Syllabus for Volunteer Interviewers

Sept. 11	Orientation	Mrs. Dana Kline
	Explanation of Video Arch at Yale.	ive of Holocaust Testimonies
Sept. 18	Historical overview	Dr. Rita Botwinick
	Roots of anti-semitism in	pre-war Germany.
Sept. 25	Jewish life in Poland	Dr. Nechama Tec
	"Images Before My Eyes". Jewry 1864-1939.	A movie about Polish
Oct. 2	Interviewing Holocaust Su	rvivors Dr. Dori Laub
	"Breaking the wall of sile	ence"
Oct. 9	Survivors address class	To be announced
	Discussion of life in the	ghetto and camp.
Oct. 16	Interviewing Techniques	Ms. Laurel Vlock
	The art of listening.	
Oct. 23	Anatomy of an interview	Kline, Laub, Vlock
3 %	Video tapes used to sensi of Holocaust survivors.	tize students to issues

Required Reading

The War Against the Jews 1933-1945 by Lucy S. Dawidowicz Night by Elie Wiesel
The Survivor An Anatomy of Life in a Death Camp by Terence Des Pres

Required Interview

A 15 minute indepth interview with anyone. Your choice of topic. Due Oct. 23,1984.

Mrs. Dana Kline, Instructor

Questions

1. Judgement in question

"How do you feel when you see how much attention - and it's good attention - the Holocaust receives? Does it make you feel a little bit angry or resentful that more wasn't done then? or are you gratified to see this?

"Did people want to hear what you had to say or did you want to talk about your experiences once you came to this country?

"That was a very unkind thing for him to say to you" re: kapo answering question re: where are our parents

2. Answer in question

"Were the prisoners young, middle aged or old?" rather than how old were the other prisoners?

"Was the reaction of others similar to yours?" - rather than what was the reaction of others?

"Did your belief in God help you to survive?" (agendized as well)

"Were there provisions in the suitcase?"

3. Inappropriate questions:

How did you feel?

What was the worst thing that ever happened to you?

4. Irrelevant question?

Were you standing close to the person (episode of SS stepping on woman's foot)

5. Inappropriate responses

person meets sister - interviewer intervenes - "It was purely coincidental. - if the interviewer can figure that out, so can the viewer

- 6. Question which conveys inaccurate information "When was the ghetto established in Amsterdam?
- 7. Awareness of how many questions you are asking taking leadership away from interviewee
- 8. Small questions (or series of them rather than open ended which covers them all

what work did your father do - how many people in your household- how important was Judaism and religion - what was the age difference between you and your sister - how old were you when you sensed danger (all within 3 minute span)

9. Questions with assumptions - So you knew where your father was rather than Did you know where your father was

11. Agendized question or asking the survivor to make a judgement - what do you think of Germans, Poles, etc. What do you think of the convent at Auschwitz - if these are issues with which they wish to deal, they will bring up the subject

12. Heaving Vs. witnessing -Tumors - Yale Ontervewers

Notes for first session of Refresher course

Interviewer preparation 1. Encyclopedia Judaica Marrus map work political history - Dawidowicz, Marrus camps - Dawidowicz, Gilbert, Marrus, Bauer, E.J. specific - Germany - Kristallnacht -Poland - Warsaw uprising -Hungary - Wallenburg -ghetto - Judenrat -camps - who liberated and when look des corroborate dates

Beginning - 10 minutes prior - focus on survivor only D MUST GET NAME AND DATE OF BIRTH AND PLACE OF BIRTH

- Heightened awareness tennon re own voice + answer question, interview - were you aware of the Judenrat? what was your perception of Kapos?
- 4. Interrupting

A. tuse own information when hear something different threatening and non-challenging

- clarification get names, dates, place names
- refocus rambling С.
- Making statements even if asked by interviewee, don't! drawing conclusions - "you were afraid." - don't comforting and commenting - never! rephrasing or repeating back what survivor has said - don't
- Bad questions list JR 6.
- Difficult moments start with DK and (R) Frank householded and the child had died 7.

8. Knowledge of own agenda and working with it

- Assignment look at own interviews and find the following
 - points of successful intervention
 - В. new entry points, if appropriate
 - places with inappropriate intervention
- In writing do at least one of the above for group discussion.

Outline for interviewer training - New York - February 5, 1990

Personal Introductions - Dana Kline name, work, why interested in project

Fortunoff Video Archive - Joanne Rudof history, affiliate structure, size and scope of collection, RLIN and publications, research and educational uses, volunteer aspect

Testimony - Dana Kline What is it? What it is not, role of interviewee, role of interviewer, why people chose to give testimony

A-47 "Renee H. Edited Testimony" 30 Mur Trances on Twing

Discission and Questions

Dynamics of an Interview

- What happens before Joanne Rudof pre-interview administration, pairing of interviewers, all all documentation during an interview, release form,
- How to prepare for an interview Dana Kline communication with co-interviewer, appropriate reading and map work

Lunch - 1/2 hour

- Interview Dana Kline listening, silences, appropriate and inappropriate questions, behaviors and responses, non-agendized and neutral questions, dates, names and places
- What happens after Dana Kline

A-50 "Rabbi Baruch G. Edited Testimony"

Discussion and Questions

Technical viewing combined with critical analysis of interviewer Joanne Rudof - Peter C. unedited testimony

Discussion and Questions

A-61 "Future Imperfect" (This



Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies

YALE UNIVERSITY · STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, ROOM 331C · NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520 · 203 432-1879

Interviewer Training

Houston, Texas

Professor Geoffrey Hartman, Advisor

Yale Trainer - Dana Kline

October 21, 1990

Introduction

Fortunoff Video Archive

"Those Who Were There" (A-8)

About Testimony

View edited testimony - Renee H - A-47

An Interview

- a. Before the interview
- b. Preparing for an interview
- c. Interview proper
- d. After the interview

View edited testimony - Baruch G - A-50

Choosing not to be an interviewer

October 22, 1990

Reactions and Responses

Viewing an unedited testimony - T-838 starting visuals tape change ending

Edited testimony Rachel G. A- 62

Questions and comments

"Future Imperfect" A-61



Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies

YALE UNIVERSITY · STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, ROOM 331C · NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520 · 203 432-1879

10th Anniversary · October 1991-October 1992

Professor Geoffrey Hartman, Advisor

January 15, 1993

Dear Friends:

It is hard to believe that two years have gone by since we have met as a group for discussion, evaluation and general intellectual stimulation. We have scheduled a series of three meetings for all our volunteer interviewers since we know if we are not growing and improving, we are not doing the best we can as interviewers. The sessions will be on Monday evenings, February 15, March 1 and March 8. The first two will begin at 7:15 at Joanne's house (directions enclosed). The third will be at 6:30 and we invite you that early so we can all have dinner together and schmooze a bit before we get to more serious business.

The February 15th session will be a discussion of Larry Langer's book. We hope most of you own it. If you don't please call the Archive and we will make arrangements for a loan from those of us who do have it. We ask you each to come with one discussion topic based on your reading of the book: a point with which you disagree; anything which strikes you as an experience, observation or conclusion you have had as an interviewer; a topic, conclusion, premise with which you agree and had not thought of before which you find helpful/illuminating/insightful, etc. Please be prepared for an expanded discussion of your topic with everyone. We will use this session to develop questions for Larry who will join us for the third session.

The March 1st session will be a focused discussion of our experiences as interviewers. We ask you to make arrangements to view at least one of the testimonies for which you have been an interviewer (either visit the Archive or call and make arrangements for it to be sent to you for viewing at home). Choose an example from your interviewing experiences which illustrates a difficulty, what you view as a "mistake" on your part as interviewer, a moment where your role as interviewer facilitated the telling of the story, etc. You may want to bring the testimony with you to illustrate your discussion topic for the group. It is difficult to define exactly, but we would like to be able to do some self-evaluation, constructive criticism and offer ideas and thoughts to each other for improving our work. Please also bring questions about why we do what we do, suggestions for the Archive to change or improve, any way we can offer you additional help and/or support. Again, we will try to develop specific questions for Larry.

The March 8th session will be an after-dinner question and answer session with Larry Langer and his thoughts for us regarding the role of interviewers, improving our interviewing techniques and skills, etc.

We really look forward to this series since the our previous ones were so stimulating. You all bring so much to these discussions that we find them a unique learning experience. Please call the Archive so we know who will be attending.

Affectionately,

Dana Kline

Joanne Rudof

Enc.
JWR/db

Outline of Refresher Course - Baltimore - 10/20/91

- 1. Introductory Remarks Froma Willen
- Introductory Remarks Joanne Rudof Thanks for Baltimore hospitality, Litmans, extraordinary project - particularly Froma (Secretary wants her to give course to other affiliates) and Netsie, over 100 testimonies received by Yale, quality and commitment, notes during testimony
- 3. Introductory Remarks Dana Kline

Professional volunteer (dress) present professional image Time commitment that day - arrive early and allow time to stay with interviewee for coffee, etc. to "debrief" after interview is completed

Interview preparation -maps, Ency Judaica, political history, book list will be handed out

Prior to turning on camera - preparation of survivor in terms of exactly what will happen (include information about tape break), focus <u>only</u> on interviewee

Must get Name, date and place of birth

4. Watch T-743 - Fred O. Directions from JR

Pass out summary - difference between summary (explain context and purpose) and actual testimony - focus on interview techniques, not narrative (note relationship between narrative and interview techniques and look for that)

Note: 1. Points of intervention and result of that intervention - anytime interviewers' voices heard. 2. Point(s) where you think intervention should have occurred and did not.

743

- 1. beginning to a bit after 16 minutes
- 2. 25 to 33 minutes
- 3. 39.51 including break
- 4. 1:03 -1:08 1:23 - 1:30 1:55 to end

During lunch focus on difficult moments you have experienced, problems, concerns and questions for discussion immediately after lunch

PM

1. Discuss difficult moments, concerns, problems and questions (if necessary, DK and JR will discuss their own experiences

1267 Betty D. Dana will give same directions as for AM watching

- 1. beginning to 6:20
- 2. 14 to 28
- 3. 34 to 43
- 4 silence to ending (Jr verify time of this prior to Sunday)

Summary - LOOK AT YOUR OWN INTERVIEWS - THERE IS NO MORE IMPORTANT LEARNING EXPERIENCE - also look at others if helpful Hand outs- stress continuing reading (reading list is not even tip of the iceberg)

Notes for JWR Refresher Course - Baltimore - 10/20/91

Bring handouts -

- 1. Reading lists
- 2. Stepping Over Cockleburs
- 3. Summaries of Fred O. and Betty D.
- 5. Tapes Parallel Paths
 T-943 Fred O.
 T-1267 Betty D.

Tali

6. Books - Larry
Guide
Northwestern
Telling Lives

1. Strengthen historical Companient F. sieginning 1) Office Support Encytodata 2) Reading list heightened auronenes The Runs of lumony - LL focused - Involved 1. find new points Shook at own interviews 2. places Winappri -> Watch + des curs interviews together 3. Duccessful intervention Start Wf mo De or JR or both interviews not fully realized Sand Lury 3/4 V-MATIC of Lankarki

JOANNE WEINER RUDOF,

Archivist Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies Yale University - USA

Shaping Public and Private Memory

Holocaust Testimonies, Interviews and Documentaries

The Holocaust is «in.» It is difficult to pick up a newspaper in the United States without reading about a Holocaust related topic. There is seldom a week that goes by without at least one book review on the topic in the Sunday New York Times or the New York Review of Books. American films and television broadcasts not only include shows specific to the Holocaust, but totally unrelated shows expropriate the topic, not always appropriately. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is the «hot ticket» in Washington, DC. In October, 1997, the new «Museum of Jewish Heritage/A Memorial to the Holocaust» opened in New York City to critical acclaim and with tremendous press coverage. The daughter of survivors noted that opening

and in the New York Times expressed her malaise.

«When I came to New York in the mid-70's, I often felt alienated from other Jews because of their reactions to my background (suffocating pity, or occasionally, weird hostility). I was also shocked by how little many Jews of my age - even the most educated and sophisticated - knew about the Holocaust.

Then something happened. The Holocaust became the pop metaphor for evil. Seinfeld made Mengele jokes. «Schindler's List» became an international hit movie. And Holocaust museums and memorials began popping up all over, not just in cities with large Jewish populations, like Detroit and Houston, but in

more unexpected places like El Paso and Palm Springs.

Of course, over the last 50 years there has been a continuing examination of the Holocaust by scholars, novelists, filmmakers, playwrights, artists, theologians and other intellectuals. But this new populist dissemination was different, with museums often using show-biz techniques to make the difficult information they were presenting accessible to presumably ignorant crowds [...].

Instead of feeling gratified to see my family's secret finally being aired - no, trumpeted - I was dismayed by these clever you-are-there presentations, and by the very idea of the museums themselves. Though the intent, certainly, was to educate and to explore moral choices, weren't these museums playing to the national obsession with victimization and making Holocaust survivors seem like part of the lineup for Oprah? The appeal seemed prurient, titillating, combining the dark thrill of two popular movie genres, horror and war. Wasn't this a cheapening of the Holocaust, giving spectators a rush before they moved on to the National Air and Space Museum ?»1

Lest I leave you with a false impression, the writer concluded her piece on a very positive note, particularly praising the new museum for the inclusion of testimony. «Survivors' stories play a central role

throughout the museum [...] visitors will [...] hear and see people who lived in the ghettos and camps [...]»2 However, I do want to address the focus of her malaise, the popularization of the Holocaust. For those of us who have been in the field of Holocaust studies, doing this work, quietly, for many years, this new interest is frightening indeed. It is more than distressing to see the simplification of a complex history: to hear intelligent people form opinions concerning Daniel Goldhagen's book based on the press coverage, never having read the book; to hear about Jerry Seinfeld's Mengele jokes, which strike me as obscene; to receive inquiries from History Channel staff who are knowingly planning to broadcast a «bad» film about the Holocaust followed by a panel discussion, which they hope may ameliorate the distorted, sentimentalized and inaccurate film.

How, you may ask, is all of this relevant to Holocaust testimonies? We have many responsibilities when we videotape the life story of Holocaust survivors and witnesses. I believe the primary responsibility is to allow the witnesses and survivors to tell their own stories, at their own pace, in a narrative form with which they are comfortable. I believe the imposition of a agenda, even the most well intentioned agenda, can ultimately lead to omissions, distortions - both overt and subtle - and material which can mislead the viewer.

For the last few months, a student c dissertation research at the Fortunoff V Archive has shared some of experie with me. She had previously viewed so al dozen videotapes of survivors which recorded by an orthodox Jewish organ tion. She found the accounts to be some uniform since the questions were fra to focus almost solely on ritual and I day observances both before, during, after the war. This student felt the pun of recording these testimonies was to firm that during the Holocaust and a survivors maintained kashrut, observed idays, prayed, and kept their faith. The dent felt the testimonies not only lac spontaneity, but did not provide an opp tunity for the witnesses to make free a ciations due to the rapid-fire questions po by the interviewers. She found a mar contrast to many of the testimonies viewed at Yale, where the interviewers t a more passive role, and are empathic teners who ask questions primarily to c ify the witness narrative or to remind witness of something forgotten. There no attempt to force the testimony int pre-established chronology. Those who t about holidays or faith do so because i important to them, not to provide evide for a pre-established agenda. The form testimony format, skewed by a set of agdized questions, does not afford view the opportunity to really hear the witne es' stories, and this is an obvious example using Holocaust testimonies to meet: needs of a particular group. This does i require an astute viewer to discern.

What worries me more is a subtle ager which not only surfaces in testimonies, the also in documentaries, films, articles, boo and other media. This is the viewer or autence or media need for a happy ending, it something redemptive, for trite lessons, it welcosure.» The day following the opening

¹ Julic SALAMON, «Walls that Echo the Unspeakable,» New York Times, September 7, 1997, p. 84.

² Ibid, p. 86.

³ Esther B. FEIN, «Survivors of Evil Dedicate Reminder for the Future,» New York Times, September 12, 1997, p. 1.

⁴ Ibid, p. B3.

⁵ Ibid, p. 1.

⁶ The Lost Children of Berlin Reclaiming their Childhood: Fifty Holocaust Survivors Reunite, Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, Foxwood Films, 1997.

⁷ Jonathan STEINBERG, *All or Nothing : The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941-1943*, Routledge, London and New York, 1990, p. 118.

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Reunite, Survivors of the

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What worries me more is a subtle agenda which not only surfaces in testimonies, but also in documentaries, films, articles, books, and other media. This is the viewer or audience or media need for a happy ending, for something redemptive, for trite lessons, for "closure." The day following the opening of

the New York museum, a reporter described the scene:

«Frail aging arms, many bearing the tattoos branded on them in concentration camps, curled around the supporting arms of children and grandchildren. Together, old and young walked toward the ceremony, each step testimony to the failure of Hitler's plan to annihilate the Jewish people»³.

The very same article ends with a description of a survivor in the crowd pressing «[...] a sepia-toned picture of a little girl to her cheek, stroking it slowly. 'My little Rochalle,' was all she would whisper»⁴. I have great difficulty understanding how the writer can understand the loss of this child, which must be multiplied at least times one million to represent the reality of the murdered Jewish children of Europe, as «[...] the failure of Hitler's plan to annihilate the Jewish people»⁵.

A documentary screened on a cable television network this summer showed a contemporary Bar Mitzvah in Berlin, Germany. The narrator's voice-over informs the audience that this family «[...] and countless other Jewish families throughout Europe are a testament to the defeat of Adolf Hitler and the ultimate failure of the final solution»6. To speak about «the failure of the final solution» flies in the face of the facts. The statistics speak for themselves, as does the title of Raul Hilberg's definitive and seminal work, The Destruction of the European Jews. «For Himmler and the SS it was a glorious achievement. For Hitler exterminating Jews remained the one achievement which neither defeat nor death could deny him, as he reminded the world in his testament of April 1945»⁷.

While historians debate motives, historiography, and interpretation, none dispute this. After 1945, European Jewry as it had been, was no more. The fact that individual sur-

vivors have been able to build lives for themselves does not change this. The postwar development of Jewish culture in Israel and the United States does not change this. Holocaust scholar and Christian theologian Harry James Cargas reminds us that survivor testimonies «are the extraordinary stories of ordinary people» who have become «the miserable recorders of atrocities on a scale never before known, never before imagined. [...] In a society dedicated to consumerism, to having, we meet people who have not. They have not their families, their normal lives, their peaceful existences. Jewish holidays are times of depression for Holocaust survivors because they are then particularly burdened, when other friends are celebrating, knowing that they are missing those with whom they would like to share joy⁸.

A recent novel, *The Reader*, was reviewed twice in the *New York Times*, both in the Sunday book review and in the daily paper. The narrator's character notes:

«Today there are so many books and films that the world of the camps is part of our collective imagination [...]. Our imagination knows its way around in it, and since the television series Holocaust and movies like Sophie's Choice and especially Schindler's List, actually moves in it, not just registering, but supplementing and embellishing it»⁹.

This really worries me. The book was written and set in Germany, and the narrator states that his primary matrix for learning about concentration camps is books and film, fictional books and films, this in the place where so many of the crimes took place and the museum sites are the camps themselves. The author assumes that Schindler's List was actually filmed in the camps, which is not true, although it was filmed in Poland. We should all worry that this so-called information, which becomes part of the «collective imagination» which «knows its way around in [concentration camps]» comes from Hollywood depictions rather than any kind of reality. I am not certain about what can be done to counter this phenomenon, but I hope museums, testimonies which allow the witnesses to tell their stories their own way, thoroughly researched and truthful documentaries, and well-taught units in schools can form some kind of counterbalance.

Too many interviewers and testimony projects have been shaped by the kind of thinking that requires redemption, renewal of faith, a happy ending, triumphalism, heroes. In a recent letter, Holocaust scholar Lawrence L. Langer stated:

«I've been writing about the Holocaust for nearly thirty years, watching video testimonies for fifteen, and doing my own interviewing for almost ten, and I have been repeatedly disappointed by Hollywood versions of Holoca ty that romanticize the ordeal and a hopeful spin on the story. [...] audience of viewers [...] have g since the war and have depende on media misrepresentations 1 understanding of the event. 10.

On the video jacket for the movi from Sobibor actors Alan Arkin and Hauer are shown holding guns a above their heads as they lead tl prisoners out of the death camp. T on the video jacket states «[...] all tl and excitement, the bravery and the of the largest successful escape eve from a Nazi concentration camp facts not included on the jacket 250,000 Jews were killed at Sobibc hundred of six hundred prisoners during the uprising, and those who were instantly killed. Of the three l who escaped, most were killed by p Nazis, and less than fifty survived The facts give lie to the promotiona bole. Film critic Danielle Meyman of Schindler's List in Le Monde:

«We see smoke, and it's not a cre um; it's a train. We see the show they spout not gas, but water. cadavers we see, we don't know, the people we identify with are And that's not how history goes

In discussing Hollywood films, *Ne Times* critic Caryl Phillips notes it is place whose approach to historically tant subjects so often involves first trivissues, then breaking their truths rack of commercial expediency.¹³

Cynthia Ozick, write in the *New* about the Anne Frank phenomena United States noting:

«The end is missing. The story o Frank in the fifty years since The of Young Girl' was first publish

⁸ Harry James CARGAS, «Preface,» Secretaries of Death by Lore Shelley, Shengold Publishers , Inc., New York, 1986, p. XIV.

⁹ Bernhard SCHLINK, *The Reader*, translated from the German by Carol Brown Janeway, Pantheon Books, New York, 1995, p. 148.

¹⁰ Lawrence L. LANGER, letter to Joshua Greene, September 8, 1997.

¹¹ Escape from Sobibor, Zenith Productions, 1987.

¹² Caryl PHILLIPS, «Another Course Change Toward Scriousness,» New York Times, September 7, 1997, p. 39.

¹³ Ibid, p. 42

¹⁴ Cynthia OZICK, «Who Owns Anne Frank,» The New Yorker, October 6, 1997, p. 78.

¹⁵ Lawrence L. LANGER, «A Playwright's Obsession With the Story of Anne Frank,» Forward, September 19, 1997, p. 13.

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Anne Frank, Forward, September 19,

Hollywood versions of Holocaust reality that romanticize the ordeal and impose a hopeful spin on the story. [...] [A] large audience of viewers [...] have grown up since the war and have depended chiefly on media misrepresentations for their understanding of the event»¹⁰.

On the video jacket for the movie *Escape* from Sobibor actors Alan Arkin and Rutger Hauer are shown holding guns and rifles above their heads as they lead the other prisoners out of the death camp. The blurb on the video jacket states «[...] all the action and excitement, the bravery and the courage of the largest successful escape ever staged from a Nazi concentration camp»¹¹. The facts not included on the jacket are that 250,000 Jews were killed at Sobibor. Three hundred of six hundred prisoners escaped during the uprising, and those who did not were instantly killed. Of the three hundred who escaped, most were killed by pursuing Nazis, and less than fifty survived the war. The facts give lie to the promotional hyperbole. Film critic Danielle Meymann wrote of Schindler's List in Le Monde:

«We see smoke, and it's not a crematorium; it's a train. We see the showers and they spout not gas, but water. All the cadavers we see, we don't know, and all the people we identify with are saved. And that's not how history goes»¹².

In discussing Hollywood films, *New York Times* critic Caryl Phillips notes it is «[...] a place whose approach to historically important subjects so often involves first trivializing issues, then breaking their truths on the rack of commercial expediency»¹³.

Cynthia Ozick, write in the *New Yorker* about the Anne Frank phenomena in the United States noting:

«The end is missing. The story of Anne Frank in the fifty years since 'The Diary of Young Girl' was first published has

been bowdlerized, distorted, transmuted, traduced, reduced; it has been infantilized, Americanized, homogenized, sentimentalized, falsified, kitschified, and in fact, blatantly and arrogantly denied. [...] A deeply truth-telling work has been turned into an instrument of partial truth, surrogate truth, or anti-truth. [...] The diary is incomplete, truncated, broken off - or, rather, it is completed by Westerbork[...], and by Auschwitz, and by the fatal winds of Bergen-Belsen. [...] The litany of blurbs - 'a lasting testament to the indestructible nobility of human spirit' - is not more substantial than any other display of self-delusion. The success - the triumph - of Bergen-Belsen was precisely that it blotted out the possibility of courage, that it proved to be a lasting testament to the human spirit's easy destructibility. [...] Anne Frank's story, truthfully told, is unredeemed and unredeemable.

These are notions that are hard to swallow - so they have not been swallowed»¹⁴.

Lawrence Langer, in addressing the same issue, notes as the diary was adapted for the stage,

«the systematic elimination of references to persecution, murder, and gassing [...] until they had come up with the emphasis [...] considered important: 'human courage, faith, hope, brotherhood, love, and self-sacrifice.' This was quite a litany, considering that all but one of the inhabitants of the Secret Annex were murdered by the Germans¹⁵.

Those involved in work concerning the Holocaust must be careful not to fall into the same pattern: not when we are recording survivor and witness testimonies; not when we are teaching this subject; not when we are making documentaries. We could very easily shape the testimonies so that the focus reflects this Hollywood perspective, and it

is tempting to do so; after all, everyone prefers a happy ending. But where does that leave the bereft survivor, struggling to live with horrendous and horrific memories? Where does that leave the six million who did not live, much less "happily ever after?"

Russell Baker, a *New York Times* columnist, scolds those who look for happy endings when they are completely inappropriate.

«Why everyone suddenly started saying closure is a mystery, but that's what happened. Persons whose children, lovers, next of kin died in the crash of TWA Flight 800 and in the Oklahoma City bombing were said by the news reporters to be seeking closure. [...] The death of someone you love is a dreadful, dreadful thing, and not easily endured. Echoing inside the word «closure,» however, is the sound of a door being slammed and sealed, shut against the person whose loss creates your pain. The mourner is trivialized by the suggestion that the sooner he gets over the death, the better. Closure is always made to sound comforting. [...] With all its promise that the most heartbreaking loss need not haunt you forever afterward, closure is a cheerful word»¹⁶.

There is no «closure» in Holocaust testimonies: not for survivors, not for witnesses, not for viewers. It is difficult to provide hopeful messages for the young people whom we teach. However, it is incumbent upon us to teach honestly, to acknowledge that survivor testimonies are bleak and that knowing about the Holocaust has not pre-

vented other genocides from occurring while we hopelessly and impotently watch. We do not learn the history of the Holocaust from the testimonies. We learn about survivors and witnesses, about the personal universe of one person, not about universal events. Polish poet Zbigniew Herbert summarizes for me the goal of my study of this history: «I turn to history not for lessons in hope, but to confront my experience with the experience of others and to win for myself something which I should call universal compassion - a sense of responsibility for the human conscience.»

What is the point of asking a survivor what lessons are to be learned from their experience? Some will respond with a platitude about teaching the lessons of the Holocaust so «it» will never happen again, because they think this is what the interviewer and the audience want to hear. Others will not respond at all, knowing the question reveals such naïveté that there is no common understanding with the questioner. If we don't «set up» the survivor, so innocently and yet so insidiously, we hear more honest observations. The following are among some of those observations.

Martin S. was born in Tarnobrzeg, Poland, in 1933. He was incarcerated in Skarzysko-Kamienna, then Buchenwald. He was liberated by American troops at age twelve, then came to the United States in 1946.

«One of the things I remember as a child coming out, I felt I had to tell the world what was happening. That was the highest priority. So I remember the first few months in a yeshiva, I would spea I would tell the kids everything. tell my rabbi. And one day we won recess. One of the kids got me. We were all in a circle, and 'Why don't you tell one of your stories?' And from that day on, 1946, '47, I did not say a word I wountil five or six years ago.

I would hate to think that my sitti is just an academic exercise, becaus one may be given a grant so that do additional research and thereb a living. This is too painful. We m [crying] [...] do something to man. Because I'm a very bitter m

Edith P. was born in Mich Czechoslovakia in 1920. She was in ated in Auschwitz for six or seven r then transferred to Salzwedel as laborer in Germany. She was libera American troops in 1945, and emigithe United States where she mark American physician and had childre parents and other family member killed. She was videotaped in 1980 she was sixty.

«I have given a great deal of thou how I should conduct myself w Germans, how I should feel. Sh hate them? Should I despise ! Should I go out with a banner and something against them? I don't! never found the answer in my ow and I have to go according to m conscience. I cannot conduct my what my husband tells me or m dren, or by what the world has sa only thing I can say is that I ignore I don't hate them. I can't hate. would waste a lot of time in my li sometimes I wish, in my darkest that they would feel what we feel times, when you are uprooted and ing up children. I'm talking as a

¹⁶ Russell BAKER, "The Blathery Gibberish," New York Times, April 29, 1997, p.23.

¹⁷ Martin S. Holocaust Testimony (HVT-641). Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.

¹⁸ Edith P. Holocaust Testimony (HVT-107). Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.

¹⁹ Bessie and Jacob K. Holocaust Testimony (HVT 206). Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.

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29, 1997, p.23. for Holocaust Testimonics, Yale

or Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University

p Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale

months in a yeshiva, I would speak freely. I would tell the kids everything. I would tell my rabbi. And one day we went out on recess. One of the kids got hold of me. We were all in a circle, and he said, 'Why don't you tell one of your bullshit stories?' And from that day on, this was 1946, '47, I did not say a word I would say until five or six years ago.

I would hate to think that my sitting here is just an academic exercise, because someone may be given a grant so that he may do additional research and thereby make a living. This is too painful. We must [...] [crying] [...] do something to change man. Because I'm a very bitter man»¹⁷.

Edith P. was born in Michalovce, Czechoslovakia in 1920. She was incarcerated in Auschwitz for six or seven months, then transferred to Salzwedel as a slave laborer in Germany. She was liberated by American troops in 1945, and emigrated to the United States where she married an American physician and had children. Her parents and other family members were killed. She was videotaped in 1980, when she was sixty.

«I have given a great deal of thought to how I should conduct myself with the Germans, how I should feel. Should I hate them? Should I despise them? Should I go out with a banner and say, do something against them? I don't know. I never found the answer in my own soul, and I have to go according to my own conscience. I cannot conduct myself by what my husband tells me or my children, or by what the world has said. The only thing I can say is that I ignore them. I don't hate them. I can't hate. I feel I would waste a lot of time in my life. But sometimes I wish, in my darkest hours, that they would feel what we feel sometimes, when you are uprooted and bringing up children. I'm talking as a mother and a wife. There is nobody to share your sorrow or your great happiness»¹⁸.

Jacob K. was born in Zwolen, Poland in 1923. He was incarcerated in Skarzysko-Kamienna, Buchenwald, and Schlieben, and liberated from a death march in May 1945. He met and married his wife in a displaced persons camp. He was videotaped in 1983 at age sixty, when he had recently learned his wife had been married before the war and her child taken from her in Koyno.

«I can't tell you everything in an interview. I couldn't even describe one day in the ghetto. I don't want to live with that pain, but it is there. It forms its own entity. It surfaces whenever it wants to. I'll go on a train and I'll cry. I'll read something and I'll be right there where I came from. And I can't erase it. I'm not asking for it. It comes by itself. It has formulated something in me. I'm a scarred human being [...].

We perceive life as a precious thing. Then Bessie [his wife] gives birth to a child, and a German takes away the child and kills it. What are we, superhuman to brush it aside and tell the world thank you for liberating us? And that's all? We wash our hands clean like nothing ever happened? Like if the Nazis die out, no one is responsible any more. Somebody did it. A maniac did it? Hitler did it? A few Nazis did it? His government? Himmler? Others? And that's all? That's all? I can't make peace with that. Maybe other survivors can. I don't know. I can't. And yet I go on. I'm creative. We're both creative. But that is not the issue. There is another, deeper issue. You cannot brush away the pain by giving something else»¹⁹.

Helen K. was born in Warsaw, Poland in 1924. In the ghetto, her father arranged for her to marry a man ten years older than she. He was a baker, and her father believed he would be able to supply Helen with food. She was one of the last to be deported from the Warsaw ghetto at the end of the uprising. She was deported to Majdanek in May 1943 at age 19, then transferred to Auschwitz about a year later. She was one of only about 6,000 to remain in Auschwitz in January 1945, when some 58,000 prisoners were forced onto death marches which few survived. She was liberated by Soviet troops on January 24th, the only survivor of her family. She was reunited with her husband, also the only survivor of his family. She was videotaped in 1979, at age fifty-five.

«You know, the man I married and the man he was after the war was not the same person. I'm sure I was not the same person either when I was at sixteen. But somehow or other, we needed each other. We got along because he knows who I was. You come from nothing. Nobody know you. It's a very strange feeling. You

need some contact, some connection. He was my connection. He knew who I was and I knew who he was. And we stuck it out! We're married, I don't know how many years. We had two children. He's very different. He copes differently than how I do. And we're here to tell you the story. I don't know. I don't know if it was worth it. When I was in concentration camp, and even after, I said to myself, 'After the war, people will learn. We will learn.' But did we really learn anything? I don't know."

If we are willing to really look and listen to Holocaust survivors and to their testimonies, like the above, they allow us to understand, just a bit, what Lawrence L. Langer meant when he titled his book *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory.*

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²⁰ Helen K. Holocaust Testimony (HVT -58). Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.