

Introduction

On Productive Shame

Triangulations of Shame, Reconciliation, and Agency

Suzana Milevska

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

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

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

1 Sarah Ahmed, “The Politics of Bad Feeling,” *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal* 1 (2005): 76.

2 Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 99.

3 *Ibid.*, 99.

4 *Ibid.*, 99–100.

5 *Ibid.*, 87–95.

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

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

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

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

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

Geopolitical Triangulation of Topology of Shame

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



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

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

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

7 Until recently, Austria presented itself as the first collective victim of national socialist Germany after 1945. This interpretation of history was supported by the Moscow

Declaration of November 1, 1943. It is important to state that in this document, the Allies still held Austria responsible for its participation in the Second World War on the German side. See the Joint Four-Nation Declaration, Moscow Conference, October 1943, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/moscow.asp>. See also: Wolfgang Neugebauer, “Opfer oder Täter” (Victims or perpetrators), Vienna, 1994. Quoted in “Victim Myth,” *Demokratiezentrum Wien*, <http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/en/knowledge/stations-a-z/the-victim-myth>; and Eva Blimlinger’s contribution in this volume, 60–77.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

8 The arrival in Rotterdam of the world’s biggest ship, the *Pieter Schelte*, named after a Dutch officer in the Waffen-SS (shortly before Jews were targeted and killed in Paris, and the seventieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz), is an example of how continuity with the Nazi past is established through various subtle and not so subtle strategies including naming. Despite the protests of the leaders of Jewish communities and Holocaust memorial groups in Britain and the Netherlands, the ship wasn’t renamed. See

Ed Vulliamy, “Jewish Outrage as Ship Named after SS War Criminal Arrives in Europe,” *Guardian*, January 24, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/24/pieter-schelte-worlds-biggest-ship-ss-officer>.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 Pajaczkowska and Ward, “Shame, Sexuality and Visual Culture,” 7.

18 *Ibid.*, 7–8.

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

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

Collective Memory and Materiality of Race and Shame

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

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

Nationalist and racist outbursts of hatred usually conceal this provenience of race in a nation-state as driven by territorial and materialist interests (i.e., for acquiring unpaid labor). This resonates with Arendt's analysis because for her,

anti-Semitism could not be understood as separate from the formation of the nation-state itself. This is actually only an excuse for the collective actions undertaken against the *different* for some aims of various backgrounds, mainly the economic and territorial interests rather than the mystified hatred.²³ Shame and pride are reciprocally and undoubtedly connected with *belonging* or *not belonging* to a certain state and its politics.

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

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

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

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

21 During the conference "Translating Class/ Altering Hospitality," CATH, Leeds, 2002,

more precisely after his keynote speech and during the Q/A session, Paul Gilroy mentioned *passim* the growing racism in Eastern Europe that he found relevant and connected to his arguments in terms of solidarity, although not related to skin color.

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

23 *Ibid.*, 504.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

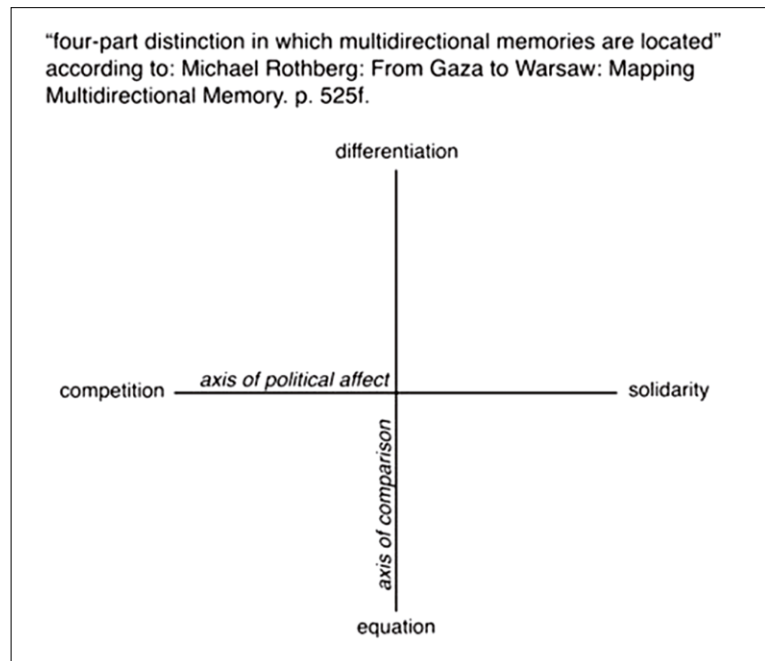


Fig. 5
Diagram of "multidirectional memories,"
Lesekreis meeting, 2014

Multidirectional Memory and Multidirectional Shame

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

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

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

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

Neoliberalism, Racism, and Protocols of Shame

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

27 Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); Michael Rothberg, "Between Paris and Warsaw: Multidirectional Memory, Ethics, and Historical Responsibility," in *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe*, ed. Uilleam Blacker, Alexander Etkind, and Julie Fedor (New York: Palgrave, 2013); Michael Rothberg, "Remembering Back: Cultural Memory, Colonial Legacies and Postcolonial Studies," in *The Oxford*

Handbook of Postcolonial Studies, ed. Graham Huggan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 359–79.

28 Michael Rothberg, "From Gaza to Warsaw: Mapping Multidirectional Memory," *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 523–48.

29 *Ibid.*, 526.

30 *Ibid.*, 525–48.

31 *Ibid.*, 540.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

32 Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 360.

33 The controversial expulsions from France of nearly one thousand Roma to Romania and Bulgaria based on a personal memo from the French president Nicolas Sarkozy and following the French government’s orders based on the newly introduced strict security bill Loppsi 2, are some of the most obvious examples how protocols are put at work. See: “France: New Law on Internal Security, Loppsi 2,” *Library of Congress*, http://www.loc.gov/lawweb/servlet/lloc_news?disp3_l205402583_text.

34 Carl Zimmer, “White? Black? A Murky Distinction Grows Still Murkier,” *New York*

Times, December 24, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/25/science/23andme-genetic-ethnicity-study.html?_r=0.

35 Tommie Shelby, “Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia: A Conversation with Paul Gilroy,” *Transition – An International Review* (2008), <http://www.transition-magazine.com/articles/shelby.htm>.

36 Jean Améry, *At the Mind’s Limits Contemplations by a Survivor on Auschwitz and Its Realities*, trans. Sidney Rosenfeld and Stella P. Rosenfeld (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), xi.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

The artist’s action and the title of the work point to the long-forgotten site (until the US-born self-made historian Paul Polansky started searching for survivors and made interviews with them in the 1990s⁴²), and to the disturbing attempt by the Czech government to overwrite the history and existence of the Lety site.

37 Perhaps Améry’s brutal destiny and his suicide speak most accurately of his difficulty to find a way to forgive: at his time his delusion was interpreted as linked with his failed attempts to see any signs of remorse and shame around.

38 Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive* (New York: Zone Books, 1999), 146.

39 See Gilles Deleuze, “Control and Becoming,” *Negotiations 1972–1990*, trans. Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 172; also quoted in Milevska and Saldanha, “The Return of Race,” 240.

40 Paul Gilroy, *Race and the Right to Be Human*, Oratie, Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, September 3, 2009, 18–20.

41 Ibid., 19.

42 Also listen to several statements by Paul Polansky, an American amateur historian, who made interviews with the last survivors of Lety. See the interview with Paul Polansky: “Pig Sick: The Untold Story of the Czech Romany Holocaust,” YouTube, video, 9:51, posted by “Travellers’ Times,” January 26, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zA3ExcqZBfE>; see also <http://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/list.aspx?c=00619EF1-21E2-40AA-8D5E-F7C38586D32F&n=D1132229-92E2-470B-BD3E-965C5735D117>.

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



Fig. 8
Alfred Ullrich, *BLACKOUT*, 2014

Forgiving, Solidarity, and Shame

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

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

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

43 For more information on the history of Lety's history and the way its original plan was overwritten by the pig farm, see Huub van Baar, "The Way Out of Amnesia? Europeanisation and the Recognition of the Roma's Past and Present," *Third Text* 22, no. 3 (May 2008): 373–85.

44 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 237.

45 Jean-Luc Nancy, *Being Singular Plural*, trans. Robert D. Richardson and Anne O'Byrne (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 12–13.

46 Arendt, *Human Condition*, 179.

47 Glen Pettigrove, "Hannah Arendt and Collective Forgiving," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 484.

48 Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness (Thinking in Action)*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. Preface by Simon Critchley and Richard Kearney

(London: Routledge, 2001); Jacques Derrida, "On Forgiveness ... And Seinfeld," YouTube, video, 6:05, posted by "Canalul utilizatorului hiperf289," January 26, 2007, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dwDZ6jrDgdg>.

49 Derrida admits, however, that he is "torn" regarding the possibility to achieve unconditional forgiveness. Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 51.

50 Gil Anidjar, "Everything Burns: Derrida's Holocaust," *Los Angeles Review of Books*, October 9, 2014, <http://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/everything-burns-derridas-holocaust>.

51 For more details on the controversies surrounding Judith Butler's support for the Boycott, Divestment, Sanction Movement that ultimately led to cancellation of her lecture on Franz Kafka at the Jewish Museum in New York, see: <http://forward.com/articles/193165/boycott-israel-backer-judith-butler-pulls-out-of-j/#ixzz3Ss02GsTP>.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

52 Sara Ahmed, “Feminist Killjoys (And Other Wilful Subjects),” *S&F Online* 1, no. 8 (Summer 2010), http://sfonline.barnard.edu/polyphonic/print_ahmed.htm.

53 Sara Ahmed, “The Politics of Bad Feeling,”

Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal 1 (2005): 85.

54 Shelby, “Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia,” unpaginated.

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

Postcolonial Melancholia: Protocols, Affects, and Effects of Shame

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Naming and Renaming: Rewriting and Recasting Memories

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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German soldiers watching footage of concentration camps, 1945.

"German prisoners of war in American camps watch the documentary/presentation about German concentration camps." Image from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. <http://rarehistoricalphotos.com/german-soldiers-forced-watch-footage-concentration-camps-1945/>.

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Ullrich, Alfred. *Pearls before Swine*, 2000, photograph.

Ullrich, Alfred. *BLACKOUT*, 2014, photomontage.

Image Credits

Introduction

Fig. 1

"In Nuremberg and elsewhere," published in the Austrian newspaper *Neues Österreich*, July 20, 1946, with a subcaption: "But he ordered me to do it!" See Maria Wirth, "Victim Myth," February 2006, Demokratiezentrum Wien, <http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/en/knowledge/stations-a-z/the-victim-myth.html>.

Fig. 2

Photograph of German prisoners of war in American camps watch footage of German concentration camps, 1945. Courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Source: <http://rarehistoricalphotos.com/german-soldiers-forced-watch-footage-concentration-camps-1945/>.

Fig. 3

Sanja Iveković, *Disobedient (Reasons for Imprisonment)*, 2012, public art project, poster, first of the series, edition of 6 × 100. dOCUMENTA (13), 2012. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 4

Sanja Iveković, *Disobedient (Reasons for Imprisonment)*, 2012, poster (detail). dOCUMENTA (13), 2012. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 5

Diagram of "multidirectional memories, meeting of the Lesekreis," 2014. According to Michael Rothberg's text "From Gaza to Warsaw: Multidirectional Memory," *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 525. Drawing by and courtesy of Jakob Krameritsch.

Fig. 6

Alfred Ullrich, *Pearls before Swine*, 2000, photograph, dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 7

Alfred Ullrich, *Pearls before Swine*, 2000, photograph, dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 8

Alfred Ullrich, *BLACKOUT*, 2014, photo-montage, dimensions variable. Courtesy of the artist.

Tímea Junghaus

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Ceija Stojka, *Auschwitz: We Were Ashamed*, 2008, Indian ink on paper. Photo: Moritz Pankok. Courtesy of the Stojka Family.

Fig. 14

Ceija Stojka, *Untitled*, 2011, Indian ink on paper. Photo: Moritz Pankok. Courtesy of the Stojka Family.

Jakob Krameritsch

Fig. 15

Jakob Krameritsch, *Marikana 1994*, compilation: cuttings of aerial photographs. Courtesy of Jakob Krameritsch.

Fig. 16

Greg Marinovich, *Marikana*, August 15, 2012, photograph. Courtesy of Greg Marinovich.

Andrea B. Braidt

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Carola Dertnig, *ZU SPÄT*, 2011. Photo: Stephan Wyckoff. Courtesy of KÖR GmbH (Public Art Vienna).

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Zsuzsi Flohr

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Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képiró Sándor Part One*, 2014. In front of K. S.'s house on Frankel Leó Street, 78, Budapest. Photo documentation: Eduard Freudmann. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 20

Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képiró Sándor Part One*, 2014. Margaret Island entrance, Budapest. Photo documentation: Eduard Freudmann. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 21

Zsuzsi Flohr, *Culprits among Us – On the Road with Képiró Sándor Part One*, 2014. Margaret Island, Fountain, Budapest. Photo documentation: Eduard Freudmann. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 22

Zsuzsi Flohr, *Write it down for hundred times! – On the Road with Képiró Sándor Part Two*, 2013, video still from the documentation, no. 1. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 23

Zsuzsi Flohr, *Write it down for hundred times! – On the Road with Képiró Sándor Part Two*, 2013, video still from the documentation, no. 3. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 24
Zsuzsi Flohr, *Write it down for hundred times!*
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Jasmina Cibic

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Courtesy of the artist and the Museum
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Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana.

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Courtesy of the artist.

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Eduard Freudmann

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Photo: Tal Adler. Courtesy of Tal Adler.

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Peter Mörtenböck and Helge Mooshammer, with Das Kollektiv

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Das Kollektiv, *Vierzig Morgen 1*, 2014. Photo
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Working Group Four Faces of Omarska

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Photo: Srđan Veljović. Courtesy of Working
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Fig. 43

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Fig. 44
Commemoration in Omarska, Bosnia and
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Tal Adler

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Photo: Tal Adler. Courtesy of the artist.

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Father Peter Zitta looking at the com-
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Photo: Tal Adler. Courtesy of the artist.