Small Acts of Repair: The Unclaimed Legacy of the Romanian Holocaust

Marianne Hirsch, Leo Spitzer

Journal of Literature and Trauma Studies, Volume 4, Numbers 1-2, Spring/Fall 2015, pp. 13-42 (Article)

Published by University of Nebraska Press
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/jlt.2016.0007

Small Acts of Repair

The Unclaimed Legacy of the Romanian Holocaust

MARIANNE HIRSCH AND LEO SPITZER

Unclaimed Legacies

Several years ago we were scheduled to speak at the Wiener Library in London about Czernowitz—a sizeable Eastern European city that had been the capital of a province of the Austrian Habsburg Empire and that had once contained a large, German-speaking, highly assimilated Jewish population. We had recently coauthored a book, *Ghosts of Home*, about the afterlife of this city in Jewish memory.[1] Some weeks before the talk we had received a package from a Dr. Harry Jarvis from Bournemouth, England, who was planning to attend. It contained a small sampling of articles he had written about Czernowitz for a Jewish genealogical magazine. Then in his late eighties, Dr. Jarvis was quite eager to speak with us: he was reading our book, he wrote us, and wanted to show us a few things that were important to him.

When we subsequently met Dr. Jarvis and heard his account of the frustrations he had experienced when he tried to convey his family's wartime story to various individuals and institutions, we began to understand his eagerness to find willing listeners. Dr. Jarvis (whose original name had been Jaslowitz) was born and grew up in Cernăuți (as Czernowitz was renamed when it came under Romanian rule) but left in the 1930s during a high point of Romanian anti-Semitic activity and went to study medicine in England. His parents and ten-year-old sister Sonja stayed behind. In the course of massive campaigns of "ethnic cleansing" of Jews carried out by fascist Romanian authorities, his father, mother, and sister Sonja were de-

ported eastward in 1942 to a region that came to be known as Transnistria. Fortuitously, however, the three did manage to survive Transnistria's brutal ghettos and concentration camps and, after being liberated by the Soviet army in 1944, they were repatriated to the Romanian capital, Bucharest. There, not long afterward, Harry's father died from tuberculosis he had contracted in a Transnistrian concentration camp and Sonja was killed—ironically, a "collateral damage" victim of shrapnel from Allied bombs intended for a German-controlled oil installation near the Romanian capital. She had just turned seventeen.

After the war ended, Jarvis's distressed mother joined her son in London. She brought along a number of family documents she had managed to safeguard, including a folder of poems written by her young daughter while in Transnistria. Some were illustrated with drawings that Sonja had made shortly before her death.

Perceiving the testimonial and historical importance of these writings, as well as their potential literary and artistic interest, Harry Jarvis travelled to Israel in the early 1950s to donate them to the newly established Holocaust museum, Yad Vashem. He hoped that this museum might make these materials public so that Sonja Jaslowitz would be acknowledged and memorialized, her legacy insured. More generally, he had also wanted his donation to help broaden and factually enhance the then scant knowledge about Transnistria and the Romanian genocide of Jews.

Neither of these things happened. Although his bequest was accepted, Sonja's Jaslowitz's Transnistria writings received no noticeable attention from Yad Vashem officials, and even today they cannot be found among holdings that museum lists on its website index. Frustrated by this inattention, Harry Jarvis nonetheless did not give up and, until his recent death, continued to donate documents, articles, and books related to Czernowitz and Transnistria and the experience of Jews there that he had collected over the years to other institutional archives, many equally uninformed about this distinctive history of genocide and survival.

It was in this spirit that Jarvis approached us, anxious about what would happen to the weighty legacy that had been passed down to him—a legacy, he worried, he would be able to sustain for only a brief time longer. His children, he admitted, had little interest in this past. He especially wanted someone with a background in literature to have Sonja's poems—to

Fig. 1. Sonja Jaslowitz with her parents in Cernăuți, ca. 1938. (Courtesy Dr. Harry Jarvis.)

"do with them as you wish." Even if they were never published, he hoped they'd at least be properly read.

Harry Jarvis's gift of Sonja Jaslowitz's poems to us, and his directive to do with them "as you wish"—a charge that, of course, also indicated that he wanted us to do something—left us both excited and somewhat uneasy. Those of us in the postgenerations who are descendants of traumatic genocidal histories often inherit such testimonial objects—small or large, ordinary or remarkable—and we have to decide how to respond to their demands.[2]

The thin folder Harry Jarvis gave us contained only a small corpus of works produced by a very young girl. But they are quite remarkable. Written in German, Romanian, and French and composed in the ghettos and camps of Transnistria (and then, no doubt, typed and illustrated in Bucharest after her liberation), they evoke the daily life of Jewish deportees and slave laborers in graphic detail. But some are also marked by humor and irony, and they reflect a deep longing for home, all without losing a persistent sense of hope in the future.

Admittedly, the poetic form in which this testimony came to us gen-

erated a fantasy on our part, both of "discovering" a talented unknown poet and her small oeuvre and of being able to call attention to improbable acts of creative resistance by someone whose life was so violently cut short. Sonja Jaslowitz, we thought, might be another Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger—the remarkable young poet, a distant cousin of Paul Celan, who died of typhus at the age of eighteen in Mikhailovka, a German forced labor camp near the east bank of the Bug River, to which she had been moved from Transnistria.

A volume of fifty-seven poems written by Meerbaum-Eisinger before her deportation from Cernăuți has now been published both in German, their original language of composition, and in translation, and her poetic creations, broadly anthologized in recent years, have received praise as works of a "second Anne Frank."[3] Indeed, after decades in obscurity, Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger has become an international icon: a plaque was installed in 2004 on her former house, her poems have been set to music and recorded by The World Quintet, her life has been the subject of three plays in Germany, a German youth literary prize has been named after her, many poems have been written to her by German schoolchildren as part of an ongoing curricular "Project Selma," and of course, she has a Facebook page and numerous Facebook friends.[4]

Is this what we might wish for Sonja Jaslowitz, we wondered? The hyperbolic attention that Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger and her poetry now receive is not unusual in postmemorial generations, but would such attention be an appropriate response to Sonja Jaslowitz's poems in the context of the tragic curtailment of her life story and to the anonymity to which she had been relegated for so long? What postmemorial response might do justice to the vulnerable lives and imaginative production of young artists like Sonja and Selma—or indeed, of anyone who, like them, experienced such trauma and early death? The affect, anxieties, and needs that Harry Jarvis transmitted to us, along with the folder of his sister's poems, were undoubtedly compounded by the vast geopolitical changes that have taken place in the many years since the end of World War Two. National borders have shifted, political orientations have realigned, and particular histories, like Transnistria's, have been contested, erased, and forgotten. How can one even begin to think about calibrating the search for acknowledgment and memorialization of people like Jarvis, who incurred

immeasurable loss of loved ones in the killing fields and wakes of the Holocaust, against the very limited possibilities of redress and reparation that exist after decades of neglect and oblivion?

Reparative Approaches

In its most common usage, *reparation* is an ethico-political and legal concept—a public acknowledgement of injury by a state or state-connected institution, and a compensatory settlement that often, but not always, involves a monetary award.[5] But reparation (or repair) is also a key concept in psychoanalysis, particularly in object relations theories inspired by Melanie Klein's revisions of Freud and her pioneering practical and theoretical work in infant and child psychology. In Klein's early writings in the 1920s she brought both these dimensions of reparation to light, referring to the massive damage done, and the economic needs created, by the First World War. By the mid-1930s, however, on the basis of her extensive psychological analysis of infants, she employed the term *reparation* primarily to describe an intrapsychic process of restoration enabling an infant (and, by extension, adult) to attain both healthy intellectual and psychological development and a secure grasp of reality.[6] It specifically derives from the infant's ambivalent relationship to the mother: from her sense of the mother as nurturing love object *and* as the not always present or available hostile object, tormenting the infant with hunger and privation, thus eliciting bouts of mistrust, indignant rage, and fantasies of aggression and injury. Reparation, in the aftermath of these destructive and hateful fantasized impulses, enables the infant to restore the mother to a loved, wholesome, and nourishing state. It reflects, in Klein's words, "a profound urge to make sacrifices, in order to help and to put right loved people who in fantasy have been harmed or destroyed."[7] This reparative script, Klein further argues, is fundamentally connected to a second intrapsychic process—mourning—one enabling the infant "to work over in its mind a sense of loss entailed in the mother's actual imperfections."[8] Indeed, mourning is in itself reparative—a means of attempting to recover or restore the object (*wiederherstellen*) and to make it good again (*wiedergutmachen*). It is a process that *must* be undertaken, Klein argues, even though it can never be adequate to the injury or the loss. The fantasy of repairing a lost or damaged object is thus complicated by messy,

complex, uncontrollable and contradictory feelings: by guilt, inadequacy, and frustration; by anger, aggression, and projection; and most troublingly, by ambivalence and the inability to tolerate it. In psychoanalytic terms, mourning and repair are thus not only processes of working through: they inevitably also involve some amount of acting out.[9]

Clearly, Klein's suggestive formulations about injury and the psychological need for repair and mourning have significantly inflected political and legal claims for reparation. Since World War II, for example, as historian Lynn Hunt has argued, human rights discourses have presented such claims on the basis of "emotional appeal(s)" stemming from psychic reparative needs at least as often as those buttressed by "reason"—her abbreviated characterization of more conventionally employed evidentiary formulations.[10]

But Kleinian developmental psychology also allows us to appreciate the psychic complexities of what it means to survive or to inherit, however indirectly, traumatic events that fail to be recognized and worked through in a *longue durée* of many decades—what it means, in other words, to live with the dead. What if there is no official body—neither a state nor another national or transnational institution—to recognize or be accountable for political and legal claims? What if denial and obliviousness continue? How is mourning to occur? And without the possibility of mourning, how can one even begin to seek repair?

The legal scholar Martha Minow provides one suggestive response. In *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*, she argues that direct victims and survivors of mass violence and historical trauma may be able to begin to address their personal reparative needs by being provided with: (1) a venue to "tell [their] story and be heard without interruption of skepticism"; and (2) a "commitment to produce a coherent, if complex, narrative about the entire nation's trauma, and the multiple sources and expressions of its violence."[11] In combination, these two do reinforce one another. Each individual story helps to shape a larger history by providing it with detail, depth, and nuance. And in turn, each story is enhanced and given broader meaning through its contextualization within a larger historical matrix. Postgenerations haunted by stories that have not been worked through still find that they owe the victims this act of attentive listening, as well as this work of historical repair.

In the spirit of such a modest act of historical, and in this case also literary, redress, the fragmentary story of Sonja Jaslowitz and the little-known history of Transnistria's camps and ghettos need to be told together—along with a reading, translation, and publication of Sonja's poems, as well as a reflection on what permitted them to be created. Certainly, a fuller historical account of the conditions under which they were created might influence and, perhaps, enhance how we read them: their testimonial value enhancing their literary dimensions. But it is important to keep in mind that Sonja Jaslowitz's poems are the output of a very young girl whose formal schooling ended at age twelve or thirteen. They are part of a genre of adolescent writing produced, like the writings and drawings of other children and adolescents in ghettos and camps, under extreme duress. Had Sonja Jaslowitz lived and gone on to write more poetry and prose, she might have been embarrassed to be identified with what would then have been her juvenilia.

The psychic complexities of the work of reparation, as suggested by Melanie Klein, should enjoin us to examine our own motives and stakes, our own needs and desires as we attempt to tell this history and claim an unclaimed legacy. They should warn about the temptation to project our fears and fantasies of vulnerability and our needs for testimonial sincerity and authenticity on children's expressions.[12] And they should warn especially, about the pitfalls that confront any attempted act of historical and literary repair in areas where political and legal acknowledgment and reckoning are largely absent.

And yet such an approach to repair—through small acts attuned to small claims—offers, we believe, a different set of openings in memory studies: it can potentially take us out of the national and even the transnational, or cosmopolitan, frames in which cultural memory has been studied. It can respond to the vulnerability of personal and familial archives that come to light in chance encounters such as our brief meeting with Harry Jarvis. And it can mobilize these archives to enliven and personalize forgotten histories of places like Transnistria. It might thus take us out of the national and even the transnational frames in which cultural memory has been studied, focusing on local histories and their movement and import, their connections to other small stories, across space and time.

The Forgotten Cemetery

The belatedness of the "discovery" of Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger and Harry Jarvis's repeated efforts to gain recognition for his sister Sonja's poetry—each fueled by powerful emotional needs—can, in part, be accounted for circumstantially, by the peculiarities associated with the Romanian displacement and genocide of the Jews.[13] It can be explained by the fact that this history remains largely unincorporated within the paradigm of deportation, ghettoization, and extermination that has shaped Holocaust studies.

Some of the reasons for Romania's virtual omission from this transnational master narrative have to do with the predominant conceptualizations of the Holocaust—impressions that for the most part have been shaped by a focus on crimes associated with German Nazism and on Nazi German–established ghettos and concentration or extermination camps in central Europe and in occupied Poland. Auschwitz, Treblinka, the Lódz and Warsaw ghettos were—and still largely remain—the principal defining shadows of genocidal evil. This broad understanding has influenced even officials of major Holocaust memorial and research institutions. An example: before the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum belatedly, in 1998, agreed to recognize Transnistria as one of the killing fields on the wall of its Hall of Remembrance, the museum's director, Walter Reich, rationalized previous museum refusals to do this by saying, "We cannot put up the name of every little *shtetl*."[14] His erroneous categorization of Transnistria as a shtetl (a small town or village) reflects the widespread public and academic ignorance about this large Romanian-administered region where, over a period of three years, nearly three hundred thousand Jews and Roma perished.[15]

But events within Romania during the final months of World War II and in the ensuing Cold War era under communism also explain its absence from larger Holocaust histories. Fascist Romania had been Nazi Germany's staunchest ally at the outbreak of World War II and during the first three years of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of Romanian soldiers fought alongside German troops—more men than all other German allies combined. Romanians, however, also suffered extensive military and economic casualties in this alliance: some 370,000 Romanian soldiers were killed in battle or went missing in action;

tens of thousands were wounded. Many in the country became increasingly angry and disillusioned with their leaders. Opponents of the ruling fascists became more daring. In late August 1944, eight months before the end of World War II in Europe, a coup headed by Romania's King Michael and supported by communists and disaffected military officers overthrew the regime headed by Marshal Ion Antonescu and switched Romania's support from the Axis to the Allied-Soviet side.[16]

When the war ended, Romanian rule swung increasingly to the Left. Two Romanian People's Tribunals (in Bucharest and Cluj) were established to try suspected war criminals and perpetrators of atrocities. In the Bucharest tribunals, prosecutorial documents were presented on the deportation of Jews to Transnistria, and transcripts of oral testimonies from the accused—though not from surviving victims—were also collected. But, unlike materials from the postwar International Military Tribunals at Nuremberg or the SS trials that were held subsequent to the Nazi defeat, these testimonial materials were not widely disseminated and were largely withdrawn from access.[17] Indeed, as was argued in the 2005 *Final Report* of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania—a commission established nearly sixty years after the conclusion of World War II—the people's tribunals reflected a bitter end-of-war power struggle within Romania "between the so-called nationalist camp and [a] communist camp supported by the Soviet army."[18] Many in Romania "saw the trials as an anti-national act, an attempt by foreigners and their local aides to take their revenge against Romanians." By highlighting "outsiders" and "retribution" as elements influencing their procedures, Romanian nationalists thus delegitimized the tribunals, and the nature, extent, and intensity of fascist-era crimes committed by Romanians were not incorporated into Romania's collective self-awareness.[19]

A majority of sentences pronounced by the tribunals were commuted to lesser punishments within a short time, and almost all convicted perpetrators were released under amnesty offerings in the 1950s and early 1960s. Most importantly, after the war Transnistria itself ceased to exist as a discrete Romanian-ruled political entity with defined boundaries, and the region was, once again, submerged into the Ukrainian Soviet Union. Since it was no longer part of Romania, the issue of responsibility for what had happened there in the early 1940s faded from the consciousness of nonvic-

timized Romanians. Nonetheless, for many of the Jewish and non-Jewish survivors of Romanian displacement and horrific violence, as well as for their relatives and descendants, the sufferings of the war years remained open wounds. The combined unwillingness of Romanians to bring the fuller story of Transnistria to light, and the minimizing of punishment for convicted perpetrators, was a bitter signal to them that neither historical accounting nor justice had in any sense been served.

In 2003, responding to an international outcry about his government's claim that "within the borders of Romania between 1940 and 1945 there was no Holocaust," Romanian president Ion Iliescu agreed to convene an international commission chaired by Elie Wiesel to examine the country's wartime history. That International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania released a report in November 2004 (the final report was published in 2005) indisputably evidencing Romanian culpability. President Iliescu, eager to enhance his country's admission to the European Union, then reversed his earlier negationism and praised the commission's findings. But, while declaring that "the young generations need to know and understand the entire truth" about this "dark chapter in our country's history," he did little to initiate the necessary changes in the educational curriculum to acknowledge Romania's involvement in Holocaust crimes.[20] Indeed, before leaving office at the end of 2004, Iliescu conferred a Romanian State Prize for Faithful Service on Gheorghe Buzatu, a Holocaust denier, and he awarded the Order of Romania, the state's highest decoration, to Corneliu Vadim Tudor, leader of the ultra-Right Romania Mare Party and a virulent anti-Semite. More recently, however, under presidents Traian Basescu and Klaus Iohannis, a Holocaust memorial was built in the nation's capital, Bucharest, and a state-sponsored Institute for Holocaust Studies was established there as well. In several Romanian universities, moreover, new Jewish history and Holocaust courses do now include consideration of Romania's wartime involvement in the persecution, deportation, and mass murder of Jews, Roma, and others. But public education at the grammar and high school levels still lags far behind the universities in this regard, and throughout the country, Holocaust denial and lack of acknowledgment of Romania's perpetration remain widespread.[21]

What is more, the sites of the camps and ghettos in the area of the former Transnistria itself have remained largely unacknowledged and un-

marked. Apart from larger towns like Moghilev and Bershad, Jewish cemeteries were and continue to be neglected, mass graves remain unidentified, and commemorative signs are few. As a result, present-day local inhabitants are remarkably ignorant of the region's violent and murderous history, and returnee survivors and their descendants rarely find the sites of camps and ghettoes or the mass graves they go there to seek. All of these omissions magnify affect and need, even as they minimize the possibilities of political and legal reparation at such a vast temporal remove.

To be sure, some information about the Romanian Holocaust did emerge briefly in the aftermath of the war from unofficial accounts by witnesses and survivors. In 1963, for example, informed by some of these testimonies, Hannah Arendt, in *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, singled out the Romanian Holocaust for its "sheer butchery."[22] But the bulk of archived documentary information about the Holocaust in Romania became publicly accessible only after December 1989 and the subsequent opening of Eastern European archives, following the collapse of the Soviet Union. The possibility of accessing these archival resources has enabled a corrective broadening of the long-existing perception about of the German-Polish-centered core boundaries and reach of the Holocaust. A new multivolume encyclopedia being published by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum is incorporating materials from previously closed Soviet and East German archives that vastly expands the number of Nazi and fascist camps and ghettos during the war to 42,500 (including hundreds in Greater Romania)—an immense enlargement of the map of perpetration that will certainly bring about an important shift in public consciousness.[23] But even within this expanded Holocaust history, Transnistria's role is still very much in development.[24]

Transnistria: The Dumping Ground

In late August 1941, as a reward for Romania's material support and military alliance with Nazi Germany in the war against the Soviet Union, Adolf Hitler signed an agreement with his counterpart führer, the Conducator Marshal Ion Antonescu, that gave Romania control of a territory of nearly sixty-five thousand square kilometers between the Dniester and the Bug Rivers, west to east, and the Black Sea and Lyadova River, south to north. Being "across the Dniester [trans Nistru]" lent the territory its name:

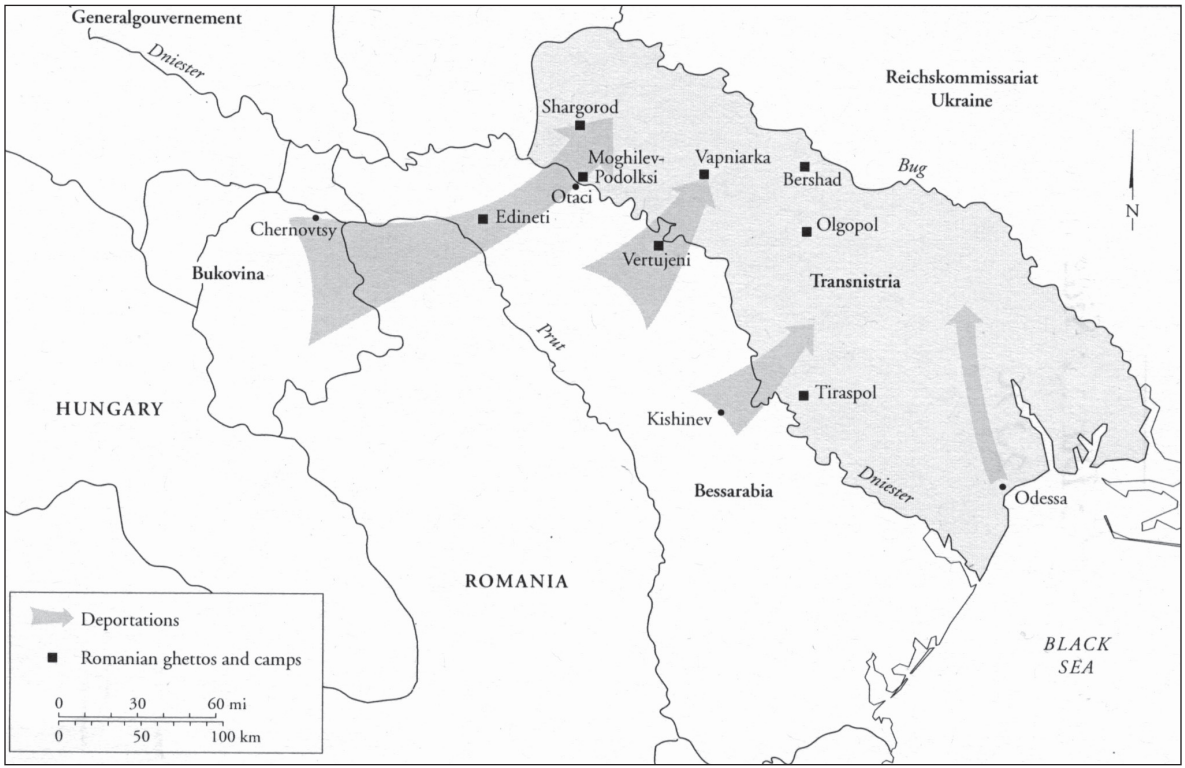

Fig. 2. Romania with Transnistria, 1941–42. (Based on maps from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.)

Transnistria.[25] The agreement permitted the German military to set up naval and air bases in this territory and to continue to be allowed to enter it "to perform special jobs"—this in the aftermath of the wave of genocidal "cleansing" operations in which nearly one-third of the area's native Jewish population of approximately three hundred thousand were murdered by the Einsatzgruppe D, an SS mobile death squad, and by members of the German Eleventh and Romanian Third and Fourth Armies during the initial weeks following Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union.[26]

The agreement left unstated the understanding that some of the "special jobs" performed by the German military would eventually be undertaken in conjunction with the privately owned Todt and August Dohrman strategic road and bridge construction companies: periodic raids across the Bug River from German-occupied Ukraine to "recruit" surviving Jews for forced labor. But Romanian officials were clearly unfazed by these German intrusions into Transnistria—indeed, they welcomed them—because they fit well into Marshal Antonescu's vision for the future of this territory: to keep it for the long term and incorporate it as a new province of a Greater Romanian Empire into which ethnic Romanians would be introduced as permanent settlers after the Axis powers defeated the Soviet Union and removed all Jewish and Roma inhabitants from the region. In practice, however, these German military raids, while certainly effective in their deadly intent, were not frequent or large enough to eliminate all Jews from the province, especially after the decision on the part of Romanian authorities to send hundreds of thousands of new Jewish deportees to Transnistria from the country's newly reacquired provinces, Bessarabia and Northern Bukowina.[27]

Initially, underlying these large-scale deportations was the assumption that Jews surviving their brutal displacements would eventually be transferred out of Romanian territory altogether, across the Bug River into German-controlled Ukraine, where they would be subjected to "special treatment," the Nazi euphemism for annihilation.[28] Transnistria, in this plan, was to be nothing more than a large-scale temporary "holding" or "containment" place for deported Jews—a "dumping ground."

To await the mass transfer of Jews across the Bug River—an event that, according to the Tighina Agreement, could take place only "following the completion of military operations"[29]—Romanian authorities therefore es-

tablished dozens of makeshift ghettos and scores of small concentration camps throughout Transnistria. Guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries, and generally fenced in with barbed wire, the camps were set up in abandoned and derelict buildings, barns, stables, and pigsties on the outskirts of villages and kolkhozes (collective farms), while the ghettos were marked off in designated town streets and neighborhoods. All suffered from overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and immense deprivation of food and potable water. They were exposed to bitterly cold temperatures—the winter of 1941–42 being one of the coldest on record in Eastern Europe—and to illnesses and epidemics that resulted in mass fatalities.[30]

Unlike the Nazi camps in Germany, Austria, Latvia, Lithuania, and occupied Poland or near the eastern bank of the Bug in occupied Ukraine, which were organized and generally operated as part of a centralized network and planned system, the Romanian camps were, for the most part, set up in a very improvisatory manner. Although identified with terms similar to those used in the Nazi network—*detention*, *internment*, *political*, *labor*, and even *death camps*—the camps were launched and administered haphazardly, without a strategic blueprint, so that the distinctions between the camps themselves were often greater than the differences between them and some of the more restrictive Transnistrian ghettos like Shpikov and Tulchin.[31]

Killing methods also differed greatly from Nazi practices of extermination in Poland. Even the worst Transnistrian camps had no gas vans, gas chambers, or ovens. But their decentralized ways, for all their informality, were remarkably brutal. They included mass starvation, deprivation of water, forced marches and relocations, poisoning with food known to be toxic to humans, lack of shelter, and exposure to freezing temperatures and epidemic diseases—as well as mass shootings and incinerations.[32]

Cariera de Piatră, the small concentration/labor camp in which Sonja Jaslowitz and her parents were imprisoned before their transfer to the Tiraspol ghetto and end-of-war repatriation to Bucharest, was located some fifteen kilometers north of the Ladijin ghetto, on an elevated plateau a short ascent from the banks of the Bug. It had once been an active granite rock quarry that the Soviets, before the war, had turned into a punitive camp for criminals. After the Romanians acquired Cariera de Piatră, they initially used the ruins of that camp to literally dump hundreds of Jewish inmates who had been deported from Cernăuți's asylum for the mentally

ill in the summer of 1942. Those among these unfortunate inmates who managed to remain alive did so by finding shelter in wrecked guard and storage sheds that had been built partially into the rock and by scrounging for whatever edibles they could find. They were joined on the upper plateau level of the Cariera by some four thousand Jewish deportees from Bessarabia and Bukowina, including the Jaslowitzs, the mother and father of the poet Paul Celan, Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger with her parents, and the future psychoanalyst and cofounder of the Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust Testimonies at Yale, Dori Laub, together with his mother. The inmates were told that this camp was a transit camp from which they would be transferred to work destinations elsewhere.[33]

Although many of the Jews sent to Cariera de Piatră died there or in its vicinity—the remaining physically impaired and mentally disturbed inmates from the Cernăuți asylum were shot in late August 1942, by Ukrainian guards working for the Romanians—the camp did indeed serve as a transit point from which deportees were dispersed, for the most part to places like Mikhailovka, on the eastern side of the Bug River, that were run as slave-labor supply camps by Nazi authorities for the Strategic Road Companies that built roads and bridges for the German military. We have only sparse information about Sonja and her parents from this period of internment. We have no account of their everyday lives—of how they managed to shelter and feed themselves and survive. We do know that most of the prisoners were regularly marched down for forced agricultural work from the Cariera de Piatră plateau. Unlike many Cariera inmates, Sonja and her parents managed to avoid being selected for forced labor in German-controlled territory. Sonja's poem "Heimweh" (Longing) conveys the intensity of her yearning for home and the darkness of her outlook at the time—a pessimism that she tried to dispel in her concluding lines.[34]

Heimweh

In dieser steinern Natur
wird mein Herz zu Stein
Ich bin eine *Verbannte* nur
verurteilt zu Qual und Pein

In meinem Herzen ist eine Bucht
so tief und breit
Es ist eine grosse Sehnsucht
Und die *Heimat* ist so weit

Wenn ich an meine *Heimat* denke
fühle ich heisse Tränen fliessen
In mir tobt und zehrt das Heimweh
Und mein Herzblut will vergiessen

Verjagt von seiner Heimatsstätte
Von seinen Lieben, Hab und Gut
Mich drückt die schwere *Verbannungskette*
Geknechtet ist mein Lebensmut

Wenn mein Blick die Ferne streift dann sehe ich alles
Grau und schwer und ach—wie mich die Angst ergreift
Mein Herz erstirbt—wird tot und lehr

Doch weit in dieser grauen Ferne—
uns die Erlösung flammend winkt–
es leuchtet auf ein Hoffnungsfeuer!
Das zu neuer Kraft uns zwingt;

Und dieses spricht mit starker Stimme:
Ertraget euer schweres Sein,
denn nach jedem Sturmgewitter–
kommt doch *wieder* Sonnenschein.

Longing

In this rocky landscape
My heart turns to stone
I am the banished one
Condemned to hurt and pain

In my heart a canyon
So deep and wide
An endless longing
For my distant home

When I think of home
Hot tears begin to flow
Longing rages within me
Draining my heart's blood

Chased from our homestead
From all we knew and loved
Heavy chains of exile
Drag me down
And yoke my courage to live

When my eyes gaze to the distance
I see it all
So heavy and gray
And oh—how fear does grip me
My heart expires—empty and dead

But far away in this gray distance—
A flickering redemption waves
A flame of hope lights up
Compelling us to strength

And with a powerful
Voice, it calls
Endure your cruel lot,
The darkest hour
Always precedes the dawn.

Certainly the fact that in spite of the horrors suffered, a sizeable minority of Jews, including the Jaslowitzs, did manage to survive the Transnistrian ghettos and camps highlights the interstices that existed in the Romanian treatment of Jews during these years. The very qualities that defined the Romanians as disorganized, unsystematic, improvisatory, haphazard, and venal in contrast to the Germans also provided Jewish deportees and camp inmates some small possibilities to barter for food, to bribe for a favor, to communicate, and even to organize in order to resist and continue to live. This was especially true in the aftermath of the German defeat in Stalingrad in February 1943, the massive Romanian military casualties on the

Eastern Front, and the growing Romanian loss of confidence in Germany's invincibility. Some Romanian officials began to hedge their bets on the outcome of the war and, not wanting to be punished as war criminals if the Allies won, began to ease up somewhat in their treatment of Jews. By the spring of 1943 it became easier for Jews in Transnistria to barter for food, to bribe for a favor, to communicate, and to organize. It even became possible for some to note events and feelings in journals, write poetry, compose camp songs, and produce drawings and engravings—an art of witness that, though of greatly varying artistic quality, survived to testify to their experience.[35] These remarkable works provide an expanded context in which to think about Sonja Jaslowitz and her poetic production.

The best-known visual artist working in Transnistria was Arnold Daghani, who later produced an important body of work in England. Daghani survived two years of internment in the deadly Mikhailovka camp by working as an artist for Nazi officers, but secretly he was also able to create a number of testimonial drawings and watercolors in Mikhailovka and in the Bershad ghetto, to which he and his wife eventually managed to escape not long before the Germans killed off all Jewish slave laborers on their side of the Bug River. His images bear witness to conditions in the camp and ghetto and to individual prisoners.

In Vapniarka, a concentration camp the Romanians set up for alleged political "undesirables" (the majority of them Jewish), prisoners participated in multiple cultural activities, among them the creation of a rich set of drawings and watercolors testifying to the disease that killed a great number of the camp's inmate population. Romanian authorities in Vapniarka fed the prisoners a daily meal of soup containing toxic chickling peas, *Lathyrus sativus*, which attack the central nervous system, leading to paralysis, kidney failure, and an eventual agonizing death.[36] Vapniarka's artists have left an invaluable visual record of the progress of this disease, the toll it took, and the longing for survival that motivated the prisoners. Like Sonja Jaslowitz, they often calibrated horror with small gestures of hope.

Small Acts

The artistic works that were produced in Transnistria—most of them still absent from the canon of Holocaust art and literature—invite us to think about how historical narratives inflected by artistic accounts can

become modes of repair. The visual artworks, the surviving fragments of memoirs jotted down on site, the poems composed by Sonja Jaslowitz and other writers in camps and ghettoes—all these call for particular practices of reading, looking, and listening. Readings that resist heroization or redemption: small readings, practiced in a minor key, and in a spirit of solidarity. They ask for forms of attunement that constitute an expanded notion of responsibility—not as accountability but simply as the ability to respond.[37]

How can we best respond to them? We can, of course, show and publish them as we are doing here, in our effort to connect small, individual stories to a larger group and national history. We can try to enliven the stories of young artists like Sonja Jaslowitz against the backdrop of a history composed of shocking numbers and inassimilable details. We can try to preserve some of the texture of her life, the timbre of her voice, and the sharpness of her humor on the basis of what remains—some photos and drawings, a few lines of her verse. But should we try to fill in the blanks, imagine what we can't know, or shall we call attention to the gaps, underscoring the incommensurability of the desire for redress and the impossibility of achieving it? Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's notion of "reparative reading" might be helpful in an attempt to "claim" legacies such as Sonja Jaslowitz's. As opposed to paranoid reading, which anticipates an ending that is already predetermined, reparative reading is open to surprises, contingencies, alternative views. Through this perspective one might, in Sedgwick's terms, "entertain . . . the possibilit[y] . . . that the past . . . could have happened differently from the way it actually did."[38] How would a reparative reading of Sonja Jaslowitz's poems open such a possibility?

All of Sonja Jaslowitz's surviving poems were composed during her internment in Transnistria, first in Cariera de Piatră and later in the Tiraspol ghetto. She may have written poems before she was deported, but none of them have been found. The multiple linguistic registers she used (albeit with unequal mastery)—German, Romanian, and French (or "Franco-Romanian")—tell us a great deal about the rich multicultural landscape of her upbringing and incarceration among Czernowitz Jews. They reflect one of the ways she attempted to perpetuate that landscape, even as it and its inhabitants were being destroyed. But their multicultural and multilinguistic makeup, and their failure to fit a continuous national literary tradition, also make it more difficult for poems like hers to be published and

Fig. 3. The *Little Vapniarka Artists Book* (1943), made in honor of Dr. Arthur Kessler, an inmate who exposed the toxic *Lathyrus sativus* in the soup fed to the prisoners. (Courtesy David Kessler. Photo by Leo Spitzer.)

recognized. It is significant that, so far, we have succeeded in placing some of her poems in French translation in a special issue of the *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* devoted to Transnistria.[39] Several of her German poems and a German translation of several Romanian ones have recently appeared in an Austrian publication, tellingly named *Zwischenwelt*.[40] Given Romania's continuing reluctance to take responsibility for the murders committed in Transnistria, her Romanian-language poems in particular are not likely to find a ready readership and ready publication opportunities in that country today, although we are beginning to develop some leads there as well.

Sonja Jaslowitz's poems are mostly rhymed, reflecting the forms typical of the poetry popular and produced in interwar Cernăuți, poetry she would have heard at home and learned in school.[41] But the linguistic differences among them are significant. A few of them—nostalgic ones that reveal her strong longing for home as well as her more allusive, less explic-

itly referential creations—are in German, as we see in her poem "Heimweh" (Longing). But most of Sonja's testimonial poems documenting camp and ghetto existence are written in Romanian. Romanian was the official language of Transnistria's camp and ghetto system and, for Sonja, it seems to have been the more unambiguous language of witness and communication with fellow prisoners. While the German poems describe a natural landscape suffused with the affects of oppression and dehumanization, the Romanian ones draw portraits of inmates and guards, complain about punishments, and finely observe and enact small moments of optimism and escape as well as of hopelessness and despair. A reading that preserves these multilingual resonances would also preclude publication in any one language.

Cântecul plecării

Termină cu visarea da da da
Scoateți din cap plecarea
Degeaba ai sprat, te-ai zbuciumat te-ai frământat
Și totul ai împachetat

Să-ți iei haine groase da da da
Să-ți dregi pe cele roase
Și să întorci pe dos tot ce-ai mai gros
Că-i timp ploios și veșnic nu va fi frumos

Și să te rogi ca de crăciun
Să fie Kestorul mai bun
Să-ți dea concediua în ajun
Vreo două zile

De altfel nici să te gândești
Tiraspol c'ai să părăsești
Căci plecările's povești
Pentru copile

Song of Departure

Stop your dreaming, yeah yeah yeah
Get leaving out of your head

You hoped, you suffered, you agonized
You packed everything up—in vain

Take some warm clothes, yeah yeah yeah
Stitch the torn ones
Fix them up
It will rain it will be bleak

And you should pray that at Christmastime
The guard will be well-inclined
And will free you
For two days or so

In other ways don't even think
That you'll ever leave Tiraspol
Because departure is no more
Than a tale
For children

Given the circumstances of their composition, Sonja's poems can be viewed as improbable acts of resistance, defiance, and witness in poetic form. With each line of verse, with each rhyme, she seems to face down oppression and thus perhaps to help others do so as well. But is it not too large a burden on her and on the poems to read them in this way?

Marșul Transnistriei

Cânta Transnistria
Și cântecul tău
O să răsune
Prin munți și prin văi
Cânta Transnistria
Un cântec de foc
Cin'te aude
Să miște din loc

Prin voioșieț
Vom fi fericiți
Cu toate că suntem

Rău prigoniți
Parola noastră e
Fi optimist
Mereu vesel
Si nicicând trist

Cântecul nostrum
Norii va străpunge
Păn'la frații noștrii
El va ajunge
Suferința mare
Prin care am trecut
Mai mândrii și tare
Pe noi n-ea fâcut

Cu sperința'n suflet
Noi vom birui
Soarele draptâții
Din nou va străluci
Libertatea dragă
Ne va surăde iar
Astfel vom trece
Al Transnitiei hotar

Transnistria March

Sing Transnistria
And your song
Will resound
Through mountains and valleys
Sing Transnistria
A song of fire
Whoever hears you
Will move along

With a light heart
We will be joyous
Even though we are

Severely tormented
Our password is
Be optimistic
Always gay
And never sad

Our song
Will pierce the clouds
Until it reaches
Our distant brothers
The great suffering
That we had to suffer
It will make us
Prouder and tougher

With hope in our souls
We will win
The sun of justice
Beloved liberty
Will smile on us anew
It's thus that we will cross
The borders of Transnistria

Some of the poems, like "Song of Departure," are marked by biting sarcasm and irony. Remarkably, however, some also describe small pleasures that endure even in circumstances of dire suffering. And, like many expressions by children and adolescents, most end in overarching messages of hopefulness and gesture toward a future freedom, toward life. Amid the disappointments occasioned by repeated false rumors of impending liberation that Sonja describes in cruel detail, it must have been hard to continue to hope. We are of course tempted to admire and to celebrate that hopefulness but, in doing so, are we not repeating well-worn clichés about children's and adolescents' testimonies and their unmediated sincerity and optimism? Should we not also wonder about the costs of hope in Transnistria?

Was Sonja the dutiful daughter who wanted to cheer her parents? Or are her repetitive assertions of hope gestures imposed on the prisoners, to be read with suspicion? Does her verse show humor or sarcasm, escape or

critique? Are they symptoms of ironic resignation, or are we to read them as a young girl's refusal to succumb to despair—a refusal perhaps shared and supported by fellow inmates? Was she temperamentally optimistic and forward looking, and would that make her absurd and meaningless post-Transnistria death even more poignant?

For New Year's Eve in 1943, Sonja wrote "Cântecul Revelionului" (The song of New Year's Eve):

Revelionul noi îl serbâm
Și cu toți ne bucurăm
C-am trait
Am izbutit
Viața grea am biruit

Sâ fim veseli, câci de acum
Anul ne va aduce ceva mai bun
Încurajare, eliberare
Și plecare acasâ

Paharul âsta s-îl ridicăm
Și într'un glas noi sâ ne urăm
Fraternitate, sânâtate
Și veșnica libertate

We celebrate the New Year
And together we are glad
We lived
We managed
We defeated difficulty

Let's be happy, since from now
The year will bring us something better
Encouragement, freedom
And a way home

We raise our glass
And wish each other
Friendship, health,
And freedom, always.

Revelion in Romanian means awakening, a new dawn. Given Sonja Jaslowitz's absurd death, it is difficult for us now to return to the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 and to imagine the future she was trying to anticipate with her song. But perhaps this is the best we could do for her: to attempt to imagine the spirit in which she wrote her poems, rather than reading them under the shadow of finality.

In the absence of a public national or transnational reckoning with the murderous crimes that Sonja endured, the most we can do is to perform a reading of her poems that is neither critical, nor analytic, nor apologetic, nor redemptive but that is, indeed, reparative. We might thus see Sonja's very belief in a future as a modest gesture that stitches together remnants of confidence and expectation for herself and for others. To claim her legacy would then be our way to recognize and call attention to her creative effort: not to great literature and not to heroism, but to her intimation of a future in a potential, or virtual, or, one might say, subjunctive mode. From her perspective, what might yet be, and from ours, what might have been. The past's future, brought into the present, widens that present, enlarges it with a hopefulness that pierces through layers of darkness. In this spirit, the poems place Sonja Jaslowitz not on the threshold of the catastrophe that was awaiting her but on the threshold of possibility she herself managed to conjure with her words. And—in attempting this manner of reparative reading—perhaps we could leave her there, in the poems and their own anachronistic temporality, rather than in the catastrophic teleology that was to be hers.

Notes

We are grateful to Dr. Harry Jarvis, who died in 2014, for giving us his sister's poems and for his confidence in us. Thanks to Roxana Verona and Ivy Schweitzer for their help in translating the poems into French and English. Thanks to Marianne Windsperger for publishing some of the poems in *Zwischenwelt* and to Florence Heymann and Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine for including them in their special issue of the *Révue d'Histoire de la Shoah* on the Romanian Holocaust. Audiences at ACLA, the University of Illinois, Ghent University, the University of Cambridge, the USC Shoah Foundation, the University of Amsterdam, the University of Chicago, the Creation and Postmemory conference at Columbia University, EHESS, and the University of Vienna have provided invaluable suggestions on earlier versions of this argument.

1. Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

2. See Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, "Testimonial Objects," in Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

3. Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, *Ich bin in Sehnsucht eingehüllt* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 2005); Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, *Harvest of Blossoms: Poems from a Life Cut Short*, trans. Jerry Glenn and Florence Birkmayer, ed. Irene Silverblatt and Helene Silverblatt (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2008).

4. See the Facebook page devoted to Meerbaum-Eisinger, https://www.facebook.com/selma.meerbaumeisinger.

5. For histories of the concept, see John Torpey, *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed: On Reparations Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); and John Torpey, ed., *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

6. Melanie Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation, and Other Works, 1921–1945* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1975), 306–43. "Love, Guilt and Reparation" was first presented as a public lecture in London in March 1936 under the auspices of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis and subsequently was published in 1937. But Klein had begun to develop her ideas about reparation in the 1920s. See Meira Likierman, *Melanie Klein: Her Work in Context* (London: Continuum, 2001), 80.

7. Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation*, 311.

8. Likierman, *Melanie Klein*, 107.

9. Klein, "Mourning and Its Relation to Manic-Depressive States (1940)," in *Love, Guilt and Reparation*, 344–69.

10. Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007), 26.

11. Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston: Beacon, 1999), 58.

12. On children's writing during the Holocaust, see esp. Michel Borwicz, *Ecrits des condamnés à mort sous l'occupation Nazie (1939–1945)* (1952; reprint, Paris: Gallimard, 1996); and Catherine Coquio and Aurélia Kalinsky, *L'enfant et le genocide: Témoignages sur l'enfance pendant la Shoah* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007).

13. See Matatias Carp, *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și documente: Suferințele evreilor din România 1940–1944* [The black book: Facts and documents on the suffering of Romanian Jews, 1940–1944] (Bucharest: Teliere Grafice SOCE, 1946). This book was republished in a critical edition in French with an excellent introduction and annotation by Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine. See *Cartea Neagra: Le livre noir de la destruction des Juifs de Roumanie, 1940–1944* (Paris: Denoël, 2009).

14. Ruth Glasberg Gold, "How Transnistria Was Added to the Map of Concentra-

tion Camps at the U.S. Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C.," http://czernowitz.ehpes.com/stories/ruth-trans/. Ruth Gold was instrumental in mounting a campaign to have Transnistria publicly recognized by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

15. Ironically, ten years later, in 2008, Transnistria merited only a brief two-column entry in the then-new three-volume *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*.

16. Mark Axworthy, Coronel Scafes, and Cristian Craciunoiu, eds., *Third Axis, Fourth Ally: Romanian Armed Forces in the European War 1941–1945* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1995); Silviu Brucan, *The Wasted Generation: Memoirs of the Romanian Journey from Capitalism to Socialism and Back* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 19–21.

17. For his pioneering book on the Romanian Holocaust, *Cartea Neagră*, Matatias Carp managed to acquire documents and photos (through purchase, friendship, and discreet collaboration) from the Filderman Archives of the Bucharest Jewish Community Federation, the Romanian Ministry of the Interior, and a Wehrmacht officer with access to materials.

18. "Trials of War Criminals," in International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Final Report* (Iaşi, Romania: Polirom, 2005), 312–13, available at http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/events/2004/romania.asp#english. Hereafter cited as *Final Report*. Some 1,400 cases were prosecuted, but only 668 were delivered, many in absentia.

19. *Final Report*, 314–15, 319.

20. Ion Iliescu, "Speech Given by Mr. Ion Iliescu, President of Romania, at the Meeting Dedicated to the Holocaust Remembrance Day in Romania," October 12, 2004, https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/events/pdf/report/english/003_Speech_given_by_Ion_Iliescu_October_12%202004.pdf.

21. Laurence Weinbaum, "The Banality of History and Memory: Romanian Society and the Holocaust," June 1, 2006, Jewish Virtual Library, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/Romania_Holo.html.

22. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Penguin, 1992), 191–92.

23. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 2012. Seven volumes are planned. Volumes 1 and 2 are available. See U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Publications: Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945, http://www.ushmm.org/research/publications/encyclopedia-camps-ghettos.

24. Subsequent to the publication of Carp's *Cartea Neagră* and the opening of the Soviet and other East European archives, the scholarly contributions of the late Jean Ancel have been outstanding. See, for example, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Roma-*

nian Mass Murder Campaigns, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003).

25. Jean Ancel, *Transnistria*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries*, 17–20. For a summary of the terms of what became known as the Tighina Agreement between Hitler and Antonescu, see 1:547; for the full Romanian version of the document, see 2:41–42.

26. "Romanian-German Relations before and during the Holocaust," in *Final Report*, 11–13; Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1:19–20.

27. Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1:17–19; Jean Ancel, "The Romanian Way of Solving the 'Jewish Question' in Bessarabia and Bukovina, June–July 1941," *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (1988): 187–232.

28. In his pretrial interrogation by Israeli police, Adolf Eichmann admitted that *Sonderbehandlung*, "special treatment," always meant killing. See "Romanian-German Relations before and during the Holocaust," in *Final Report*, 15 and 15n60.

29. Tighina Agreement, Romanian version: Jean Ancel, *Documents Concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986), vol. 9, no. 83, 188–91. For the German version, see Ancel, *Documents*, vol. 5, no. 62, 59–63.

30. Both historical and survivor accounts from many of the Transnistrian camps and ghettos can be found in Felicia Steigman Carmelly, ed., *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Scarborough, Canada: Abbeyfield, 1997); Avigdor Shachan, *Burning Ice: The Ghettos of Transnistria*, trans. Shmuel Himelstein (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1996). Also see Ruth Glasberg Gold, *Ruth's Journey: A Survivor's Memoir* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996). The most extensive testimony collection (over four hundred accounts in several languages) about Transnistria's camps and ghettos can be found in the USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive, http://sfi.usc.edu/.

31. See the discussion "Ghetto or Camp?" in Rebecca L. Golbert, "Holocaust Sites in Ukraine: Pechora and the Politics of Memorialization," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 18:2 (Fall 2004): 218–21.

32. See accounts in Carmelly, *Shattered!*; and Shachan, *Burning Ice*, and the USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive.

33. See Isak Weissglas, *Steinbruch am Bug: Bericht einer Deportation nach Transnistrien* (Berlin: Literaturhaus, 1995), 31–39; Deborah Schultz and Edward Timms, eds., *Arnold Daghani's Memories of Mikhailowka: The Illustrated Diary of a Slave Labour Camp Survivor* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009), 188, 194; "Klara and Dori L. Holocaust testimony (HVT-777)," Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University, [videorecording].

34. In another version this poem is titled "Transnistria am Steinbruch: Kariera

de piatra." It is dated July 25, 1942 (shortly after the family's arrival there). All translations are by the authors.

35. For example, see the memoir by Matei Gall, *Finsternis: Durch Gefängnisse, KZ Wapniarka, Massaker, und Kommunismus. Ein Lebenslauf in Rumänien, 1920–1990* (Konstanz, Germany: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 1999).

36. For Vapniarka, see Hirsch and Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home*, 198–231.

37. Martha Minow, "Surviving Victim Talk," *UCLA Law Review* 40 (1992–93), 1442–45; and Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*, 118–47.

38. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 146.

39. See "L horreur oubliée: La Shoah roumaine," special issue, *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, no. 194 (January–June 2011).

40. Judith Ausleitner and Marianne Windsperger, "Weiterleben in den Gedichten: Die Poesie der Sonja Jaslowitz," *Zwischenwelt: Zeitschrift für Kultur des Exils und des Widerstands* 30.3–4 (December 2013): 13–17.

41. Borwicz, among others, points out that the extraordinary experiences of the ghettos and camp rarely led to innovative literary form in children's verse; instead, children would tend to fall back on verse forms learned in school. See Coquio and Aurélia Kalinsky, *L'enfant et le genocide*, LLX.