judged by military courts. Similarly, during the regime, the Mandatory Military Service became longer, harder to elude, and more abusive than ever before.

Since the end of the dictatorship, most presidents have worked to gradually achieve truth and justice, as well as to gain civilian control over the Armed Forces, especially once Pinochet, as lifelong senator, was detained in London for his crimes against humanity. For instance, very early on, Presidents Patricio Alwyn (1990-1994) and Eduardo Frei-Tagle (1994-2000) rejected the promotion of officers who had been accused of repressive actions and fraud; they also increased presidential power over military appointments, dismissals and transfers. Moreover, Frei's Secretary of Justice, Soledad Avelar, implemented a reform in the Supreme Court that brought an end to Pinochet's hegemony. In the same vein, President Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) limited the COSENA's power. Each of these elected leaders also worked to reveal the truth about human rights abuses by the military in order to promote justice, as evidenced by the Rettig Report (1991), the "table of dialogue" (1999), and the Valech Report (2004).

Additionally, many places of memory were created during this period, including the Museum of Memory, which was inaugurated by President Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010, 2014-2018) and has become internationally renowned. President Bachelet continued her predecessor's work to redefine the role of the Armed Forces and make it a matter accessible to the community. She played a crucial role in strengthening the civilian presence in the Department of Defense and in restructuring the Department of Internal Affairs in order to make it more effective and include police institutions. During her administration and that of President Sebastian Piñera (2010-1014), official institutes and commissions were also created to handle and prevent human rights violations, including the Department of Justice's Human Rights Under-secretariat and the Parliament's Commission of Human Rights, Nationality, and Citizenship.

Despite this substantial progress toward a consolidated democracy, however, the Armed Forces still maintain certain privileges that raise questions about their expected subordination to civilian governments and their service to the democratic organization of civil society. For example, the army continues to control its budget and secure its resources through the Restricted Law on Copper. Likewise, the Amnesty Law of 1978 remains valid, despite the fact that forms of evading its effects have been discovered (for example, by interpreting disappearances as permanent kidnappings, the crime is legally still active and thus can be brought to trial). As for prosecutions, although various agents of state repression are serving criminal sentences, the majority of those convicted carry out these sentences in exclusive prisons, and the number of convicted agents is much lower than those who walk free. According to official statistics released at the end of 2015, of the 3,000 -5,000 perpetrators of violent crimes who worked in the DINA and the CNI — the *Centro Nacional de Informaciones*, DINA's new name after 1977— only 495 have been processed and only 163 are currently serving prison sentences.

The country's dictatorial past continues to live on in other ways, including, for example, the fact that the army still possesses the power to destroy records without prior approval from the Executive Branch.[17] Additionally, those who worked for the DINA/CNI can continue to offer their services to the country's military institutions. These military privileges sharply contrast with the lack of reparation and specialized attention given to the many victims of human rights abuses,[18] as well as the continued prohibition of other individuals from returning to Chile after being forced into exile during the dictatorship.[19]

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[17] "Privilegios para militares presos mantienen impunidad en Chile," *Sputnik News,* April 8, 2015, accessed August 8, 2017, http://mundo.sputniknews.com/opinion/20150804/1039956389.html.

[18] Gonzalo Rodríguez Torres, "Los otros abuelos osos sobrevivientes de la dictadura pero olvidados e invisibilizados en democracia," *Radio Villa Francia. Levantando la Voz*, March 16, 2016, accessed August 8, 2017, http://www.radiovillafrancia.cl/los-otros-abuelos-osos-sobrevivientes-de-la-dictadura-pero-olvidados-e-invisibilizados-en-democracia.

[19] "Comité Contra la Tortura ONU regresó para revisar comrpomisos y avances," *Enlace Mapuche Internacional Noticias,*

With regard to defense, the advances that have been made still have not managed to fully eradicate all authoritarian enclaves. Certainly, there have been achievements: the role of the Armed Forces, for example, has been reoriented toward international affairs (including peace missions and fighting against regional organized crime); the civil leadership in the Ministry of Defense has been strengthened; and the country's police institutions, such as the *Carabineros* and the Investigative Police, have been subordinated to the newly restructured Ministry of the Interior and Public Security. Despite these gains, however, there is still a strong tendency toward militarization within the Chilean police force. Although the *Carabineros* are not a deliberative body, they rely upon paramilitary organizational structures and militaristic disciplinary codes, and their members have military training. Moreover, since its creation, the group has been linked to the use of unchecked violent repression on the Chilean population. These actions continue to be endorsed today through efforts such as the enforcement of Supreme Decree 1086, signed into law during the dictatorship, which requires authorization in order to stage a public protest. The *Carabineros'* actions are also bolstered by the new preventative identity control law, which authorizes them to detain any individual, particularly in situations of protest, and request identification. Similarly, until recently *Carabinero's* crimes against civilians were treated as competence of military justice and thus avoided adequate punishment under the law, which strengthened their repressive tendencies.

A vestige of the dictatorship that has extended to the impunity of the *Carabineros* is the continual harassment of the inhabitants of Mapuche and the Araucanía region, which is one of the poorest areas in Chile. The state has justified the use of excessive amounts of repressive violence, as a response to what were interpreted as terrorist acts committed by members of the community. Confronted with acts of legitimate social protest, the government has applied Chile's antiterrorist law, which was enacted in 1984 when Pinochet's regime was faced with a wave of protests and select groups were endorsing armed actions.[20]

Following Contreras' assertion, the militarization of Mapuche forces us to consider other acts of protest that signal the neutralization of hotbeds of resistance, such as the government's management of youth, particularly those from low-income backgrounds, through compulsory military service. Although the structure of Chile's conscription program has undergone changes in its recruitment techniques and organization, both of which have encouraged voluntary participation, conscientious objection continues to be considered an insufficient excuse to exempt young people from participating, and the conscription period continues to be governed by the principles of obedience, hierarchy, and discipline that characterize the Armed Forces. As of 2015, in addition to the over 10,000 youths that enrolled annually in the Military Service, and those studying in the military academies, there were ten pre-military high schools in Chile, with a total of 2,000 students.[21]

Finally, another extension of militarism in the post-dictatorship era is the inclusion of military imaginaries within the formal education system.[22] For example, courses in school often include stories that emphasize the heroism of certain military figures, which participated in the construction of the nation. Students also come to see military intervention as both normal and unquestionable. For Contreras, this normalization is further promoted with

> ceremonias en fechas memorables para el ejército, en donde los colegios detienen sus clases para celebrar las efemérides, vistiéndolos con ropa militar, incentivando la creación artística en torno a la fecha pero no generando instancias de reflexión que profundicen el cuestionamiento del belicismo.

April 4, 2016, accessed August 8, 2017, https://www.mapuche-nation.org/espanol/html/noticias/ntcs-562.html.

[20] Paula Molina, "Los problemas de Chile y su ley antiterrorista," *BBC News*, August 1, 2014, accessed August 8, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias 2014/08/140801_chile_ley_antiterrorista_nc.

[21] "Colegios premilitares en Chile: El rigor de la disciplina," *24Horas.cl*, accessed December 21, 2017, http://www.24horas.cl/nacional/colegios-premilitares-en-chile-el-rigor-de-la-disciplina-1671628.

[22] Dan Contreras, "La violencia, el servicio military y el sistema educativo en Chile," *War Resisters International*, May 17, 2014, accessed August 8, 2017, http://www.wri-irg.org/en/node/23364.

> ["ceremonies on memorable days for the army, in which schools cancel classes to celebrate these holidays, dressing the children in military clothing, incentivizing artistic creation related to the celebration, but never allowing space for reflective moments in which students can consider and question the day's militarism.[23]]

Likewise, Chile has maintained certain practices during the school day that were born in military barracks and have come to be normalized among the civilian population: pseudo-military brigades that help to maintain order on the playground, bands that perform military music, uniforms, and protocols of order that are very similar to those used in military schools.[24]

El Mocito: The Blurred Line Between Civilians and the Military in the Production of Cruelty

As mentioned before, of all the documentaries that tackle civil-military relations in Chile, *El mocito*, directed by Marcela Said and Jean de Certeau, has had the greatest impact across an array of disciplines, including journalism and academia, ultimately becoming what Michael Lazzara[25] has called a "phenomenon."[26] The "mocito phenomenon" can be attributed to the centrality of the film's protagonist, Jorgelino Vergara, in the lawsuits associated with the crimes against humanity committed during the dictatorship. In 2007, after years of living in relative isolation, Vergara was located and called to testify about his involvement in the DINA during the 1970s. Eager to prove his innocence in the face of murder accusations, Vergara offered a detailed account of his knowledge of those years of maximum repressive violence, revealing "uno de los secretos mejor guardados de la dictadura" ["one of the best kept secrets of the dictatorship"].[27] His narrative of the events helped to confirm the existence of the Simón Bolívar extermination center and the Lautaro Brigade, a group of DINA agents who operated in the center. In his testimony, Vergara identified more than seventy ex-agents who had never before been associated with acts of state-sponsored terrorism, a move that led to the largest prosecution of human rights violations in the country's history. Vergara's detailed memories helped to illuminate some of the most inhumane forms of repression employed during the regime and reveal the circumstances surrounding the deaths of many of the *desaparecidos*.

However, Vergara remained a privileged actor at his detention and was exempted from the accusations that brought him before the court and drove him to testify in the first place. According to his own words and those of other suspects, Vergara never participated directly in kidnappings, torture sessions, or assassinations during his time at Simón Bolívar, but rather provided assistance in his role as butler when he was just an adolescent. It is there, perhaps, that we can derive the meaning of the word "mocito" ("youngster" or "young butler") that appears in the documentary's title: an indication of both Vergara's youth and occupation. When he was seventeen years old, and after having worked as a servant for a military family, for two years, Vergara received fast training and joined the DINA. However, he belonged to the lowest levels of the organization: serving

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Michael Lazzara, "El fenómeno Mocito (Las puestas en escena de un sujeto cómplice)", *A Contracorriente. Una revista de historia social y literatura de América Latina,* 12, no. 1 (2014), 21, accessed August 8, 2017, https://acontracorriente.chass.ncsu.edu/index.php/acontracorriente/article/view/1301.

[26] In a more recent article, "Complicity and Responsibility in the Aftermath of the Pinochet Regime: The Case of *El Mocito,"* Lazzara offers additional information about the use of the documentary in educational settings. His work suggests that the films themselves are not mere vehicles of collective memory, but rather that the memory project arises as a result of what is done with these works. In other words, the interpretation and the use of that interpretation in both educational *and* political settings is what gives shape to the memory of Chile's dictatorial past while also delineating the needs of the present.

[27] Javier Rebolledo, author of *A la sombra de los cuervos: los cómplices civiles de la dictadura* (Santiago: Ceibo Ediciones, 2012), worked as a researcher and assistant director on Said and de Certeau's documentary. After five years of conducting research and thirty hours of interviewing Vergara for the film, Rebolledo embarked on his own project entitled *La danza de los cuervos/The Dance of the Ravens* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 2016), a detailed piece of investigative journalism that delves into Vergara's life as a *mocito,* his participation in the DINA, and his destiny upon being discharged from Simón Bolívar in 1985. Rebolledo's study was praised by critics and was the best-selling non-fiction book in Chile for five consecutive weeks.

coffee to the main agents during torture sessions, delivering food to the prisoners, watching over them during their trips to the bathroom, standing guard and cleaning away any evidence of the exterminations taking place at the center, and even transporting bodies to the trunks of cars that would disappear the victims for good. This ambivalent position of the protagonist with respect to the crimes committed by the DINA raises a crucial dilemma regarding his possible guilt or innocence. The same quandary is presented at the beginning of the documentary when, in a modest house in Ñuñoa, looking at the camera, Vergara states:

> Yo soy el hombre más honesto que ha pisado la tierra. Aunque tú no lo creas. Aunque fui partícipe de asesinatos, secuestros y todo el atado… Oye, yo lo vi, pero nada más... O sea, yo no participé. O sea, tu no podrías acusarme a mí de asesino… ¿Si o no? Porque de hecho, en los hechos, yo no fui asesino. Pero sí te digo una cosa: asesinaron, mataron tanta gente, comadre.... Mira, mira… ¡Sin escrúpulos las mataron! Pa'que te digo más: las mataron tan sin escrúpulos que a mí me dolía siendo un adolescente, pues. Ese es mi cuento.
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> [I am the most honest man who has walked this Earth. Even though you don't believe me. Even though I participated in assassinations, kidnappings, and all of that… Listen, I saw it, but nothing more… I mean, I didn't participate. Or rather, you wouldn't be able to accuse me of being a murderer… Yes or no? Because in fact, if you look at the facts, I wasn't a murderer. But I will tell you something: they assassinated, killed so many people, man… Look, look… They killed them without shame! And I'll tell ya something else: they killed them so shamelessly that it hurt me as a teenager, ya know? That's my story.][28]

In this declaration, Vergara elucidates the complex question of guilt and responsibility in situations of violent repression, assigning blame to the author of the crime: a murderer is someone who commits a murder. This distinction functions well in Vergara's case, given that he declared himself innocent in the accusations of homicide brought against him and that motivated his detention. This, however, is not a conclusive reflection. On the contrary, it forces us to consider what, then, would be the charge and the corresponding verdict brought against Vergara or any other individual who held a similar role in the detention centers. Accomplice? Collaborator? Accessory to the crimes? The consideration of a possible response poses new questions in the specific case of the protagonist: How would the accusations brought against Vergara and his subsequent punishment be impacted by the fact that Vergara was underage and worked for the military during a dictatorship when his possible crimes were committed?

Vergara delves into these questions himself in a later sequence of the film, in which he consults a renowned human rights lawyer, Nelson Caucoto, about the possibility of receiving governmental compensation for the emotional injuries he suffered while working at the Simón Bolívar detention center. Vergara feels that he deserves to be compensated for having been an "involuntary actor" in the crimes that occurred at Simón Bolívar and for the oppressive character of his experience, which damaged his personal development at an age that typically defines one's place in society:

> Fui utilizado, en el fondo, porque cuando ya vieron que ya prácticamente no servía… De hecho me prohibieron estudiar, no me dejaron terminar la enseñanza básica ni nada. Me las tuve que jugar muy duramente para poder terminar mis estudios. Me aplicaron muchas prohibiciones, por decirlo así, entonces, me sentía en el fondo, prácticamente, como un preso más.
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> [I was basically used because when they already saw that I was practically of no use … In fact, they prohibited me from studying; they didn't let me finish even a basic level of education or anything. I had to work really hard in order to be able to finish my studies. They placed a lot of restrictions on me, so to speak, so I felt practically like another prisoner.][29]

[28] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito.*

[29] Ibid.

In lieu of lending clarity to the issues surrounding the accusations against Vergara and an appropriate sentencing, this passage only poses more questions: Can victims exist among victimizers? Innocents among the guilty? And, perhaps most crucially, can the guilty be among those who are generally understood to be innocent? As we will see, the documentary suggests that between the unquestionable poles of victim and victimizer, innocent and guilty, there is an ample spectrum of various grades, shades, and even overlaps, all of which transcend a more binary division of civilians and military. This complexity belies a more profound one that is at the very core of the Armed Forces' existence in society — a group of citizens who possess a legitimate monopoly on arms, centralized violence, and missions that might affect the civilian population.

The filmmakers approach this complexity, and we do as well, through the final question that Caucoto asks Vergara during their meeting: "¿Cómo es que pudo soportar tanto siendo un joven?" ["How did you manage to bear so much as a teenager?"][30] In other words, how is it possible that a "normal" adolescent, without any apparent disorders or disruptions that might prevent him from functioning in society, became an accomplice to crimes so abhorrent that, years later, they continue to torment him and bring shame to his family? Intent on understanding this process, Said and de Certeau seek to uncover the man behind the *mocito* of the DINA, and through an exploration of his distinct characteristics, comprehend the circumstances that led him to the army, the conditions that possibly propelled him to remain in the middle of the inferno — and even after that to continue working for the CNI after he came of age — and the consequences that all of these events had upon the rest of his life.

Throughout the documentary, the filmmakers show Vergara as a man transformed by his experience in the DINA, but also as someone who maintains lingering attributes that connect him to the rest of the population, to those who did not take part in the army's violent crimes. Throughout the film, we see many facets of Vergara: a aggressive man who is attracted to weapons; an affectionate father who worries about his daughter; a believer who seeks relief through religious ceremonies; a solitary man, even in public spaces or at community events; a disturbed man who is willing to collaborate with the human rights cause; a hard, tough man; and a survivor. This comprehensive look at Vergara and the aspects of his personality that paint him as a "common" man are, however, potentially controversial.

Speaking to this point, in the section of his article titled "La humanización del cómplice"/"The Accomplice's Humanization," Lazzara notes,

> Cuando se intenta generar un punto de identificación entre Vergara y el espectador, presentándolo como un hombre común, se corre el riesgo de diluir responsabilidades. Los relatos naturalistas y deterministas no nos sirven para analizar casos como éste."
>
> ["When trying to create a point of identification between Vergara and the viewer by presenting him as a common man, you run the risk of diluting responsibilities. Naturalistic and deterministic accounts do not help us analyze cases like this one.][31]

In this analysis, I maintain, on the contrary, that Vergara's responsibility is firmly established through his memories of the exterminations that occurred at Simón Bolívar, which are both an indelible mark of his participation and a central part of the documentary. His humanization, therefore, forces us to reflect upon the circumstances and the social structures that push a "common man" to become involved in the extermination and mortification of so many others. Dictatorial proceedings of the magnitude seen in Chile do not come to fruition solely at the hands of repressive ideologues and the state's principal executioners, but also require the participation of many "common" men and women in distinct roles with varying degrees of responsibility. Considering Vergara to be an exceptional man (mentally disturbed, a monster), and thus capable of having been an accomplice to the state's violent acts of repression, provides an easy answer to the question of

[30] Ibid.

[31] Lazzara, *El fenómeno Mocito*, 104.

how such horror was possible. This simple solution, however, is not satisfactory because it impedes productive reflection upon the final attainment of *nunca más* on both the individual and collective levels.

The documentary provides examples that offer a glimpse into the structures that allowed such horrors to take place. The protagonist's initial words situate him as a witness in relation to the crimes: "I saw them, but nothing else."[32] This — combined with the empathy that Vergara later affirms having felt in the face of the victims' suffering and the fact that, despite these feelings, he continued to work at the extermination center — may indicate a transformation that, according to Ervin Stub, witnesses often suffer: "Bystanders also learn and change as a result of their own action — or inaction. Passivity in the face of others' suffering makes it difficult to remain in internal opposition to the perpetrators and to feel empathy for the victims."[33] However, Vergara's case is not that of a simple witness. In the following quote, for example, he clearly contradicts himself regarding his status solely as a witness, thus undermining the veracity of that classification: "Even though *I participated* in assassinations, kidnappings, and all of that […] *I didn't participate*."[34] His initial form of participation, ambiguous in its peripheral nature to the crimes, echoes the discoveries made by Milgram in his experiments exploring situations that enabled common people to exhibit cruel behavior. One of the elements presented in these situations is what Bauman refers to as floating responsibility:[35] an organizational structure in which every member transfers his individual responsibility to his superior, who can then transfer it to something intangible yet central to the group, such as its mission and doctrine. Vergara makes it clear that he was not ultimately responsible for the crimes: "in fact, if you look at the facts, I wasn't a murderer."[36] Although his work allowed his superiors to carry out murder and torture, he did not give the orders nor did heexecute the crimes, thereby permitting him to avoid blame.

Another element akin to the repudiation of responsibility is the distance between the repressive actions carried out and the abhorrent final result. As Bauman observes about the conclusions made by Milgram, "it is psychologically easy to ignore responsibility when one is only an intermediate link in a chain of evil action but is far from the final consequences of the action."[37] We can clearly see this distancing manifested in Vergara's case, given that his seemingly neutral work of cleaning, cooking, and watching over the prisoners actually facilitated the extermination center's day-to-day functioning. Knowing this allows us to extend our understanding of the focus of Said and de Certeau's documentary: the current system at work in today's post-dictatorship era is marked by a clear disconnect—one largely rooted in processes of compartmentalization, misinformation, and rationalization—between individual actions both in and outside of the workplace and the criminal repercussions of these actions in the lives of others.

Like the division of tasks performed by the gears of a machine or the many clues leading to a crime, routine and habit often transform one's work and its moral implications into an unquestionable—and unquestioned—act.[38] As the documentary reveals, while Vergara's job at the extermination center began with relatively routine tasks, his level of involvement in the crimes steadily increased, ultimately leading to contact with the evidence itself — the bodies of the victims— and his later work for the CNI. The steady escalation of Vergara's participation at Simón Bolívar parallels the mechanism of "sequentiality" that Bauman observes in Milgram's experiments, which he suggests is one of the factors that forces individuals into potential situations of collaboration. When an actor experiences a gradual increase in his involvement in tasks that enable a criminal act to take place, he is unable to stop or abandon the process without first evaluating what has already occurred: if the next step in the chain of tasks can be judged as morally questionable, it

[32] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito.*

[33] Ervin Staub, "The Psychology of Bystanders, Perpetrators, and Heroic Helpers," *Understanding Genocide: The Social Psychology of the Holocaust* 3 (2008), 305-306.

[34] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito.* Author's emphasis.

[35] Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 162.

[36] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito.*

[37] Bauman, *Modernity and Holocaust*, 161.

[38] Ibid., 165.

is therefore possible that the prior task was also morally questionable in some way. "Smooth and imperceptible passages between the steps lure the actor into a trap; the trap is the impossibility of quitting without revising and rejecting the evaluation of one's own deeds as right or at least innocent."[39] Furthermore, as an actor advances within the chain of command, he encounters increasing obstacles that limit his ability to stop participating in the crimes or distance himself from his tasks. This sensation of imprisonment appears in the film during Vergara's conversation with Caucoto, when he affirms that, while working at the extermination center, he felt "practically like another prisoner." Although the protagonist attributes this sensation to the restrictions that were placed upon him, his explanation begins with a different idea, one connected with the theme of gradualness ("I was basically used because when they already saw that I was practically of no use…").[40] He abruptly interrupts this thought, however, perhaps precisely to allow for a moment of self-critique. With a tone of resentment, he suggests that, in contrast to what he expected, and what was likely due to his level of involvement, his superiors disposed of him when his skills no longer suited their needs.

The restrictions that Vergara mentions in his conversation with Caucoto effectively severed his relationship with the world beyond the extermination center, creating an atmosphere that allowed only minimal opportunities for independent thought: he lived at the center and was not allowed to attend classes or to continue with his studies. Accordingly, the military limited his ability to question the events he observed or experience a moral dilemma as a result of his collaboration. As Bauman affirms, "the readiness to act against one's own better judgment, and against the voice of one's conscience, is not just the function of authoritative command, but the result of exposure to a single-minded, unequivocal and monopolistic source of authority.[41] This introduces a relevant reflection on the audience's present, regarding the value of authentic pluralism in society as a tool that encourages the use of critical judgment and helps curve the impulse to commit morally questionable acts.

In her essay "Personal Responsibility Under Dictatorship," Hannah Arendt enriches this reflection by suggesting that many average people who have collaborated in some way with oppressive regimes have not done so out of support for the regime's goals, but rather because they understand that the only way in which they can participate in society — and thus the regime — is through a demonstrated respect for the laws and norms that sustain it: they automatically substitute one value system for another, an old order for a new one.[42] According to Arendt, this conduct directly opposes the act of thinking, that is, of questioning the dominant order: an act that stems from the need to live in peace with one's self and always provokes resistance.[43] The rise of independent thought in sociopolitical systems (authoritarian or democratic) that in reality aspire to suppress thought—to encourage obedience and civilian support—is difficult to explain. For Arendt, "[t]he dividing line between those who want to think and therefore have to judge by themselves, and those who do not, strikes across all social and cultural or educational differences."[44] It could also be argued, however, that the reasons behind a lack of thought—or a lack of desire to engage in thought— change according to one's socioeconomic standing.

The documentary explores this possibility through an examination of social class. In one particular scene, Vergara gets together with his brother, Francisco Vergara, so that he can tell the protagonist's story from the perspective of a family member. His appearance and manner of

[39] Ibid., 159.

[40] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito.*

[41] Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, 166.

[42] Hannah Arendt, *Responsabilidad y juicio* (Barcelona: Ediciones Paidós, 2007), 69. Deleuze and Guattari's notion of "microfascism" is complementary to this reflection. According to their discussion, the problem does not lie in the type of rules that individuals must follow, but rather in the desire and the individual need to follow them and make others follow them; the desire of the same power that oppresses us. For futher elaboration, see Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*, trans. Biran Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 214.

[43] Ibid., 71.

[44] Ibid., 45.

speaking indicate both his rural, working class background and his lack of education, and his version of events highlights Vergara's roots in the same reality. Francisco justifies his brother's work in the DINA with his precarious economic situation, the ease with which he obtained the job, the indoctrination he suffered, and the transformation that he underwent as a result of his experience at the center.

> Fue fácil para ellos ingresar a trabajar en el cuento ese que era la DINA. Los preparaban un poco nomás y vamos trabajando. Yo mismo si hubiera ido a Santiago capaz que me hubieran metido y hubiera terminado trabajando en la DINA o en la CNI. Pero no, no lo habría hecho. Jorgelino lo hizo más por necesidad, porque él se fue solo a Santiago. Y en la familia se toca muy poco el tema ese porque es como una vergüenza, ¿me entiende? […] Porque a él lo prepararon para trabajar, como quien dice le hicieron un lavado de celebro (sic). Y después que salió de la DINA ya Jorgelino no es el mismo.
>
> [It was easy for them to get a job in the business that was the DINA. They prepared them just a little bit, nothing more, and then they started working. If I had gone to Santiago it's possible that I would've gotten involved and ended up working for the DINA or the CNI. But no, I would've have done it. Jorgelino did it more than anything out of necessity, because he went to Santiago alone. And in our family we don't talk about this a lot because it's sort of an embarrassment, you know? […] Because they prepared him to work, and as you might say, they brainwashed him. And after he left the DINA, Jorgelino wasn't the same anymore.][45]

The hint of agency that Francisco Vergara appears to introduce with respect to his brother's actions by noting, "I wouldn't have done it," disappears in the face of Vergara's need to survive and the vulnerability he felt being far from his family at such an early age.[46] Vergara's transformation as a result of his interactions at the extermination center—his exposure to a self-legitimized monolithic authority, his superiors' normalization of cruelty, and his rapid integration into the group—further substantiates and explains his actions.

This apparent dilution of the protagonist's agency preoccupies Lazzara, who sees Vergara as someone who, although damaged, tried to benefit materially from Chile's repressive system.[47] Although this may be true, to generate a broader understanding in this article, it is necessary to consider the social structures and conditions that drive an individual to feel, think, and act in such a manner. In his article, Lazzara suggests that subjects like Vergara, who lack power, culture, or familial support, are produced by certain economic and political structures and exploited by repressive systems.[48] While I agree with this assertion, I am interested in digging deeper into the relationships that it establishes, given that the "certain economic and political structures" to which Lazzara refers pertain to periods of democracy. If during authoritarian regimes these formerly marginalized subjects are exploited by the repressive system, we must first look at the democratic society in which these subjects emerge, as well as the prevailing economic systems and their relationship to the army. If, as a result of its oppressive characteristics, the Chilean economic system continues to produce "mocitos," and the army continues to be a hierarchical and authoritarian institution with the space to impose its logic upon the population and attract the poorest members of society, then it is probable that, when faced with a new military coup, this type of individual would collaborate once again. Accordingly, this establishes a line of continuity between the dictatorship and democracy that requires our attention.

With respect to the relationship between the civilian government and the army, Marcela Said's first documentary, *I Love Pinochet*[49], released in 2001, was revelatory. In an effort to depict

[45] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito*.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Lazzara, *El fenómeno Mocito*, 98.

[48] Ibid., 104.

[49] Marcela Said, *I love Pinochet* (Santiago de Chile: Imago, 2002).

the phenomenon of *pinochetismo,* Said interviews families and individuals from distinct social classes and also visits the military academy. During the visit to the military academy, Said observes moments in class in which, under the guise of religion, the instructor openly defends the military dictatorship, degrades the democratic system as a producer of misery, exalts obedience as a synonym for total liberty, and praises military commitment that involves sacrifice for the homeland. Ten years later, as the documentary *El soldado que no fue*[50] shows, the officials who were interviewed continue to proudly defend the vision of the army as the savior of society and a guarantor of order.

Other episodes in *El mocito* that occur both before and after the encounter with Vergara's brother add new insight into the socioeconomic dimension of the protagonist's actions. For example, we learn through the testimonies of the residents who live in the humble region of Chile where Vergara settled after leaving the army that, upon his arrival, he pretended to have a military command post and behaved in the same abusive manner as his superiors at the center: "pintando el mono de que, puta, él si quería hacía la cagada aquí en la población, que hacía lo que él quería y a que a él, puta, nadie le podía parar el avión, y que él no era cualquiera" ["he was making such a fool of himself, pretending that he could fuck shit up here in town if he wanted, that he could do whatever he wanted, and that nobody could clip his wings, and that *he wasn't just anybody.*"][51] Vergara's aspiration to be not just "anybody" emphasizes that his affiliation with the army gave him a sense of inclusion, validation, and status that is difficult to achieve in Chilean society, particularly for someone from a marginalized background. His impulse to use this affiliation and feign a higher status within the military corresponds to a need to separate himself from the poor population into which he saw himself forced to return.

The following quote confirms that the military's greatest source of superiority comes from the fear experienced by the civilian population after a prolonged period of unrestricted and unpunished power: "los policías en aquella época eran pesados, los policías de aquella época eran muy mala clase, pegaban y después decían por qué" ["the police back then were unpopular, the police at that time had a bad reputation, they would beat people first and then explain why."][52] Before the dictatorship, the prestige of the Armed Forces was related both to its legitimate role as a political actor, as well as its composition, which was historically dominated by the middle class and the provincial upper class.[53] By the 1960s, confronted with dwindling numbers, the army began to recruit members of the lower class, thereby minimizing the importance of socioeconomic standing; since then, however, there has been a clear resurgence of class-consciousness within the military and its institutions. In 2012, for example, the army issued an internal directive in which, as a security means, it recommended that the selection commission exclude "aquellos que presenten problemas de salud física, mental, socioeconómica, delictuales, consumidores de drogas, homosexuales, objetores de conciencia y testigos de Jehová" ["those who present problems with their physical and mental health, *socioeconomic standing*, delinquents, drug addicts, homosexuals, conscientious objectors, and Jehovah's Witnesses"] in order to recruit "ciudadanos más idóneos moral e intelectualmente capacitados" ["the most morally fit and intellectually capable individuals."][54]

The centrality of Vergara's affiliation with the military in the construction of his identity continues to develop during his encounter with the head of the Lautaro Brigade, Juan Morales Salgado, who was brought to justice as a result of Vergara's testimony. During their conversation, Vergara notes: "Yo conozco muchas facetas de su persona Sr. Morales y lo respeto mucho […] Fueron como mis padres en esa brigada y como madres también, las mujeres me querían mucho" ["I know many facets of your personality, Mr. Morales, and I respect you a lot […] They were like

[50] Leopoldo Gutiérrez, El soldado que no fue (Santiago de Chile: Polo Comunications, 2010).

[51] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito*; author's emphasis.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Lisa North, "The Military in Chilean Politics," in *Armies and Politics in Latin America*, ed. Abraham F. Lowenthal and John Samuel Fitch (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986), 74-75.

[54] "Escándalo por instructivo del Ejército que incita a la discriminación en el reclutamiento," *Diario y Radio Uchile*, September 7, 2012, accessed August 9, 2017, http://radio.uchile.cl/2012/09/07/escandalo-por-instructivo-del-ejercito-que-discrimina-a-homosexuales-personas-de-bajos-recursos-y-testigos-de-jehova/; author's emphasis.

my fathers in that brigade and like mothers too, the women cared for me a lot."][55] In this quote, the sense of validation that Vergara previously noted gains an affective dimension. This sense of affection, generated by his contact with the other members of the brigade, does not appear to conflict with the pain that Vergara felt upon witnessing their acts of repression ("they killed them so shamelessly that it hurt me as a teenager") or even his own oppression at their hands ("I felt like I was practically like another prisoner.")[56] This contradiction allows us to consider different explanations or interpretations.

On one hand, the importance of belonging becomes a reaffirming factor in situations of internal conflict. As Bauman observes, a victim's physical isolation necessarily implies a certain proximity to his victimizers: "Physical closeness and continuous co-operation tends to result in a group feeling, complete with the mutual obligations and solidarity it normally brings about."[57] We can observe this process in the film when Vergara mentions Morales' "many facets" and the parental roles fulfilled by his companions. In such cases, the intimacy fostered by the group setting allows new aspects of a person's character to emerge that extend beyond his role at work, thus further strengthening group members' bonds. Moreover, the fact that the perpetrator belongs to a group greatly facilitates his ability to enact violence, which, accordingly, begins to take on a collective character.[58]

On the other hand, it is possible that the profound contradictions expressed by Vergara are evidence of a survival mechanism, one that allowed him to adapt to a hostile environment and protect himself from being either physically or psychologically abused. As the film progresses, Vergara adds the term "survivor" to his initial description of himself as "a prisoner almost."[59] In one particular scene, a drunk Vergara reaffirms his willingness to contribute to the human rights cause despite the consequences that it may bring, noting:

> Yo se sobrevivir. Porque ese conocimiento me lo dieron quienes tenían que dármelo y lo he recopilado y sé sobrevivir y eso en el fondo me da fortaleza […] ¿Tú crees que alguna vez en la vida yo me he quebrado por eso? Jamás. No me quiebro. ¿Sabes porque no me he quebrado? Porque me enseñaron, en la vida, a no quebrarme: a ser fuerte, a ser perro.
>
> [I know how to survive. Because I got that knowledge from people who had to give it to me and I've gathered it up and now I know how to survive and that gives me strength deep down […] You think that at any point in my life I've broken because of that? Never. I don't break. Do you know why I haven't broken? Because they taught me, in life, how to not break: to be strong, to be fearless.][60]

In this passage, the protagonist refers to a learning process that provided him with a specific knowledge, but fails to mention the lessons involved in it, perhaps because of their traumatic nature. If he indeed learned to survive and not break, it is because he experienced circumstances that he perceived as a threat to his physical and emotional integrity. In this context, an affective identification with his perpetrators could be the expression of a compromise that allowed his tormented psyche to continue functioning.[61]

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[55] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito.*

[56] Ibid.

[57] Bauman, *Modernity and Holocaust*, 156.

[58] Ibid., 157.

[59] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito.*

[60] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito.*

[61] Other agents who worked in the Lautaro Brigade express similar contradictions, typical of traumatized individuals. Adriana Rivas, for example, Manuel Contreras' former secretary who now lives in Australia, has a similarly fragmented and incoherent discourse. On one hand, she defends torture as a method to obtain information. Yet, on the other hand, she asserts that she never attended a torture session and that she could not bear to see the torture of another human being. Although she defends the lack of information about the *desaparecidos*, she empathizes with their

The notion of "adaptation," explored by Argentine sociologist and genocide expert Daniel Feierstein, contributes to our understanding of this phenomenon. As one of the principal goals of the concentration camp system, adaptation is a survival mechanism in which the victim, in the face of a total annihilation of his or her subjectivity after being tortured, comes to either partially or fully identify with the values of his or her perpetrators.[62] While prisoners held at detention centers are the principal target of adaptation, its effects transcend prison walls and ultimately impact society at large — albeit in a diluted form — through an authoritarian sociopolitical climate, the testimonies of survivors, and the unknown knowledge of what happened, despite the visible marks of repression in the public sphere.[63] Because Vergara occupied a position on the edges, residing both inside and outside of the military, it is possible that he experienced the process of adaptation more intensely than other civilian-witnesses. Moreover, the evident respect and affection that Vergara feels for those who, by his own account, committed merciless murders and actively oppressed him could also be related to class. Throughout the film, Vergara evidences a submissive and deferential attitude toward authority, characteristic of a devalued individual who lacks the social consciousness to recognize his own oppression and who is accustomed to obeying and depending upon others, particularly his superiors, in order to survive.

Finally, further reflection upon the kinship vocabulary used by Vergara to describe his relationships with other members of the brigade ("fathers" and "mothers") allows us to consider the role of military corporatism under a dictatorial regime. The common expression "military family" used by members of the army and their most intimate biological relations highlights an exclusive, powerful, and loyal system of interpersonal relationships within the military and its affiliated institutions. These tight bonds complicate possible dissidence and unfaithfulness during times of conflict with the civilian population, given that all members of the military, especially the army and its constituent groups, retain a connection with civilian life. As his brother notes in the film, it is perhaps this sense of exclusivity shared by members of the military that led Vergara to cut all ties with his family and acquaintances while working at the extermination center and the CNI.

The sequence of photographs shown after the interview with Morales highlights another aspect of the interconnection between Vergara's personal and professional lives. The photos show Vergara, dressed in his uniform and armed, strolling with his wife and daughter in different locations. Vergara assumes the roles of father and husband from within his place in the military, and it is this sense of belonging that allows him to occupy other roles typically associated with a respectable male adult. In his recent study, Leith Passmore observes that, even prior to Pinochet's regime, completing military training was, for many young men, one of the key experiences linked with their transition into manhood, along with working, getting married, and supporting a family.[64] Masculinity, a quality exalted by the army, also defines personal worth and merits respect in other areas of Chile's patriarchal society. In the era of the coup d'état, many young people already possessed a stereotypical image of a soldier, based primarily upon American movies, as a strong, unyielding, brave, and a violent man.[65] We can see these characteristics manifested at multiple junctures throughout the documentary: when Vergara trains at dawn using a *nunchaku*, when he hunts a rabbit with his bare hands, showing clear experience with the task, and when he visits a

mothers. Furthermore, while she is aware of the Lautaro Brigade's violent actions, she, nonetheless, defines her time in the DINA as the happiest years of her youth- Florencia Melgar, "El otro once de septiembre: Entrevista con Adriana Rivas," *SBS en español*, September 13, 2013, accessed March, 19 2018, https://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/spanish/es/audiotrack/other-911-interview-adriana-rivas?language=es.

[62] Daniel Feierstein, *El genocidio como práctica social: entre el nazismo y la experiencia argentina: hacia un análisis del aniquilamiento como reorganizador de las relaciones sociales* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 2007), 371; For a study on the use of torture in Chile during the dictatorship and its effects upon prisoners, see "Técnicas de tortura aplicadas en Chile: su acción, sus objetivos, sus efectos," *desaparecidos.org*, 1982, accessed August 8, 2017, http://www.desaparecidos.org/nuncamas/web/investig/persona/person07.htm.

[63] Feierstein, *El genocidio,* 379.

[64] Leith Passmore, "The apolitics of memory: Remembering military service under Pinochet through and alongside transitional justice, truth, and reconciliation," *Memory Studies* 9, no. 2 (2016), 177.

[65] Ernesto Garratt and Rafael Valle, "Revista de Cine Mabuse," Sin novedad en el frente: el soldado americano en el cine, January 5, 2003, accessed August 9, 2017, http://www.mabuse.cl/historia.php?id=31404.

street fair booth and demonstrates a strong familiarity with handling arms.[66] As Connell suggests in "Masculinities, violence, and peacemaking," a push toward guaranteeing peace within a nation cannot occur under an exchange of hegemonic masculine ideas extolled primarily by the army, "which emphasize violence, confrontation and domination."[67]

The scene in which Vergara hunts a rabbit (he collects the animal from a trap, wounded and screeching; he then breaks its neck, skins it, and cleans the body) reveals a disturbing coldness and sense of indifference in the face of suffering and death. At the same time, this particular moment of the film calls attention to the importance of method and precision in the practice of cruelty, a crucial detail when considering the mechanisms that allow such horrific acts to take place in torture centers. By applying a learned method with clearly delineated steps, the perpetrator can focus on each element of his task, rather than on the consequences, i.e. the torment that he is inflicting upon others. This method also validates the use of torture as a historical act, one previously designed and employed in similar situations. Because of the torturers' methodical approach to their work, Vergara is able to clearly describe the scene that he observed repeated on multiple occasions: the use of electrical shock on prisoners during their torture sessions. Furthermore, this faithfulness to method, even in his daily life, and the clear delimitation of his role at the extermination center, likely facilitated Vergara's relationship to the events that he witnessed as mere components of his job, ones lacking any moral, ethical, or political implications.

In fact, Salgado Morales, who brought Vergara from Manuel Contreras's house, where he worked, to his new job at the extermination center, remembers him as "muy trabajador" ["very hardworking."][68]This description coincides once again with Bauman's observations on Milgram's experiment, particularly the notion of the moralization of technology, specific to authoritarian bureaucratic systems, in which there is a division of tasks and a clear chain of command. It also highlights how employees manage to avoid moral dilemmas, shifting judgment of their actions, such as their significance and consequences, to how they were carried out. In other words, they adjust themselves to the rules of the organization and the expectations of their supervisors, who proffer moral approbation to their subordinates through either approval or other forms of validation.[69] In Vergara's case, the description given to him by his boss at the extermination center — "very hardworking" — as a positive moral judgment implies his total submission to the center's rules and the demands of his work.

In conclusion, the unusual glimpse that *El mocito* offers of perpetrators in situations of state-sponsored violence is an important contribution to Chile's collective memory for multiple reasons. First, by choosing to focus on a protagonist affiliated with the state's violent acts of repression, the film emphasizes the significant amount of work that remains to be done on human rights abuses in Chile. After its initial presentation of Vergara, the documentary offers the following statistics: "A la fecha, la justicia chilena ha condenado a 260 agentes, de los cuales 51 cumplen pena efectiva" ["Since the fall of Pinochet's regime, the Chilean justice system has condemned 260 agents, 51 of whom are currently serving their sentences."][70] In an interview following the film's release, Said notes that these 260 agents formed part of a significantly larger group, estimated at between 3,000 and 5,000 agents, who worked for the DINA/CNI. Based on these facts, the filmmaker concludes that Chile, "está haciendo justicia a duras penas" ["is hardly bringing about justice"], and affirms that *El mocito*, as a film focused on the figure of the repressor, presents an opportunity for "la sociedad se confronte con su pasado" ["society to confront its past."][71]

Second, *El mocito* allows us to reflect upon the structures, situations, and interactions that bring common, morally adjusted individuals to support a repressive system rooted in the harassment and

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[66] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito*.

[67] Bob Connell, "Masculinities, Violence, and Peacemaking," *Peace News* 2443 (2001), 14-16, accessed August 8, 2017, https://peacenews.info/node/3613/masculinities-violence-and-peacemaking.

[68] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito*.

[69] Bauman, *Modernity and Holocaust*, 161.

[70] Said and de Certeau, *El mocito*.

[71] Eva Usi, "'El mocito' estremece en la Berlinale," DW Made for Minds, February 18, 2011, accessed August 9, 2017, http://www.dw.com/es/el-mocito-estremece-en-la-berlinale/a-6442761.

annihilation of others. This chance to reflect allows us to identify settings, both inside and outside of repressive systems, that facilitates the enactment of cruelty, thereby opening a space in which we can potentially resist these systems and imagine possible alternatives. Floating responsibility, the compartmentalization of tasks, distancing actions and their consequences, weakening pluralism, and establishing affiliations in opposition to others are some of the constituent mechanisms of these repressive systems that have extended to other areas of civil society and subsequently become normalized. Accordingly, the connection between the protagonist's socioeconomic situation and his later participation in state-mandated repression invites us to reconsider continuations of the dictatorship into present day, as well as the role of civil-military relations in a democratic era.

Finally, the question of the Armed Forces—an organization that continues to play a central role in the production of cruelty due in large part to its hierarchical, authoritarian, and violent character, but also maintains autonomy, special privileges, and influence upon Chilean society (including its role in the construction of a dominant masculine subjectivity)—underlies the entire documentary and functions as a warning directed in particular at Chile's political class and the country's civilian population as a whole. It is a warning directed at the political class because they maintain certain authoritarian enclaves in order to avoid confronting growing social problems that lack simple solutions: the need for justice without exceptions, the increasing protests highlighting social inequality, the poverty plaguing a significant portion of the population, and the marginal position of Chile's native populations. It is a warning to the civil society as possible collaborators and accomplices of situations leading to human rights violations in the new democratic era.

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Memory and Distance: On Nobuhiro Suwa's A Letter from Hiroshima

Jessica Fernanda Conejo Muñoz
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
Mexico City, Mexico

Introduction, Purpose, and Methodology

The relation between atomic bombing and Japanese Cinema has been studied from different points of view. Some critics are interested in processes of documentation; others are more concerned about representations of the event and its consequences in feature films; some others reflect on the connection between the destroyed cities and contemporary identities in Japan. The films on Hiroshima and Nagasaki are diverse and explore many aspects of the historical event: "The nuclear event will appear in documentary and fictional modes; in action cinema and contemplative melodramas; in science fiction, horror, and yakuza movies; through realist and modernist narrative encodings. The Japanese cinema of the atom bomb will be revealed as a heterogeneous assemblage of films."[1]

Within Contemporary Japanese Cinema, we find in filmmaker Nobuhiro Suwa's work an example of that heterogeneity. He has directed two films about Hiroshima, his hometown, and he has particularly focused on different processes of memory regarding the past and present of the city. The first film entitled *H Story*[2] is an attempt to remake Alain Resnais' *Hiroshima mon amour*;[3] and the second film entitled *A Letter from Hiroshima*[4] is an essay about a Korean actress and Suwa himself facing the shadows of the massacre in the present day. This document offers an analysis of the last film.

This article is part of a bigger research about the construction of time in Contemporary Japanese Cinema, especially the construction of the past and its connection with present. Processes of memory are crucial in this subject and we find that Nobuhiro Suwa's films about Hiroshima constitute a good example of what we have called "the past as surviving time." *H Story* is a complex film in which memory and oblivion regarding mass violence are a central matter. We think that *A Letter from Hiroshima* has at least two more special ingredients: the deeper involvement of the director as a central character, and the significance of Korean women. They represent Japanese past as a problematic field, in which every generation embodies different negotiations with guilt and victimhood. We also think that the link between *H Story* and *Hiroshima mon amour* has been accurately analyzed in works such as Marie Francoise Grange's,[5] as well as other contemporary productions about Hiroshima.[6] This is definitely not the case of *A Letter from Hiroshima,* barely analyzed in academic works. Thus, this particular study pretends to fill that blank in Contemporary Japanese Cinema studies. Besides, other documentary filmmakers' work has been object of academic attention, such as is the case of Naomi Kawase or Hirokazu Koreeda;[7] but Nobuhiro Suwa's oeuvre is barely present in contemporary discussions about what Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano has defined as a "new genre" in Contemporary Japanese Cinema.[8] This new genre is characterized

[1] David Deamer, *Deleuze, Japanese Cinema, and the Atom Bomb: The Spectre of the Impossibility* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 2.

[2] Nobuhiro Suwa, dir., *H Story* (Japan: DENTSU Music and Entertainment, 2001), film.

[3] Alain Resnais, dir., *Hiroshima mon amour* (France & Japan: Argos Films, 1960), film.

[4] Nobuhiro Suwa, dir., *A Letter from Hiroshima*, (Japan & South Korea: Jeonju International Film Festival, 2002), Betacam digital.

[5] Marie Francoise Grange. "Le Film pour Mémoire: Sur H Story (Nobuhiro Suwa, 2000)," *Cinémas: Revue d'études Cinématographiques* 21, no. 2-3 (2011), 171-183.

[6] We can mention Shohei Imamura, dir., *Black Rain* (Japan: Imamura Productions, 1998), film, and Akira Kurosawa, dir., *Rhapsody in August* (Japan: ©Shochiku Films Ltd., 1991), film, as examples of film critics' interests. An interesting volume about cinema and the bombing effects is Deamer, *Deleuze, Japanese Cinema.* The author doesn't analyze any of Suwa's ouvres, though.

[7] The work of other documentarists, as highly recognized postwar director, Shinsuke Ogawa, is also subject of academic study, as we can note in Abé Mark Nornes' *Forest of Pressure. Ogawa Shinsuke and Postwar Japanese Documentary*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Koshi Ueno, "Towards a Theory of Ogawa Shinsuke's Filmmaking," n.d., Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (hereafter YIDFF), Documentary Box 19.

[8] Mitsuyo Wada Marciano, "Capturing 'Authenticity': Digital Aesthetics in the Post-Studio Japanese Cinema," *Canadian*

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by a fine mixture of fictional and non-fictional techniques of production, what we certainly find in *A Letter from Hiroshima.*

The main argument is that *A Letter from Hiroshima* constitutes a way of thinking about memory that results in a distanced and "not narrative" construction of History. These ideas have an inspiration, among other sources, in Walter Benjamin's approach to time and history. For Benjamin, History is something that can't be narrated in an organic sense, as he writes in his famous *Theses on the Philosophy of History*.[9] So, we have found that Nobuhiro Suwa, through his film has achieved a particular way to construct one of the possible histories about Hiroshima city and its memories. This way is conceptualized as "distanced," following Benjamin's interpretation of Bertolt Brecht's epic theatre techniques and its reminiscences in film theory.

The first part of the text is a brief description of the film, while the second one displays the role of distancing effects in Benjamin's discussion of Brecht, as well as the brechtian heritage in the ideas of Peter Wollen about a "counter cinema"[10] that would follow in some ways epic theatre's principles. We consider also that Suwa's techniques in *A Letter from Hiroshima* correspond to what Aaron Gerow has called "detached style," linking this term with the critical effect that distance has, regarding memory configuration.

We will, thirdly, summarize the context of the movie in terms of filmic representations of Hiroshima, especially the use and meaning of archive images. For the analysis we used as methodology the sequence découpage, which results are shown in the fourth part of the document. This analysis aims to demonstrate how Suwa's distancing resources construct time, and so, history, in a disruptive way, placing memory as problematic and past as a surviving time.

The Film

A Letter from Hiroshima is a short film made in 2002, a year after the production of Nobuhiro Suwa's remake of *Hiroshima mon amour, H Story*. It is based on the correspondence between the American filmmaker Robert Kramer, to whom the film is dedicated, and Suwa, about the city of Hiroshima and the possibility of filming a movie in that place, as well as the text that Kramer wrote, entitled "Hiroshima city."[11] The American filmmaker's father worked as a military doctor in Hiroshima after the bombing, and this tie with the event is what motivated the relation between Suwa and Kramer.

In the plot, Suwa sends a letter to South Korean actress Ho-Jung Kim, inviting her to participate in the movie; however, when she arrives to Hiroshima, Suwa is not present. Another female character, a Korean resident in Japan who serves as an interpreter (Faji Lee), makes contact with the actress and informs her that the director wishes her to see the city and explore it while she waits for his arrival. Throughout the film we listen to Suwa reading the text of Robert Kramer in voiceover while he walks with his son (Mashu Suwa) around different places that commemorate the bombardment of the city in August 1945. After some days, when Kim is about to return to her country, Suwa finally appears and convinces her to carry out the collaboration.

The short film is part of a compilation entitled *After war*,[12] that won a prize at the Locarno Festival video competition and which is also integrated by two other short films: "Survival Game" (Moon Seung-wook), and "The new year" (Wang Xiashuai). This compilation is a result of the Jeonju Digital Project, proposed by Jeonju's International Film Festival, which each year selects 3 prominent filmmakers and finance a collective production.

As we can see in the description of the film, similarly to *H Story*, *A letter from Hiroshima* is a self-referential game in which the diegesis is configured from the supposed production of the film

Journal of Film Studies 18, no. 1 (2009), 71-93.

[9] Walter Benjamin, *Tesis sobre la historia y otros fragmentos*, trans. Bolívar Echeverría (México: Itaca-UACM, 2008).

[10] Peter Wollen, "Godard and Counter Cinema: Vent d'Est," in *Readings and Writings: Semiotic Counter Strategies* (London: Verso, 1982), 79-91.

[11] Kramer died a month after he wrote the letter mentioned in this film, so the joint project he had in mind could not be performed. The text "Hiroshima city", written in Paris in July 1998, can be found online. Robert Kramer, "Hiroshima City," *Windwalk*, July 1998, accessed July 12, 2017, http://www.windwalk.net/writing/rk_hiroscity.htm.

[12] Moon Seung-wook, et al., *After War* (South Korea: Jeonju International Film Festival, 2002), film.

itself. It also shares a feature that covers practically all the work of Suwa: co-authorship in the elaboration of the plot, since the director allows the actors to improvise their lines, avoiding to fully control the words and actions that take place before a camera that also improvises in accordance with the development of the scenes.

To the Distant Observer: The Counter Cinematic Effect

The film begins with a black screen, and the voice of Ho-jung Kim recounting how she met Nobuhiro Suwa at a Festival in Switzerland and how he sent a letter inviting her to participate in a film about Hiroshima, not only as a performer, but as co-author of the screenplay. The issue of the movie would be, as is common in the work of the filmmaker, the relationship between a man and a woman. From the beginning, there are reflexivity gestures that will prevail throughout the movie: the film within the film. Although it has been noted that these resources in Suwa films are "intellectually empty,"[13] we argue here that they constitute a way of thinking about memory that results in a distanced and not narrative construction of History, so it has political relevance, in Walter Benjamin's sense.[14] It will be necessary to explain what we mean by saying that Suwa's approach to History is a distanced one, for that purpose, we will describe a theoretical background that refers to distance as a critical way to face both, cinema and reality.

Suwa is the main exponent of what Aaron Gerow names "detached style," This concept refers to an effective, structural and material distance, involving various elements of the *mise en scène and monta*ge. Gerow describes the detached style of filmmakers like Suwa as follows: the camera keeps distance from the actors, rarely resorts to the close up, the shots are long, and the viewer's attention is not directed by cuts, there are almost no subjective camera angles. As it will be shown in the following sections, in *A Letter from Hiroshima*, Suwa remains distanced from his characters, treating them as real people that we only can approach to from the outside, without waiting to find out exactly what they think or feel immediately. It is a style that underestimates the dramatic, refrains from explanations, refuses to psychologize and in general, it becomes difficult for the viewer to understand what is happening. Suwa's detached style rejects the emphasis on explanations, and therefore, creates an opaque and uncertain world. And, on the other hand, stories are populated with people who win some freedom that arises from their detachment from others.[15] It is possible to relate this series of ruptures against the classical representation of subjectivity, to what Peter Wollen called "counter cinema"[16] in the 1970s, and which responds to what Robert Stam has described as "the politics of reflexivity,"[17] that notably invaded the French cinema, one of the most important influences of Nobuhiro Suwa.

In relation to Hiroshima, the Japanese director has argued that the French film, *Hiroshima mon amour*, is an essential part of his connection with the place, and that this film material is part of his imagination around the memory of his hometown. Since his first feature film, *2/Duo,*[18] Suwa has shown gestures of reflexivity that resemble the counter cinema. For example, his interviews with the actors during the filming, and the way he asks them about their perceptions of their own characters. In a more pronounced way, *H Story* and *A Letter from Hiroshima* highlight what Gerow meant calling his "detached style."

> In a famous 1970s essay, Peter Wollen, based on the analysis of Jean-Luc Godard's oeuvres, conceptualized a counter cinema, which would have the following characteristics:

[13] Derek Elley, "After War," *Variety*, August 23, 2002, accessed July 12, 2017, http://variety.com/2002/film/reviews/after-war-1200546666/.

[14] Andrew McGettigan sustains that even if there are many forms of time, for Walter Benjamin, remembrance is the one with political relevance, because the energy in tension of the past moment explodes in the instant of actualization. Andrew McGettigan, "As Flowers Turn Towards the Sun. Walter Benjamin's Bergsonian Image of the Past," *Radical Philosophy,* 158 (2009), 29.

[15] Aaron Gerow, "Recognizing 'Others' in a New Japanese Cinema," *The Japan Foundation Newsletter* 29, no. 2 (2002), 6.

[16] Wollen, *Godard and Counter Cinema.*

[17] Robert Stam, et al., *New Vocabularies in Film Semiotics. Structuralism, post-structuralism and beyond* (London: Routledge, 2005), 205.

[18] Nobuhiro Suwa, dir., *2/Dyuo* (Japan: Bitters End, 1997), 35mm.

> (1) **NARRATIVE INTRANSITIVITY,** i.e. the systematic disruption of the flow of the narrative rather than narrative transitivity; (2) **ESTRANGEMENT** rather than identification (through distanced acting, sound/image disjunction, direct address, etc.); (3) **FOREGROUNDING** versus transparency (systematic drawing of attention to the process of construction of meaning); (4) **MULTIPLE DIEGESIS** instead of single diegesis; (5) **APERTURE,** narrative opening instead of closure and resolution, the narrative tying up of loose ends; (6) **UNPLEASURE,** a text resisting the habitual pleasures of coherence, suspense and identification; and (7) **REALITY** instead of fiction (the critical exposure of the mystifications involved in filmic fictions).[19]

It is unavoidable to relate Wollen's proposal to Bertolt Brecht's approach, with which Benjamin has a great intellectual debt. Brecht defended disruption and fractures on the illusionist continuity of classic theatre, whereby different gestures of montage acquired vital importance. We cannot ignore the possible brechtian provocation contained in the detached style defined by Aaron Gerow as well: "the camera is kept at a distance from the actors, rarely moving into the close-ups that, in most films, are used to provide access to character psychology or emotion."[20] In short, we can say that in the case of Suwa, distance in the film works on several levels of relation: between the movie and the spectator, the director and the performers, the characters and their roles, the characters and the story, and finally, between the participants and the images that appear. Even though we may have to take into account important, yet essentialists, reflections, such as Noël Burch, Roland Barthes, and Donald Richie on anti-illusionist forms of Japanese Visual and Performing tradition,[21] we cannot doubt that the distancing effect gestures in Suwa are more related to counter cinematic constructions of the French New Wave.

In his text "The author as producer,"[22] Walter Benjamin emphasizes that it is not enough that a work has a certain tendency to say that it is a political work. The work would have to be technically built in a certain way so that it can find its political character.

> So if we could make the above formulation, that the correct political tendency of a work includes its literary quality because it includes its literary tendency, now we can state more exactly that this literary tendency can be found in the progress or regression of literary technique.[23]

Brecht's Epic Theater, one of Benjamin's developed examples, is relevant and illustrative to address the issue that concerns us. Benjamin mentions that the German dramatist shattered the functional connection between stage and public, text and representation, director and actor; he also highlights the value of the interruption of the actions in order to achieve the presentation of situations in a form in which montage has an essential role:

> Yet the conditions stand at the end, not the beginning of the test [...] Epic theatre does not reproduce conditions; rather, it discloses, it uncovers them. This uncovering of the conditions is affected by interrupting the dramatic processes; but such interruption does not act as a stimulant; it has an organizing function. It brings the action to a standstill in mid-course and

[19] Stam, et al, *New Vocabularies in Film Semiotics*, 202-203.

[20] Gerow, *Recognizing Others*, 6.

[21] Noël Burch, *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema* (London: University of California Press, 1979). And, Roland Barthes, *L'empire des signes* (Paris: Seuil, 2015). We must mention that these authors' arguments are part of a homogeneous and immutable vision of Japanese Culture that we cannot simply assume. However, it's impossible to discuss it here in a deeper way. For some critiques to their assumptions, see Donald Kirihara, "Reconstructing Japanese Film," in *Post-Theory. Reconstructing Film Studies*, eds. David Bordwell and Noel Carroll (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 501-519; Daisuke Miyao, ed., "Part I," *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 11-98.

[22] Walter Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht*, trans. Anna Bostock (London: Verso, 1998), 85-103.

[23] Ibid., 88.

> thereby compels the spectator to take up a position towards the action, and the actor to take up a position towards his part.[24]

Brecht's montage method is therefore more than just a trend; it's a set of procedures, so it is a political technique.

The German playwright emphasizes that "distancing" means to place in a historical context, to represent actions and people as historic, which means, ephemeral.[25] Following these principles, Epic Theatre critically redefined the stage's entire philosophy. Brecht put in crisis Classical *mise en scéne* because of its "inaccurate representations of our social life."[26] The aim of his new technique of acting and staging was to make the spectator adopt an attitude of inquiry and criticism in his approach to the incidents and subjects represented in the play, by erasing every magical effect. In theatre and cinema, this means to avoid giving the illusion of watching an "ordinary unrehearsed event."[27] As we shall see, Suwa's non-fictional resources in his films tend to put on the foreground an anti-classical construction of the plot, breaking the insidious fourth wall and the path to empathy. This treatment, called in brechtian terms "alienation effect," involves the director, the stage and the actors, presenting characters with internal contradictions that will lead to "dynamic forces"[28] instead of a given, predictable interpretation. As Brecht would point out, by alienating characters and incidents from ordinary life, we can make them remarkable. History and memory can be thought as unnatural if certain representations are constructed in a distanced manner.

Archive and Representations

We will try to put in a context of thinking what could be the continuation of counter cinema procedures of earlier decades in the film analyzed in this research. To outline this context we will return to some arguments that Benjamin Thomas exposed in "Time, memory and absences," one chapter of his study of Contemporary Japanese Cinema.[29]

Thomas speaks of the reminiscences of Hiroshima in some recent productions, especially in *Kairo*[30] and *Women in the Mirror*.[31] He says that there is an indifference to the past linked to the Japanese "hypermodernity" (referring to Marc Augé's conception), and emphasizes that the imaginary on Hiroshima is metonymic of a process of historic suppression that has accompanied Japanese waves of modernization, a process that has resulted in different amnesic figures that make identities problematic.

According to the author, in Japan there would be a certain policy of oblivion, consequence of a resistance to the examination of the past, which is covered with a halo of strangeness for contemporary people. Contemporary modernity is unable to read and tell its own past, since it is unintelligible.[32] The author does not emphasize the manipulation exerted by American censors during the occupation after the war, which set up a *partnership with the guilt*, placing the Japanese militarism as directly responsible for the decision taken by Truman to bomb Japan.

From another point of view, Broderick poses this silence symbollically, particularly in the case of the *hibakusha* (survivors of the bombs) as a response to the "eerie stillness that befell both cities after the atomic *pikadon* (flash-boom)."[33] In particular, there was a concern about the possible effects of radiation, which were unknown at the time, and resulted in discrimination towards the

[24] Ibid., 99-100.

[25] Bertolt Brecht, *Escritos sobre el teatro* (Madrid: Alba, 2004), 84.

[26] Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. and trans. J. Willett. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), 179.

[27] Ibid., 136.

[28] Ibid., 137.

[29] Benjamin Thomas, *Le Cinéma Japonais d'aujourd 'hui. Cadres Incertains* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).

[30] Kiyoshi Kurosawa, dir., *Kairo* (Japan: Daiei Eiga, 2001), film.

[31] Yoshishige Yoshida, dir., *Women in the Mirror* (Japan & France: Gendai Eiga, 2002), film.

[32] Thomas, *Le Cinéma japonais d'aujourd'hui,* 135-141.

[33] Mick Broderick, *Hibakusha Cinema. Hiroshima, Nagasaki and the Nuclear Image in Japanese Film* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 23.

survivors. And this "silence" does not takes place only in respect of the *hibakusha*: the father of Robert Kramer, who was in Japan after the bombing, could not talk about what he saw and lived when he returned home in the US. Similarly, Noam Chomsky says: "I remember on the day of the Hiroshima bombing, for example, I remember that I literally couldn't talk to anybody. There was nobody. I just walked off by myself. I was at a summer camp at the time, and I walked off into the woods and stayed alone for a couple of hours when I heard about it. I could never talk to anyone about it and I never understood anyone's reaction. I felt completely isolated."[34] Suwa says on the subject: "I had nothing to say in principle. The Japanese cannot see or talk about this city. At the same time, it is very intimate and very huge."[35] Therefore, holding that the policies of oblivion or the fight for the right to silence are only a result of the selective memory of the Japanese State reduces the complexity of the process.

In the press kit of his film *Women in the mirror*, Yoshishige Yoshida wonders about the right to speak of the bombing; if he, as a filmmaker who did not live in the flesh the explosion, can express himself about it more than fifty years after the end of the war.[36] A similar question guides the work of Suwa in his two films devoted to the subject. These contemporary questions are symptomatic of the change of meaning that Hiroshima and Nagasaki have had throughout history, particularly in the field of film images. We can see here the dynamism of the past, which Benjamin has defended, and that Georges Didi-Huberman has pointed out in the iconic field .[37]

Film representations of the atomic bomb during the American occupation (1945-1952) were regulated in such a way that the bomb could only be shown as a strategic tool without which the unconditional surrender of Japan wouldn't have taken place, and therefore World War II wouldn't have come to an end; in addition, the visual effect of the explosion should be avoided, as well as the suffering of civilian victims and any reference to Japan as an occupied territory.[38] Later, the white glow became the main symbol of the time of the explosion in the iconography, as we can see in *Black rain.*

In his article "Mono no aware," Donald Richie describes that at the end of the American occupation, in the cinematographic field, forms of approximation to the bombing normally acquired a political shift associated with the Communist left: the absence of mainstream products related to the topic is based on the dislike of many filmmakers to deal with this, because to do so meant to engage with the political left, at least to the eyes of the audience. The Communist Party had so often used the bomb as a political weapon that any representation of empathy with the victims had come to mean in Japan that the director or producer were probably Communists.[39]

Almost at the same time that Richie was writing this, Alain Resnais was filming *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959), extensively studied as paradigmatic of modern cinema, but hardly related to its role in the context of audiovisual representation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[40] When it was premiered in Japan, they gave it the title *24-hours Affair*, as if it was a love story. The modernism of this film lies, in part, in the union between documentary images that occupy the top, and the fictional story that develops later, putting into question the opposition between reality and fiction. The documentary images that open *Hiroshima mon amour* come from Japanese productions: *The Effects of the Atomic*

[34] Kramer, *Hiroshima City*.

[35] Richard Werly, "Breaking the Hiroshima Taboo," *Libération (left-wing)* (blog), October 17, 2001, accessed July 12, 2017, http://worldpress.org/europe/0102arts_liberation.htm.

[36] Yoshishige Yoshida, "Femmes en miroir," press kit, accessed October 17, 2016, http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/femmesenmiroir/.

[37] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Devant le Temps: Histoire de l'art et Anachronisme des Images* (Paris: Ed. de Minuit, 2000).

[38] Kyoko Hirano, "Depiction of the Atomic Bombings in Japanese Cinema During the U.S. Occupation Period," in *Hibakusha Cinema,* ed. Mick Broderick (London: Routledge, 1996), 103-119.

[39] Donald Richie, "Mono no aware," in *Hibakusha Cinema,* ed. Mick Broderick (London: Routledge, 1996), 20-37. Richie points out, also, that during the American occupation the rejection of open treatment of atomic bomb also came from Japanese Government sources, and not just American. Censorship affected not only movies, but also other cultural manifestations, such as literature.

[40] Yuko Shibata, "Transnational Images of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Knowledge, Production and the Politics of Representation" (Doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 2009), 1-17.

Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki,[41] and *Still It's Good to Live*.[42] It can be said that Resnais film allowed, almost for the first time, the filmed images for *The Effects of the Atomic Bomb...* to be seen in the world, since they had been confiscated by the U.S. occupation forces, and therefore, stolen from the possible visual memory of the consequences of the bombing.[43] For the former editor of *Cahiers du Cinéma- Japan*, Abi Sakamoto, Resnais film is an inevitable reference to Japanese artistic expression about Hiroshima: for Japanese moviegoers, the name of Alain Resnais is always linked with the "murdered city," because he was able to tell what is so difficult for the Japanese- the wound never healed, the absence of all, which makes the Japanese actor tell her French lover "you haven't seen anything in Hiroshima."[44]

In his two films about Hiroshima, Suwa uses the archive images in a different way, without the censorship imposed by the occupation forces, and also out of the dichotomy between documentary and fiction that was operating in a certain way in *Hiroshima mon amour*. It is not possible at this time to look in depth at the transit that the use of the archive in the film field has had, from the documentary to the video clip. However, we can summarize, at least three different possibilities as described in the specific case of the atomic bomb: a stage of invisibilization product of the censorship,[45] another of visibility as part of a political agenda, and a contemporary stage of circulation and questioning. These different operating conditions of images are not very distant from a cinematic phenomenon, which exceeds the Japanese context. Vicente Sánchez-Biosca describes it in the following way:

> A spell by material inherited from the past, a question mark over its cracks, their uncertainties, self-censorship before the spontaneous tendency to make them talk. That material connects to another world, holding its gaze, returns the deceased to live as they were regarded in life, perhaps for the last time. But it's not this world that with pristine glare is making a comeback, but the interstices of which is registered, its false shots, its lagoons and its mystery.[46]

Accordingly, the methodology of Suwa, his technique, has as a result not the visibilization of material, or continuity with the dismantling of the false opposition between reality and fiction.[47] Neither is it just this "consciousness of the modern image," attached to the un-representable.[48] We find no answer to the question: what happened in Hiroshima, nor through the archive disrupts, nor through the fictionalized history that accompanies it. However, as opposed to the indifference and unintelligibility facing the past that Thomas found in Contemporary Japanese Cinema, Suwa's films represent a questioning, a fissure, the uncertainty and the mystery, not only of the image as ruin, but the time and space inhabited by them, where the past is not something that has been simply stolen from memory.

The distance under which Suwa's film operates is not a gap between past and present, is a distance as a political form of consciousness and knowledge, which, as Brecht would say, uncovers situations through an experimental process. What this experimental process uncovers is the situation of a memory, which, as we shall see, is not static, as it is not the historical significance of the city of Hiroshima.

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[41] Sueo Ito, *Hiroshima, Nagasaki or Okeru genshi bakudan no koka* (Japan: The Japan Film Company, 1946), film.

[42] Fumio Kamei, *Ikite ite yokkata* (Japan: Gensuikyo, 1956), film. An interesting exploration of Kamei as one of the most important figures in Japanese Documentary, especially during wartime, can be found in Abé Mark Nornes, *Japanese Documentary Film: The Meiji Era through Hiroshima* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 148-182.

[43] Shibata, *Transnational Images*, 14.

[44] Werly, *Breaking the Hiroshima Taboo*.

[45] In the case of the destruction carried out by bombs on Japanese territory, it was preserved documentation, both for Japanese as for American officers; however, the images did not join the social imaginary until the era of censorship during the occupation ended.

[46] Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, «Disparos en el Ghetto: En Torno a la Migración de las Imágenes de Archivo," in *Secuencias* no. 35 (2012), 19. To these images we can add Resnais' footage, which is also part of the archive. Translation is mine.

[47] Since his first film in 35 mm., Suwa, 2/*Dyuo*, the Japanese director showed that more than perpetuating this discussion, he has joined the results of this his way of filming.

[48] Luis Miranda, "Okuzaki Monogatari: El Ejército de Dios sigue su marcha," *Secuencias. Revista de Historia del Cine* no. 30 (2009), 61.

A Letter's Story: Filmic Construction of Memories about Hiroshima

Nobuhiro Suwa was born in Hiroshima, but in spite of this and according to him, he doesn't have a significant relation with the city. He recognizes that making films on the city is, for him, a way of deciphering its meaning, its memory. As the Korean characters appearing in the film, Suwa positions himself from a look of strangeness and, as we shall see, this strangeness will become a discovery technique. When Ho-jung Kim recounts in voiceover at the beginning of the short film how Suwa invited her to write the screenplay, she mentions that this had to be written in Hiroshima: the characters' confrontation with history by a present experience in sites of memory.

The first shot shows the actress lying on the bed in her hotel room. Thanks to the sound, which refers the characters as existing individuals (Suwa and the woman), the image enters into this hybrid play of staging reality, situation that will prevail over the movie and which is one of the counter cinematic features. As Brecht suggested, a new technique implied "definite gests of showing."[49]This imposes certain distance from the beginning, since what we see and hear does not have a stable anchor in generic frameworks; i.e., if it were the raw documentation of the process, what is the crew doing in the room of the actress, if part of the problem is that Suwa doesn't arrive, as planned, on the first days? The shot, long and static, in the style of the film's director, is interrupted by a bell that wakes the actress up; she rises from the bed and opens the door. The screen goes black while we hear a female voice asking whether this is Kim's room or not (in Korean). She answers "Yes". The title of the film appears in white letters while the girl informs the actress that she has a message from Mr. Suwa.

It's just after a minute and a half of the film when, for the first time, archive footage appears: in a photograph, three people are around a child with a suffering gesture, a doctor is pulling a piece of his skin with some tweezers, because it has been affected by the explosion of the atomic bomb. The montage of the title, *A Letter from Hiroshima,* followed by the image, reflects the almost immediate meanings triggered by the name of this city, and advances that it is a place in which the past interrupts, as this photograph, the course of a present that can't be thought of as independent. Then, coming back to the hotel, the two women are sitting face to face, the actress and the interpreter. This character tells the actress that Suwa cannot meet her for the moment, but while he arrives he wants her to come out, see and visit Hiroshima.

Subsequently, we hear Suwa's voiceover, telling that after meeting the actress he decided to carry out a joint project in Hiroshima, but without having a specific idea or an accurate plan. Accompanying this sound, another archive image is introduced between screens in black; it's an image of rubble and partially destroyed buildings, with the Hiroshima Dome in the background almost invisible. "What kind of story could we create together? I had no idea", says Suwa; however, the image that we see seems to say that not many types of stories are possible in Hiroshima, because the city is bisected by the past. This is confirmed in the following image, which shows Suwa with his son, sitting at a table, in front of a window, and again the Hiroshima Dome with its iconic semi-destroyed top in the background.

Suwa chose archive images that display the so-called *Genbaku Domu* in the background, surrounded by other buildings that did not resist the explosion. He locates the diegesis in a set from which the Dome can be seen and mix these images of the present and the past. The juxtaposition of these shots in the short film cannot but emphasize the temporal complexity of storytelling: a shot in the present held in an accumulated past, in this case, in a building almost in ruins.

It is possible to make an analogy between the Dome and the functioning of the visual material in this movie: the decision to keep the building as it was after the impact of the bomb helps to decipher memory, understanding this as a displacement of time that clashes with the idea of the past as a ground without cracks.[50] As one sees the building, it is not possible for these two temporalities, past and present, to become independent, because it represents destruction, but also resistance. The same applies to the montage that unfolds on the movie. The archive images break the linearity

[49] Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre,* 136.

[50] A summarized description of the different proposals around Hiroshima's ruins can be found in the chapter entitled Ian Buruma, "Hiroshima," in *The Wages of Guilt. Memories of War in Germany and Japan,* Ian Buruma (London: Atlantic Books, 2009), 92-111.

of the story and the fictitious diegesis, they are presented in an incomplete and fragmentary state, whose sense is built in conjunction with the present experience, evoked by the characters.

Suwa, again in voiceover, begins to read a letter from Robert Kramer, and declares that it's his only point of departure. The first lines describe general aspects of Hiroshima, such as its geographical location, but later it's characterized as "the town of a 3,000-year-old castle with anything older than 50 years". This sentence holds the meaning of actuality in Hiroshima, as symbolic of a semi-destroyed past, where the old disappeared and the new is "unified in a critical event, in a moment", which initiated a new era in the history of mankind. This is a Kramer's statement, and stands as a response to the concern of many scholars about Hiroshima's massacre representation - as Yuko Shibata points out, the bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has to be read as an event with deep significance beyond Japanese borders, not only as a turning point in Japanese history.[51]

The letter goes on describing the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, which is shown in the images. There are screens showing the Enola Gay (aircraft responsible for throwing the bomb), and several people in the room of the enclosure. Kramer describes it as a strange ritual in which "it is always August 6, 1945". The construction of the image reinforces the idea of this ritual that opens the tissues of time, since framed people appear behind a clear glass where the silhouettes of others are reflected, as well as screens. Following Deleuze and his concept of "crystal", where there's always actuality and virtuality at the same time, becoming two faces of the same image,[52] the short film shows to the viewer these multiple faces, where current events and virtuality become indistinguishable. Suwa decides to avoid the shot-reverse shot construction and focuses on the act of looking in reflected visitors, none of those looks converge at the same point, and none of those looks finds each other. However, their different directions trigger the power of the shot out of the margins, from which the construction of the space is penetrated. The crystal allows the viewer to watch and listen to the montage of heterogeneous times: screens with the Enola Gay images reflected in the glass, and on the other side, a woman looking toward the off-screen. What could be a shot-reverse shot in its most conventional sense becomes a game of reflections where items are not presented as succession, but as layers stacked in the same field that crystallizes the present and the past.

The crystal becomes more complex if we analyze how we carry out the reading of this shot. The screens showing the plane are presenting a latent moment, which confirms that what we call truth is a problem of time.[53] The voice in the museum's video describes how the plane was flying over the city before the impact, and alludes to what happened shortly after; i.e. the time that passes through that image is a time that appears as a dialectical lightning: we can't see the instant of the explosion, but we're aware of the fact that after that instant, there was nothing. We get things in this sense subsequently, in a not-fixed time.

This presentation of the event represents one of the distancing effects in the film because there's not a dramatic link with the characters, at least not yet. The construction of the scene in the museum is based on the voice of the director, reading Kramer's text, facing this ritual of memory from the outside. It also carries out a counter cinematic resource, since there's a multiple diegesis thanks to the structure of time as crystal.

Afterwards, as another self-referential gesture, a photograph of Robert Kramer and his camera appears in Suwa's table, placed near the text he wrote, which Suwa is reading. In a later scene, a crowded street is shown where actress Kim is walking from the background. It is a static shot without any cuts that accompanies a text that she is reading in voiceover, a testimony in a letter from a mother to her son killed by the bombing. It is again a rapport between past and present, and a confrontation between the actress and her undefined role within the movie. The testimony is updated via the voice of the actress, and it is placed in a contemporary city, the home of several generations whose memory is built in a heterogeneous way. This is what draws the attention of

[51] Shibata, *Transnational Images*, 16.

[52] Gilles Deleuze, *La imagen-tiempo. Estudios Sobre Cine vol.2,* trans. Irene Agoff (Barcelona: Paidós, 2010), 97-134.

[53] "If we consider the history of thought, we find that time has always been the crisis of the notion of truth." Deleuze, *La imagen-tiempo*, 176.

Kramer, and what he writes about in his text. He is interested in young people, who back then in 1998 were about 20 years old, including "Nobuhiro, the film director".

The sound blends excerpts from Kramer's text, "Hiroshima city", and the letter that he wrote to Suwa. In the letter he describes a particular wish: making a film about Hiroshima with Suwa, facing "two cameras" guided by two looks on the same city, his and the Japanese director's, each with different questions about memory and the life of the place. Again, this proposal tends to a multiple diegesis instead of a single and linear narration of a story about the place. Suwa emphasizes these different looks in other ways: the presence of the Korean characters, and that of his son, with whom he is weaving threads of past and present, through books with photographs, visits to places, archive footage, and the final encounter with the actress. The mobilization of the significance of the past is evident when the child asks questions to his father about the victims of the bomb, and at the same time the film is a question about the meaning of a relation with their hometown. This question may be important to contemporary Hiroshima inhabitants as well.

In the second scene where Suwa appears with his son, they are in the same room with the Dome in the background, leafing through a book of photographs, from which we can see some introduced as archive images of children damaged by radiation. The last picture we look at comes from the director's personal archive; the dialogue explains that the three people shown are Suwa and his grandparents. After a cut, we see this image accompanied by the voice of the filmmaker, recounting that his grandfather was not in Hiroshima the day of the bombing and that, nonetheless, her grandmother sought his corpse among the ruins of the city. Suwa ends the scene saying that none of them talked much about Hiroshima. We can understand here the generational breakdown in the memory of the events, involving not a homogeneous time, but different levels of construction. On the one hand, the aforementioned silence of survivors,[54] on the other hand an approximation that is filtered by the visual imagery and speeches of a character like Suwa, who intends to participate in the discussion on what we might call a personal politics, based on the development of the relation between past and present through the film, and also, the child character that is the last tip of the link.

The different perspectives on the meaning of Hiroshima are emphasized in a conversation that the Korean women sustain later in the film. The structure of this sequence is another confrontation between the characters and their roles; the two women are immersed in a reflexivity gesture on which one of the most important parts of the movie is structured. Framed in a similar manner to the first scene in the hotel, both speak about their experience at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

At the beginning, the interpreter says that the first time she visited the museum she was in primary school, and that she felt regret for the victims, concluding that "war was wrong", and currently she sees the museum every day when she goes to work, fearing that one day "she may stop to notice it completely"; then, in an unusual reverse shot, actress Kim relates that she visited the Memorial and confesses that the bombing had never had any particular meaning for her out of what he had seen on television, until that visit.

Briefly, Kim talks about two other historical events: the Jewish Holocaust (1941-1945) and the Japanese Occupation of Korea (1910-1945), and remembers that when visiting the German concentration camps she was shocked, thinking that her ancestors may have suffered similar experiences in the hands of the Japanese army in times of war and occupation.[55] Kim confesses that her visit to the Hiroshima Memorial also generated a shock, and this changed the significance that the city had for her; she manifests, then, her empathy with the victims of the bomb, including the Korean victims, and that this has made her more "historically aware." The confrontation with the sites and objects of memory, where the past is updated and clings to the present, is raised as a way

[54] There can be an analogy between this silence and the silence of images, which appear in the film as "silent witnesses". See, Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

[55] Part of the reluctance to the scanning of the past that Benjamin Thomas points out, is related to war crimes carried out by Japan in Korea during the occupation, which results can be seen in the diplomatic relations until today. Suwa was surely aware of the involvement which the participation of the Korean characters would have, because of the freedom given to the actors to enter an estranged game with their role.

of knowledge and awareness through the shock: the past takes form and significance in accordance with each and every look. The structure of *A Letter from Hiroshima* allows the people involved to see the city in an unnatural way. We can relate this with brechtian proposals, as the characters face reality through a distance imposed by the realization of the movie.

Following the detached structure, the two women speak of the new city, where there are new generations beside the direct victims of the war: Is it the same city? What do the contemporaries think of the bomb while living there today? How do young people see the city? These questions exhibit heterogeneity of experiences within a present traversed by the claim of the memory carried out until today by those who witnessed the destruction. The interpreter describes how she watches constantly on television at older people demanding the end of nuclear tests and the end of the nuclear energy development, without having much echo in young people, raising not only local, but international issues.[56] Part of the inhabitants of current Hiroshima, according to the two women in the film, has become accustomed to the ruins and the Memorial, the landscape has been normalized and naturalized. This is the danger of thinking the past as a finished state of the time, and not as a problematic body with which reality maintains a not harmonic and non-organic relationship. It's a danger to have contact only with the destruction and not with the resistance that continues alluding to the present. The past as a temporality with political relevance, which Benjamin talked about, loses its power when historical meaning is considered static, when it stops moving through memory gestures. *A Letter from Hiroshima* displaces the past from one point of view to another, from one historic point to another, making its meaning a non-fixed ground.

That's why these two figures, the Korean women, have a very special significance, because they represent the embodiment of past as surviving time, specially a past that is faced through a constant conflict. The confrontation with historical memory, particularly in the 1990s, became mired in a climate of deep tensions because of what Gerow and Iida have described as the emergence of new nationalisms in Japanese politics and Academy.[57] An outbreak of historical revisionism caused adverse reactions in China and Korea because of the treatment in textbooks of the war crimes committed by the Japanese military in East Asia territories. The problematic relation of Japan with the historical memory of mass violence is cleverly posed by Suwa, because of the effect of estrangement under which we look at the work of the two female characters, not only regarding Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but also about Japanese violence during the war.

It's in this context where Suwa's technique acquires meaning. His distancing effect is not due to an "indifference to the past", but constitutes a form of discovery of the situation, the state of things. The Japanese director argues that the magic of *Hiroshima mon amour* is that of a distant observer, and that the tragedy can be seen and understood only through foreign eyes, like a conversation between two points of view, an intimate relation between the city and two people who have a different view on it.[58] It is in this way how the structures of *H Story* and *A Letter from Hiroshima* work, putting at stake multiple visions, of actors, writers and directors. It is not an externality related to objectivity, but distancing effects that may lead to the historical awareness of each person involved.

In this sense, the work in the film is full of performativity, especially in the case of Suwa, who in one scene that appears halfway through the movie, recorded in a cinema, takes his son to teach him the functioning of a projector to then have a talk with another character (Naoto Kawahara) about the motivations for this kind of film. Suwa manifests his questions regarding the making of a film about Hiroshima: is there a genuine motivation? Does it have to be Hiroshima? The other character advises him to leave the movie take its own form, with which Suwa seems to agree. This talking shows the director's interest to present the film images as unfinished objects, which are immersed in a complex process, and that its construction is what allows him to decompose

[56] These demonstrations against nuclear energy augmented after the accident of Fukushima in 2011.

[57] Aaron Gerow, "Consuming Asia, Consuming Japan: The New Neonationalist Revisionism in Japan," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 30, no. 2 (1998), 30-36; Yumiko Iida, "Between the Technique of Living and Endless Routine and the Madness of Absolute Degree Zero: Japanese Identity and the Crisis of Modernity in the 1990s," *Positions* 8, no. 2 (2000), 423-464.

[58] Werly, *Breaking the Hiroshima Taboo*.

historic forms that seem already explained. Methods of production allow and cause the apparition of some intimate link with reality, and the emergence of a performative experience immersed in the historical course. The accent in the process of filmmaking helps to visualize the ties between past and present in its complexity, not just by telling a story, but by the exploration of film technique, even though it has fictional components.

Towards the end of the movie we see the actress getting desperate in her hotel room, as we saw Béatrice Dalle in *H Story*. Then we see Suwa and his son looking at a scale model of the destroyed city, where a close up shows the Dome and its surroundings between rubble and surviving bridges. These images of the model (a reconstruction of the destruction) precede the last part of the film, which offers a contrast with the ruins undoubtedly inspired by Kramer's text. Suwa and his son watch some footage on a video camera, in which the kid appears playing in different places. Afterwards an image of the child joins another type of footage, which exhibits the contemporary inhabitants of Hiroshima in 2002: a tailor, a pair of young musicians, a fisherman, an old woman, all looking at the camera in a subtle documentary style reminiscent of Naomi Kawase's films. Suwa's voiceover is reading the text of Kramer.

> Swarms of people out in the new streets of this new city. Young people. To tell you a truth, I am only interested in young people: young people living in the shadow of this past, and also right here and now in the present of an uncertain and troubled Japan: a place that is mostly not as we think it is. Young people in Hiroshima. Follow them in life, and work with them like actors. What they do: therefore, a possible mirror of what they are thinking about.[59]

Kramer saw this shadow of the past in the current city, and not everyone should be able to escape from this shadow: "only victims have the right to remain silent. And forget, if it is possible."[60] This horror to oblivion, highlighted in *H Story,* refers to historical oblivion from the daily universe. However, the scene after the images described above is a foreword to the end. It describes in a continuous motion the inhabitants of the town in their daily lives, and serves as a response to what the American filmmaker imagined: searching in this present life what requires to be seen. The past isn't just a shadow on the existence, it is the foundation; it does not come from another body, it is also under, as basis of the built, we also found it in front of us, as it happens with the ruins, which are either a background or a foreground that does not allow the viewer to see what is behind. Blurring the present and showing it as uncertain, allows the past to be *displayed* as image, which is filtered as disruption, as an actualized fragment.

Before the final encounter between Kim and Suwa, she intends to leave the hotel and go back to Korea. With that in mind, she writes a letter to the director explaining her reasons to leave the project. The words of Kim in that letter are illustrative of the effective presence of the past in the present experience. In the image, we see the interpreter reading the letter to Suwa facing a river, while we hear the voiceover of Kim. The actress appreciates the opportunity to visit Hiroshima and claims to have in common with Suwa the indirect relation with the suffering: in the case of Korea, Japanese colonialism, and in the case of Japan, the bombing. The two of them have "inherited" the suffering of their ancestors, even if they did not live the events contemporaneously. The atomic bomb led to the unconditional surrender of Japan in the Pacific War, and thus resulted in the liberation of Korea. Kim calls this an "ironic historical circumstance."[61] The voiceover continues: "we live on the brink of history with pain in our hearts. Our lives seem so small! But this trip has made me feel the weight and dignity of each small and singular life." As Benjamin defended, the dead do not speak through a false "universal history", but rather through the little voices in

[59] Kramer, *Hiroshima City*.

[60] Jesús Aldabi Olvera, "Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Oe and 'the right to speak of the dead'," *Proceso*, July 31, 2015, accessed July 12, 2017, https://www.proceso.com.mx/411983/hiroshima-y-nagasaki-oe-y-el-derecho-a-hablar-de-los-muertos. Author's translation.

[61] Recently, in the animation film about one girl's daily life around Hiroshima and Kure during the War, Sunao Katabuchi, *In this Corner of the World* (*Kono sekai no katasumi ni)* (Japan: MAPPA, 2016), film. In this we see a Korean flag rising within the village shortly after the rendition of Japan, announced by the Emperor Showa on August 1945.

whose experience is achieved the actualization of the past: "It is a more arduous task to honour the memory of anonymous beings than that of famous persons. The construction of history is consecrated to the memory of those who have no name."[62]

Nobuhiro Suwa's films about Hiroshima seem to go against of what Benjamin ranks as one of the fortified positions of historicism: to conceive history as "something which can be narrated."[63] As we have discussed, the director's approach to the past is not from the continuity of a story, it's based on distancing processes that show a tie with history in constant tension, which includes the world of representations and its iconic archive. The process constructs time as a complex ground. The performativity of the film (i.e. direct confrontation with sites and objects of memory) contradicts what Thomas said about the indifference towards the past in Contemporary Japanese Cinema. Conversely, our analysis demonstrates that Nobuhiro Suwa, with his counter cinema, is in a deep commitment to memory.

The film is based on heterogeneous times, that bring into play the links between image and history, and problematizes the relation with the past from a present as a double-sided image. This is achieved from a series of reflections on the construction and reconstruction of historical and filmic memory, involving critical and self-referential perspectives that put the attention on the possibilities of the cinematographic image.

A Letter from Hiroshima is also a reflexive game that approaches to the past in a distanced manner. This distance, understood in the sense of Brecht and counter cinema, is part of an experimental process that becomes a political technique of construction and decipherment of memory. In Suwa's films the approximation to the past is not carried out through a causal story, but by the principles of intransitivity, estrangement and narrative opening.

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[62] Quotation written in the first part of the Memorial to Walter Benjamin in Portbou, extracted from Benjamin, *Tesis sobre la historia*, 55.

[63] Ibid., 54.

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Challenging Old and New Images Representing the Cambodian Genocide: *The Missing Picture* (Rithy Panh, 2013)

Vicente Sánchez-Biosca
University of Valencia
Valencia, Spain

Introduction[1]

This article focuses on the images used over four decades to represent the Cambodian genocide in photography, cinema, visual arts and the media as the basis for analyzing the documentary-memoir directed by Rithy Panh, L'image manquante (The Missing Picture).[2] There is a paucity of surviving images which depict, evoke or allude to the crimes perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979), and, even more importantly, objections raised by scholars – especially Holocaust researchers – about whether any image can adequately depict a catastrophic event such as genocide. So, this essay begins by categorizing the Cambodian genocide iconography according to the modality of the visual production, that is, the relationship between the gaze that captures the pictures and the object depicted in them. After briefly describing the stylistic and ethical perspective of this visual output (classified in four basic categories: perpetrator images, liberator images, belated evidential images, and creative imagery), this article questions the challenging visual strategies used in The Missing Picture. Panh, who dedicated his entire career to searching for, restoring, collecting and inscribing images representing the crimes related to Pol Pot's regime, adopts an unexpected and original dispositif in his 2013 documentary: an un-realistic imagery based on hand-carved clay figurines placed in a diorama-like setting, as the narrative is sustained by a first-person hypnotic voiceover that evokes the author's childhood memories under the Khmer Rouge rule. By juxtaposing these static figures with propaganda archival footage, Panh introduces an estrangement that paradoxically imbues the film continuum with an emotional tone ideal for conveying affliction. From a figurative perspective, this device avoids mimesis and draws upon a tradition of "animal stories" combined with animation techniques and other distancing strategies which echo in cinema language the animal-like figures used by Art Spiegelman to recount his father's experiences in Auschwitz.[3] Beyond a representational point of view, the originality of The Missing Picture draws on the search of a visual and narrative vocabulary destined to perform an exorcism from trauma; or, from another perspective, a self-therapeutic exercise through art and memory work.

Suspect Images: Ideology and Imagination

In what was presented as the first reportage shot in Cambodia by "Westerners" after the defeat of the Khmer Rouge,[4] the renowned investigative journalist John Pilger, from *The Daily Mirror*, underscored the paradox that in a world of media saturation, there had been a total absence of news about this small country for almost four years and, in particular, no coverage at all of the Khmer Rouge genocide. Certainly, this was not the first time that a media reporter had brought the world's attention to the hermetic circle of silence which had protected Democratic Kampuchea from April 1975 until the end of the regime in January 1979. In any case, this new vacuum contributed to creating an atmosphere of uncertainty that only imagination or, more commonly, ideology were capable of fulfilling. More to the point, amidst a universe of omnipresent images, this news blackout brought to the fore the dearth of visual material.

The radical Khmer Rouge regime had of course been mentioned in the leftwing press and in the circles of small but fiercely active Maoist groups scattered around the globe that channeled the anti-American sentiment, which had surfaced during the Vietnam war. Meanwhile, some

[1] This article has been conceived in the framework of the research project "Contemporary Representations of Mass Violence Perpetrator: Concepts, Narratives, and Images" (HAR2017-83519-P). The research for this essay was conducted between October 2014 and November 2015 in Phnom Penh at the *Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum*, *Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam),* and *Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center*.

[2] Rithy Panh, *The Missing Picture* (Cambodia & France: Catherine Dussart Productions (CDP), 2014), film.

[3] Andreas Huyssen, "Of Mice and Mimesis: Reading Siegelman with Adorno," *New German Critique* 81, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (2000), 65-82.

[4] David Munro, *Year Zero*: *The Silent Death of Cambodia* (United Kingdom: Associated Television (ATV), 1979), 50'.

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South East Asian specialists, intellectuals and historians alongside journalists, like Jean Lacouture, celebrated what appeared to be an innovative revolution. Such was the case of controversial left-wing personalities like Noam Chomsky, Malcolm Caldwell, George Hildebrand, Gareth Porter and Per Olov Enquist, to name but a few. In contrast, however, alarming evidence of an ongoing mass murder reached Western circles based on leaks and refugees' testimonies, dating from the very seizing of power by the Khmer Rouge, the evacuation of Phnom Penh and the dramatic events at the French Embassy during the weeks that followed. Sidney Schanberg was the first to bring it to the public attention in *The New York Times* (May 9 1975),[5] while Father François Ponchaud denounced the massacre in a series of articles later transformed into his January 1977 book, *Cambodia: Year Zero*.[6] But whatever corroborated the content and sources of the news coming out of Cambodia, none of these rumors and witnesses' voices were substantiated through visual sources, that were lacking until January 1979. The scarcity of images fueled the imagination, which led to George Hildebrand and Gareth Porter reproaching Schanberg for having paved the way to associate in the psyche of the American public the evacuation of Phnom Penh with the infamous "death marches" of European Jews, at a period of heightened sensitivity towards Israel.[7] There were no images, or hardly any, and those which existed served to both enlighten and mislead us.

In March 1978, during a peak moment of the internal purges within the Communist Party of Kampuchea, a television crew from *Televizija Beograd* (Yugoslavia) was invited to film in the country for two weeks, and took advantage of its non-alignment with the USSR or China. Cameraman Nikola Vitorovic captured the deserted streets of Phnom Penh, as well as of labor camps and other scenarios prepared by their hosts to endorse the economic, social and political achievements of the revolution. When the footage was released in the West on March 21, 1978, it paradoxically raised widespread suspicion, if not downright rejection of the Khmer Rouge.[8] Although the images were *per se* ambiguous, the human emptiness they portrayed hinted at a nation going back towards an agrarian past, transforming its major urban areas into ghost towns and converting the whole country into a concentration camp. Another guest during this official campaign to open Democratic Kampuchea to the outside world in the last months of the regime was the journalist Elizabeth Becker, from the *Washington Post*, who arrived accompanied by the photographer Richard Dudham and professor Malcolm Caldwell, an enthusiastic Khmer Rouge supporter who was murdered under mysterious circumstances the night following his private interview with Pol Pot on the eve of his departure.[9] The photos taken depict them as tourists posing nonchalantly scarcely two weeks before the regime collapsed.[10] What struck Becker, who could draw on her past experience of the

[5] Sidney Schanberg, "Cambodia Reds Are Uprooting Millions as They Impose a 'Peasant Revolution,'" *The New York Times*, May 9, 1979, 1 and 15. Written from Bangkok.

[6] Beyond this "wall of silence", Ponchaud's sources were hundreds of witnesses' accounts, the Radio Phnom Penh broadcasts, and the party organ, the *Voice of Democratic Kampuchea* (Francois Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero*, (New York: Reinhardt and Winston, 1978) [French original from 1977], ix).

[7] George Hildebrand and Gareth Porter, *Cambodia. Starvation and Revolution* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1976), 73. These two authors, who were sympathetic to the Khmer Rouge, published in their book two photographs dated after April 17, Ibid., 80, 90.

[8] This footage under the title of *Kampučija' 78* was inserted into a French television program entitled *Question de Temps*, used as a basis for discussion and repeatedly re-appropriated. Nikola Vitorovic, "Kampučija' 78," filmed 1978, YouTube video, posted [June 2011], accessed November 19, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BjpHZClAGbU. By the time this piece was released, the reality of mass murder in Democratic Kampuchea had already ceased to be a mystery. John, "Cambodian Ghost City in 1978- Phnom Penh Emptied of 2 Million People," *Wonderland 1981* (blog), October 25, 2012, https://wonderland1981.wordpress.com/2012/10/25/cambodian-ghost-city-in-1978-phnom-penh-emptied-of-2-million-people/. A meticulous description and analysis of the context in which this 'charm offensive' by the Pol Pot regime operated can be found in Stéphanie Gauthier, *Images of Khmer Rouges Atrocities. Visualizing the crimes of the Pol Pot's regime in transnational contexts of memory, 1975-2015* (Amsterdam: Wöhrmann, 2016), 47-53.

[9] Elizabeth Becker, *When the War Was Over. The voices of Cambodia's Revolution and Its People (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), 406-436.* Caldwell had ardently supported in 1975 the moral superiority of the Cambodian (and Vietnamese) revolution and elaborated a theory of "revolutionary violence" including his defense of the evacuation of Phnom Penh. See Malcolm Caldwell, "Revolutionary Violence in a People's War," *Social Scientist*, 3, no. 1 (1975), 43-52. Yet his strange silence during the trip, as Becker recounts it, suggest a more skeptical position in 1978 towards the regime.

[10] These photographs can be consulted at the Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center (Phnom Penh), *Elizabeth Becker collection* as record of the exhibition *A Reporter's Dangerous Tour in Democratic Kampuchea* (2012).

country, was the disheartening absence of people much more than the conspicuous propaganda settings arranged for them by their hosts.

Nevertheless, if these small groups had been invited to counter the increasingly criminal reputation of the Pol Pot regime in the West, the Swedish Maoist leader Gunnar Bergström's walkabout in the summer of 1978 had a different significance, that of comradeship. As president of the Sweden-Kampuchea Friendship Association, Bergström was well disposed to certify the achievements of a revolution he had so enthusiastically celebrated. To furnish his conviction with an indisputable sign of veracity, he resorted to taking his own photographs.[11] Yet, on examining them, some questions inevitably arise: did the visible evidence provide arguments for the political stance the author was already convinced of? Or, to put it retrospectively, were the images actually a witness to the exploitation, violence and suffering going on behind the scenes? While Becker never seems to have questioned her own photographs in regard to her rising mistrust of her hosts, Lacouture's repentance in 1977 for having supported the Khmer Rouge gave way to numerous media interviews,[12] after 1979 resulted in trips to the Cambodian murder sites, and active condemnations, including the writing of several prefaces in memoirs and reports. Bergström's case is much more revealing. When he realized, as soon as the end of 1978, the criminal status of the regime he had supported, he suffered a devastating crisis of conscience and intoned a sincere *mea culpa* that many years afterwards brought him back to Cambodia. In 2008 and under the auspices of DC-Cam, the trip bore visual fruit with an exhibition at the Reyum Arts Gallery (November 2008) and the publication of his 1978 photos in the form of a catalogue-like book. He then proceeded to comment on the voids, absences and suspicious details he had been blind to thirty years before. However, beyond the unequivocal sincerity of his contrition, one might wonder to what extent the images taken in 1978 were as transparent as his new captions seem to suggest or, on the contrary, they were actually being interpreted in 2008 in the light of his damascene conversion. If the second hypothesis is correct, these photographs bolster documentary maker Errol Morris' claim that, as far as photography goes, "believing is seeing", that is to say, that photographs usually 'confirm' the observer's previous beliefs rather than lead him or her to discover something new.[13]

All of the above refers, of course, to observers from abroad, nonetheless, the regime itself also produced powerful iconography. Under the auspices of its Chinese advisors, the Pol Pot photographic and cinematographic propaganda services elaborated an arsenal of images intended for the education of party cadres and whenever possible to be screened in mobile projections to the entire population. These myth-like compositions of a rural utopia of peasants organized in communes, workers in factories or men and women eagerly building dams are, in film terminology, the *reverse shot* of the genocide, an engorgement designed to leave the atmosphere of violence off-screen, even though a close examination of the footage (which is perhaps more difficult to apply to still photographs) detects elusive gazes, over-orchestrated mass movements, and mechanical gestures that imply careful rehearsal.

Finally, if we turn our attention to the images invoked throughout more than thirty-five years to represent the crimes of Democratic Kampuchea, a substantial number of them correspond to the detention, torture and execution center code-named S-21. In fact, S-21 had the singularity of having been conceived by the security police for the repression of internal enemies. For this reason, the center was placed under the direct control of the *Angkar* (the Khmer word for the Organization) and its commandant received direct orders from the Ministry of Interior, Son Sen, later Nuon Chea, and even from "Brother Number One," that is, Pol Pot himself. Its discovery in the days that followed the fall of Phnom Penh provided the Vietnamese invaders with extremely

[11] Gunnar Bergström and Hedda Ekerwald, *Living Hell. Democratic Kampuchea, August 1978* (Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2008).

[12] See the review of François Ponchaud's book by Jean Lacouture, "The Bloodiest revolution," *The New York Review of Books*, March 31, 1977, 42F. In this article he applies the famous expression "autogenocide" to characterize the Khmer Rouge murderous policy and affirms unequivocally: "François Ponchaud's book can be read only with shame by those of us who supported the Khmer Rouge cause." Besides other TV appearances, Lacouture would be filmed in Tuol Sleng and the killing fields of Choeung Ek in 1990 (*Grâce et horreur. Retour de Jean Lacouture au Cambodge* (Antenne 2).

[13] Errol Morris, *Believing is Seeing. Observations on the Mysteries of Photography* (New York: Penguin, 2011).

important documentation, alongside macabre imagery lying in the courtyard and, in some cells, human bodies executed *in extremis*, shackled to beds, prisoners' rags, instruments of torture and thousands of mug shots of the detainees. Aware of the importance of the findings, the Vietnamese recorded every detail with their cameras and proceeded without delay to classify the files.

The Imagery of Genocide

Limiting our scope to the images used to represent the violence exerted against the enemies of the regime, whether we call it genocide or not, they could be classified into four categories according to their visual enunciation, that is, the relationship between the gaze which holds the images and their contents.[14] The first category is made up of the *perpetrator images* produced by the Khmer Rouge's machinery of repression. Among these, the mug shots of the detainees captured during detention stand out, which set in motion an obligatory sequence of events for all detainees until their annihilation (anatomic measurement, interrogation, a written confession approved by the director, and denouncing the treacherous networks they allegedly belonged to), concluding inexorably with their execution. I label them *perpetrator images* on the grounds that they embody the executioners' gaze. This does not mean that they adopt the actual killer's point of view, but that of the apparatus of destruction. To that camera the victims reacted with an instantaneous facial expression at the precise moment when their blindfold was removed and they were dazzled by the bright light.[15] It is no mere coincidence that Nic Dunlop called these snapshots "trial by camera."[16]

The second category consists of the *liberator images*, that is, the pictures and moving images recorded by the Vietnamese upon the discovery of S-21 with a view to denouncing the levels of atrocities and to producing evidence for a trial against the murderers.

The third category, made up of *belated evidential-images,* constitutes a less unified corpus, but refers to images produced by visitors and guests, such as foreign reporters, diplomatic delegations, news agencies and human rights organizations that filmed the crime scenes motivated by various objectives (news coverage, denunciation, personal record, sometimes with a touch of voyeurism…). Although it is difficult to precisely set the chronological limits of this production of images, its richest period preceded the official opening of the museum of genocidal crimes in 1980, but did not stop there.

The fourth and last category –*creative imagery*– is primarily represented by a series of canvases painted by the artist survivor Vann Nath from November 1979 onwards, when he was hired by the museum's administration to document the scenes occurred at S-21, which he did adopting a disturbing naïve style.[17]

As rich as all these categories of images may be as a visual aide to document the Cambodian genocide, all four are, to a greater or lesser degree, insufficient, ambiguous and contestable as evidence. With regard to the *perpetrator images*, they are by their very nature indiscernible from the gaze and purpose that originated them, constituting a *mise en scene* of the enemy-to-be-destroyed, even though some details we can perceive in the photos were unintentional, particularly capturing the prisoner's reaction. The *liberator images* have arguably the initial advantage of having been taken without preparation as the Vietnamese victors entered the city. Yet, a closer examination of the structure of the buildings and cells reveals that the photographs and films must have been the result of some preparation, including analysis of the role played by the rooms, offices, objects

[14] Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, "Perpetrator Images, Perpetrator Artifacts: The Nomad Archives of Tuol Sleng (S-21)," *Cinema & Cie. International Film Studies Journal* XV, no. 24 (2015), 103-116. These categories –we are bound to add– follow somehow a chronological order of manifestation.

[15] As far as the registration system goes, David Chandler, *Voices from S-21. Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison* (Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1999); Michelle Q. Hamers, "Do Nothing, Sit Still, and Wait for My Orders. The Role of Photography in the Archive Practices, Historiography, and Memory of Democratic Kampuchea 1975-1979" (unpublished thesis, March 2011).

[16] Nic Dunlop, *The Lost Executioner. A Journey into the Heart of the Killing Fields* (New York: Walker Publishing Company, 2006), 148.

[17] Vann Nath, *A Cambodian Prison Portrait. One Year in the Khmer Rouge's S21* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998). An analysis of this crucial painter's imagery, *Vann Nath Tribute* (Phnom Penh: Bophana Center, 2013). I deem this style disturbing on the grounds of the apparent discrepancy between the horrendous scenes of torture and crime depicted and the naïve use of color, drawing and perspective.

and photos. In fact, all these aspects were exploited in the filming by the efficient use of cinematic devices (close-ups, camera movements, editing and montage). *A priori*, the *belated evidence-images*, although heterogeneous, seem freer from bias. However, in 1979-1980, the visitors to Tuol Sleng were not spontaneous crowds, but highly motivated individuals: some working for countries sympathetic to Vietnam, some inclined to accuse the Khmer Rouge for their crimes, and finally others committed to humanitarian tasks. Consciously or not, all of these photographed and filmed places had been carefully chosen and strategically set out by the museum's management.[18] In this respect, we must remember that the Vietnamese colonel Mai Lam, the éminence grise of the Tuol Sleng Museum, had moved to Phnom Penh in January or February 1979 commissioned to gather evidence for a trial against Pol Pot and Ieng Sary that would be carried out *in absentia* in August 1979. To this end he worked in close collaboration with S-21 survivor Ung Pech.[19] Their investigative work left an indelible trace, although apparently imperceptible, in the way visitors observed, photographed, and filmed the site. Finally, Vann Nath's paintings are reconstructions of some scenes he had personally experienced, along with others (in fact, the vast majority) that he had been told about by other victims while he was incarcerated in the workshop of S-21 between 1977 and the end of the regime.[20] No matter how illuminating these artistic pieces might be in order to grasp the events that had taken place in the prison by the time Vann Nath was working under the Vietnamese administration on the same crime scene, they are by no means first-person visual experiences, but an artistic recreation of what they depict.

In the Wake of the Holocaust

In perspective, taking into consideration the ambiguity of these four categories to represent the Cambodian genocide brings to mind an axiom that had been called upon in the exponentially growing bibliography of the Holocaust over many decades: the futility of attempting to represent the murderous acts or, in less emotive terms, the awareness that no image whatsoever could faithfully capture the events that occurred. In reality, this topic (which strictly speaking is valid for any human experience) adapts to the universe of images an influential concept that the early memories of the survivors of the Nazi extermination camps (Primo Levi, Elie Wiesel, Jean Améry, Charlotte Delbo, among others), had put forward after their return from them: the ineffable or, in narrative terms, the untellable nature of the experiences suffered. As Primo Levi described it in his seminal account *If this is a man* in conclusive terms: "[T]hen for the first time we became aware that our language lacks words to express this offense, the demolition of a man."[21] And it is no surprise that Wiesel resorted to mystical language in key moments of his writings to address such extraordinary and catastrophic events.

Given the focus of this article, now is not the moment to delve into the massive literature on this subject. Nevertheless, we should not forget that, however persuasive these metaphoric expressions on the fragility of language may be, as time went on, written, oral or filmed testimonies delivered by less gifted authors have made this rhetorical figure commonplace. What is more, the acknowledgement of the insufficiency of language in turn echoes a more abstract philosophical question: the challenge posed by genocide to rational understanding. This question tormented prominent German intellectuals from various disciplines: the philosophers, Theodor W. Adorno

[18] Even though the museum did not open formally until 1980, its structure and narrative were highly advanced in the spring of 1979. In that period, official representatives and survivors regularly took select groups of visitors to the facilities.

[19] According to his interview with Peter Maguire, Mai Lam was first commissioned to gather evidence for the trial, then to collaborate on the museum the lay out. Peter Maguire, *Facing Death in Cambodia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 89; Tom Fawthrop and Helen Jarvis, *Getting Away with Genocide?: Elusive Justice and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal* (London & Ann Arbor: Pluto Press, 2004), 41.

[20] "The drawings, Vann Nath noted, consisted of three types: 'First, what I saw with my own eyes. Number two, [what] I only heard [about] but could imagine. 'And number three, [what] I heard from prisoners [with whom] I shared the [workshop] room'" (Alex Hinton, *Man or Monster? The Trial of a Khmer Rouge Torturer* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 182, quoting Vann Nath's testimony on Day 35 at the hearings).

[21] Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz. The Nazi Assault on Humanity* (New York, Oxford, Singapore, Toronto, and Sydney: Macmillan, 1986 [1948]), 26.

and Max Horkheimer, the mass sociology scholar, Siegfried Kracauer, the political scientist, Hannah Arendt, the psychoanalyst, Bruno Bettelheim, Karl Jaspers in the field of ethics and so on. The unresolved question could be formulated as follows: why did the principle of reason that came into being during the Enlightenment not prevent mass murder? Briefly, the unconceivable, the untellable and the non-representable form a triptych underscoring the difficulties that a human mind faces when it attempts to comprehend, recount and represent the Holocaust. Then, by natural genealogy, all three stumbling blocks have been adapted by scholars to address later genocides. From this perspective, rather than literally, this triptych should be taken as a warning against attempts to achieve absolute accuracy.

In the light of the above, it comes as no surprise that numerous authors have claimed that the Cambodian genocide is untellable or non-representable as illustrated by the following examples. The French photographer Bernard Plossu used such terms in his preface to Dominique Mérigard's pictures of Tuol Sleng.[22] The archive specialist Michelle Caswell introduces the term in the very title of her book devoted to documenting S-21 prisoners' mug shots and their migration from art galleries to the criminal court: *Archiving the Unspeakable*.[23] Soko Phay-Vakalis brings together the non-representable with the ghost images in her account of the artists whose work originates in the destruction of the Cambodian visual heritage.[24] The same can be said for Viet Le when he approached Tuol Sleng from the angle of cultural trauma and, last but not least, the British scholar Ashley Thompson appeals to such terms when commenting on a meaningful artistic manifestation entitled symptomatically *The Legacy of Absence*.[25]

Assuredly, the examples could continue, but in general terms a certain ambiguity remains regarding the exact meaning of "untellable" or "un-representable". I would argue that the non-representable can designate three distinct issues: firstly, it can draw our attention to the actual lack of images portraying mass violence, as the criminal acts occurred beyond the scope of the cameras; secondly, it can assess our awareness of the inadequacy of the surviving images to render the enormity of the crimes committed; and thirdly, it may denounce the obscenity of using any kind of images to illustrate mass crimes and genocide, as far as human affliction is involved. In fact, a famous controversy followed in the wake of Didi-Huberman's essay "Images in spite of all," which analyzed four photographs taken by the *Sonderkommando* from Birkenau in the summer of 1944 in extreme conditions of risk and taken out of the camp. While Didi-Huberman claimed that, in spite of their limited information (or perhaps thanks to that) these photographs, as remnants, merited close analysis, the filmmaker and author of *Shoah*, Claude Lanzmann, rejected their value, and furthermore categorically condemned any use of archival images on the murder of the European Jews by artists and historians on the grounds that none of them represent the annihilation in itself. Instead, he appealed for survivors' accounts.[26]

Searching In Between

I would like to beg the reader's indulgence for a moment to make a necessary brief detour, to provide the framework in which the Cambodian genocide inherited the notion of the non-representable. In following the interdictions, taboos, and suspicions derived from Holocaust studies, the images of the crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge are thin on ground. This scarcity constitutes the implicit cornerstone on which Rithy Panh based his research for *The Missing Picture* that points to the heart of what an image can do, not only in the sphere of representation, but also as an instrument of

[22] Bernard Plossu, "Dire l'indicible", Dominique Mérigard, *Témoin S-21. Face au Génocide des Cambodgiens* (Manosque, le bec en l'air, 2008), n.p.

[23] Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable. Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

[24] Soko Phay, "Missing Images of Genocide and Creation in Cambodia," *Journal of Literature and Trauma Studies* 4, no. 1-2 (2015), 88 and 97.

[25] Lê Việt, "What Remains: Returns, Representation, and Traumatic Memory in S-21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine and Refugee," *American Quarterly* 66, no. 2, (2014), 301-332; Ashley Thompson, "Forgetting to Remember, Again: On Curatorial Practice and Cambodian Art in the Wake of Genocide," *Diacritics* 41, no. 2 (2013), 82-109.

[26] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in spite of all* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008).

healing.[27] Inasmuch as Panh's previous documentaries had made extensive use of a variety of images genres (archival, reenacted, re-appropriated…), his current claim that *the* key image to comprehending the genocide is missing raises major issues. In 1989, Panh directed *Site 2*, filming a *non-lieu de mémoire* (non-site of memory), the biggest refugee camp on the Thai border in the same area (after fleeing from the Khmer Rouge he had actually stayed in a refugee camp called Mai Rut). In 1996, he reversed the mug shot of a young girl to redeem her and transform her into the heroine of his film *Bophana: A Cambodian Tragedy*.[28] In 2000, the filmmaker followed a fiberglass installation through the country by Alcatel to unearth a past that was concealed below the landscape, such as bones and landmines.[29] Convinced that the torture and execution center S.21 was haunted by the spirits of the victims, he managed to convince ordinary executioners and two survivors to reenact their gestures, words, and deeds of former times at the same spot.[30] Then during the first trial by the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) against Kaink Guek Eav (alias Duch) he approached and engaged in a long and soul-consuming interview with the master executioner. [31] It goes without saying that in 2013 the primal images we have categorized above had been extensively used, combined, and changed from framework to framework (propaganda, art, human rights discourse, transitional justice, and so forth).

But more precisely, *The Missing Picture* is chronologically located in an advanced phase of he searches and inquiries. Moreover, it plays a therapeutic role that can only be grasped in the light of his encounters with the executioner Duch: 300 hours of interviews with the man who had been in charge of the most relentless apparatus of destruction of Democratic Kampuchea. During those clashes, Duch's cold behavior and mastery in face-to-face confrontations (as the expert in interrogation he was for years), destabilized the filmmaker to the extreme of bringing on a crisis of anxiety. In fact, after 2009 the former victim began an intense period of self-examination that bore two precious fruits: the book co-written with Christophe Bataille, *The Elimination* (published in France in 2011), and the intimate memory work represented by *The Missing Picture*, whose narrative was written also in collaboration with Bataille. This novelist, ever since a close collaborator of Panh, remembers the dire process in this way: "I only understood later and little by little that he was in mortal danger, since Duch had brought him into deadly areas. After the ordeal of filming *Duch, Master of the Forges of Hell*, the project of this book [*The Elimination*] was without a doubt a means of rebuilding his identity."[32] *The Elimination* juxtaposes Panh's childhood recollections with a diary of encounters with Duch and functions like an act of exorcism.[33]

When Rithy Panh resolves to make *The Missing Picture* an intimate recovery of his traumatic childhood, the echoes and reverberations of all the images evoked are not only latent, but experienced as somewhat deceptive. Likewise, no matter how successful his attempt to retrieve, restore, and make public the Cambodian visual heritage through his and Ieu Pannakar's 2006-born institution, the Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center, these images did not fulfill his ultimate need to express suffering. Let us then put the enigma straightforwardly: what is the missing picture in *The Missing Picture*?

To begin with, the expression "missing picture" begs an automatic response which consists of seeking the genuine one in the archives. The film voiceover soon prompts a series of hypotheses: is the missing picture the heartbreaking one showing a Khmer Rouge execution? Is it perhaps the

[27] Panh, *The Missing Picture*.

[28] Rithy Panh, *Bophana: A Cambodian Tragedy* (France & Cambodia: Catherine Dussart Productions (CDP), 1996), 59′.

[29] Rithy Panh, *The Land of Wandering Souls* (Cambodia & France: INA, 2000), 100′.

[30] Rithy Panh, *S.21: the Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (Cambodia & France: Institut national de l'audiovisuel, 2003), 101′.

[31] Rithy Panh, *Duch: Master of the Forges of Hell* (Cambodia & France: Catherine Dussart Productions (CDP), 2011), 103′; On Rithy Panh's approach to Cambodian genocide and ending in *The Missing Picture*, see Deirdre Boyle, "Finding the Missing Picture: the Films of Rithy Panh," *Cineaste* no. 28 (2014), 28-32.

[32] Christopher Bataille to the journalist François Ekchajzer ("Rithy Panh vit dans la mort, c'est un rescapé, Christophe Bataille écrivain," *Télérama*, October 9, 2013, accessed November 17, 2017, http://www.telerama.fr/television/rithy-pan-vit-dans-la-mort-c-est-un-rescape-christophe-bataille-ecrivain,103199.php). Author's translation.

[33] Jonathan Romney mentions the function of "therapeutic exercise" in his critique published in Film Comment, Jonathan Romney, "Film of the Week: The Missing Picture," *Film Comment*, March 20, 2014, accessed October 29, 2017, https://www.filmcomment.com/blog/film-of-the-week-the-missing-picture.

unattainable metaphorical image of a childhood in the warm and cozy family house of Phnom Penh in the late-sixties; an image that vanished rapidly into thin air in the wake of the April-1975 evacuation? Or could this picture be the blurred, composite image of hunger, humiliation and death which shocked an unprepared adolescent to live in the surreal atmosphere of a forced labor camp? Regardless of the answer and however haunting and compelling the effect of this traumatic imagery, my claim is that the temptation to identify the missing picture is definitely misleading, insofar as it distracts us from what I believe is the real issue, namely: determining the mental point of view from which any image proves to be inconsistent, deceptive, and ultimately inadequate. Once ascribed to the perspective of he who recounts his memories, the missing picture reveals itself as a conceit, a pretext to initiate a desperate and metaphorical search through an intricate web of images of diverse status animated by different intentions, all of which torment the subject or precipitate him towards melancholia. While some are incomplete and untrustworthy, others become in turn nightmarish. In the end, retelling the author's memories is but an attempt to find his way through the pictures that made up a life ripped apart. In this sense, the viewer's initial impulse is a formal and psychological struggle to give form, meaning, and order to a fragmented and chaotic iconography. Hence, the best way to discover the missing picture appears to be the immersion in a jungle of other images related to this absence, either by association, or by opposition.

In fact, the title of the film echoes the phrase "the missing link," which applied to an image implies that a missing picture interrupts the chain of discourse, casts doubt on the consistency of the storytelling, and provokes anxiety. A rupture of this kind suggests that something our grasp of reality is incomplete and, in consequence, so is the transmission of memory. This inexorably incites the viewer to appeal to new images, since those referred to in the film go beyond the physical plane, and include inner, spectral, and traumatic images. It would be no overstatement to conclude that the major achievement of the film lies precisely in revealing the social catastrophe that accompanies the narrator's dismembered biography. In a nutshell, an image is not missing because it cannot be replaced by others (many images could eventually come to the rescue); but because it is strange and unrecognizable to the subject who strives to allocate it in his biography. This attention focused on the particular film continuum demands both a formal and semantic analysis, including frame composition, editing, narrative structure, and articulation between voiceover and the visual continuity. My contention in what follows is to point out how the filmmaker enriches the four categories of the aforementioned images, first, combining some of them in an innovative way, second, developing other types to apprehend the subjective aspects that are out of the reach of others' visual output. And this keeping in mind the new and varied frameworks in which the images of the Cambodian genocide have been incorporated.

Material Memory Come Life

The film commences among rusty celluloid film reels abandoned in the storeroom of a Cambodian film archive. This material is almost undecipherable, in a state of neglect; even though the nitrates are within our physical reach, the chemical support is so deteriorated that it seems nothing but a pile of coffins of missing people –like a metaphor for the country itself. This history recorded in cinematic form probably goes back to the ancien régime of Sihanouk or even earlier to the French colonial period, although another part may include footage from Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1978). Suddenly, over these apparently dead artifacts a hand scrolls down one of the reels, showing us the vividly colored and graceful figure of an Aspara dancer. Her beauty is enhanced greatly through the subtle movements she makes. It is no accident that this excerpt has been extracted from the film *Apsara*, directed in 1966 by prince Norodom Sihanouk and starring his own daughter, the princess Bopha Devi.[34] Perhaps in recovering this scene Rithy Panh wished to recall the cultural milieu of his childhood as magic. In any case, the appearance of this figure brings to light all the mysteries which surround an image: its premature demise, its resurrection before a human gaze, its ultimate condition as artifact, its role in the traditional folklore and mythology, and its summoning up of the beauty of art. The use of slow motion gives a touch of estrangement to the footage, as if it were an epiphany from another world which had ceased to exist.

[34] Norodom Sihanouk, dir., *Apsara* (Cambodia: Khemara Pictures, 1966), 150'.

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Figure 3.

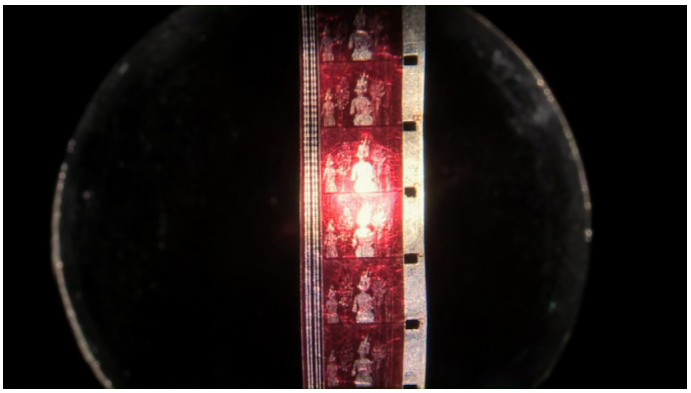

Figure 4.

Figure 5.

This association between vivid images and material relics appears at various moments during the film: Panh's eyes meet, as if hypnotized, the fragments of celluloid, which pass through his hands, before the shadows come to life.[35] Then these are followed by a shot of seawater crashing into the camera lens, as if the subject of the gaze (and the viewer) were submerged in the blue-green waters, deprived of perspective, unable to reach the surface and about to be engulfed. The connotations of these shots are fairly ambiguous *per se*, but in his interviews Panh has repeatedly referred to them as an expression of anxiety, an explosion of the senses, which is both blinding and suffocating.[36] Whatever one's interpretation, these shots invert those that have preceded them: the images they contain are not under the thrall of the medium, and appear simultaneously as both liberating and threatening. What is more, the light pours onto the images, dazzling the viewer as if the *dispositif*, which caught the earlier shots, had dissolved and the eye was assaulted by a mass of water and light. It is then that the voice of the narrator begins his confession (through the voice of the actor Randal Douc) revisiting his childhood-in-images at the age of fifty,[37] the experiences accumulated in life as a succession of losses. This same shot will reappear on four new occasions throughout the film, like a rhyme, positioned at strategic moments and at the closing of the film.

Figure 6.

[35] Rithy Panh's intimate account entitled *The Elimination* is defined as an excavation of the past by Y-Dang Troeung and Madeleine Thien, "To the Intellectuals of the West": Rithy Panh's *The Elimination* and Genealogies of the Cambodian Genocide," *Topias* 35 (2016), 57. That could be understood as an archaeological work through successive layers of images.

[36] Nick Bradshaw, "Memories of Murder: Rithy Panh on The Missing Picture," *Sight & Sound*, June 5, 2017, accessed November 18, 2017, http://www.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/sight-sound-magazine/interviews/memories-murder-rithy-panh-missing-picture. Likewise, Lisa Duffaud, "Rithy Panh: L'image manquante, 2013 –CR de film de lecture," *Indomémoires,* April 3, 2015, accessed November 19, 2017, https://indomemoires.hypotheses.org/17375.

[37] It seems like a reference, *mutatis mutandis*, Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy* [1472], "nel mezzo del camin di nostra vita." For Dante it was at 30.

Figure 7.

Rithy Panh goes further in his search for images: he creates them, in the hope that they may capture the confusing experience he imagines is beyond representation. The first scene is what we might call *the creation of man* and constitutes the most original resource of the film: some small clay figurines designed by the artist Sarith Mang. "With earth and water, with the dead and rice fields, with living hands, we can build a man. It doesn't take much, you just have to wish for it."[38] The artist's hands sculpt the clay to obtain the first figurine before breathing life into it. One could describe it as a mixture of a childish toy making and the divine act that brought to life the primal Adam; perhaps also, the spirit that lives in the matter –the clay– as believed in Buddhism. Then the form, the color: the elegant but sober suit with white shirt and black tie. It is a simple but mysterious act: once the figure is complete, it is brought to life. It is a man, his Father.

Figure 8.

Figure 9.

[38] Rithy Panh and Christophe Bataille, *L'image manquante* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 2013), 10.

All things considered, in this *act of creation*, Rithy Panh offers the viewer an inverted sequence of the tragedy he is about to recount: the father whose life was taken away by the Khmer Rouge is brought back by the art of his son, who wishes to embrace him as soon as he returns from the abyss. It is a figurine touched by grace. From its inclusion in the set design, scenes of family life from Phnom Penh during the late sixties unfurl before the viewer in a colorful and festive atmosphere. These were filmed with a scale model before a 2 x 2-meter backdrop,[39] and at night, so as to preserve the homogeneity of the artificial light which intimately bathed the scenes. It is a kind of all-enclosing atmosphere which brings to the present the olfactory memory of the city as remembered by the filmmaker: a stronghold of memory anchored in places long gone; the totally disfigured family home abandoned, turned later into a Karaoke bar and then a brothel. These sets combine warmth with a Brechtian *distancing effect*, which emanates from the stillness of the clay figurines, whose impassive expressions clash with the touching narrative plots.[40] In a nutshell, the spectator is offered a small childlike set that stands for a period of time wiped from the pages of history. These sets will accompany the film throughout, but other images will soon abruptly tear this atmosphere apart. A sudden *collage* of archival footage changes the emotional tone.

The homely setting (reading, children playing, listening to music, father telling stories, the smell of fruit, school assignments, and so forth) is abruptly interrupted by an archive image, which, preceded by the sound of a helicopter, announces the fatal intrusion of the civil war, its consequences in human suffering, tearing-apart beauty: "Then the war came. Bombing came closer in the 70s. I remember the first casualties, our fear, my child's sadness. There are so many images in the world, which play on a loop. Images that we think we possess because we have seen them."[41]

These images stand for the 1970-Lon Nol military coup and the five-year civil war that ensued until on April 17, 1975 when the revolutionary troops marched into the city. Many of these archival shots had already been used by Rithy Panh in earlier films, as if he was trying to build a canon, that is, to associate a few moving images to key events of Cambodian history in the audience's mind. Rithy Panh states: "Sometimes I repeat the same archive film over many films. We have [access] the whole archive but I prefer to repeat the same images, because I want people to watch the same images each time."[42] In spite of this persistence, the use of slow-motion in these film shots make them seem unreal, threatening and even filled with foreboding.

Figure 10.

[39] The setting is shown at a small scale as the final credits scroll down.

[40] Manohla Dargis, "Returning, in His Own Way, to the Killing Fields. 'The Missing Picture,' Rithy Panh's Look at 1970s Cambodia," *New York Times*, March 18, 2014, C6.

[41] Ibid., 11-12.

[42] Bradshaw, *Memories of Murder*.

Figure 11.

Figure 12.

All in all, throughout the film, the types of images used are extremely heterogeneous: some are collected from the news, others – the majority – come from scenes of the ongoing revolution set up by the Khmer Rouge to exhibit the disciplined masses (compulsive fists raised, never-ending acclamations, model schools and farms) in an ecstatic propaganda effort. These official films are shown in *The Missing Picture* through a filter, which mediates their interpretation: projecting a clay figurine onto the backdrop footage. In so doing, the images manufactured by the Khmer Rouge are re-appropriated by a point of view that makes the scene unrealistic. Yet on closer examination, the strategies used in these *image-collages* are very different from each other, as revealed by the still which are shown: the first shows the severity of a Khmer Rouge guard figurine displayed in the archival footage associated by repetition with the fall of Phnom Penh in April 1975; another inscribes over a propaganda film, depicting collective work in an immense reservoir, the figurine of the anonymous cameraman who might have shot this spectacular scene: a third shot focuses attention on the horror this same backdrop causes the figurine representing Rithy Panh himself, with his colorful shirt.

Figure 13.

Figure 14.

Figure 15.

A more in-depth analysis becomes necessary to address the way the images are selected, composed, assembled and edited in the continuum of an entire scene. In the pages that follow I will proceed to develop a more precise appraisal of three sequences representing three traumatic experiences that defy the imagination and bring to mind the four primal categories of images and their possible combinations. After all, the most demanding responsibility for a *man of images* (such is a filmmaker) consists of giving form to what resists being represented. This is, in short, the challenge of *The Missing Picture*. To achieve that goal, the author is constrained to mobilizing the cinematic resources of ellipsis, off-screen allusions, condensation and montage. The issue dwells on how all these devices contribute to better apprehending the void left by a missing picture. The scenes in question recount first, the death of the father, which burdens the son with undecipherable and contradictory sentiments of reproach and guilt; the second, the agony of a girl (actually his cousin), and third, the compulsive burying of victims performed by the young Panh. Even if all three sequences face the same difficulties in attempting to crystallize the meaning in a visual form, they materialize their response through distinctive forms.

Death Scenes: Two Generations

The father whose creation was referred to in the opening scene deteriorates physically and spiritually after months of hunger, forced labor, and humiliation. An educated man, trained as a teacher, he could not be considered by the Khmer Rouge as anything other than a corrupt example of what they called "new people", the middle-class urbanite by-product of capitalism for whom re-education was hardly conceivable. Not surprisingly, his deportation and the moral

devastation had a diminishing effect on his spirits and, in an ultimate gesture of dignity, he made the decision not to feed on the food meant for animals and let himself die. Something not easy to grasp by his son Rithy, who fails to understand why his father abandons his whole family to its destiny.[43]

To give a decent burial to the dead man was unthinkable in such an ideological context where human life was worthless. Neither was the mourning permitted: "The Khmer Rouge –remembers Panh in an interview– made mourning impossible. The bodies were treated as objects: the corpses were treated badly. When one kills people in mass, there are no longer rites, no funerals. The identities of individuals are effaced. I try to re-construct these people. Give each a name."[44] The enemies of the *Angkar* perished (of hunger, exhaustion or execution) without rights, their bodies were never handed over to their families, and no ceremony was ever given in their memory. Rithy's mother, instead, offered her stunned orphan a story narrating to him how according to tradition the teacher was given a sending off by his colleagues. A virtual tale, as it never happened, but this fiction lodged in the young man's mind more solidly than an actual event would ever have done. The mother's words thus exerted a healing effect, as they redeemed the inhuman reality through a performative act. This "enterrement de mots" (burial with words), as Rithy Panh calls it, soon turned into interior images to be kept as a treasure. At that point, the arduous task for the filmmaker lies in inventing a visual form for this perennial tale.

In his *mise en* scene, Rithy Panh reconstructs the sequence of agony with the austerity imposed by his figurines and setting. Once death comes, a group of statuettes representing the gravediggers depart in the midst of the night carrying the father's dead body into the forest. All of a sudden, the figures dissolve to leave a naked landscape before our eyes. The following shot is a ghostly image, deliberately out of focus, in which slender figures march in a funeral procession; then, as the focus sharpens, the figures reappear dressed in white and performing a ceremony that drastically inverts the humanity-erasing black pajamas that were compulsory under the Khmer Rouge. No one has ever seen this image, since it never existed. It is a *post facto* reconstruction invented by the filmmaker in order to give shape to an oral tale, and through it preserve at least his memory. Instead of a missing picture, Panh desperately finds an *imagined image* to bear the wound of a fatal loss.

Figure 16.

[43] Rithy Panh and Christophe Bataille, *The Elimination: A Survivor of the Khmer Rouge Confronts his Past and the Commandant of the Killing Fields* (New York: Other Press, 2014). In this book, Panh narrates some of the key events that are at the core of *The Missing Picture* and with almost the same words. The difference is to be sought, first, in the shortening of the text to the strict essential, and, second, in the evocative aspect given by the image.

[44] Rithy Panh, as quoted by Karin Bad, "Rithy Panh's The Missing Picture: A Memory of the Cambodian Genocide," *Huffington Post*, April 1, 2014, accessed October 29, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/karin-badt/rithy-panhs-the-missing-p_b_5068106.html. Karin Bad considers the act of interring the father and his mourning a metaphor for the film as a whole.

Figure 17.

Figure 18.

Figure 19.

Figure 20.

Figure 21.

Figure 22.

These images of mourning give way to another film strategy to provide imagery for the passing away of his cousin. She had been discovered stealing corn by the Khmer Rouge guards and her mother, making the repressors language her own perhaps to prevent a deadly threat to the entire family, admonished her: "we are not thieves (…), we are proud people." In hearing these accusatory words against the infant, the young Rithy delves into bewilderment and recounts the night of agony and the inevitable dénouement: "In the night the child eats salt. Her teeth grind. (…). She slept beside me with her swollen belly and her fixed eyes. She was sighing. She called her mother, she called her father and then she kept silence. And we buried her."

After this stark and denuded style, Panh's voiceover ends expressing his wish to reject the picture that clung to this memory: "I don't want to see this picture of hunger any more. So, I show it to you." The passage is fairly obscure, for the image haunting the narrator is, according to his own words, an inner picture, but the one he offers us is by no means the one he refuses to contemplate. Rithy Panh composes his scene in the following way: inside a hut, the figurine representing the dying girl lies on a wooden bed; deep in the night, she passes away. Nothing in the scene attests the visual and aural details the narrator refers to as unforgettable signs hooked to his memory: the stomach bloated by hunger, the grinding of teeth, the plaintive moan in search of her parents, her sighing. The inert figurines give a strange sober aspect to these sentiments conveyed by the intimate voice. Meanwhile the image is circumscribed to procuring the setting for this interminable night and for the wailing that ensues. As if there were no image capable of capturing this nightmare.

Then, in lieu of the omitted image a scene intrudes: on the corpse of the small curled-up figure, a hand drapes a white cloth, insinuating a shroud. This gesture gains relevance precisely because of its naivety; in fact, it is so coherent with the infantile setting that one would say that the hand slips a gauze bandage over the figure, so as to cover a simple wound. The most surprising effect is still

to come though: over this compassionately shrouded corpse an old family photo is superimposed. It represents a retouched kitsch-like photograph of three "flesh and blood" children posing in a childhood setting. The filmmaker thus introduces a photo of past happiness where now there is only sorrow. We may wonder what the missing picture is in this passage: the one the filmmaker has avoided, but somehow bestows on us? Hardly, since between the image not given and the one of the shroud a recovered childhood emerges as a sort of resurrection not only of the little girl, but of a vanished world. This is, ultimately, an image of redemption. The rest of the children, resumes the narrator, would soon be dead too. The colorful and vivid picture of brothers and sisters who perished in the Khmer Rouge hell triggers the most original metaphor of freedom: the figures of the three children are projected into the skies where they fly freely, liberated from the threats of the earth, as if in a childhood dream. Strictly speaking, it is not a redemptive image; it is redemption through an image.

Figure 23.

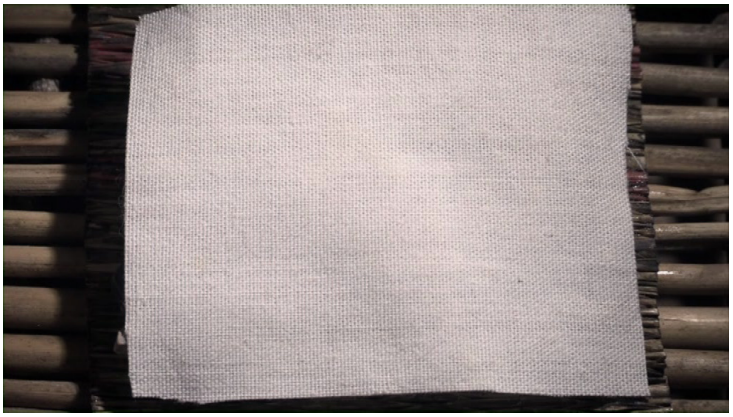

Figure 24.

Figure 25.

Figure 26.

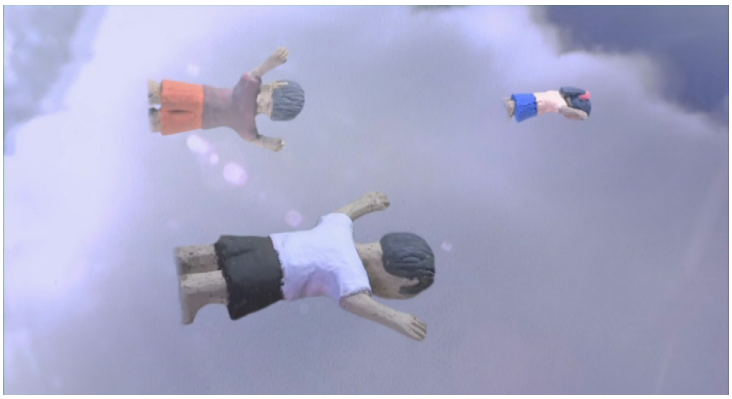

Figure 27.

Plenitude, Syncretism, Compulsion

As the reader must have concluded from what has preceded, throughout *The Missing Picture*, images are addressed as a problem, never as evidence. Accordingly, any image, whatever its source, ends up raising skepticism and mistrust, revealing itself as fatally inconsistent with its aim of giving solid ground to memory. After his mother's death, the narrator comprehends his inescapable loneliness and the film shows scenes of this lost infancy as a kind of unattainable: home, kitchen, garden, family gathering. However, these emotive settings tinted with nostalgia appear as inner images. On other occasions, Panh ventures to use his analytical mind to explore the Khmer Rouge's visual output, these images fabricated to create misery. He clings to the hope of deciphering the great lie they contain by reading between the lines and disclosing symptoms of the suffering they have been built on. Another genre of images created by Rithy Panh shows his adult body wandering in the countryside in search of the child he once was: a vain enquiry for which the filmmaker avails himself of the stylistic device of showing his out-of-focus silhouette while a child in play is clearly seen in the background and vice versa in the reverse shot. Panh's refusal to use depth-of-field, maintaining both characters within focus, represents the failed encounter between these two stages of a man's life. In brief, there is no point in searching for a coherent pattern to address the *missing picture*. However, all the genres of images summoned up have something in common, namely: the compelling search they are born from. All in all, for Rithy Panh, who perceives the surrounding world as inconsistent, any image is condemned to remaining a symptom of distress, the ultimate crystallization of a failure.

Figure 28.

Figure 29.

Repetition Compulsion: When the Narrative Fails

From such a dramatic context emerges one of the most unsettling sequences of the film, which combines the stillness of the figurines with animation effects. The event evokes one of the last passages in Panh's memoirs from the Khmer Rouge period: sole survivor in the family, the young Panh is assigned to bury the corpses of his own in a mass grave. Condensing this routine activity, the narrator vacillates between his position as a witness and his primary identification with the dead in such a way that he fantasizes with being one of them. It is at that point that the filmmaker's voiceover recovers the idea of missing picture:

> There are many things a man should not see or know. And if he saw them it would be better for him to die. But if one of us sees these things or knows them, then he must live to tell about them.
>
> Every morning I used to work over the pit. My shovel bumped into bones and heads. Earth is never enough. I'm the one who is going to get killed or it's already done.
>
> Of course, I did not find the missing picture. I looked for it in vain. A political movie has to discover what it invented. So, I created this picture, I watch it, I cherish it. I hold it in my hand as people do with a beloved face. This missing picture now I give it to you, so that it doesn't stop looking for us.[45]

[45] Panh, *The Missing Picture*.

The passage is highly intricate, due to its twofold content: in the first part, the narrator describes the sordid task he accomplished while experiencing everyday death; in the second he takes up the leitmotiv of the missing picture and addresses the spectator in an intimate mood to impress upon them as the final recipient of the metaphorical picture he has invented. Surprisingly enough though, the text cited above is contradicted by the flow of images. At the bottom of the trench lies a rigid figurine. Onto this, spadesful of earth fall, which little by little cover the body completely. Then, as soon as the small figure is swallowed by the earth, an optical animation effect unearths it again, as if the image undoes the work done. The impression we get from this mechanism is that the act of burying the body turns into a cyclical process, eternal, impossible to consummate, but also impossible to escape from. Once again, this potent metaphor emerges as an attempt to give shape to something that resists being put into images; something which, despite being action, turns on itself incapable of breaking free from the circle and reaching an end. The resulting effect is an inner collage-like image that remains stuck in what Sigmund Freud called the "repetition compulsion," that is, an automatism of the human psyche derived from a traumatic experience that makes an image repeat itself over and over again. It is no coincidence that Freud saw in this compulsive mechanism the core of what he termed the *death drive*.[46]

Figure 30.

Figure 31.

[46] This Freudian notion was speculatively formulated in the seminal text "Beyond the Pleasure Principle," Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, in collaboration with Anna Freud, vol. XVIII (1902-1922), (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1955), 7-64. In that edition, the German term *Wiederholungszwang* is translated as "compulsion to repeat."

Figure 32.

Figure 33.

In such a discursive context, the distancing effect produced by employing figurines becomes doubly destabilizing, as it deactivates realism and yet renders empathy extremely difficult. Nevertheless, the image that the filmmaker offers us as guardian angels at the end of the journey is not the one of the burial, but the one of the *shining sea* bursting onto the screen, which was associated with anxiety, with its green blue waves and shimmering light that floods the frame. This sequence raises a latent issue in our article the one of trauma. And of course, this is no minor matter. Arguably, the trauma discourse could be productive for the analysis of other sequences of *The Missing Picture*. However, I am somewhat reticent to engage in the application of this terminology to an artwork in which the mediations (linguistic, of course, but also visual, like set design, script, editing) are so abundant.

Conclusions

As stated earlier, the Rithy Pahn's film title –*The Missing Picture*– inevitably begs the question of identification, as if it were a riddle. However, in following this path, the analyst soon gets disoriented in a jungle of heterogeneous images regarding genre and subjective quality. The reason for that lies in the fact that the absence of images is only perceived as such at the instant an expected image fails to make an appearance, leaving the retrospective sensation of an enormous emptiness. This fracture, which is felt by the narrator and passed over to the viewer is ultimately Panh's personal response to the question of the non-representable as a warning and a conceit.

We must conclude that in the way Rithy Panh addresses the problem, the missing picture is structural, not accidental.[47] This signifies the acknowledgment of a paradoxical failure in telling his biography in images; paradoxical because the filmmaker not only succeeds in recounting his

[47] Sylvie Rollet, in her implicit dialogue with Didi-Hubermann, argues that the lack has the power of suggest an image ("puissante imageante"), "Malgré tout... l'image manque", *Cinema & Cie* XV, no. 24 (2015), 95.

painful experiences, but links them inextricably with the catastrophe which devastated his country. Consequently, the missing picture cannot be identified as a lost picture, since it has no actual form, but constitutes a missing link which remains absent. This is perhaps the reason why the journey results in an unfathomable state of melancholia. And there are good reasons why Rithy Panh would have avoided realistic images to represent personal trauma and social catastrophe together. We could venture that the rejection of analogical images, resorting to animation, the preference for collage, and the original use of figurines in *The Missing Picture* all point to a search for the intricate and nightmarish picture. All in all, if the vicious circle we are engulfed in through the image of a never-ending burial cycle points to the death drive, that of the sea suggests anxiety and suffocation, for in this last image the object floods the frame with bright hyperbolic images that defy framing, revolving images that never reach an end. Both unequivocally prove that the crucial image is as longed for as it is condemned to be forever missing.

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Cockroaches, Cows and "Canines of the Hebrew Faith": Exploring Animal Imagery in Graphic Novels about Genocide

Deborah Mayersen
University of Wollongong
Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia

Introduction

On the banks on the Danube in Budapest, two elegantly dressed friends meet for coffee.[1] A small child and her small dog interact playfully in the foreground. Yet the discussion underway belies the seemingly idyllic scene. It is 1944 and Esther has just received an order to hand over her daughter's beloved dog to the Nazis, as Jews are no longer permitted to own pets. Esther and Eva joke as to what Hitler will do with all these "Jewish dogs," or "canines of the Hebrew faith."[2] The joke quickly wears thin, however, as Esther and her young daughter Lisa struggle to survive the Holocaust. The graphic novel depicting their tale, *We Are On Our Own*, is one of many about genocide in which scenes containing animals play an important role. In this article, I seek to explore the purposes and impact of such animal imagery. To date, analysis on this topic has primarily focused on the anthropomorphised animal, epitomised in Art Spiegelman's ground-breaking *Maus*.[3] Following a brief review of this scholarship, I take a different approach, conducting the first comparative analysis of the role of non-anthropomorphised animals in graphic novels about genocide. The results reveal several archetypical ways in which animals are portrayed. At times, animals are used as a prop, to provide direct insight into the human condition. Predominantly, however, they play a more complex role, providing crucial emotional cues to the reader. The identification and analysis of these pictorial tropes helps build a deeper understanding of the role of animal imagery in contributing to the emotive power of graphic novels about genocide.

Maus, and the Anthropomorphised Animal

In the graphic novel, the role of the animal has been interpreted as one that provides insight into *human* identity.[4] Very often animal characters represent (human) stereotypes, such as the fierce lion, loyal dog or timid mouse, although occasionally such stereotypes are inverted such that the animal plays a role opposite to that expected.[5] As Michael Chaney has remarked, the appearance of the animal in graphic novels "almost always accompanies the strategic and parodic veiling of the human."[6] This is nowhere more so than in Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, where at times the characters literally hold their animal masks.[7] In 1986, the publication of the first volume of this Holocaust graphic novel, *Maus I, A Survivor's Tale: My Father Bleeds History*, and the subsequent publication of *Maus II, A Survivor's Tale: And Here My Troubles Began* (1991), accorded a new space and legitimacy to graphic novels about genocide.[8] *Maus*, recounting the tale of Spiegelman's father's experiences in Auschwitz, yet unsettling the reader through the illustration of its characters as mice, cats and pigs, won the Pulitzer Prize and identified the graphic novel as a powerful medium for the exploration of extreme violence. Perhaps unintentionally, it also created a precedent for the surprisingly important role of animal imagery in this sub-genre. Yet *Maus* was not the first use of animal imagery to depict genocide within this format. French Jewish illustrator Horst Rosenthal produced a graphic booklet during the Holocaust that became one of Spiegelman's sources of inspiration. *Mickey Mouse in the Gurs Internment Camp* described daily life in the camp, portraying Mickey Mouse as a prisoner. The images of this playful, curious and smiling character contrast vividly with the textual descriptions of life in the camp. As Pnina Rosenberg has remarked, "Apparently, only a fictional character could

[1] Miriam Katin, *We Are On Our Own: A Memoir by Miriam Katin* (Montreal: Drawn & Quarterly, 2006).

[2] Ibid., 8-9.

[3] Art Spiegelman, *The Complete Maus* (London: Penguin, 2003).

[4] Michael Chaney, "Animal Subjects of the Graphic Novel," *College Literature* 38, no. 3 (2011), 130.

[5] Elizabeth Schafter, "Anthropomorphism in Graphic Novels," *Salem Press Encyclopedia of Literature*, January 2016.

[6] Ibid., 130.

[7] For example, see Spiegelman, *The Complete Maus*, 138.

[8] Spiegelman, *The Complete Maus*.

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https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.12.2.1486

even begin to cope with such a bitter reality."[9] The transformative impact of *Maus* within this sub-genre, however, is widely recognised.

The use of the animal metaphor in *Maus* has been the focus of much analysis. Spiegelman himself expresses ambivalence towards his approach within the narrative, simultaneously constructing and deconstructing the metaphor.[10] For many, the anthropomorphisation is a technique that achieves a powerful literary outcome. "More than a few readers have described [*Maus*] as the most compelling of any [Holocaust] depiction, perhaps because only the caricatured quality of comic art is equal to the seeming unreality of an experience beyond all reason," remarked historian Paul Buhle.[11] The aesthetic presentation introduces structure and agency that creates a distance from the real, a distance that provides necessary space for the reader.[12] This antirealist depiction of the characters invites readers to "mobilize imagination … to think, and to *see* the best they can."[13] Spiegelman himself has compared the animal heads he depicted to "a white screen the reader can project on."[14]

Yet there are also real risks associated with the animal in the graphic novel about genocide. Animal metaphors potentially invoke the dehumanisation of the targeted group – the Tutsi minority in Rwanda termed snakes and cockroaches; the Jews in Nazi Europe as rats and dogs. Robert Eaglestone has suggested such representations impact not only how the Holocaust is represented, but how it is explained: "*Maus*, which its biological, animal metaphor, leads us to presume simply that Germans (cats) always prey on Jews (mice) and that this is inevitable and unavoidable."[15] Chaney, moreover, has suggested that animal metaphorisation of perpetrators absolves them of their human responsibility for their crimes.[16] The audacity of *Maus* has given rise to considerable debate about the limits of representation. It has also opened the way for subsequent graphic novels about genocide to employ anthropomorphic techniques, such as Stassen's *Deogratias*. Yet in many respects, this focus on anthropomorphisation within animal imagery in graphic novels about genocide has contributed to a dearth of analysis of the role of the non-anthropomorphised animal. It to this topic I now turn.

Animal Imagery, Graphic Novels and Genocide

This article seeks to analyse the purpose, and role, of animal imagery in graphic novels about genocide. It focuses upon the depiction of animals *as animals*; that is, it is neither an analysis of the anthropomorphisation of animals nor the animalization of people. Rather, it considers how the depiction of animals *as such* contributes to this sub-genre. Animal imagery is common, yet (to my knowledge) there has been not yet been a comparative analysis of this pictorial device. This reflects the broader scarcity of critical analysis in this field.[17] The imagery of non-anthropomorphised animals can be considered from a posthumanist critical theoretical perspective. Posthumanist

[9] Pnina Rosenberg, "Mickey Mouse in Gurs – Humour, Irony and Criticism in Works of Art Produced in the Gurs Internment Camp," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 6, no. 3 (2002), 275. Another graphic booklet produced during the Holocaust also used animal imagery, namely Edmond-François Calvo, Victor Dancette, and Jacques Zimmermann, *La bête est morte! La guerre mondiale chez les animaux!* (Paris: Éditions GP, 1946).

[10] Laurike in 't Veld, "Introducing the Rwandan Genocide from a Distance: American Noir and the Animal Metaphor in 99 Days," *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* 6, no. 2 (2015), 147.

[11] Paul Buhle, "Of Mice and Menschen: Jewish Comics Come of Age," *Tikkun* 7, no. 2 (1992), 16.

[12] Marianne Hirsch, "Family Pictures: Maus, Mourning, and Post-Memory," *Discourse* 15, no. 2 (1992-93), 10.

[13] Katalin Orbán, "Trauma and Visuality: Art Spiegelman's Maus and *In the Shadow of No Towers*," *Representations* 97, no. 1 (2007), 63.

[14] Art Spiegelman et al., "Mightier Than the Sorehead," *Nation* 258, no. 2 (1994), 46.

[15] Robert Eagleston, "Madness or Modernity?: The Holocaust in Two Anglo-American Comics," *Rethinking History* 6, no. 3 (2002), 319, 328.

[16] Michael Chaney, "The Animal Witness of the Rwandan Genocide," in *Graphic Subjects: Critical Essays on Autobiography and Graphic Novels*, ed. Michael Chaney (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 96.

[17] Hugo Frey and Benjamin Noys, "Editorial: History in the Graphic Novel," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 6, no. 3 (2002), 255; Gonshak, *Beyond Maus*, 56; Jade Munslow Ong, "'I'm Only a Dog!': The Rwandan Genocide, Dehumanization and the Graphic Novel," *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 51, no. 2 (2016), 212.

critical thought provides "a frame for affirmative ethics and politics."[18] For the graphic novelists whose work is analysed herein, there is a logic to moving beyond a focus on humanism and anthropocentrism, when the narratives they depict catalogue the immeasurably disastrous results of human actions and ideals. An ethical refusal of binary thinking, which subtly challenges the self-other distinction through creative processes that embrace the 'other,' or animal, as symbolic of the human condition, can be interpreted as a collective, instinctive response to the abhorrence of genocide. The familiar concept of the 'human' is lost in the inhumane, and perhaps humanity can only be regained through transcending an anthropocentric focus. Yet, concurrently, these are also and always fundamentally human tales.

Despite their growing number, graphic novels attempting to portray the experience of genocide remain marginalised and viewed as a somewhat experimental format.[19] The subject matter is one often perceived as at the limits of representation. The unconventional format can be interpreted as provocative in overlaying an additional challenge to mainstream notions of historical representation. Traditional historiographical notions of representations of history have been challenged in recent decades, but the privileging of text over images "has remained relatively unquestioned."[20] Images have been regarded as too ambiguous, too emotive, too distant from their subject matter.[21] In films and graphic novels alike, images are challenged by notions of 'realism' and 'authenticity.' In the graphic novel in particular, they compress the elements of a sequence of events within frozen panels, distorting time and space.[22] Yet there are also opportunities for alternative conceptualisations that embrace the strengths of image-based formats.[23] The emotive nature of film and graphic novel depictions of genocide, for example, can be perceived as promoting viewer engagement rather than detracting from parochial notions of the primacy of 'objectivity.' Images can tell a tale of their own, imbuing a complex and multilayered scene with a richness that words alone cannot. Moreover, as I argue below, the use of animal imagery in graphic novels gives the author the power to communicate with a subtlety and emotive command not otherwise readily available.

To explore the role and purpose of animal imagery, ten graphic novels that feature such imagery were selected for analysis. These include seven about the Holocaust: *We Are On Our Own*, *Letting it Go*, *Hidden*, *The Search*, *A Family Secret*, *Auschwitz*, and *The Property*.[24] Three graphic novels are about the Rwandan genocide: *Deogratias*, *Smile Through the Tears*, and *100 Days in the Land of the Thousand Hills*.[25] The purpose of this relatively large sample for a qualitative analysis is twofold. First, a larger sample size facilitates the identification of patterns and commonalities in the way in which animals are depicted. Second, through choosing a broad range of graphic novels, it is anticipated that identified patterns are likely to be representative of the genre. For this reason, the sample includes graphic novels depicting different genocides, graphic novels aimed at children and adults, and graphic novels that adopt both journalistic and more creative narrative

[18] Rosi Braidotti, "Posthuman Critical Theory," in *Critical Posthumanism: Planetary Futures*, ed. Debashish Banerji and Makarand Paranjape (India: Springer, 2016), 23.

[19] Deborah Mayersen, "One Hundred Days of Horror: Portraying Genocide in Rwanda," *Rethinking History* 19, no. 3 (2015), 359.

[20] Jan Baetens, "History Against the Grain? On the Relationship between Visual Aesthetics and Historical Interpretation in the Contemporary Spanish Graphic Novel," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 6, no. 3 (2002), 346.

[21] Ibid., 345–346.

[22] Jonathan Walker, "Pistols! Murder! Treason!" *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 7, no. 2 (2003), 146; Hirsch, *Family Pictures*, 11.

[23] Baetens, *History Against the Grain?*, 346.

[24] Pascal Croci, *Auschwitz* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003); Loïc Dauvillier, Marc Lizano, and Greg Salsedo, *Hidden* (New York: First Second, 2014); Eric Heuvel, *A Family Secret* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2007); Eric Heuvel, Ruud vann der Rol and Lies Schippers, *The Search* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2007); Miriam Katin, *Letting it Go* (New York: Drawn & Quarterly, 2013); Katin, *We Are On Our Own*; Rutu Modan, *The Property* (New York: Drawn & Quarterly, 2013).

[25] Rupert Bazambanza, *Smile Through the Tears: The Story of the Rwandan Genocide* (Montreal: Les Éditions Images, 2006); International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), *100 Days in the Land of The Thousand Hills* (Arusha: ICTR, 2011); Jean-Philippe Stassen, *Deogratias: A Tale of Rwanda* (New York: First Second, 2006).

approaches. Some graphic novels are non-fictional memoirs; others hover in a space "between fiction and non-fiction," offering a fictional narrative yet one grounded in extensive research and a realistic portrayal of the genocidal context.[26] Finally, the sample size reflects that while animal imagery is relatively common, it is not a predominant feature. Within the sample selected, the examples of animal imagery discussed below form the majority of incidences of animal imagery within them. As I posit below, this suggests the strategic use of animal imagery to achieve specific outcomes.

The Animal as Symbolic of the Human Condition

In this article I identify two primary functions that non-anthropomorphised animals fulfil in graphic novels about genocide. The first is as a prop, to provide direct insight into the human condition. In such scenes, the appearance of the animal is more than incidental, but attention remains firmly on the human context. In the opening scene of *Smile Through the Tears*, for example, there are several images of Rwanda's iconic gorillas. The focus of the accompanying text, however, is firmly on people: "Visitors really only seemed to care about the country's natural beauty and its mountain gorillas … Visitors completely ignored the murder of thousands of Tutsis and the fact that large numbers of Rwandans had been forced to remain in exile."[27] This is reflected in the composition of the shots. The reader does not view the gorillas in a natural context as a tourist might, but in a highly mediated space. In one image the reader views a gorilla over the shoulders of the reporters videoing and photographing it; below this, a second image is partially obscured by the resulting footage, photographs and newspaper depictions of the animal. The over the shoulder shot, moreover, immediately locates the reader as participant, not observer. The reader is thus unsettled and emotionally embroiled by this subtle cue suggesting complicity. The images of the gorilla do not serve to provide information about this iconic Rwandan species, but about the callously selective attention of the international community and its failure to aid the people of Rwanda.

Across numerous graphic novels, images of vicious dogs serve as a trope that symbolises perpetrator violence. Again, the animal images are not incidental, but it is the *human* experience into which they provide insight. In *Auschwitz*, Pascal Croci's graphic narration incorporates many images of menacing dogs. In one scene, new arrivals at Auschwitz press against the cattle cars they have just exited, as a large and savage dog strains at the leash, poised to attack. "Whatever you do, don't move!" cries a prisoner, clutching a toddler in terror.[28] The low angle augments the menace of the animal and its handler, while the depth shot adds to the confusion and fear within this complex scene. *Auschwitz* doesn't refrain from graphic images of death and violence, but in a number of other graphic novels the pictorial trope of the vicious dog is used as a proxy for perpetrator violence. *The Search* and *A Family Secret*, for example, are both graphic novels about the Holocaust aimed at a juvenile audience. In *A Family Secret*, a boy is caught by the Nazis with two loaves of bread. A Nazi officer holds him up by the lapels of his coat and demands "What do you have there, boy?!" as a vicious dog, loudly barking, strains at his leash in close proximity.[29] Here, the violence is implied rather than depicted, as is appropriate for the younger audience. Similarly, in *The Search*, when the protagonist Esther is seeking a safe place to hide from the Nazis in the Dutch countryside, an unsympathetic farmer tells her to "Get out of here …!" as he restrains a large, barking dog.[30] Esther runs for her life. In this image, the author uses composition to successfully navigate the challenge of implying menace without depicting violence. The tails away image foregrounds the fear-inducing elements without exposing the reader to the faces of either man or dog, and through the depth shot the reader knows Esther is already safely out of reach of both. In these scenes, the image of the vicious dog serves as a proxy for perpetrator violence, providing an important cue to the reader while working within age-appropriate limitations as to the depiction of events.

[26] Michelle Bumatay and Hannah Warman, "Illustrating Genocidaires, Orphans and Child Soldiers in Central Africa," *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 24, no. 3 (2012), 336.

[27] Bazambanza, *Smile Through the Tears*, 1.

[28] Croci, *Auschwitz*, 6.

[29] Heuvel, *A Family Secret*, 47.

[30] Heuvel et al., *The Search*, 25.

Deogratias employs animal imagery in this symbolic way multiple times within the narrative. It is a complex and challenging graphic novel about the Rwandan genocide, that contains both anthropomorphised and non-anthropomorphised animals. Here, I focus only on the latter.[31] In *Deogratias* the eponymous protagonist is a young adult perpetrator, and scenes shift between the periods prior to and during the genocide, and its aftermath. In one scene from the aftermath, a clearly disturbed Deogratias is pictured sleeping in a cowshed, alongside the livestock.[32] Deogratias' place amongst the cows is symbolic of his inability to function in the human world. Deogratias wears a dirty white t-shirt with many holes that reveal his dark skin underneath, cuing the reader to the temporal location of the scene as after the genocide. A few pages on in the narrative, a new scene reverts to the period prior to the genocide. Here, a French military advisor – whose unsavoury qualities the reader is already familiar with from previous scenes – is recommending a new breed of cow to a group of assembled pastoralists.[33] Benina, a love interest of Deogratias', serves as the translator: "The white guy says a good cow is not a cow with big horns and small udders, but on the contrary a cow with small horns and big fat udders, exactly like this one here, that's as graceful as a hog …".[34] Benina's creative translation reflects the tension created by the white advisor's seemingly condescending advice, which clashes with local values and the reader's knowledge of his character. The image of the cow reinforces Benina's view, for indeed it appears hog-like with its thick neck, bulging udders and a smattering of mud.[35] Powerfully, the black and white pattern of its hide is strikingly similar to that of the disturbed Deogratias' torn t-shirt. As Deogratias' t-shirt symbolises his shameful complicity in the genocide, the dirty cow symbolises the shame and complicity of the western role in it. Using a subtext that directly contradicts the ostensible message that overlays it, Stassen's potent symbolism is expressed here through animal imagery.

A second deeply layered and symbolic scene in *Deogratias* occurs early in the narrative, when Deogratias stops the killing of a cockroach. In this scene from the aftermath of the genocide, Deogratias is drinking beer with the French advisor, who has returned to Rwanda as a tourist. The scene is ugly and distasteful: Deogratias appears dishevelled, the hotel is rundown, cockroaches run up the wall. The images of cockroaches are of course far from coincidental, with cockroach being a derogatory term used to refer to Rwanda's Tutsi minority prior to and during the genocide. The French advisor crassly reminisces: "Man those Tutsi girls! … That's what I missed the most… And it's such a shame … All those beauties who won't be sharing their soft little thighs with anyone anymore. All those sweet pieces of ass hacked to bits with machetes… What a waste!"[36] When a cockroach appears on their table, the advisor's attempt to squash it with his fist is unexpectedly thwarted. Deogratias cries out "No!" and blocks the movement, knocking over their beers in the process.[37] The action serves to humanise Deogratias, but the reader is immediately conflicted. Thus far, the reader's knowledge of Deogratias is limited to his unkempt appearance, his acquaintance with the obnoxious military advisor, and – from a flashback – that he stole money from a church and used it to attempt to hire a prostitute. Moreover, the cockroach as animal and the cockroach as symbolic of the Tutsi demand different responses. Later, the reader learns that Deogratias, who wouldn't allow the killing of a cockroach here, was a perpetrator during the genocide. In this scene, Stassen rejects easy resolution, opting instead for a "construction of meaning that … is multifaceted, fraught with tension, and requires critical thinking."[38] The cockroach is both real and symbolic, Deogratias both human and inhumane, the situation both conventional and surreal. Here the cockroach is symbolic of Deogratias' inner conflict, and the external conflict of the genocide. At all times, however, it is less a cockroach than it is a symbol of the human condition.

[31] The role of anthropomorphisation in *Deogratias*, and particularly the role of the dog, has already been the subject of substantial analysis. See for example, Ong, *I'm Only a Dog*, 211-225.

[32] Stassen, *Deogratias*, 28.

[33] Ibid., 32.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., 3.

[37] Ibid., 5.

[38] Bumatay and Warman, *Illustrating Genocidaires*, 332.

Thus far the focus of this article has been on the animal in the graphic novel as a symbol, or a metaphor for the human condition. Yet animal imagery often serves a quite different function, that of providing cues to the reader as to the affective context of a scene. In the remainder of this article, I focus on this alternative function.

Animals as Emotional Cues

In many graphic novels about genocide, scenes featuring animal imagery provide crucial emotional cues to the reader. Indeed, this appears to be the most common function of non-anthropomorphised animals. These emotional cues can vary widely. They can provoke positive emotions, negative emotions, or complex emotions. They can signify emotional disruption, a period of emotional intensity, or a return to a calmer emotional state. In all cases, however, they provide a cue to the reader, illuminating the affective context of the scene. In a medium in which text is inherently limited, this offers an effective shortcut to expression. Familiar visual images are used as emotional schemata to elicit specific affective responses, such as the use of aesthetically pleasing scenes from nature to invoke feelings of calm and happiness.[39] Similarly, imagery of particular animals functions as a visual trigger of emotion. Such emotional schemata serve as familiar stimuli, in line with network theories of emotion, triggering established neural pathways to emotional responses.[40] Thus the image of a friendly dog elicits feelings of comfort and safety, while images of vermin elicit disgust. When desiring emotional intensity, authors strive to strongly activate such schemata through careful composition of the images, such as extreme close up shots or repetition. By contrast, long shots and high angles temper the strength of emotion elicited through such schemata, and these compositional strategies are often associated with animal imagery that similarly invokes calm, such as that of domestic or farm animals. These sophisticated strategies effectively elicit emotional responses from the reader, and mediate the intensity of those responses.

Yet graphic novelists go beyond seeking to elicit and control an emotional response through the use of animal imagery. Through manipulating and altering emotion, they take the reader on an emotional journey. Complex scenes elicit emotion, yet as the reader cognitively processes each component of a scene, a continuous process of appraisal and re-appraisal mediates the emotional experience.[41] New emotions are elicited as the full implications of a scene are absorbed, and these may rapidly change in response to the new visual and textual information provided in each cell. In the scene described earlier in *Auschwitz*, for example, the reader first experiences fear and horror at the image of the prisoner clutching the toddler protectively while a fierce dog threatens to attack. Yet this is mediated by confusion, as the toddler is not the prisoner's child, but one the prisoner has snatched from a parent disembarking from the cattle cars. When the prisoner tries to give the small child to a grandma, again the reader reappraises the scene, and experiences a new emotional response upon realising the prisoner is attempting to save the mother's life. Even as this emotional cascade is unfolding, before the end of the page a soldier has shot the prisoner for his attempts. Such constant reappraisal in this hyperintense scene provokes recurrent cycles of emotion causation that result in an affective experience of rapidly shifting elicitation, intensity and differentiation.[42] In these ways, animal scenes not only contribute to progressing the narrative, but play a vital role in building the emotive strength of graphic novels about genocide. In the following section I identify and analyse several tropes that utilise animal imagery to invoke specific emotional responses in the reader.

Emotional Disruption

One of the most powerful ways in which animal scenes function as emotional cues is through provoking emotional disruption. In these scenes, animal imagery is used to create a particular emotion, which is then immediately contradicted within the text. Very often the scene first

[39] Agnes Moor, "Theories of Emotion Causation: A Review," *Cognition and Emotion* 23, no. 4 (2009), 643.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Moor, *Emotion Causation*, 639; Paul Ekman and Richard Davidson (eds.), *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[42] Moor, *Emotion Causation*, 639.

portrayed is an idyllic one, as occurs *100 Days in the Land of the Thousand Hills*. Here, the graphic novel opens with a beautiful picture. Against a background of lush greenery, cows drink from a river just downstream of a pretty waterfall. The sun is shining, a cowherd sits peacefully alongside his dog, and the text begins "Once upon a time there was a wonderful country …"[43] The reader is immediately drawn in by the beauty of this establishing shot, and this effect is augmented by the over the shoulder perspective from which the reader sees the cowherd. In the next panel, a low angle shot depicts birds flying in the sky with the sun overhead, and reads "It was a harbor of peace for all its inhabitants."[44] By the end of the page, however, images of peaceful animals have been replaced with those of burning houses and plumes of smoke. The reader, deceived into a calm and happy state, now learns "something terrible happens."[45] In many respects, this scene has strong parallels to the one described in the opening of this article. Katin first depicts the beauty of Budapest, and the joy of a little girl playing with her dog, before informing the reader that the dog must be surrendered and the lives of the Jewish protagonists are in peril.[46] Again, careful image composition strengthens the emotional disruption. Here, a beautiful establishing shot sets the broad scene, before the reader is drawn into Eva and Esther's conversation through a series of shots that progressively zoom in. As the ladies laugh, a macro shot includes the reader within this intimate circle. In both these scenes, the animal imagery cues the reader towards a positive emotional state, rendering a sharp emotional disruption. This abrupt emotional transition also promotes reader empathy with the plight of the main characters in each graphic novel.

The trope of animal imagery contributing to an emotionally disruptive scene is one that occurs repeatedly within graphic novels about genocide. In Rutu Modan's *The Property*, it is used twice to great effect. In this narrative, elderly Regina returns to Poland with her granddaughter, ostensibly to reclaim a property owned by her family before the Holocaust. Her motives turn out to be quite different from those initially expected, however. While the story is primarily set in contemporary times, both scenes I discuss here appear in flashbacks. In the first, the reader sees three beautiful panels across the page: a branch of flowering blossoms, a duck flying over the water, the calm of a beautiful lake. The caption informs the reader: "Wistula river, May 1939."[47] Yet as the scene opens out to an image of a young Regina and her beau Roman rowing down the river amongst the ducks, it quickly becomes apparent this is not a pleasurable jaunt. Rather, Jewish Regina has become pregnant to non-Jewish Roman, and they are attempting to escape Poland together to start a new life in Sweden. The high angle shot and their humble rowboat reinforces their vulnerable position. Again, the reader is drawn into the narrative through a series of increasingly close up images. Within just a few panels, their attempt is foiled. The idyllic image of two lovers rowing on a lake on a beautiful spring day is immediately replaced by the complexities of Regina's predicament, and an attempt to flee from the authorities. The scene is memorable precisely because of its emotional element, and this is important as it later transpires to be a pivotal moment in the narrative. It is Regina's predicament that leads her to be sent to stay with a relative in Israel to avoid shaming the family in Poland – an event that ultimately saves her life.

Later in the narrative, Regina's granddaughter Mica is having dinner with a Polish man, who has been assisting the family. A sexual vibe pervades the scene. When Mica asks where he is from, he replies "I'm originally from a village on the Ukrainian border."[48] The next panel depicts a beautiful forest, with the Pole and his dog happily walking through the woods. He expands: "It's a beautiful place. Miles of untouched nature all around. You can walk for a month and not see a soul. Only animals. Even bears, sometimes. But mostly rabbits. And foxes. Those were my favorite."[49] When Mica replies "foxes are cute", however, the unexpected response is "Yes. And

[43] ICTR, *100 Days*, 8.

[44] Ibid., 9.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Katin, *We are On Our Own*, 7-10.

[47] Modan, *The Property*, 56.

[48] Ibid., 90.

[49] Ibid., 91.

profitable."[50] In the following panel, the idyllic forest is replaced with an image of the Pole's mother skinning a fox, a distasteful expression on her face. Again, this emotional disruption provides an important clue to the reader, that all is not as it may seem. Throughout the narrative, this character plays an ambiguous role. Mica's attempts to connect with him are repeatedly thwarted, yet it is unclear whether he is untrustworthy, or well meaning but somewhat misunderstood. Or is the primary issue one of Mica's Jewish family being unable to trust a non-Jewish Pole in light of their wartime experiences? The animal imagery in this scene cues the reader to the conflicting feelings the protagonists have toward this character, and invites the reader to share this emotional journey. In all of these scenes, the depiction of animals provides a crucial affective context for the author to provoke emotional disruption. Animal imagery contributes to the reader's emotional engagement with the narrative, and empathy with the plight of the protagonists.

Decreased Emotional Intensity

Animal imagery in graphic novels about genocide is sometimes used to demarcate a period of decreased emotional intensity. Initially this may appear counterintuitive – calm, or ordinariness in everyday life, are hardly features of genocide. Yet in many respects, being able to communicate decreased emotional intensity is essential. It enables graphic narratives to accurately represent the full spectrum of survivors' experiences, and provides contrast to render dramatic events most vividly. In three of the graphic novels analysed herein, animals are used to depict a period of relative calm. These scenes, in *Hidden*, *We Are On Our Own* and *The Search* contain numerous similarities. In *Hidden*, the protagonist Dounia is a young French girl forced into hiding after her parents are rounded up by the Nazis. With her neighbour, whom she must pretend is her mother, she arrives traumatised at a farm in the French countryside. The first positive sign they encounter is a friendly dog barking in the yard.[51] Across the three panels in which Dounia and the famer who will protect her meet, the dog is foregrounded in each, its friendly and happy expression negating the inherent tension within the scene. Over the coming days, images of farm animals feature prominently as Dounia and her 'mother' try to process their traumatic experiences and settle in. Helping around the farm, such as milking the cows and feeding the rabbits, provides a way for them to regain some equilibrium. The reader sees a hint of smile from Dounia as she feeds the rabbits; in the following panel she is joyfully chasing the dog.[52] On the next page, the reader learns "Soon, we fell into a routine" and "I was very lucky." They took wonderful care of me."[53] The four images on this page, replete with numerous small animals, depict the passing of the seasons. In this way, the reader learns of the passing of time, and of the relative calm of this period.

In *We Are On Our Own*, the depiction of Esther and her daughter Lisa seeking refuge in the Hungarian countryside contains a number of parallel elements. As Esther and Lisa approach a farmhouse, again it is a dog that provides the first welcome.[54] When the farmer yells, "Shut up dog!" the reader senses a more ambiguous situation.[55] A letter from the farmer's nephew only proves sufficient to make them welcome when the farmer's wife intervenes on their behalf. Again, animal imagery is used to depict a sense of normality, and the passing of time. Esther is pictured hanging sheets on a washing line while Lisa chases the dog at her feet, with a chicken pecking in the foreground. To the right, another image depicts a bemused goat watching on as Lisa attempts to milk it. A thought bubble from Esther reads "Such a wonderful life for her."[56] The reader, of course, knows this is far from the case, as the preceding and subsequent pages overflow with details of threats to their precarious situation. Yet here, the animal imagery is very effective in conveying a period of relative calm and decreased emotional intensity. A similar scene in *The Search* depicts

[50] Ibid.

[51] Dauvillier et al., *Hidden*, 48.

[52] Ibid., 52.

[53] Ibid., 53.

[54] Katin, *We Are On Our Own*, 30.

[55] Ibid., 33.

[56] Ibid. 35.

not only calm, but moments of levity. The protagonist, also called Esther, is in hiding in the Dutch countryside, forced to spend much of her time in a hayloft. When it is safe, she helps around the farmyard. She accidentally squirts milk in the face of a young farmer she admires while trying to learn how to milk a cow.[57] The young farmer, meanwhile, steps on a rake while daydreaming about her, hitting himself in the head with its handle.[58] In this scene, the respite from danger is all too brief. Nevertheless, here, as in the scenes above, animal imagery provides the vehicle through which relative calm is communicated. The complexity of depicting calm within the hyperintensity of genocide is substantial; the sparse expression of graphic novels potentially offering a further barrier. This trope provides an effective and economical means through which decreased emotional intensity can be communicated.

Animals as a Symbol of Comfort or Joy

In numerous graphic novels, animals function as providers of comfort, and symbols of joy. This is particularly so in three graphic novels that incorporate animal imagery extensively: *Hidden*, *We Are On Our Own*, and *Letting it Go*. Sometimes, animals are used to heighten the emotion of a joyous occasion. In *Hidden*, for example, a full-page panel depicts the surprise reunion of Dounia's 'mother' and her husband.[59] In the foreground of the embracing couple, even the farmer's dog is smiling.[60] In an earlier scene, the dog is integral to a feeling of peaceful domesticity. Here, it is evening, and a fire burns in the hearth. The farmer reads quietly, Dounia's 'mother' sips a cup of tea, and Dounia and the dog lie curled up together by the fire.[61] The image is carefully composed to imply order and tranquillity, with the two adults in the left third, Dounia and her canine companion in the centre third, and the fire burning brightly on the right. The tranquil image is only disturbed by our knowledge that the situation is far from ideal – Dounia is separated from her real parents, whose fate is unknown at this point, Dounia's 'mother' is separated from her husband, and all three are at risk of arrest or worse should they be discovered by the authorities. Yet in these scenes, such complexities only marginally intrude. The animal imagery contributes to scenes focused wholly in the moment, as the animals themselves are.

In other scenes in which animals provide comfort or joy, the difficult situations of the protagonists intrude more forcefully. This highlights the emotional complexity of these positive feelings within a broader context of genocide. Both of Katin's graphic novels illustrate this complexity. *Letting it Go* uses animal imagery throughout, for multiple purposes. In this narrative Katin – whose story of surviving the Holocaust is recounted in her earlier publication *We Are On Our Own* – explores her discomfort when her son announces he is moving to Berlin. In the course of the novel she visits Berlin twice – first to see her son and his partner, and again for the opening of a comic art exhibition at the Jewish Museum of Berlin, which features her work. Throughout the graphic novel, animal imagery provides insight into the author's emotions. The first time we see Katin smile in Berlin is as she greets the dog of her son and his partner. In a comical scene, an uncommon foray into anthropomorphisation for Katin, the dog proclaims 'Oh my dog! I am shaking hands with Miriam Katin' as they greet each other. After a tense eleven pages – in which the reader has not seen Miriam smile since leaving New York – this scene provides a joyful emotional change. Yet this is a tempered joy. After the family eat at a dog-friendly restaurant, Miriam suffers terrible diarrhoea, presumably from food poisoning. Animal imagery also accompanies Katin's clear joy upon returning to New York. Across three panels she effusively proclaims "Hello Bridge! Hello River! Hello New York Pigeons."[62] The reader is first drawn into the scene with an over the shoulder shot of Miriam greeting the bridge, arms wide with exuberance. Only in the third image do we see a medium shot of Miriam front-on, framed first by the window of her apartment; more

[57] Heuvel et al., *The Search*, 22.

[58] Ibid., 22.

[59] Dauviller et al., *Hidden*, 58.

[60] Ibid., 58.

[61] Ibid., 54.

[62] Katin, *Letting it Go*, n.p. Note: *Letting it Go* does not use page numbers in the narrative.

widely by the pigeons that circle all around. Here joy and relief intermingle, while Katin's strong negative feelings about Berlin are the subject of the next panel.

In *We Are On Our Own* the comfort and joy that animals can provide is clear; but here it is countered with their loss. In this narrative, there is a recurring motif of dogs providing Lisa with joy and comfort, but then being torn away. At the opening of the narrative, as discussed earlier, Lisa plays happily with her pet dog Rexy – even feeding him some of her ice cream – before Rexy has to be surrendered to the Nazi authorities. Esther tries to explain to Lisa that he died suddenly, but she howls: "He was my bestest friend!"[63] Later, the farmer's dog becomes her "bestest friend" while they are in hiding.[64] A poignant image depicts Lisa and the dog, side by side, watching Russian tanks roll past in the distance.[65] When Esther and Lisa have to flee suddenly during a snowstorm, the dog is shot by Russian soldiers giving chase. Later, when Esther and Lisa emerge from their hiding place, they come across its corpse lying in the deep snow.[66] Once again, a dog that has provided joy and comfort to Lisa is brutally wrenched from her. This scene is perhaps the moment where Lisa loses her faith, but also serves as a metaphor for the inability of the Jews to find safety or comfort anywhere during the Holocaust.[67] The comfort provided by the dogs in *We Are On Our Own* is deceptive and illusory, and ultimately no comfort at all.

Animals as Symbolic of Discomfort and Distress

Just as animals can provide a positive affective context, they can also be utilised to symbolise discomfort and distress. In *Letting it Go*, Katin employs this strategy masterfully. Early in the narrative, Katin is distressed by the presence of cockroaches in her apartment. In a full-page cell, the reader first views Miriam and her husband sleeping peacefully in bed. A series of incomplete close-up images reveals a cockroach creeping ever closer to Miriam's face, followed by an extreme close-up of Miriam's eyes. Wide open in shock, one pupil is framed by the antennae of the cockroach. In the next image, the scene zooms out slightly to reveal Miriam's face, replete with a horrified expression reminiscent of Edvard Munch's The Scream. The co-location of the repeated images of Miriam's face, close together within the same cell and several rendered incompletely, add to the intensity of the scene. Even as Miriam screams, one cockroach to her left is depicted as roughly equal in size to her face; a second poised menacingly over her shoulder is even larger. The next day, when Miriam discovers her nemeses are called German cockroaches, this is not just a curiosity. Instead, she conducts research and visits an expert at a museum to explore the origins of this term. Later in the narrative, Katin comes across a cockroach while making coffee. She is preparing to help her son apply for Hungarian (and therefore EU) citizenship, an undertaking to which she has previously been vehemently opposed. When her son questions "How come you let it [the cockroach] go?" she responds, "Neh. They help keep up the rage."[68]

As *Letting it Go* reaches its climax, Katin returns to Berlin for the opening of an artistic exhibition featuring her work. The reader knows how important this occasion is for Katin – she has dieted, whitened her teeth, and so on. Yet when she attends the opening, she is distracted by a constant itch: "This itch! I can't stand it! Aaah!"[69] Here, the reader doesn't see the bed bugs responsible for Katin's discomfort, but is constantly distracted – like Miriam – by repeated images of her scratching interrupting the narrative. Only in the final images of the narrative does the reader view the bedbugs, and indeed they have the final word. The symbolism is heavy – the story encapsulated by the distress of the German cockroaches at the opening, and the bed bugs in Berlin at the closing. Even in Katin's triumphal moment, as she finds a seat reserved for her at the exhibition opening, views her own artwork on display and is interviewed by the radio and

[63] Katin, *We Are On Our Own*, 15.

[64] Ibid., 33.

[65] Ibid., 51.

[66] Ibid., 62-69.

[67] Deborah Mayersen, "Faith after Genocide," in *Genocide Perspectives V*, ed. Nikki Marczak and Kirril Shields (Sydney: UTS Press, 2017).

[68] Katin, *Letting it Go*.

[69] Ibid.

newspaper, she is profoundly uncomfortable: "Itch! Itch! The alcohol might help a little."[70] Katin's husband – despite sleeping in the same bed – is entirely unaffected. Here, the reader can sense not only Katin's physical discomfort, but the metaphorical discomfort that underlays it.

Animal imagery is also employed in quite a different way in distressing scenes – that is to provide solace and soften the impact of tragic events. Two graphic novels aimed at a juvenile audience, *A Family Secret* and *The Search*, provide examples of this function. In *The Search*, as mentioned previously, Esther survives the Holocaust as a young adult hiding in the Dutch countryside. Her parents were rounded up by the Nazis. The story shifts between the narrative of Esther's survival and a contemporary narrative, in which she is revisiting the farm where she survived the war, with some family members. In a scene at the end of the war, Esther returns to her former neighbourhood. Efforts to find her parents are fruitless. Eventually she stumbles on a family friend, who informs her "I don't know how to tell you this… Your parents are not coming back, Esther."[71] The extreme sadness of this scene is tempered by an abrupt spatial, temporal and graphical change. The scene shifts from a close image of a grieving Esther after the war, to a birds-eye view of Esther recounting this conversation in the contemporary narrative.[72] The focal point of the latter panel is not Esther, but a horse grazing in a paddock. In this way, the image creates distance in time and space from the intensity of this tragic news, while the horse provides a comforting visual focus. A similar strategy is used when news of a death in the family is conveyed in *A Family Secret*. Immediately after the news, the scene switches from the wartime narrative, in which close up images depict family members' initial reactions, to a contemporary narrative in which the tale is being recounted to a grandchild.[73] The close up images of faces looking forward are replaced by a distant image of the characters side on, as the reader peeps distantly through a window. In the foreground, a passer-by is walking his dog. This frames the now small sad scene with a larger, happier image. Again, animal imagery has been employed to lessen the pain of loss.

Animals as Symbolic of Closure

The final trope considered in this article is one in which animals appear as a symbol of closure. In *Hidden*, this device is used twice as the narrative draws to its conclusion. The first symbolic closure occurs after an elderly Dounia has finished recounting her tale of survival to her granddaughter. She carries her now sleeping granddaughter back to bed.[74] The last image of this part of the narrative is a beautiful family photo of young Dounia with her parents, from before the war. Then, it is morning, a bright, contemporary family scene in which granddaughter Elsa wants to play with her ball, the family dog in the foreground.[75] But the narrative offers a second layer of closure, as Dounia and her son – Elsa's father – make peace over Dounia's previous inability to share her wartime experiences with him. In the final full-page panel, Dounia is embraced by her family, as the dog chases the ball in the foreground, barking happily.[76] Amidst the vibrant greenery of the garden, the image evokes the prospect of a peaceful, happy future for all. A similar device is used towards the close of *The Search*. Esther meets with family friend Bob Canter, who had previously informed her of her parents' deaths during the Holocaust. We learn that Bob "emigrated to Israel, where he could build a new life."[77] The images of Bob in the preceding and subsequent panels could hardly contrast more vividly. In the first panel, the reader sees Bob from behind, walking away from Esther.[78] He is hunched against the wind and rain, and his grey overcoat matches the dull, grey scene. After Bob arrives in Israel, he faces the reader. There is a bright sun in the background, and

[70] Ibid.

[71] Heuvel et al., *The Search*, 27.

[72] Ibid., 28.

[73] Heuvel, *A Family Secret*, 33.

[74] Dauvillier et al., *Hidden*, 69.

[75] Ibid., 71.

[76] Ibid., 76.

[77] Heuvel et al., *The Search*, 57.

[78] Ibid., 56.

two horses plough a field behind him.[79] The animal imagery contributes to a clear sense of the closure of one period, and the start of his new life after the war.

Conclusion

Animals perform a wide range of symbolic functions in graphic novels about genocide. Anthropomorphisation is widespread, with animals as diverse as cats, mice, cockroaches, dogs and bed bugs having much to say to the reader. IIn this article, I have sought to move beyond the strong focus on the anthropomorphised animal in critical analysis of this literature. I have also sought to move away from the heavy concentration of analysis on a small number of texts, primarily *Maus*, and to a lesser extent *Deogratias*. Through a comparative analysis of ten diverse graphic novels about genocide, I have elucidated the important and varied roles of non-anthropomorphised animals in these narratives. At times, animals play a strongly symbolic role, providing direct insight into the human condition. More commonly, they occupy a complex space in which they provide emotional cues to the reader. These cues provide important affective context. They immediately and effectively communicate emotion, removing some of the constraints to doing so in a medium in which written expression is inherently limited. They may cue emotional disruption, emotional calm, or positive or negative emotions. In this respect, animal imagery can offer a surprisingly flexible and functional trope. This may explain the relatively high prevalence of animal imagery within graphic novels about genocide. The graphic novels examined herein, moreover, trend towards a consistent use of animal imagery, irrespective of the genocide they depict. There is limited evidence of varied distribution of particular tropes, such as the use of animal imagery to depict decreased emotional intensity being more prevalent in graphic novels about the Holocaust. This may simply reflect the longer duration of the Holocaust, however. Generally, tropes can be identified across graphic novels depicting both genocides, which is suggestive of the universality of their symbolic function.

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Book Review: *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide*

Sarah Federman
University of Baltimore
Baltimore, Maryland, USA

Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide
Michael J. Kelly
New York, Oxford University Press, 2016
280 Pages; Price: $90.00 Hardcover

Reviewed by Sarah Federman
School of Public and International Affairs, University of Baltimore

Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide takes readers "into the thicket of legal conundrums and unhelpful precedents" preventing corporations from being held liable for complicity in massive human rights violations.[1] Michael Kelly, Associate Dean and Professor of Law at Creighton University, is well positioned to describe these thorny challenges. As president of the U.S. National Section of *L'Association International du Droit Pénal* (International Association of Criminal Law), he engages regularly with international legal scholars and judges who advise the United Nations (UN). Kelly directly addresses matters of genocide through his summer law program in Nuremberg. Luis Moreno Ocampo, who wrote the forward to the book, served as the International Criminal Court's first prosecutor and speaks to the need to extend accountability beyond individual perpetrators.

Corporate Accountability for Genocide: The Challenges

Mass murder is carried out by individuals but cannot occur without the assistance of companies that provide the tools for annihilation. The Holocaust remains the most noted example for the use of I.G. Farben's Zyklon B prussic acid (depicted on the book's cover) in the gas chambers. Other Holocaust-complicit actors include Ford, IBM, BMW, Krupp, Hugo Boss, the French National Railways and many others. Sadly, the modern debates about corporate accountability are not just about historic wrongs; corporate complicity in genocide continues. Kelly offers more contemporary examples such as the chemical companies which furnished Saddam Hussein with the mustard gas, VX, sarin, and tabun needed to slaughter the Kurds, and the Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC/PetroChina) which catalyzed the genocide in Darfur to clear land designated for oil extraction.

Kelly shows why holding these corporate actors accountable remains arduous even with the Genocide Convention and the existence of the International Criminal Court (ICC).[2] Some legal scholars and human rights activists have hoped the ICC could serve as a tool for such corporate accountability. The ICC opened in 2002 with the aim of holding individuals accountable for genocide and other crimes against humanity. Since its inception, the court has indicted a number of individuals complicit in genocide and other atrocities: Omar al-Bashir for the genocide in Darfur, Sudan, Jean-Pierre Bemba and Thomas Lubanga Dyilo for war crimes and crimes against humanity in Congo, and Joseph Kony for his crimes in Uganda. The ICC has never tried a corporate actor.

Currently, 124 states have ratified the Rome Statute, the court's founding document. Yet because the Rome Statute only endows the court the power to prosecute natural persons, corporations cannot be tried. A *natural person* is a human being. *Legal persons* are private and public

[1] Michael J. Kelly, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 88.

[2] Kelly, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide,* 129. On December 9, 1948, the UN General Assembly ratified the Genocide Convention through which participating countries agreed to work to prevent and punish genocidal actors. Despite this agreement, the current 143 participating countries have yet to challenge a complicit corporation. Kelly argues Article 4 of the Genocide Convention could be interpreted to include market actors, but impunity for corporations continues due to (1) lack of jurisdiction, (2) lack of political will, and (3) lack of a well-articulated criminality for corporations under international law.

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entities including businesses, governments, and non-governmental organizations. As a result, the corporate actors supplying the tools for murder such as creating poison or poisoned weapons, producing weapons which cause undue suffering, providing the financing, or in some other way facilitating the genocidal effort, remain "accountable to no one."[3]

There might be a trend towards holding some organizations accountable, at least in local tribunals. For example, in 2000, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda held Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) accountable for promoting the hostility that created the context for genocide. The station was not disbanded, but several individuals were held accountable.[4]

Currently, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) exists as the only international legal organization designed to hold *collectives* accountable—in this case, meaning groups rather than individuals. This judicial arm of the United Nations, however, only hears cases involving states. The court, born from the creators of the League of Nations, was created with the intention to resolve disputes between states.[5] As of July 2017, pending cases include conflicts between Nicaragua and Costa Rica as well as the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda.

International legal options are limited. Therefore, domestic courts most often pursue civil liability cases, meaning liability for legal persons, which includes corporations. Kelly notes, "not all domestic jurisdictions hold corporations criminally liable."[6] The book includes a table outlining which countries can prosecute corporations under criminal law. Tragically, "most human rights abuses and atrocities tend to occur in the societies least able to deal with them."[7] Domestic courts are often too weak or too economically enmeshed with corporations to challenge them.

The inability or unwillingness of domestic courts to address corporate actors for complicity in genocide is an increasing concern, especially as international corporations continue to dwarf many countries in which they operate. "Presently, fifty-one of the 100 largest economies in the world are corporations, forty-nine are countries."[8] Comparing GDP to revenue, Walmart is now larger than 170 countries and Exxon is larger than 150.[9] The ability of a small country and increasingly *any* country, to hold a multinational corporation accountable for complicity in genocide seems tantamount to trying to hold back a giant with a rubber band. Kelly acknowledges the danger of this power differential when he states corporations, "regularly realize vast profits at the expense of local populations through the often empty vessel of corporate governments."[10] Due to lobbying efforts and sheer force, corporations have increasing rights and few corresponding obligations. In short, they are stronger than those who lobby for their obligations. This book is an audible cry to hold corporations accountable for participation in genocide.

Legal Precedents for Collective Accountability

Kelly cites the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia as holding states, rather than individuals, accountable when there was interference in other states' affairs. Thus, he offers it as a precedent for holding other entities, in this case corporations, accountable as collective wholes rather than just their executives.[11] Unfortunately, the seeds planted in the 17th century yielded a disappointing crop of legal precedents for those with their eye on corporate actors.

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[3] Ibid., 14.

[4] Three of the RTML leaders faced life imprisonment. The court sentenced the three leaders to thirty years imprisonment. A Gacaca court sentenced RMTL announcer, Valérie Bemeriki to life imprisonment.

[5] League of Nations, Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, 16 December 1920, accessed February 24, 2018, http://www.refworld.org/docid/40421d5e4.html.

[6] Kelly, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide*, 73.

[7] Kelly, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide*, 177.

[8] Ibid., 4.

[9] Steve Coll, "'Private Empire': Author Steve Coll on the State- Like Powers, Influence of Oil Giant ExxonMobil," *Democracy Now*, May 4, 2012, accessed October 8, 2018, https://www.democracynow.org/2012/5/4/private_empire_author_steve_coll_on.

[10] Kelly, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide*, 14.

[11] Ibid., 55.

The wake of World War II provides an example of the ongoing struggle. The subsequent Nuremberg trials held roughly a dozen German executives accountable for their companies' support of the Nazi war effort and for the use of slave labor but not for their role in the Holocaust. However, the trials were an important start. The tribunal acknowledged the importance of corporations when it declared Germany could not have waged war without the I.G. Farben corporation.[12] The company was accused of forcing tens of thousands of prisoners into torturous slave labor in factories constructed in and around concentration camps. Because the court tried I.G. Farben executives rather than the company as a whole, attorneys claimed the executives simply followed orders from the German government. Thus, the prosecution struggled to prove the extent of knowledge of individual executives and their participation in the genocidal project. Even when they did prove executive knowledge and participation, the executives skirted significant accountability. Benjamin B. Ferencz, prosecutor in the Nuremberg trials, details the legal arguments in his book *Less Than Slaves.* At the conclusion of these trials, of the executives convicted, no one spent more than eight years in prison and once released, most went on to lead post-war Europe either in government or within the private sector.[13] The corporations remained intact.

After discussing the important attempts at Nuremberg, albeit with disappointing results, Kelly carries the thread of legal attempts through the 21st century. He provides an important and thorough description of contemporary attempts to use the U.S. Alien Tort Statute (ATS) to hold subsidiaries of U.S.-based corporations liable for atrocities performed abroad. In the 2013 Kiobel decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against using the ATS in the case of Royal Dutch Petroleum for its alleged acts of torture, murder, and extradition of protesting workers in Nigeria. While many human rights advocates considered the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling a major blow to human rights, Kelly considers the blow only deafening rather than deadening. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the prosecution because of issues of extraterritoriality, not because the ATS cannot be used against corporations.[14]

Case Studies: Sudan and Iraq

Kelly's studies of Sudan and Iraq in Chapter 5 consider still unaccounted-for cases of corporate complicity in large-scale genocide. In the case of Darfur, Kelly considers the complicity of the Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), which facilitated the forced removal, often through murder, of people living on the lands CNPC had slated for business. The company, an instigator or at least an advocate of the genocide, was never held legally accountable. To skirt potential accountability and attract foreign investment in spite of its behavior, the company rebranded itself into PetroChina. Kelly shines the light on individuals as well when he notes Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway's heavy investment in PetroChina. Eventually Berkshire Hathaway divested but news sources reported that the company's decision, "was 100 percent a decision based on valuation" rather than ethics.[15]

Kelly also explores German chemical corporations' complicity in the Kurdish genocide, a number of which supplied Saddam Hussein with the chemicals he needed. Kelly acknowledges the German State's inaction. He says the German government has no incentive, other than moral, to do so. Here we see domestic courts, even in wealthy countries with strong infrastructure, shying away from holding their corporations accountable. In weaker states, the tendency to look the other way is only amplified.

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[12] For more about these and other German corporate proceedings see Benjamin Ferencz's *Less Than Slaves*. Regarding I.G. Farben specifically, the Nuremburg court concluded that, "Auschwitz was financed and owned by Farben". Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Less Than Slaves* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), xix.

[13] Kelly argues the U.S. adoption of the Truman Doctrine (1945-46) further protected industrialists.

[14] Without the ATS, human rights lawyers now use the Crime Victims' Rights Act of 2004 and the Torture Victim Protection Act of 1991.

[15] Jonathan Stempel, "Buffet Says Has Sold Entire PetroChina stake," Reuters.com, October 18, 2007, accessed October 17, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-berkshire-petrochina/buffett-says-has-sold-entire-petrochina-stake-idUSWEN177020071018?feedType=RSS&feedName=businessNews&rpc=23&sp=true

A Way Forward

Kelly does more than outline the challenges of holding corporations accountable, he proposes a way forward. While most abuses occur locally, Kelly recommends first amending the existing international legal system because international law provides (1) uniformity of treatment, (2) protection of vulnerable societies, (3) deterrence, (4) victim assistance, and (5) the development of international criminal law.[16] Kelly recommends amending the Rome Statute to enable the ICC to hold both legal persons and natural persons accountable. Kelly claims the ICC only omitted legal persons because of time constraints but the increasing size and ongoing role of corporations suggest it is time to revisit the issue. He offers Canada as a model, as Canadian law can "assert criminal jurisdiction over corporations for complicity in genocide."[17] By including corporations, Kelly considers this an amendment to the Rome Statute by Canadian courts.[18]

Kelly acknowledges the challenges to changing the ICC. There remains the problem of sovereign immunity for state-run enterprises. The United States, China, and Russia have not ratified the Rome Statute, all of which house the parent companies of powerful multinational corporations. Additionally, Article 30 requires proof of "knowledge and intent," which remains hard to prove for collectives.[19] Finally, Kelly argues that the Rome Statute is at odds with customary international law over definitions of *mens rea,* a guilty mind. These issues could stymie the ICC's efforts to hold a corporation criminally liable. To this list, I add the questionable capacity of the ICC to take on more cases. Presently, the court struggles under the weight of individual convictions which can take years and cost millions of dollars. If we were instead to use the ICJ, the judicial arm of the United Nations, the UN General Assembly would start the process by making a formal request for the ICJ to consider the issue of corporations.

Addressing Counterarguments

To end what has largely become legal impunity for corporate complicity in genocide, those wishing hold corporations more fully accountable, Kelly provides some guidance as to how to respond to these counterarguments. Some will argue that companies are not subject to international law or the Geneva Conventions. To this, Kelly replies that international customary law considers genocide a matter of *jus cogens*, a non-negotiable. He says "under international customary law, any country can try a perpetrator for genocide."[20] Some may argue that market forces deter bad behavior; participation in genocide would ultimately be bad business as it would devastate and destroy workforces and disrupt markets. Kelly responds by claiming market forces might deter complicity *if* corporate officers played the long-game. Because many contemporary companies focus on quarterly profits and have high turnover, short-term profits outweigh long-term good business strategy.

Kelly also offers some tactical advice for those who have the opportunity to formulate legal cases against complicit corporations, because even when lawyers have a court in which to pursue their case, they run into numerous challenges. Corporate participants in genocide tend to aid and abet rather than instigate genocide. Furthermore, the seat of the soul of corporate entities remains difficult to locate.[21] The defense will likely claim that people commit crimes, not companies, and that corporations cannot have *mens rea*. To deal with these challenges, Kelly advocates first aiming to hold the corporation accountable as a whole. This allows the prosecution to prove the responsibility of the corporation and then show how each person fits into the overall "mosaic."[22] Corporations could be held accountable by applying vicarious liability, which argues that just as states must be responsible for their citizens' actions, corporations ought to be liable for their

[16] Kelly, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide*, 175.

[17] Ibid., 126.

[18] Ibid., 127.

[19] Ibid., 79.

[20] Ibid., 161.

[21] John C. Coffee, "'No Soul to Damn: No Body to Kick': An Unscandalized Inquiry into the Problem of Corporate Punishment," *Michigan Law Review* 79, no. 3 (1981), 386-459.

[22] Kelly, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide*, 38.

employees' actions. The command responsibility–the legal doctrine of hierarchical accountability for crimes against humanity and also be employed. Command responsibility was used to hold the *Schutzstaffel* (the Nazi S.S.) accountable during World War II for the behavior of agents could be used to expand executive responsibility for company agents. In this way, the corporate whole could become accountable for the actions of a few agents or executives.

Limits of the Law

Some readers may wonder: Even if we had courts and effective legal cases, what could law really promise regarding deterrence and support for victims? Kelly argues that the "threat of prosecution for international crimes would have an immense deterrent effect."[23] He cites several examples of individuals made nervous by potential prosecution including Henry Kissinger for his role in Cambodia. Yet, individuals continue to incite and participate in genocide in spite of the ICC's work. Why would corporate actors be more likely to be deterred, especially if companies focus on quarterly profits and executive teams turn over with some frequency? Most executives can still leave the company without facing much personal accountability. Rex Tillerson, the former CEO of Exxon, was never held accountable for the company's atrocities in Ache, Indonesia during his tenure. In 2017, he found himself the U.S. Secretary of State.

Even if we unseated complicit executives, would long-term change last without a change in the corporate culture which makes profits the goal at all costs? Companies have an ethos, a *habitus*, which carries on with or without various individuals. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for example, highlighted the role of Ford and IBM, both Holocaust-complicit companies, in perpetuating apartheid. In 2011, AG Siemens used slave labor to produce gas chambers during the war and found itself accused by the U.S. Department of Justice of engaging in a decade-long, one-billion-dollar bribery scheme involving senior officials in Argentina to produce identity cards.[24] During World War II, Barclays Bank operated in France and offered up information about Jewish employees and helped finance the Nazi war effort. The bank also housed the plundered gains of Jews taken to the Drancy transit camp in France shortly before they were shipped to Auschwitz. The manager of the French division, Marcel Cheradame, continued his post after the war into retirement. In June 2017, United Kingdom authorities charged Barclays, its former chief executive, and other senior officials with fraud relating to the 2008 financial crisis.[25] Even if not at a genocidal level, their acts of fraud and bribery disrupted world markets and facilitated a global recession. Did the ethos of these companies change after World War II? The question of how to transform the corporate ethos remains.

Even if deterrence worked and company ethos could be transformed, it remains unclear how often current fines paid by corporations find their way to victims. In the case of Chiquita, the $25 million fine for the company's fiscal support of a terrorist paramilitary organization was paid to the U.S. Department of Justice rather than to decimated families in Colombia.[26]

With the questionable ability of legal fines to support victims, deter complicity in genocide, and change corporate values, Kelly's book made me wonder about the possibility of having a "death penalty" for corporations. Threat of dissolution could have a greater deterrent effect, eliminate impunity most executives still maintain, and encourage employees to resign or shareholders to divest when crimes against humanity become visible. If not the death penalty, then at least extradite the subsidiary from the site of conflict. Kelly is concerned if companies pull out after violence. When businesses leave, innocent people lose jobs and a country's already-fragile

[23] Ibid., 10.

[24] U.S. Department of Justice, "Eight Former Senior Executives and Agents of Siemens Charged in Alleged $100 Million Foreign Bribe Scheme," *Justice News*, December 13, 2011, accessed October 17, 2018, https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/eight-former-senior-executives-and-agents-siemens-charged-alleged-100-million-foreign-bribe.

[25] Caroline Binham, "Barclays and Former Executives Charged with Crisis-Era Fraud," *The Financial Times*, June 20, 2017.

[26] The U.S. Department of Justice website reporting the settlement announced the company's $25 million fine and the requirement to abide various ethics provisions. The announcement, and all subsequent major news sources, all neglect to mention *where* the $25 million went. U.S. Department of Justice, "Chiquita Brands International Pleads Guilty to Making Payments to a Designated Terrorist Organization and Agrees to Pay $25 Million Fine," March 19, 2007, accessed July 28, 2017, https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2007/March/07_nsd_161.html.

infrastructure weakens, This, in turn, decreases foreign investments and the context is ripe again for more violence.[27] Clearly, by showing readers the existing legal topography, Kelly's work can spark some interesting debates and perhaps some changes in the law. In the interim, however, we may need to rely on the power of public pressure and corporate goodwill.

Extralegal Approaches

Kelly's title makes it clear that his book addresses the law's ability to hold corporations accountable. That said, it warrants acknowledging the extralegal approaches available. While Kelly claims corporate ethics (voluntary standards of corporate social responsibility) prove insufficient to curtail corporate behavior, he attributes the "weight of negative opinion" to halting the torturous practices of the Dutch East and British East India companies. He also points to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's powerful acknowledgment of specific corporations, such as IBM and Ford, without whom apartheid would have been difficult to sustain. Truth and reconciliation commissions lack the teeth of a court because they cannot demand compensation, although they do contribute to social pressure which could lead to settlements.

The corporate social responsibility movement, by contrast, encourages companies to uphold global human rights standards voluntarily. The United Nations Global Compact led by John Ruggie and Georg Kell, adopted in August 2005, encourages commitment to human rights via a non-binding pact to ten guiding principles which include protecting human rights, eschewing complicity in human rights violations, and prohibiting child labor and corruption. In responding to the question, "Does the UN Compact have teeth?", the Compact describes itself as, "more like a guide than a watch dog."[28] The Global Compact currently serves as a guide to over 9,000 corporate signatories all listed on the UN website.

Other powerful influencers not mentioned in the book are private sector social responsibility ratings. The Corporate Human Rights Benchmark, for example, assesses 100 of the largest publicly traded companies according to various human rights indicators. This report and other similar reports prompt investor action and, at times, consumer boycotts. Another powerful corporate influencer not mentioned is investigative reporting. Nestle has radically improved its human rights record since a documentary, *The Dark Side of Chocolate*, proved the child slave trade active in the cocoa industry. *60 Minutes* and *Frontline* have aired unforgettable reports about Chiquita and Firestone respectively. Kelly's own naming and shaming of corporate actors throughout the book suggests he considers there to be some power in naming and shaming, either as a means of correcting behavior or preventing future human rights violations. These extralegal approaches may be the only tools at hand until the International Criminal Court expands the Rome Statute to include legal persons, the U.S. Supreme Court gives the green light to holding subsidiaries accountable for actions abroad, and domestic courts in states where the atrocities occurred have the political will and infrastructure to try corporations. Kelly could engage transitional justice and genocide scholars even more if he discussed the systems of corruption that deter these domestic courts from holding companies accountable. Regardless, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide* is a must-read for anyone interested in the intersection of corporate accountability and genocide. Kelly's book is timely, relevant, and speaks to the increasingly dominant player in world events: the corporation.

Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide provides a guide for those wishing to expand the reach of international courts to corporate actors and for legal professionals preparing cases against them in domestic courts. As such, this book will interest legal scholars, legal professionals, and law students as well as those interested in human rights, conflict resolution, and transitional justice. I used the book, for example, in a Grinnell College course entitled "The Role of Market Actors in Mass Atrocity." Students raved about Kelly's clear writing, organized arguments, and willingness to take a stand.

[27] Kelly, *Prosecuting Corporations for Genocide*, 164.

[28] United Nations, *Global Compact: Frequently Asked Questions*, accessed July 28, 2017, https://www.unglobalcompact.org/about/faq.

Book Review: *Landscape, Memory and Post-Violence in Cambodia*

Theresa de Langis
American University of Phnom Penh
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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Reviewed by Theresa de Langis,
American University of Phnom Penh

Is violent conflict ever fully "post"? *Landscape, Memory, and Post-Violence in Cambodia* probes the memorialization of mass atrocity, revealing the limits of official remembrance of the Khmer Rouge atrocity in contradistinction to how this tragic past remains unreconciled within the everyday lives and routine landscapes of the present. Putting forward a provocative theory of "post-violence" to signify the residual trauma of violation, "violence" cannot simply be said to be part of the past but rather remains ever present in its material remains. As such, Cambodia's conflict history has left behind a landscape of ruination, hidden in plain sight in the remnants of Khmer Rouge infrastructure programs (dams, reservoirs), its genocidal security apparatus (prisons housed in pagodas, schools, hospitals), and in the consequences of both (hundreds of mass graves and killing fields), whose material afterlife serves as a constant reminder to survivors. These "living sites", unmarked and unremarked, are threatened, the book contends, by the selective and politicized official memorialization of Cambodia's violent heritage, which serves to "negate the lived experiences of millions of Cambodians" and, as such, works against ongoing efforts to bring about social justice and reconciliation.

Chapter 1 clearly presents the objectives of the book as part of a broader engagement with war, violence and critical heritage studies, and establishes a theoretical framework influenced by Marianne Hirsch's [1]work on post-memory and, even more so, by cultural anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler's[2] concept of ruination as imperial debris and aftershock. The chapter sets the backdrop for understanding the cases to follow within a context of the politically fraught project of official remembrance. Memory of the atrocity in Cambodia is delineated by Prime Minister Hun Sen's infamous 1998 declaration to "dig a hole and bury the past," a political calculation intended to entice Khmer Rouge insurgents to put down their guns and end the civil war. The ploy worked, but the scars remain.

Thoroughly grounded in historical detail, the book as a whole is notable for its diversity of sources, including Cambodia's ruins, survivor testimonies and materials from the proceedings of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (the Khmer Rouge tribunal/ECCC). Such an approach adds fresh insight and nuance to otherwise familiar materials. Chapters 2 and 3, for example, provide new detail to the torture center converted into Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the killing field memorialized as Choeng Ek Genocide Center. Judy Ledgerwood's[3] thesis on the political production of memory at both locations to rationalize the Vietnamese invasion and occupation is extended with legal, expert and witness testimony memorialized as part of the ECCC's trial, conviction and life sentence for Kaing Guek Eav (alias Duch), the notorious Khmer Rouge director of both sites. While Tuol Sleng and Choeung EK have been officially commemorated, the chapters argue, it is not so much to remember and honor those who died there, but more so to lay blame at the feet of a handful of high-ranking cadres who would later be brought to trial.

[1] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[2] Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).*

[3] Judy Ledgerwood, "The Cambodian Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes: National Narrative," *Museum Anthropology 21, (1997), 82-98.*

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Chapter 4 moves away from these, perhaps, more typical examples of memorialization and into the rural countryside and the site of the remnants of Khmer Rouge infrastructure development—myriad dams and dikes, canals and reservoirs. Often neglected by memory and memorialization scholars, these sites are read in the chapter as standing both as material objects of a despotic regime and atrocity in the past, as well as landscapes of living heritage in the present. Here, sites like Kraing Ta Chan detention center have been adopted by local non-governmental organizations in an effort to promote awareness, public education and reconciliation. Yet, these collective and local memory sites too often emphasize the day-to-day violence of the average Cambodian, Tyner argues, and offer little explanation for understanding the larger context and root causes of the violence. Hundreds, if not thousands, of such material structures remain visible throughout Cambodia, often built literally on top of the bodies that succumbed to Khmer Rouge ruthlessness, and yet remain unremarked and unpreserved. Bereft of textual information, no understanding of the site is possible beyond that of personal survivor memories, faded and transitory.

A haunting example is that of the Trapeang Thma dam and reservoir, one of the Khmer Rouge's most ambitious infrastructure projects, constructed over the bodies of forced laborers who died from exhaustion and hunger. Today, this site of past brutality is a vital water supply for communities and a protection area for endangered species. Such sites vex the tendency to suppress seeing "anything remotely positive or beneficial resulting from 'Pol Pot' times." They also mark the possible oblivion of the atrocity's trace. As the chapter points out, foreign tourists from the urban centers, who flock to the area to rent boats for a day of natural respite, may see the site as an oasis, untouched by the painful suffering commemorated at Tuol Sleng and Cheoung Ek, unaware they are floating upon a watery mass grave. An unmarked atrocity ruin, hidden in plain sight, perhaps should be marked; perhaps not. The chapter does not come down on either side, but exhorts, at the very least, as scholars and travelers, it is our responsibility to somehow know the existence of this haunting double reality.

The book ends by examining the larger geopolitical context of the Cambodian genocide. Chapter 5 studies the geographic wounds of the U.S. bombings in Cambodia during the Vietnam-American War in the early 1970s. This attention to the wider framework of the atrocity is welcomed, as transitional justice discourse is dominated by the temporal jurisdiction of the ECCC (that is, crimes committed between April 15, 1975 and January 7, 1979). Cambodia is a terrain cluttered with landmines, cluster bombs, and other remnants of war that continue "to inflict belated maimings" and to pose a deadly risk that is very much part of the past-present violence of Cambodia. Chapter 6 investigates the absence in contemporary memorial landscapes of Cold War geopolitical complicity. Using new primary sources, the chapter argues that the case of if and how Cambodia's post-violence was to be remembered was deeply embedded in domestic politics, far removed from the control of the Cambodian population or concerns for local-level reconciliation.

The volume ends somewhat abruptly after Chapter 6 and could have benefited from a final chapter tying the different cases together and providing a final assessment of ways forward for efforts around social justice and reconciliation in Cambodia, especially in terms of how atrocity is memorialized. Perhaps the thesis may be too constrictive, positioning official memorials and what Tyner calls living heritage ruins as mutually exclusive, when they might be better described as in conversation. If the former is static and the latter fluid, the quandary the book surfaces is that such fluidity can transform quite easily into the oblivious beauty of the Cambodian countryside, accelerated as survivors with personal recollections pass away. Yet, in a predominantly Buddhist country such as Cambodia, where the transitory is the very nature of existence, such oblivion may not be problematic but rather pre-requite to letting go of past lives to be reborn into the new.

A professor of geography at Kent State University and author of dozens of books, Tyner is no stranger to Cambodia's genocide, from his *The Killing of Cambodia: Geography, Genocide and the Unmaking of Space*[4] to his recent work discussed in this review. This volume will be of interest to students and scholars in heritage studies, critical geography, memory studies, and dark tourism, and its innovative theorization of post-violence has the potential to inform genocide scholarship

[4] James A. Tyner, *The Killing of Cambodia: Geography, Genocide and the Unmaking of Space (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008).*

in other scenarios. It explores how a legacy of genocide can become part of the cultural heritage of a national identity marked with a violent past and, simultaneously, how this heritage is produced and constructed, not in official reckonings, but 'from below,' in the mundane landscape daily traversed. As such, *Landscape, Memory, and Post-Violence in Cambodia* makes an important contribution to contemporary efforts to establish a "truthful" historiography of past events as a basis for promoting a more peaceful future for Cambodia.

Book Review: *Rwanda before the Genocide: Catholic Politics and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era*

Randall Fegley
Pennsylvania State University
Reading, Pennsylvania, USA

Rwanda before the Genocide: Catholic Politics and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era
J. J. Carney
Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014
337 Pages; Price: $82 Hardcover

Reviewed by Randall Fegley
Pennsylvania State University

The Roman Catholic Church was Rwanda's most dominant institution in the period between 1920 and 1994. Carney's important work is the most recent history of Rwandan Catholicism in English. It carefully documents how "one of the most Catholic countries in Africa" descended into the depravity of ethnic particularism and mass death.

His first chapter, Contested Categories: A Brief History of Hutu and Tutsi, provides necessary historical, anthropological, and theoretical background on the development of group identities in Rwanda. Chapter 2, Building a Catholic Kingdom in Central Africa 1900-1950, discusses French Archbishop Charles Lavigerie, his development of the Missionaries of Africa (best known as the White Fathers), the Buganda missions in neighboring British Uganda, the first Catholic missions in Rwanda, World War I, the Belgian mandate of Ruanda-Urundi, French Vicar Apostolic Léon Classe and relations between the Europeans and the Tutsi monarchy.

Chapter 3, Success Breeds Restlessness 1950-1955, examines post-Second World War religious, political, and social transformations in Rwandan society. Particularly noteworthy are descriptions of the first Banyarwanda Bishop, Aloys Bigirumwami, Nyakibanda Seminary and the rise of the Swiss-born White Father André Perraudin. Continuing these themes, Carney's fourth chapter describes later, more dramatic changes that occurred in the political and religious spheres. Perraudin's influence became paramount and independence movements emerged among both ethnic groups. The Mwami Mutara's death and colonial machinations in its aftermath are covered in detail. The chapter ends with a discussion of the question, "Did the Catholic hierarchy incite an ethnic revolution?"

The fifth chapter, The Catholic Church and the Political Revolution in Rwanda 1959-1962, delves into the ascendancy of Hutu radical movements, particularly Parmehutu, and Catholic reactions to them. Perraudin rather than Bigirumwami became the unofficial primate of the Rwandan Church. As political events rapidly unfolded, an over-confident Church became increasingly reactive rather than proactive. As the road to independence became increasingly bloodied, the colonially rooted Church was "an epicenter radiating tensions," rather than the powerful force shaping public opinion it had been. The suspicious May 1961 death of Bernard Manyurane, the first Bishop of Ruhengeri, controversy in choosing his successor and tensions at the Nyakibanda Seminary later that year all limited the effectiveness of the Church at a time when moral commitment and peaceful resolution were needed the most.

Although the title of Carney's work leads one to think that he will conclude with the 1959 Hutu Revolution, his sixth and final chapter and epilogue provide vitally important links to the present. These include descriptions and analytical comments on the invasions and massacres of 1963-64, expulsions of Tutsi from schools in 1973, and finally, the church's role in the 1994 genocide. Although the Roman Catholic Church has contributed to rebuilding Rwanda, it has proven to be a flawed and weakened force, which allowed a situation to exist in which "the blood of tribalism ran deeper than the waters of baptism."

One of many great strengths of this history is its incorporation of the biographical details of particularly powerful leaders. In addition to those mentioned earlier in this review, they include Jean-Paul Harroy, the last Belgian colonial governor of Ruanda-Urundi (1955-1962); Tutsi priest and scholar Alexis Kagame; Grégoire Kayibanda, the Hutu seminarian who became Rwanda's first

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president; and his successor Juvenal Habyarimana, whose plane was shot down triggering the 1994 genocide.

A few appropriately placed maps and photos throughout the book illustrate the textual narrative. More would have been useful. Two very helpful appendices follow the text. Appendix I provides a timeline of relevant events occurring between 1884 and 2010. Appendix II is divided into two glossaries, one on key terms and acronyms in Kinyarwanda and French, the second provides biographical information on key historical personalities.

Carney's book covers a lot of ground. No doubt, he encountered difficulties in deciding what to include or not. He rightly focuses on events in Africa. However, his book could have benefited by some discussion of the vitally important changes that occurred in Belgium during the period he covers. Founded in 1830, Belgium was dominated by a French-speaking elite throughout its first century. Following the First World War and accelerating after the Second World War, Belgium's oppressed Flemish majority gradually became politically empowered. At the same time French-speaking Belgians became increasingly anti-clerical and disconnected from church affairs. These trends were reflected in Rwanda, where priests and colonial administrators were profoundly affected by what was happening in Europe. Seeing parallels with their own experience, many Flemings sympathized with the Hutu majority, who had been dominated by the minority Tutsi. Some Francophone Belgians emphasized the need to limit the then Tutsi-dominated Church. The realignment of political power in Belgium, therefore, led to changes in colonial policies, which hitherto favored the Tutsi and rather suddenly came to side with the Hutu. All of this led to a confusing situation hampered by deeply rooted colonialist assumptions.

However, despite whatever additions one might want to append to Carney's work, he has made an impressive effort to describe and analyze a complex situation with which few beyond the borders of Rwanda have any familiarity. Covering all the major personalities, organizations and opinions, he succeeds in presenting key features of modern Rwandan society and politics. This book is highly recommended for scholars, activists and library collections concentrating on African religion, colonialism and genocide.

Book Review: *Genocide: A World History*

Renato S. Bahia
Aberystwyth University
Aberystwyth, Wales, United Kingdom

Genocide: A World History
Norman M. Naimark
New York, Oxford University Press, 2017
178 pages; Price: $19.95 paperback

Reviewed by Renato S. Bahia
Aberystwyth University

Norman Naimark is well known for his rich work on Eastern European history and on Soviet/Russian politics. Since the wars in the Balkans in the 90's, his interest has shifted towards genocide studies and mass atrocities, especially with the publication of *Fires of Hatred*,[1] where the author questioned the possibilities of novelty and of repetition within twentieth century European history in terms of ethnic killings. In *Genocide: A World History*, the author in many ways tries to broaden the horizons of mass atrocities, albeit focused on the phenomenon of genocide, throughout a somewhat large scale comparative study of different spatial-temporal circumstances where one can argue that genocide took place.

In a broader scale, the main problem that the book attempts to tackle would be a question of the definition of genocide. That is, how certain modern approaches of what genocide *is* might limit the scope and possibilities of understanding, of delimiting, not only comparative studies of genocide cases, but the very possibilities of branding a certain situation as genocide. Particularly, Naimark seems to be concerned with how we might go on about avoiding a modernist and therefore limited definition of genocide. By "modernist" definition, I refer here to what Naimark calls an unjust privilege of the "modern" take on what genocide is, an approach that discounts the possibilities for a *longue durée* of the idea of genocide.[2]

Thus, in many ways *Genocide: A World History* can be seen as a continuation of sorts with Raphael Lemkin's uncompleted task of writing down an international history of genocide that would range from the most ancient cases—such as Biblical narratives of genocide, Carthage and so forth—to the most recent ones, passing through medieval crusades, the bloody conquest of the New World, colonial genocidal campaigns and, finally, twentieth century cultural, political, and ethnical genocides. Or, in the author's words "this book also assumes that genocide is a worldwide historical phenomenon that originates with the beginning of human society."[3]

In terms of definitions Naimark concedes to what he calls "the fundamental definition accepted by scholars and the international courts in their work on genocide both past and present,"[4] that is, the genocide convention. With a few caveats he purposely considers cultural and political groups within the range of possibilities for genocide—since that would be Lemkin's original intention—while also claiming to focus on what he calls the 'evolution of the term,' i.e., the jurisprudence from recent International Tribunals that have been focusing on the centrality of mass killings in evaluating a case where genocide is recognized to have happened.[5]

Thus, the definition is broad enough to consider the intended *longue durée* of the idea of genocide, that is, what sort of actions one might englut in order to understand the history of such a phenomenon in a way that goes beyond modern frames that might limit not only visions and ideas of a "typical genocide case"—whatever that may be—but, sociologically perhaps, also in

[1]Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

[2]Norman M. Naimark, *Genocide: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 142.

[3]Naimark, *Genocide*, 5.

[4]Ibid.,3.

[5]Ibid.,4.

Renato S. Bahia. "Book Review: *Genocide: A World History*" *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 12, 2(2018): 190-192. ©2018 *Genocide Studies and Prevention*.
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terms of possibilities to prevention. Not that the author engages in specific formulae to prevent genocide, but as not only he mentioned, and as is well accepted throughout the social sciences,[6] understanding its history can only help us get to a possibility of a solution to the problem at hand.[7]

But it is also narrow enough so as one can still attempt to grasp what a general idea of genocide might consist of throughout such an extensive chronology. In other words, and to cite a relatively recent autobiography of Lemkin, "A line, red from blood, led from the Roman arena through the gallows of France to the pogrom of Bialystok."[8] Throughout the chronology of Naimark's book, one can come to terms not only of what that line red from blood running through history might mean, but also in its implications. That is to appreciate when and where genocide might occur, or even *is* occurring, one needs to get rid of a very liberal notion that genocide usually only happens in totalitarian states or, in the very least, non-liberal democratic ones.[9] Or, in another vein, that genocide comes exclusively as the other side of modernity's promises of progress,[10] or even that it essentially originates from modern revolutionary—and sometimes racial—movements.[11]

One must add, not only this 'line red from blood' is well written out throughout the book, but also each chapter is extremely clear in showing where one might find the arguments and similarities in terms of the author's notion of what genocide consists of, and where such similarities might fall short. In ancient genocides, for instance, the author duly recognizes how distant "salting of the earth," "concubines," "taking of slaves," "sacrifice to the gods [and God]" might sound to modern ears, but also how the killing was essentially, "intentional, total and eliminationist."[12] Genocide as a concept, per se, might not be there, but essentially the core of what the idea represents can be seen as representatives, as attempts of making sense, of what the historical narratives calls forth.

While, on the one hand, the argument seems to take a stretch when talking about the Mongols as Genocidaires in the strict sense—as suggested by Naimark himself when stated that "Some commentators find it difficult to classify the Mongol killing as genocide."[13] On the other hand, one has to appreciate that the inclusion of medieval cases—such as the crusades in the Near East against the Cathars and, eventually, the Mongols themselves—might help the understanding of a few possible origins and, perhaps, justifications, for the well-researched, but no less controversial cases of colonialism as genocide. If the partial goal of the book is to understand the crime of genocide from broader lenses than modernity as a main, if not sole, culprit, then this chapter represents an important step in what one may understand as a *longue durée* of genocide, i.e., as one specific temporal dimension of the idea of genocide that detaches but also takes part in the long term of what such an idea, if not concept, might represent. This constant transformation, with the addition of different layers to possibilities of meanings to genocide—or, in other words, what sort of actions, intentions, deeds may be included in a general idea of genocide—is also seen in the following chapter, when Naimark covers genocide in the Spanish conquest of the New World. One can see, or so is claimed, both renditions of past experiences in the form of a sort of crusading spirit of the conquerors and the newer racial nuances that such actions also entailed.[14] The line, red from blood, keeps on running, zig-zagging back and forth between certain ideas, characterizations, possibilities, in such a way that the book's narrative becomes enabled.

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[6]Martin Shaw, *What is Genocide?*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 1-2.

[7]Naimark, Genocide, 144.

[8]Raphael Lemkin, *Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography of Raphael Lemkin*, ed. Donna-Lee Frieze (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 17.

[9]A. Dirk Moses, "Toward a Critical Theory of Genocide", *Online Encyclopedia of Mass* Violence (April 18, 2008), http://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/toward-theory-critical-genocide-studies.

[10]While Bauman's argument towards a non-exclusivist approach towards the Holocaust in terms of genocide, it is, nevertheless, necessary to stress how still limiting the demarcation "Modernity-Genocide" might be. See further Zygmunt Bauman. *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

[11]Eric D. Weitz, "The Modernity of Genocides: War, Race, and Revolution in the Twentieth Century" in *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*, ed. Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 53-73.

[12]Naimark, Genocide, 14.

[13]Ibid., 33.

[14]Naimark, Genocide, 47.

Thus, more than an outright book about who did what, when, and against whom, that is, more than an analysis that covers essentially a "tidely organized drama of passive victims, wicked perpetrators, and craven bystanders,"[15] *Genocide: A World History* puts forth an important claim towards the understanding of what genocide is supposed to represent *in time* and *in space.* In other words, even if the author's conceptual basis lies in the Genocide Convention, recent jurisprudence on the matter and Lemkin's original intention, to be able to surmount an understanding of the concept of genocide in the *longue durée*, requires a recognition of the different spatial-temporal conditions of each case, even if the author is essentially looking broadly, almost skimming, through the cases. In other words, the way each case and situation is explored goes beyond the common understanding of genocide as an end-point of sorts and more as a means to different forms of ends that such a lengthy spam of perpetrators might have.

To be fair, to point the case studies as almost skimming through them is more a statement than a criticism *per se*. After all, perhaps one of the great commendations of this work is its name choice—Genocide, *a* World History. I would like to stress the importance for the argument of the book, of the "a" as in delimiting that the present narrative is not, could not, claims not to be final. This is what the book does, and does well at that—building one possible, perhaps grand, narrative of what genocide in the long run can be. In the end, even if the author makes no claims towards strictly resolving the genocide issue, it contributes well in its consideration of genocide beyond, but not ignoring, International Tribunals and courts of Justice as if the law, by itself, held the (only) key to the issue.

However, perhaps one of the main flaws of the book concerns its theoretical background, especially in relation to its intended audience. While to claim for a *longue durée* of genocide, a process that is interestingly shown throughout the chapters, one still may find oneself in the dark if unfamiliar with what such a claim might bring. Although it has hints throughout the book, it is only once that the term, *longue durée*, appears briefly in the conclusion,[16] which prompts an almost sigh of understanding on the reader in terms of what the book could possibly be about. Yet, as the author suggested in an interview,[17] if the book is directed mostly to, and made from, his graduate students (questions in classes), one has to wonder if it would not have been useful to elaborate a bit more on the theoretical point that the book brings about, its implications, and its consequences, its limits and insights. In the end, *Genocide: A World History* is a welcome sight for undergraduate and graduate level students that seeks to jump into the field of genocide studies, while still offering some interesting points towards more experienced scholars and the field as a whole.

[15]A. Dirk Moses, "Empire, Colony, Genocide: Keywords and the Philosophy of History", in *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*, ed. A. Dirk Moses (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 6.

[16]Naimark, Genocide, 142.

[17]Norman Naimark, "Q&A with Professor Naimark on the History of Genocide", Stanford Global Studies, December 8, 2016, https://sgs.stanford.edu/news/qa-professor-naimark-history-genocide.

Book Review: *Rwanda Genocide Stories: Fiction After 1994*

Rafiki Ubaldo
Temples of Memory

Rwanda Genocide Stories: Fiction After 1994
Nicki Hitchcott
Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2015
229 Pages; Price: £80.00 Cloth

Reviewed by Rafiki Ubaldo
Temples of Memory

"How do writers who did not live through the genocide tell the stories of those who did? How do their stories differ from those of the Rwandan people who experienced it first-hand? What are the ethical implications of telling other people's stories of genocide? Or […] what happens when a writer who is not a survivor or a perpetrator retells, and revises, a survivor or a perpetrator's story?"[1] These are some of the questions Nicki Hitchcott seeks to answer through *Rwanda Genocide Stories: Fiction After 1994*, a study "of the ways in which African writers tell the story of the genocide" of 1994 in Rwanda.[2]

While non-Rwandan African writers are insiders to the story of the African continent in general, they nonetheless remain geographical outsiders to the lived experiences of the genocide that decimated the Tutsi of Rwanda. Thus, *Rwanda Genocide Stories* compares two sets of texts, namely the eleven works of Rwandan authors who lived in Rwanda at the time of the genocide, and the works of African authors, including two Rwandans who lived outside the country during the genocide. The authors who resided outside Rwanda during the genocide travelled to Rwanda in 1998 to engage in a literary reflection about what happened there in 1994. This group was later known as 'Rwanda: Ecrire par devoir de mémoire' (Writing with a duty to remember) group. They are natives of Senegal, Chad, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Kenya, and Rwanda.

The importance of *Rwanda Genocide Stories* probably resides in its particular attention to the group of Rwandan authors who have not received the same international exposure as the 'Rwanda: Ecrire par devoir de mémoire' group. It goes without saying that all the texts Hitchcott compares in this book were written in French.

Rwanda Genocide Stories' analysis centres around the authors' positions vis-à-vis the genocide, and the subject positions of victim, perpetrator, witness, and survivor. These subject positions are, the book suggests, salient points of sharp discussions about identities in post-genocide Rwanda. In practice, the book looks at how a work of fiction constructs the subject-positions of victim, perpetrator, survivor, and witness. Also, it looks at how the authors of fiction proceed in taking sides vis-a-vis these subject positions; and how the academic market positions itself towards the different stands the authors adopt in relation to these subject questions.

The 'Rwanda: Ecrire par devoir de mémoire' group of authors is viewed here as ambivalent and literary dark tourists. Their inspiration comes mostly from the genocide memorials they visited during their stay in Rwanda. Even though the authors were travelling with a specific purpose, they nonetheless did dark tourism, namely trips "to a range of sites or tourist attractions associated with death and disaster."[3] The descriptions of the horror in the memorials challenged the literary dark tourists emotionally and morally, which led to ambivalent positions in writing about the killings of 1994. However, the authors realised that the story of 1994 in Rwanda is an extreme miniature of the suffering the entire continent of Africa. It is, therefore, and as Hitchcott puts it, "this tension between insider and outsider status that generates anxiety in the texts" written by 'Rwanda: Ecrire

[1]Nicki Hitchcott, *Rwanda Genocide Stories: Fiction After 1994* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 15.
[2]Ibid., 15.
[3]Ibid., 60.

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par devoir de mémoire group'.[4] This ambivalence, Hitchcott argues, that compels us the readers of this dark tourism texts "to reflect on how to position ourselves as self-conscious and responsible tourists."[5]

As for the Rwandan authors who lived abroad in 1994, the geographical distance puts them into the category of insiders-outsiders to the genocide story. These authors experienced genocide second-hand, and their writing depends on testimonies of family members, survivors and other witnesses. This is contrary to the group of the eleven Rwandan authors who lived in the country at the time of the genocide, and who are primarily regarded as witnesses. Some of them are survivors who experienced the genocide first-hand. Others are Rwandan Hutus who lived in the country, but who were not the target of the genocide. These Hutus are also witnesses with an insider's story. But regardless of whether or not they lived in Rwandan in 1994, all the Rwandan authors are concerned with "documenting and remembering the truth about what happened in 1994."[6] However the task of documenting and remembering genocide becomes complicated since, and as time pass, the survivors are more and more reluctant to talk about the stories of their survival because of the painful memories such an exercise brings back.

Hitchcott observes that the texts by Rwandans who witnessed the genocide second-hand and those who saw it first-hand do share "an emphasis on the ambivalent position of the witness."[7] This ambivalence is probably due to a certain awareness that the major part of the story of the genocide vanished with the victims. And "those who remain alive cannot know or do not want to know," partly because they are faced with a dilemma of testifying "to that which they did not experience."[8] But all authors of fiction are secondary witnesses of the events, "since fiction necessarily increase the distance between the narrative and the event."[9] However, Hitchcott reminds that the proximity to or the distance from the genocide itself influences the way authors write and how audiences receive their work.

In retrospect, the survivors of the genocide feel guilty of having survived while many others did not. Furthermore, they are like an unwanted reminder of a horrible past many people would like to forget as they build a post-genocide society. And Rwandan authors who survived the genocide would rather discretely distance themselves from a stigmatised identity. As for Hutu authors, it is difficult to associate with the survivor's identity since the official terminology of the genocide, that is the 'Genocide against the Tutsi,' only names the Tutsi explicitly. That said, all the works analysed in *Rwanda Genocide Stories* aim to recognise the place of the survivors whose contributions to rebuilding the country are otherwise almost invisible.

These works are also engaged in remembering "the individuality of victims and reminding the world of the humanity of those who died."[10] In engaging with the victim theme, the authors question collective and national memorial commemorations that depersonalise the victims. Also, the authors mock the debates about the exact number of the genocide victims, insisting instead on beautifying individual victims of the genocide to achieve a re-humanised representation of all the victims of the genocide.

Almost all the works analysed in this book are against a homogenisation of the dead, which leads to a "commodification of death that […] has become an important component of the tourist industry in present-day Rwanda."[11] Hitchcott comes to the overreaching conclusion that while the genocide novelists are faced with many challenged of telling the story of an unspeakably horrible event, they are nevertheless using fiction "as means of remembering the individuality of victims

[4]Ibid., 65.
[5]Ibid., 79.
[6]Ibid., 80.
[7]Ibid., 88.
[8]Ibid., 91.
[9]Ibid., 103.
[10]Ibid., 141.
[11]Ibid., 141.

and reminding the world of the humanity of those who died."[12]

There is also the genocide perpetrators category. Hitchcott informs that "many authors draw [the perpetrators] as unremarkable individuals, reflecting what James Waller, following Hannah Arendt, emphasises as the 'ordinariness' of those who commit acts of 'extraordinary human evil'."[13] The friendship between many perpetrators friends and relatives of their victims complicates the ordinariness of the perpetrator, and blurs the categories of perpetrator and victim, since, each in their ways, are trying to recover from the trauma the genocide causes them.[14]

However, the exercise of "imagining the humanity of perpetrators who have committed acts of such unimaginable horror is a risky business" puts the reader and the author in front of a challenging moral dilemma of "mitigating [the perpetrator's] crimes and negating the experiences of the victims."[15] Nevertheless, Hitchcott acknowledges the importance of those work of genocide fiction that emphasise the social importance of the perpetrators' testimonies of confession. Also, Hitchcott notices a moral hierarchy in some genocide fiction where the authors are "more shocked by the acts of the female than male perpetrators,"[16] because they perceive motherhood as a natural shield that that prevents women from committing atrocities.

Most importantly, however, Hitchcott remarks that the fiction of the genocide in Rwanda faces a generalisation that sees the "Tutsi as the innocent victims and the Hutu as the bloodstained perpetrators."[17] Furthermore, she observes that while Rwandan authors keep their focus on the local, individual perpetrator characters, the fiction of non-Rwandan authors "reveals a strong desire to implicate the international community, particularly France, in the genocide in Rwanda. Those writers from outside Rwanda who participated in 'Ecrire par devoir de mémoire' mission tend to project their guilt about the world's failure to intervene into their texts."[18]

One of the many strengths of Hitchcott's analysis of the genocide fiction is its ability to reflect the different facets of Rwanda's genocide story in ways few scholarly works would succeed. In some works, the characters are children from a family where one of the parents is Hutu and the other parent is Tutsi. In other cases, the characters are Tutsi who changed their identity cards, and became Hutu in the years before the genocide. In other insistences, and to highlight the ambiguity of ethnic identifications in Rwanda, the reader of genocide fiction is left second-guessing the identity of the character, until towards the end the ethnic belonging is finally mentioned as a detail of little importance.[19] Furthermore, Hitchcott "identified the ways in which readers are compelled to re-evaluate their knowledge of Rwanda and take an active role in commemorative processes: as self-critical tourists, ethical witnesses, judges or culpable bystanders," [20] thus knowing more about the genocide.

However, there are arguably more existential questions to discuss in the genocide fiction than providing detailed descriptive analyses such as Hitchcott's. For example, the question of why "spaces in which protection, shelter, or the care of the young are abruptly inverted into their utter polar opposite, death and destruction" is crucial, considering the meanings and the temporality of spaces of worship or learning, such as churches and school where people were exterminated in 1994.[21] The annihilation of the social meanings of such spaces and the temporality of rituals performed in these spaces in times of normality compel writers to deal with the question: "How can you envisage the future here? What future?"[22] Indeed, how to imagine a future in which both

[12]Ibid., 141.

[13]Ibid., 163.

[14]Ibid., 170.

[15]Ibid., 173.

[16]Ibid., 178.

[17]Ibid., 179.

[18]Ibid., 187.

[19]Ibid., 181.

[20]Ibid., 191.

[21]Russel West-Parlov, 2014, "Regardez la vie reprendre': Futurity" in *Véronique Tadjo's L'Ombre d'Imana / The Shadow of Imana, in Tydskrif vir Letterkunde, 51 (2),*114.

[22]Ibid., 114.

the survivors and the perpetrators are re-humanised in the very spaces where the negation and the annihilation of human life took place? This question and other reflections on themes such as life and death, love and empathy in the context of marital relationships and parenthood, to name but a few universalist themes, should be at the centre of the genocide fiction. Such an approach would help writers overcome a genocide narrative that evolves around the so-called eruption of centuries old ethnic hatred between the Hutu and the Tutsi.

That said, the wounds of the genocide are still fresh in Rwanda. This also makes it difficult to engage in dispassionate analysis of the genocide fiction. Furthermore, Rwanda's history of violence and the multitude of the actors involved in the genocide of 1994 complicate the task of going beyond the usual portrait of Africa as a continent of incomprehensible but frequent tribal violence. It goes without saying that it is a daunting mission to analyse the work of African writers engaged in dignifying fellow Africans killed in the last genocide of the 20th century.

And a more complicated task is to grasp creative works that re-humanise the perpetrators of genocide. In such an exercise, accuracy demands meticulous analysis, and concise descriptions such as the ones Hitchcott provides in her book.[23] She remarkably completed a challenging task. After reading this book, one gets the understanding that genocide fiction is about learning the ways to cherish and to beautify life, again, after genocide.

[23]The abundance of details and lengthy descriptions in the analyses of genocide fiction is not unique to Hitchcott. Nyirubugara, a Rwandan-Dutch scholar, struggles with the intricacies of explaining the realities or the perceptions behind the subject positions in genocide fiction he analyses. See Nyirubugara Oliver, *Novels of Genocide: Remembering and Forgetting the Ethnic Other in Fictional Rwanda*, (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017), 187.

Book Review: *To Kill a People: Genocide in the Twentieth Century*

Caroline Bennett
Victoria University of Wellington
Wellington, New Zealand

To Kill a People: Genocide in the Twentieth Century
John Cox
New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017
258 pages; Price: $24.95 Paperback

Reviewed by Caroline Bennett
Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

The twentieth century ended with over sixty million people killed by genocidal regimes, and millions more in the centuries before that.[1] It is fitting, then, that in trying to comprehend why some communities have tried to exterminate others, John Cox's book *To Kill a People* focuses on that century as a moment of extreme annihilation. Aimed as an introductory text for college/undergraduate students, this book provides a readable and comprehensive overview to help explore the practice of genocide—addressing in each case presented the circumstances leading to the killing, as well as the genocide itself, and thereby considering what circumstances drive groups to persecute, rape, murder, and massacre others.

John Cox is well situated to make this study. A Holocaust scholar who has previously published on genocide, imperialism, racial ideology, and resistance, he is also Director of the Center for Holocaust, Genocide, and Human Rights studies at the University of North Carolina in Charlotte. This background positions him well to engage with the two main aims of the book: firstly, a comparative analysis of genocide, which attempts "to comprehend the conditions and similarities that have produced genocide in the past and perhaps the future,"[2] and secondly, the de-centring of the Nazi Holocaust at the top of a hierarchy of horror and suffering to which nothing can be compared. Whilst not belittling the horrors of the Holocaust, throughout the book Cox shows that it proceeded from circumstances comparable to the other case studies presented, circumstances that he considers to be particular results of the technological advances and political ideologies of the twentieth century: social Darwinism and its resulting racism; careerism; and bureaucratization; as well as other details including economic depression, warfare, and insecurity. In this moment of global precarity, this intervention is important, as is the repeated reminder that genocide does not just occur 'over there,' but is a facet of human behaviour that, given certain circumstances, could (and does) happen anywhere.

Though short, the book offers a comprehensive overview. The introduction, which discusses both the definition and practice of genocide, is followed by four case studies: Armenia, the Nazi Holocaust, the Cambodian genocide under the Khmer Rouge, and the Rwandan genocide of 1994. The conclusion considers the implications of this shared analysis for future considerations. At the end of each chapter Cox provides primary sources and study questions, and the book ends with reading and documentary recommendations for further learning (a separate reference list of those included in the footnotes would be helpful as an additional guide). The breadth of literature covered is impressive, and allows Cox to consider key historical moments, and the wider geopolitical and social circumstances within which each set of atrocities happened.

In discussing the definition of genocide in the introduction, Cox shows how its original conception was narrowed legally and politically to that which we use today, a narrowing he finds problematic, instead proposing a definition in keeping with the spirit of Lemkin's original aims: "the attempt to destroy any *recognized, stable, and permanent group* as it is defined by the

[1] Alexander Laban Hinton, "Introduction: Genocide and Anthropology," in *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader*, ed. Alexander Laban Hinton (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 1.

[2] John Cox, *To Kill A People: Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 194.

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perpetrator."[3] This broad definition allows him to consider violence all the way back to the ancient world, highlighting that genocide is not a recent phenomenon as is so often posited. Of particular importance in this is the acknowledgment of the destruction of native peoples in the Americas.[4] Chapter one discusses the Armenian genocide, considered to be "the century's 'first total domestic genocide'."[5] It highlights how genocidal violence is often improvised and grows incrementally, particularly in the initial stages.[6] As well as covering the genocide itself, Cox discusses its continued denial by the Turkish state, showing how the denial is "essential to the homogenous national identity fashioned by Ataturk's political descendants,"[7] thus deftly illustrating the political use of genocide and violence in state building projects. Chapter one also draws attention to other, lesser known, atrocities such as the Assyrian genocide of 1914-23,[8] and by doing so allows Cox to refute the narrative of Islam as the driving force, an important intervention in the post-9/11 world.[9]

Chapter two, *The Holocaust*, tracks anti-Jewish sentiment back to over two millennia ago, from the Roman crush of a Jewish rebellion in 66-70CE, through the Crusades, to the Dreyfus affair in France, to show that the Jewish Holocaust did not appear out of thin air. It shows how the policies of Nazi Germany were influenced by other movements around the globe, such as the United States sterilisation laws of the early twentieth century,[10]and that

> the Holocaust was not purely a German crime…. It was produced by prejudices and philosophies that flourished throughout the West; it found powerful precedents in the practices of Western imperialist powers; and it was aided and abetted by citizens of all countries occupied by Germany or governed by its allies.[11]

In showing how the Holocaust progressed primarily in an *adhoc* manner, only becoming industrialised in the final years, Cox provides a counterpoint to the notion of a genocide of ruthless, industrialised efficiency matched by none; as he goes on to show in Chapter four, the first two weeks of the Rwandan genocide equalled the final months of the Holocaust in numbers killed per day.[12]

Chapter three begins with a statement on politics: while the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust were driven by extreme right-wing politics, the Cambodian genocide was affected by communism. This point adds weight to Cox's assertion that genocide is not the domain of certain types of people, but of particular circumstances. This chapter, like the others, gives critical insight into these circumstances, and problematises some of the conversations around the events, such as the assertion that the atrocities committed by the Khmer Rouge were auto-genocide.[13] He argues against this by detailing the different groups targeted for execution and persecution as well as the hundreds of thousands who died by disease, starvation, and exhaustion, groups such as the Vietnamese, the Cham, monks, and other Buddhist practitioners.[14] The conversation of the continued terror wrought by the Khmer Rouge for nearly two decades after their deposition is somewhat limited, however the chapter covers the majority of the information needed to situate

[3] Ibid., 11.
[4] Ibid., 14-17.
[5] Ibid., 41.
[6] Ibid., 53.
[7] Ibid., 63.
[8] Ibid., 58.
[9] Ibid., 66.
[10] Ibid., 97.
[11] Ibid., 108.
[12] Ibid., 191.
[13] Ibid., 141.
[14] Ibid., 137.

the genocide in conversation with the others in the book.

The final case study, the Rwandan genocide, tells the chilling story of the 1994 violence, when more than 800,000 people were killed in a matter of days.[15] As with the previous chapters, Cox is careful to discuss and debunk simplistic narratives that have entered the public imagination, fox example by following the racialisation of Tutsi and Hutu back to colonialism.[16] He shows how these were initially class distinctions, thus highlighting the social construction of markers of difference that are taken as natural, and subsequently used to form rhetoric of otherness that, in times of insecurity, can be manipulated towards violent ends. This chapter also discusses the use of sexual violence during conflict, and rape as a weapon of war,[17] and considers the problematic denial of difference in the post-genocide years; the supposedly "non-ethnic" Rwanda, which, rather than dealing with the history, reproduces and reinforces the divisions which were so influential.[18]

To end the book, the conclusion puts these four case studies into conversation with one another, allowing a consideration of the findings as a whole, as well as the particularities of each. Cox argues that genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes exist on a "spectrum of extreme violence"[19]and although each genocide has particularities, there are shared circumstances between those he discusses which enable a deeper understanding of how ordinary people commit such horrendous acts.

To Kill a People is an excellent introductory text for those studying genocide and history, particularly at the undergraduate level, or for non-academic readers who want to learn more about genocide as a whole, or any of the events considered. Its concise and thorough coverage make it an ideal starter text for thinking about what genocide is and does. If I had a criticism it would be the exclusion of social science considerations of genocide and/or extreme violence as a practice – theorists such as Nancy Scheper-Hughes[20] and Philippe Bourgois[21] have much to add to Cox's approach to how violence becomes enacted at the individual, as well as the state, level. I would also like to see an additional chapter or two that consider other, less well-known, genocides. The four presented are, of course, important. But in choosing these as the only case studies, Cox replicates the solidification of them in the wider imagination as the ones worth considering. An additional chapter that discussed, incidences of genocide in, for example, West Papua, or against Aboriginal peoples, would decentre the Euro-American influence, as well as the imagination of genocide as one of scale rather than ambition, something Cox himself asserts in the introduction.

Overall, Cox has written a thoughtful and, at times, moving distilment of the history of genocide in the twentieth century. His final words are one of warning: that the world cannot afford another century like the last.[22] If Cox's analysis of socio-political insecurity in the face of decline is right, then we should be very wary of contemporary geopolitics and its contested nature or there will be many more case studies to add to his file.

[15] Ibid., 165.

[16] Ibid., 154.

[17] Ibid., 166-7.

[18] Ibid., 177.

[19] Ibid., 189.

[20] Nancy Scheper-Hughes, "The Gray Zone: Small Wars, Peacetime Crimes, and Invisible Genocides," in *The Shadow Side of Fieldwork: Exploring the Blurred Borders Between Ethnography and Life*, ed. Athena McLean and Anette Leibing (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 159-184.

[21] Philippe Bourgois, "The Power of Violence in War and Peace: Post-Cold War Lessons from El Salvador," *Ethnography*, 2, no. 1 (2001): 5-34.

[22] Ibid., 215.

Book Review: *Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture*

Nanar Khamo
University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California, USA

Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture
Edited by Claudio Fogu, Wulf Kansteiner, and Todd Presner
Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2016
528 Pages; Price $45.00

Reviewed by Nanar Khamo
University of California, Los Angeles

In 1990, UCLA hosted a conference entitled "Probing the Limits of Holocaust Representation," where scholars analyzed questions of postmodern historiography in conjunction with the Holocaust, propelled by the controversial arguments articulated by Hayden White. The ensuing volume (1992), edited by Saul Friedländer, published the proceedings of the 1990 conference. In 2016, UCLA hosted a second conference entitled "Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture," leading to the present volume—edited by Claudio Fogu, Wulf Kansteiner, and Todd Presner—which is "not a sequel to the original one, but perhaps a bookend as it attempts to take stock of the salient forms of representation and the critical debates that have emerged in Holocaust studies in the intervening twenty-five years."[1] References to the first conference abound in the volume. In many ways, Friedländer and White are at the heart of the collection, as a variety of scholars from different disciplines respond to the contentions raised by the two scholars with regards to the ways in which one can represent the Holocaust. The root of the original conference and collection, as well as the driving force behind the dialogue that has continued in the years that followed, is White's contention that modernist historiography employs literary techniques to represent the history of the Holocaust. To explore these questions of narrative and historiography, the editors divide the volume into five main components: the introduction, three main sections, and a concluding interview with Friedländer.

In their introduction, Kansteiner and Presner examine the field and explain how they adapted the original framework to interrogate the ethics of representing what has become a global Holocaust culture. Whereas the question of narrative, framed around Jean-François Lyotard's differend, with regards to historiography remains imperative, new advances in the field require a shift in its approaches. One of major changes is the proliferation of digital archives through technological advances. The introduction details a historical look at the field of Holocaust studies, a summary that could also be useful as a pedagogical tool to introduce students to the field, as well to consider questions of literary techniques and historiography.

The editors preface each of the three main parts, which are divided thematically, by introducing the articles where they consider the overarching argument of each section, as well as the stakes of the proposed arguments. The first part, entitled "The Stakes of Narrative" further explores the driving questions of narrative and historiography. White engages with a close reading of the literary techniques employed in Friedländer's two volumes of *Nazi Germany and the Jews* to argue that the text is an example of modernist historiography, followed by Friendländer's dissenting response.[2] Kansteiner and Ann Rigney continue to interrogate the questions of narrative in representing the Holocaust in their articles, followed by a response by Christopher R. Browning and an interview

[1] Wulf Kansteiner and Todd Presner, "Introduction: The Field of Holocaust Studies and the Emergence of Global Holocaust Culture," in *Probing the Limits of Holocaust Culture*, ed. Fogu et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 1.

[2] Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945: The Years of Extermination* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008); Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: Volume 1: The Years of Persecution: 1933-1939* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998); Saul Friedländer, *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "final Solution"* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

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with Daniel Mendelsohn, respectively. The first part introduces what is a defining characteristic of this volume: the use of responses and interviews.

The second part of the collection, entitled "Remediations of the Archive" examines new issues with regards to Holocaust culture, in comparison to the original 1990 conference, as a result of technological advances, raising ethical questions about global Holocaust culture. The articles in this section interrogate the question of the archive, both that of the victim and that of the perpetrator, as well as a spatial shift in Holocaust studies. Presner's article explores the largest database of Holocaust testimony, the Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archives (VHA), to argue that "distant listening" (his rearticulated use of Franco Moretti's concept of "distant reading") "is ethical precisely because it takes into account the metadata (specifically, the keywords linked to testimony segments) of *every* survivor who had his or her story recorded in the VHA."[3] To consider the possibility of a spatial turn in Holocaust Studies, Fogu discusses the 2009 *Geographies of the Holocaust* project where a group of geographers represent visual evidence of the Holocaust, which they further delineate in an interview following the article.[4] Questions of cinema and architecture follow, with Gavriel D. Rosenfield's consideration of the relationship between "art and atrocity" in Peter Eisenman's design of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin.[5] Eisenman responds to Rosenfield's analysis in a short essay to further discuss the concept of deconstructivism and the way it does not accurately define his approach to the construction of the monument. This section exemplifies the shifting winds of the field as new technologies shape the ways in which scholars understand not only the concept of the archive, but also the nature of what constitutes evidence.

The third section, entitled "The Politics of Exceptionality," is where, under the framework of Holocaust uniqueness, questions of the Holocaust, colonialism, and comparative genocide studies come to a head. Omer Bartov discusses the difficulty of linking the Holocaust with other genocides, referencing, for example, the inability to link the genocide committed by the Germans in South-West Africa against the Herero and Nama populations with the Holocaust. Dirk Moses interrogates Bartov's anxieties as a point of departure and adds his own concerns about the politicization of the fields of Holocaust and genocide studies. Michael Rothberg contributes to the discussion by expounding upon his vision of multidirectional memory, noting in the original volume "the absence of a cosmopolitan perspective focusing on human rights."[6] Rothberg traces the biography of Marceline Lordian-Ivens as an example of what he calls "Holocaust intersectionalism," showing the ways in which this collection proposes an inclusive history of violence as the future of Holocaust studies.[7] Judith Butler and Elisabeth Weber continue analyzing questions of narrative in a multidirectional framework. This section illustrates the tensions currently within Holocaust studies, namely the idea of the singularity of the event in relation to other events. The questions of colonialism, imperialism, and the Holocaust continue to remain contentious, particularly as the fields of Holocaust and genocide studies are linked, yet distinct. Further articulating the distinction between the two fields remains the task of future tomes.

The volume concludes with an interview with Friedländer conducted by the three editors. Friedländer recalls the inception of the initial conference, as well as discusses the past, present, and future of Holocaust studies. In reading the interview, one cannot help but wish for the inclusion of White's voice, particularly as the editors interrogate Friedländer about White's contentions with regards to narrative tools. Ending with an interview seems appropriate for a volume that

[3] Todd Presner, "The Ethics of the Algorithm: Close and Distant Listening to the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive," in *Probing the Limits of Holocaust Culture*, ed. Fogu et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 199.

[4] Anne Kelly Knowles, Tim Cole and Alberto Giordano, eds. *Geographies of the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

[5] Gavriel De. Rosenfeld, "Deconstructivism and the Holocaust: Peter Eisenman's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe," in *Probing the Limits of Holocaust Culture*, ed. Fogu et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 284.

[6] Michael Rothberg, "The Witness as 'World' Traveler: Multidirectional Memory and Holocaust Internationalism before Human Rights," in *Probing the Limits of Holocaust Culture*, ed. Fogu et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 357.

[7] Ibid., 359

made strong use of them throughout the text to foster an interdisciplinary dialogue that allowed academics and artists the opportunity to weigh in on various issues of representation, ethics, and archives.

Overall, this volume offers a robust, rich collection of articles by leading scholars whose goals are to assess the state of the field of Holocaust studies. As noted, the works are often in response to one another, with references to the other articles published in the collection, creating an unusually interconnected volume. This gives the reader the impression of an on-going dialogue, rather than a simple collection of essays that are loosely linked by a theme. The essays will be useful sources of knowledge to scholars interested in the fields of Holocaust, genocide, trauma, and memory studies, as well as academics interested in questions of narrative, history, imagination, and historiography. The collection provides an overview of how the field of Holocaust studies has changed and evolved over the years, and its on-going disciplinary tensions and anxieties. Even as the Holocaust is the subject of this volume, the questions that the scholars probe point to the very essence of history and literature to consider the ways in which literary techniques represent violent historical events. In that vein, scholars interested in larger questions of the state of the humanities and the social sciences might find compelling insights pointing to the future possibilities of these academic disciplines.

Film Review: *L'Insulte* (The Insult)

Renee Michelle Ragin
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina, USA

L'Insulte (The Insult)
Director: Ziad Doueiri
France, Cyprus, Belgium, Lebanon, United States, 2017

Reviewed by Renee Michelle Ragin
Duke University

Though the civil war (1975-1990) has long since ended, Ziad Doueiri's contemporary Lebanon remains embroiled in conflict. In *The Insult*, a personal dispute between two individuals on either side of an ethno-political divide threatens to reignite national conflict. Under normal circumstances, such a storyline might seem improbable, but the realities of the post-war environment in Lebanon render it plausible.

Since being placed under French mandate in the early 20th century, Lebanon has divided political power among a plurality of ethnic and religious groups organized into political "confessions." Since its independence, the Lebanese government has been weak and largely unable to address civil unrest resulting from economic inequality and conflict between the confessions. In 1958 and again in 1975, this unrest took the form of civil war. The war in 1975 was exacerbated by armed Maronite Christian resistance to the presence of Palestinian fighters who used Lebanon as a base from which to combat the neighboring state of Israel. Over the course of the next 15 years, Lebanon's government was largely defunct as domestic militias and foreign armies fought for control. The negotiated end to the civil war in 1990 resolved few, if any, of the conditions which provoked the conflict, serving instead as an acknowledgment of political stalemate. Accordingly, the country's post-war leadership pursued a policy of amnesty (and, according to some, amnesia) rather than transitional justice.

With a series of provocative, if difficult to answer questions, *The Insult* joins a robust corpus of post-1990 Lebanese films meditating on what, if anything, it means to be "post-war" in Lebanon. Doueiri begins in the modern-day Lebanese capital of Beirut. From the street, a Palestinian foreman, Yasser Salameh, instructs his team of engineers on their day's work in the neighborhood. As Yasser speaks, a resident in an apartment above him begins to hose off his balcony, sending dirty water pouring out of the drainage pipe and onto Yasser's head. Shaking off his annoyance, Yasser asks permission to replace the antiquated pipe. Though the resident, Tony, refuses, Yasser instructs his crew to replace the pipe anyway. The insults commence: an enraged Tony sets about destroying the brand new pipe as Yasser stands below, flabbergasted and swearing at him. When he finishes, Tony marches into the construction supervisor's office demanding an apology from Yasser.

The implied power dynamics in this scene are critical. Tony and the other residents of this neighborhood are members of a right-wing nationalist Christian party who warred against the Palestinians only a few decades earlier. Moreover, the Lebanese government bars non-Lebanese from a range of employment types, including engineering. Yasser is therefore illegally employed in a hostile neighborhood. With this in mind, the supervisor insists that Yasser apologize, and brings him to Tony's place of employment the next day. As Yasser approaches, he notices that Tony is listening to a recording of the Christian party's former figurehead, exhorting his followers against Palestinians. Tony approaches Yasser to receive his apology but the apology is not forthcoming. Infuriated, Tony spits out "I wish Ariel Sharon had wiped you all out!" Yasser strikes Tony, fracturing several ribs. Shortly thereafter, Tony takes Yasser to court for assault.

The film becomes a parable about Lebanon told along two parallel narrative arcs, one which explores how individuals manage interpersonal conflict in the post-war period, and one which probes the ability of the state to enact traditional justice. Tony Hanna's assault suit against Yasser

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Salameh effectively becomes a battleground on which the country can revisit a legacy of insults and grievances left unresolved by the civil war. In so doing, the film also raises the question of how far Lebanon has come in "turning the page" – an expression evoked repeatedly throughout the film.

Partial answers to these questions can be identified through the intergenerational dynamics on display throughout the film. The lawyers defending Tony and Yasser, for instance, are father and daughter. Wajdi Wehbe, a lawyer who once defended a senior Christian politician and militia leader, now defends Tony. Wajdi represents the "old guard": loyal to the party, its causes, and its ideology even after the war. Wajdi's daughter, Nadine, defends Yasser. She represents the "new guard," a younger generation insistent that not every conflict should be an excuse to reactivate old animus. The repartee between the two lawyers is demonstrative not only of a political transition but also a shift in attitudes toward gender: the female judge presiding over the case takes Wajdi to task for interrupting Nadine while she speaks, signaling a movement away from patriarchal social norms. Tony's pregnant wife, Shirine, is also mindful of the legacy of the war on the coming generations. Vexed by her husband's intransigent prejudice, she despairs of the fate awaiting the post-war innocent.

Doueiri's film is perhaps most compelling in its consideration of a particularly thorny matter: the possibility that one can be both victim and perpetrator. In court, Wajdi plays a series of slides depicting Tony's natal village prior to the war. He interrupts the images of a placid, banana-farming rural landscape with footage of an infamous massacre which occurred in the same village only a few months after the war began. Under attack by leftist Lebanese militias and Palestinian fighters, Wajdi narrates, a young Tony flees with his family. The traumatic memory of the massacre, Wajdi implies, lay the groundwork for Tony's animosity toward Palestinians – not sheer prejudice.

In this provocative scene, Wajdi's courtroom audience, and implicitly Doueiri's viewers, are confronted with the plurality of victimhood in war, and an interminable timeline of grievances. Acknowledging these factors makes it more difficult to forge a simple narrative, and, Wajdi hopes, forces the leveling of what he considers an uneven playing field in the post-war blame-game: "We talk so much about [the Palestinian] cause," he says, "there's no room left for anyone else's." In crafting his argument, Wajdi asks listeners to allow their circle of empathy to become capacious enough to include Tony. We are to see him not as a man who allowed enmity to govern his heart and cruelty to issue from his tongue, but also as a child for whom another's hatred, cruelty, and violence proved life-altering.

Wajdi's call is both thought-provoking and emotionally resonant – yet to extrapolate an exculpatory logic from this painful reality would be a mistake. For all of Wajdi's objections to the supposedly unquestioning embrace of the figure of the Palestinian victim, such expressions of empathy have yet to result in the amelioration of their condition. Moreover, the behavior of Tony's father complicates Wajdi's assertion that hostility is a foregone conclusion in the wake of trauma: not only does Tony's father harbor no hostility toward Palestinians, he also bitterly admonishes his son for his treatment of Yasser. Finally, the film marshals little evidence to support the notion that Tony himself has been dogged by trauma: though the trial provokes occasional nightmares of his family's escape, there is little to suggest that these memories serve as the force that motivates his words and behavior. Instead, there is ample evidence that the orientation of his neighborhood, the ongoing influence of his political party, and his attraction to Gemayel's rhetoric are at the core of his adult prejudices. In a fleeting illustration of the power of social conditioning, Doueiri includes a brief exchange between Tony's neighbors: a man too young to have lived through the war expresses solidarity with Tony and his generation in the wake of Yasser's assault, shouting: "They want to wipe out the Christians!" Yet the myriad types of evidence undermining Wajdi's defense of his client seem muted in comparison to the force of Wajdi's impassioned rhetoric, causing Doueiri to miss the opportunity to more thoroughly explore the means by which polarization continues post-war.

Tony's conscience clearly weighs on him throughout the film. Defensive when criticized by his wife or father, and belligerent when he has the backing of his courtroom supporters, he appears distressed in private moments. In one scene, Yasser's car stalls in front of Tony and he silently fixes it, as if enacting a token penance. By the end of the film, he is considerably subdued. Yasser, however, is not afforded as much room for character development. With considerably fewer spoken lines than his counterpart, the character of Yasser is less nuanced, and at times even resembles a

caricature of the Palestinian "other." In the courtroom, Wajdi draws from his arsenal of discursive weapons to paint Yasser as an innately violent non-citizen whose political interests are inimical to Lebanese national security and domestic peace, and who takes advantage of his condition to enjoin sympathy. The excitable and sometimes ludicrous nature of Wajdi's performance in these moments undermines his claim, making blatant the insidious nature of anti-Palestinian sentiment.

Elsewhere, however, Yasser's own behavior paradoxically confirms the stereotype. As a result of the controversy brought about by the trial, for instance, the head of the construction company for which Yasser works fires him. In response, Yasser hyperventilates and then strikes relentlessly at the windows of the office. His rage seems grossly out-of-character for the otherwise mild-mannered and deferential demeanor he exhibits overall. By placing the Palestinian protagonist at the center of yet another act of violence, Doueiri ironically bolsters the very caricature that he seemed to critique elsewhere. The flattening of Yasser's character has the effect of refocusing attention away from Yasser and onto Tony. Perhaps this is intentional: after all, Tony is the Lebanese citizen and the film is intimately concerned with how the Lebanese have, or have not, moved on.

Finally, the manner in which Doueiri attempts to create a parallel between the individual and national post-war obstacles are inexpertly wrought, causing them to lose their efficacy. In a series of short and un-contextualized montages, Doueiri cuts back and forth between the court house and rioting Palestinians who burn cars, thrust their fists into the air and yell menacingly while Lebanese Christians chant, wave flags, and demonstrate peacefully. Taken as a whole, the scenes feel disjointed, requiring the viewer to use their own imagination to explain how an obscure neighborhood conflict led to national unrest. The suspension of disbelief is also required for the extremely brief scenes in which Yasser and Tony are inexplicably invited to meet with the Lebanese President for a peace summit, or in which a reformed militia leader uses a television interview as a platform from which to enjoin Tony to put the war behind him. Performing leaps from personal to public with little structural support, Doueiri misses the opportunity to critically explore how the logic of othering gives rise to mass violence, whether in 2017 or in 1975.

The film ends with a 2-to-1 decision finding Yasser Salameh innocent of all charges. The "insult," the judges imply, was suffered by Yasser, not Tony. It is the insult of wishing for a people's extermination, and not that of a physical assault, which poses the greater danger to law and order. And yet, the impact of the verdict feels underwhelming in light of the aforementioned shortcomings. The verdict also feels muted in light of the scene that immediately proceeds it: Yasser returned to Tony's garage and taunts him, intentionally provoking the latter to violence. Reversing the circumstances which inaugurated the legal proceedings, this scene is meant to signal rapprochement. They have effectively settled the score between themselves in a form of extralegal justice that renders the verdict a formality.

Doueiri's film thus leaves us with a question: if the true catalyst for post-war coexistence is enacted in the public sphere, what role does the state play? And if the role for the latter is small, has Lebanon made any progress since the war that collapsed the state in 1975?

Title of the Film: *L'insulte* (The Insult); Director: Ziad Doueiri; Producers: Rachid Bouchareb, Jean Bréhat, Julie Gayet; Screenplay: Ziad Doueiri and Joelle Touma; Music: Éric Neveux; Cinematography: Tommaso Fiorilli; Film Editor: Dominique Marcombe; Production Designer: Hussein Baydoun; Cast: Adel Karam, Kamel El Basha, Camille Salameh, Diamand Bou Abboud, Rita Hayek; Country: France, Cyprus, Belgium, Lebanon, United States; Language: Arabic; Year of Release: 2017; Production Companies: Rouge International, Tessalit Productions, Ezekiel Films; Duration: 112 minutes.