On words and wounds: Intergenerational Trauma and Identity in Selected Shoah and Apartheid Memoirs

By

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Declaration

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Abstract

Following the trauma of the Shoah, many survivors took to writing their experiences in memoir. The trauma memoir, a term defined in the body of this thesis, became a significant space to share real world experiences of a genocide that shocked the world. Trauma is continuous, it lives on through the repetitive behaviours of the survivor, a concept that Sigmund Freud conceptualizes as the "compulsion to repeat" (*XVII 1920–1922* 19).

These enduring expressions of trauma made space for a new kind of Shoah memoir; the memoir written by the child of the survivor. These memoirs opened a space to unpack the symptoms of intergenerational trauma. Samuel Juni explains, in his discussion of intergenerational trauma, that following the Shoah, many survivors "adopted various coping strategies" "to maintain a functional life" (99). However, given the severity of their experiences, many of these strategies "engendered significant negative repercussions in the children they raised," labelling these children as survivors in their own right (99).

Following the dismantling of apartheid South Africa, just 28 years ago, the effects of intergenerational trauma are still unfolding. This thesis argues that the severity of violence, economic and social devastation and exclusion, and the persecution of Black people under the apartheid government, constitutes an intersection with Raphael Lemkin's nuanced definition of genocide, in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation – Analysis of Government – Proposals for Redress.* By drawing on four selected memoirs from these two historical events, this thesis aims to analyse how these works narrate the complexities of intergenerational trauma through idiosyncratic and personal experiences.

On Words and Wounds: Intergenerational Trauma and Identity in Selected Shoah and Apartheid Memoirs considers the intersection of literature and psychoanalysis in the trauma memoir. This thesis considers the representation of intergenerational trauma and its effects on identity in the following four memoirs: Art Spiegelman's *The Complete Maus,* Mark Kurzem's *The Mascot: Unraveling the Mystery of My Jewish Father's Nazi Boyhood*, Lukhanyo and Abigail Calata's *My Father Died for This,* and Kelly-Eve Koopman's *Because I Couldn't Kill You.* The narratives utilise language to emulate the affective dimensions of trauma through the representations of the traumatised psyche. As Roger J. Kurtz suggests, in *Trauma and*

Transformation in African Literature, "literature shares a language with trauma in a way that other discourses do not" (7). Accordingly, literary devices, such as a fragmented narrative structure, metaphor, and narrative voice, can be used to symbolize the traumatised psyche. This thesis aims to add to the ongoing conversations concerned with the theoretical frameworks pertaining to literary trauma theory and intergenerational trauma, and the four selected memoirs.

Opsomming

Ná die trauma van die Sjoa, het baie oorlewendes begin om hul ervarings in memoir te skryf. Die trauma-memoir, 'n term wat in die liggaam van hierdie tesis gedefinieer is, het 'n belangrike hulpmiddel geword om werklike wêreldervarings van 'n volksmoord – wat die wêreld geskok het – te kan deel. Trauma is aanhoudend en leef voort deur die herhalende gedrag van die oorlewende, 'n konsep wat Sigmund Freud konseptualiseer het as "die dwang om te herhaal" Sigmund Freud conceptualizes as the "compulsion to repeat" (*XVII 1920–1922* 19).

Hierdie blywende uitdrukkings van trauma het plek gemaak vir 'n nuwe soort memoir: die memoir wat deur die kind van die oorlewende geskryf is. Hierdie memoirs het die unieke geleentheid geskep om die simptome van intergenerasie-trauma te ontleed. Samuel Juni verduidelik, in sy bespreking oor intergenerasie-trauma, dat baie oorlewendes, as gevolg van die Sjoa, "verskeie hanteringstrategieë aangeneem het" "om 'n funksionele lewe te handhaaf" (99). Gegewe die erns van hul ervarings, het baie van hierdie strategieë egter "beduidende negatiewe reperkussies gehad vir die kinders wat hulle grootgemaak het," en dus kan hul kinders ook as oorlewendes beskou word (99).

Ná die aftakeling van apartheid, net 28-jaar gelede, ontvou die gevolge van intergenerasie-trauma nog steeds. Dié tesis betoog dat die erns van die geweld, ekonomiese en sosiale verwoesting en uitsluiting, en die algemene vervolging van Swart mense onder die apartheidsregering, 'n kruising vorm met Raphael Lemkin se genuanseerde definisie van volksmoord, wat in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* voorgestel is. Deur gebruik te maak van vier geselekteerde memoirs uit hierdie twee historiese gebeure, beoog dié tesis om die manier waarop hierdie werke die kompleksiteite van intergenerasie-trauma vertel deur middel van eiesoortige en persoonlike ervarings te analiseer.

On Words and Wounds: Intergenerational Trauma and Identity in Selected Shoah and Apartheid Memoirs beskou die kruising van literatuur en psigoanalise in die trauma-memoir. Dié tesis oorweeg die voorstelling van intergenerasie-trauma en die uitwerking daarvan op identiteit in die volgende vier memoirs: Art Spiegelman se *The Complete Maus*, Mark Kurzem se *The Mascot: Unraveling the Mystery of My Jewish Father's Nazi Boyhood*,

Lukhanyo en Abigail Calata se *My Father Died for This*, en Kelly-Eve Koopman se *Because I Couldn't Kill You*. Die narratiewe maak gebruik van taal om die affektiewe dimensies van trauma na te boots deur die voorstellings van die getraumatiseerde psige. In *Trauma and Transformation in African Literature*, word dit deur Roger J. Kurtz voorgestel dat "die literatuur deel met trauma 'n taal wat ander diskoerse nie doen nie" (7). Gevolglik kan literêre middele, byvoorbeeld 'n gefragmenteerde narratiewe struktuur, metafoor en die narratiewe-stem, gebruik word om die getraumatiseerde psige te simboliseer. Dié tesis het ten doel om by te voeg tot die deurlopende gesprekke rondom die teoretiese raamwerke in verband met die literêre-trauma teorie en intergenerasie-trauma, en die vier geselekteerde memoirs.

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Chapter 1: The Trauma Memoir: A Discussion of Intergenerational Trauma and Identity

> *For in the end, it is all about memory, its sources and its magnitude, and, of course, its consequences.*
>
> \- Elie Wiesel, *Night*

Between July of 1944 and May of 1945, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi) concentration and death camps around Europe were liberated (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). Over and above the Jewish people, the Nazi Party persecuted many demographics, including but not limited to:

> Soviet civilians and prisoners of war, Communists, ethnic Polish, Russian, French and Dutch people, Jehovah's Witnesses, Sinti and Romani Gypsies, homosexual people, persons with physical or mental disabilities, deaf people, people with albinism, twins, political, religious, intellectual and cultural dissidents, trade unionists, and anyone who resisted Nazism. (Arian Baack 13)

Following the liberation, thousands of individuals were left unable or unwilling to return home; alone, orphaned, or separated from family; and/or devastated by the effects of the Nazi regime (Arian Baack 13).[1] In the weeks and months that followed, many of these individuals continued to lose their lives to sickness and diseases, such as "typhus and dysentery," or from diarrhoea caused by an "intolerance to the [food] rations they were given" (Holden 285). These individuals joined the unfathomable number of those who had already perished in the Shoah.[2]

The Shoah is arguably the most recognisable atrocity of the twentieth century.[3] In her groundbreaking work on trauma, *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma*, Kalí Tal

[1] I have chosen tentative language here, as it is important to note that while many groups were targeted by the Nazi regime, forms of persecution differed amongst demographics (University College London).
[2] The estimation of the number of people who died during the Shoah varies greatly between scholars. Professor Rudolph J. Rummel offers an estimation in *Democide: Nazi genocide and mass murder,* of "20,946,000", based on genocide statistics and mass murder during this period, a concept he refers to as "democide" (i).
[3] The Hebrew word Shoah has been selected for this thesis, as opposed to Nazi Holocaust or Jewish Holocaust, as it recognises the vast demographics of people who were persecuted during this period, as opposed to solely delineating the victims as Jews. Furthermore, the term "Holocaust" has been criticised for its Greek translation, meaning "burnt offering to God", suggesting that this period was a sacrificial process, marking this term as inappropriate, and insensitive to the victims, and families, of the Shoah (Arian Baack 13).

dubs the Shoah "the *Ur*-trauma in the U.S. mindscape" (22).[4] Similarly, in *Trauma and Transformation in African Literature,* Roger J. Kurtz labels this period the "quintessential trauma of recent history" (3). Accordingly, the atrocity has had major influence on the world's perception, discussion and understanding of trauma (3). Kurtz notes that the Shoah is commonly viewed as a space with which to unpack trauma, to learn about trauma and its effects and expressions (3). During the twentieth century, trauma theory was, and to a large extent still is, in its infancy.[5] Much of trauma theory is based on Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis, and his conception of the traumatic neuroses, which describes an individual whose ego perceives a need to "[defend] itself from a danger that threatens it" (*XVII 1917–1919* 210). Freud developed these theories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Consequently, trauma theory had yet to be adequately advanced during World War II (WWII). Freud posits that traumatised individuals "show clear indications that they are grounded in a fixation upon the moment of the traumatic disaster" (*A General Introduction* 241). He, thus, suggests that the individual maintains a fidelity to trauma, in that following a traumatic event they relive the experience in their everyday lives.

Given the severity of the violence of the Shoah, it became a defining moment for the world to document the effects of trauma on the human psyche. The memoir representing the Shoah followed suit. Life-writing was used as not just an act of detailing and testifying to the horrors of a genocide that shocked the world, but as an act of self-preservation. In his discussion of literary trauma theory, Kurtz explains that "the act of narration not only avoids the 'two deaths' of subjectivity and of meaning, but it also tends toward the tentative possibility of enabling life" (79). Writing about trauma gave the memoirist an opportunity to engage with the affective dimensions of trauma, an important aspect of working through trauma, and to expose their experiences on their own terms. Accordingly, the narrative provides an opportunity to portray the idiosyncrasies of experience while producing a space for the survivor to integrate the traumatic event into selfhood, a concept Kurtz terms "the traumatomimetic potential of

[4] Given the historical weight of the Shoah in popularizing the trauma memoir, and the chronological order of the Shoah and apartheid South Africa, information regarding the latter only starts on p.7. This is not done to undermine the magnitude of the trauma of apartheid, but rather to highlight the context of the trauma memoir.
[5] According to Ayala Sarah Maurer's discussion of trauma theory's timeline, "[i]n 1980, the DSM-III" included "for the first time, the diagnosis of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)", overtaking what was formally conceptualized as 'shell shock' (24). With new editions being released, further considerations of PTSD have been formalized (24).

literature" (79).[6] In *Writing History, Writing Trauma,* Dominick LaCapra asserts that working-through trauma is "an articulatory process" where the traumatised individual learns to "distinguish between past and present and to recall in memory that something happened to one (or one's people) back then while realizing that one is living here and now with openings to the future" (22). Contrarily, LaCapra conceptualizes the "collaps[ing of] all distinctions" "between present and past" as acting-out trauma (21).[7] He further asserts in his discussion of the interrelatedness of trauma, memory, and identity, that "giving testimony may itself be crucial to working-through trauma and its symptoms, and a reason for survival may be the desire […] to tell one's story" ("Trauma, Memory, Identity" 381). Moreover, he notes that "[a] witness gives testimony or bears witness to the way he or she experienced events, and it is this experience which has a prima facie 'authenticity,' that at times cannot be accessed in other ways" (382).

Many Shoah survivors took to narratively testifying to their lived experience of trauma, documenting their escape from death. The numerous canonical works that came out of this period coincide with the rise of, what G. Thomas Couser, in *Memoir: An Introduction,* terms the memoir boom, which denotes the sudden and substantial success of the genre (6).[8] Elie Wiesel's *Night*, for example, documents his and his father's experiences at Auschwitz and their death march to Buchenwald. His father passed away on January 28th, 1945, just three months before Wiesel's liberation. Secondly, Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz* testifies to his arrest and deportation to Auschwitz as a Jewish and anti-fascist resistance member in WWII. Another important memoir is Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl.* Frank details her days spent in the annex of her father's company building in Amsterdam, where her family and friends hid from Nazi persecution. Her diary and eventual death in Bergen-Belsen have touched the world so deeply that there remains a museum in her honour: the Anne Frank House.

As the years passed the opportunity for a new version of the memoir concerning the Shoah became available: the memoir written by the children of survivors, attesting to the intergenerational quality of the trauma of the Shoah and offers a distinct but interrelated view

[6] This concept is similar to Suzette Henke's notion of "scriptotherapy", in *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life-Writing* (xii). Henke offers a prominent literary theoretical framework, indicating the cathartic qualities of writing trauma (xii), used in the fifth chapter of this thesis.
[7] LaCapra's theories are based in Freudian psychoanalysis and his conception of acting-out trauma includes the same repetition of the past that Freud notes (*Writing History, Writing Trauma* 21).
[8] Couser notes that the success of memoir has "eclipsed 'autobiography' and "now rivals fiction in popularity and critical esteem and exceeds it in cultural currency" (3).

of the effects of atrocity. Arguably the most recognizable work to come from this genre is Art Spiegelman's graphic memoir, *Maus*.[9] These texts acknowledge trauma's capacity to transcend space, time, and person, reflecting trauma's multifaceted effects. As Nancy K. Miller and Jason Tougaw explain, in *Extremities: Trauma, Testimony and Community*, "[t]he term 'trauma' describes the experience of both victims – those who suffer directly – and those who suffer with them, or through them" (2). Accordingly, "trauma often unfolds intergenerationally; its aftermath lives on in the family" (9). Intergenerational trauma memoirs emphasise trauma as dynamic and non-exclusive to the (immediate) victim of trauma as trauma symptoms linger and affect those in their environment. The texts this thesis reads offer a lens to view trauma through an individual who was not directly affected by atrocity, but rather exposed to its enduring consequences, and who are impacted by atrocity through the trauma of their family.

On words and wounds recognizes the intersection between literature and psychoanalysis in the trauma memoir. This thesis aims to critically engage with the representations of intergenerational trauma and identity in four selected works, namely: Spiegelman's *The Complete Maus* (1996), Mark Kurzem's *The Mascot: Unraveling the Mystery of My Jewish Father's Nazi Boyhood* (2007), Lukhanyo and Abigail Calata's *My Father Died for This* (2018), and Kelly-Eve Koopman's *Because I Couldn't Kill You* (2019). It aims to attend to how these selected memoirs narrate the effects of trauma on intergenerational identity formation. In Kurtz's text identifies the connection between "words and wounds", suggesting that literary trauma theory indicates "that literature shares a language with trauma in a way that other discourses do not" (7). As such, Kurtz proposes that literature engages with and emulates the affective dimensions of trauma through representations of the traumatised psyche. Accordingly, literary devices, such as a fragmented narrative structure, metaphor, and narrative voice, are used to symbolize the traumatised psyche. This thesis aims to identify these devices in the selected texts and extrapolate on their idiosyncratic meaning and use in the works. Literature has the capacity to transcend the boundaries of language, suggesting that narrative form, symbolism, and figurative language, can represent trauma. Accordingly, memoir allows for a unique means to investigate and portray the lived experience of trauma, distinct from an historical representation of atrocity. I argue that the effects of intergenerational trauma on identity formation in memoir have been largely understudied in critical literature.

[9] Further details of the critical acclaim of this text to be found in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Consequently, this thesis draws on the vast theoretical literature concerned with intergenerational trauma to make extrapolations on the four selected memoirs that I engage.

I argue that the intergenerational trauma memoir recognises the authority of the survivor's child to document their own experience of trauma, and to acknowledge the multifaceted and enduring nature of trauma. To return to LaCapra's suggestion that the act of survival could be associated with the desire to testify to one's experience ("Trauma, Memory, and Identity" 381), the imperative to narrate intergenerational trauma could be interpreted as an acknowledgement that the experience of intergenerational trauma is similarly significant to the parents' trauma. The varied styles of the intergenerational trauma memoir provide recourse to the multiple manners in which children of survivors perceive their experience of intergenerational trauma. In this thesis, I have selected four memoirs distinct in both form and content. While they offer some overlaps in their representation, each author has written the identity and experiences of both themselves and their parents idiosyncratically. Spiegelman's *The Complete Maus* draws attention to the vulnerabilities of his parents, prodding the reader to feel sympathy for himself and his parents. Spiegelman achieves this by including his daily difficulties with his traumatised father, in addition to his father's experiences in Auschwitz. Contrastingly, Lukhanyo and Abigail Calata's *My Father Died for This* highlights Lukhanyo's family's resilience and pays homage to their story of survival and political activism. Kurzem's *The Mascot* offers protection to the traumatised parent. As argued in the third chapter of this thesis, Kurzem emphasizes the need for sympathy for his father, Alex's, experiences in the Shoah by accentuating his suffering, thereby alleviating his father's grief. Accordingly, I will argue that the memoir displaces, and safely houses, Alex's trauma. Lastly, Koopman's *Because I Couldn't Kill You,* denounces the actions of her father, positioning herself as the protagonist, as opposed to her father. Her text provides a self-reflexive account of her experience of her father's psychological abuse. In Couser's discussions of the filial memoir, he states that these kinds of narratives can often compensate for a more "distant parent" (155). [10] Koopman's narrative discusses her missing father, a parent with whom she has had very little contact since his deliberate disappearance. Couser suggests that the overwhelming number of filial memoirs which focus on the father, rather than the mother, underscores the patriarchal society (155). Interestingly, while all four selected works consider the father, both South African texts

[10] Couser defines the "*filial narrative*" as "memoirs of parents by their sons or daughters" (154, emphasis in the original). Furthermore, in the context of this thesis, I conceptualise filial memoirs as those concerned with the impact of trauma on filial relationships.

emphasize the mother's agency, their importance in the struggle for freedom of South Africa, and their role as the primary parent, a discussion point that will be further nuanced in the fourth and fifth chapters of this thesis.

In *Memoir: An Introduction,* Couser explains that "memoir is the literary face of a very common and fundamental human activity: the narration of our lives in our own terms" (9). He suggests that memoir offers the reader witness to authorial "self-invention" (14). In the filial memoir the reader witnesses the invention of the parent through the narrative of their children. The intergenerational trauma memoir offers a unique opportunity to engage in an understanding of both the survivor and the survivor's child's perspective, while they grapple with how to accurately represent their parent(s) and their experiences.

Drawing on the experiences of real people, memoirs are naturally imbued with identity. As Steven L. Berman in "Identity and Trauma" suggests, identity develops out of dynamic, complex interactions with one's environment and the self and concerns an individual's "roles, goals, and values" affecting both the "direction and purpose" of one's life (1). Accordingly, identity is pivotal to the production of a sense of meaning in one's life which is positively correlated with psychological and physical wellbeing (Deacon 171). In the trauma narrative, the reader is privy to trauma's disruptive capacity, and the difficulty it causes in the production of a coherent and whole sense of self. As Jacques Lacan argues, in his interpretation of psychoanalysis, trauma creates holes in the recollection of a traumatic event (114). These gaps in memory allow the individual to feign a coherent sense of identity (114). Hence, in representing fragmented memory, the trauma memoir stages the consequences of trauma on identity.

Trauma is a complex phenomenon. Accordingly, the lens with which literary trauma theory approaches this concept is multifaceted. In his description of that which has "shaped the vocabulary and conversation around trauma theory", Kurtz delineates three Western-centric traditions, namely: Freud's psychoanalysis, Jacques Derrida's deconstruction, and the Shoah (2–3). Freud suggests that the traumatised individual is either completely or partially unable to recall the traumatic event, or the memory of the event is distorted to protect the psyche (*A General Introduction* 249). Consequently, the event is presented indirectly, through the manifestation of unconscious expression, such as in nightmares or humorous re-storying of the event (*A General Introduction* 69, 208). Kurtz suggests that the Freudian model of trauma can

easily be identified within the narrative's representations of the traumatised psyche (2). For example, episodes of repression and displacement can be symbolically woven into the formal elements of the text, including the recurrence of objects and tropes, the narrative's structure, and the traumatised character's voice. Notably, the expression of trauma is frequently depicted by the incapacity of the victim to engage with the traumatic event. This is staged, for example, in a character's decision to veer from recounting their past, producing a disruption in the narrative. Thus, Kurtz states that psychoanalysis "offers a productive metaphor for the way literature represents reality in general, and for literature's relationship to trauma in particular" (2). There is, however, a significant divergence in speaking and writing about trauma that cannot be overlooked. The former engages with the spontaneity of speech that eludes consciousness, conceptualised by Freud as a "slip of the tongue" (*A General Introduction* 20). Freud explains that trauma is typified by impulsivity of thought, noting that "[t]houghts emerge suddenly without one's knowing where they come from, nor can one do anything to drive them away" (*XVII 1917–1919* 143). This spontaneity of thought, contrasts with the deliberateness of the memoir. Secondly, Derrida's deconstruction argues that the literary critic is paramount in deciphering hidden, non-linear representations of reality (Spivak xxvii). Deconstructionism asks for, and suggests, a closer, more astute reading of text (xxvii). As Kurtz notes, Derrida recognises that "textual representation of reality is never straightforward, always provisional, and perhaps even impossible" (3). So, close analysis of text is important in unpacking the often-covert aspects of the trauma narrative. Lastly, given the Shoah's recognisability, Kurtz notes that "scholars interested in exploring the possibilities, limitations, and ethics of writing about traumatic experiences, whether as history or as fiction, frequently take the Holocaust as their defining case study for trauma theory" (3).

Considering this Western-centred approach to trauma theory, it is important to engage with texts that consider a different atrocity which similarly affords a thinking through of intergenerational trauma. Hence, I selected South African texts that bear witness to the lingering effects of apartheid as this is a recent atrocity of which the intergenerational effects are still unfolding. While Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa offer distinct experiences, trauma leaves traces, in the form of symptomatic expression (Freud *A General Introduction* 241). Consequently, there is a high likelihood of an overlap in the various narratives' representation of trauma symptoms. These similarities enable an analysis of memoirs

concerning different atrocities, but do not undermine the importance of historical and cultural specificity, a phenomenon famously noted by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*.[11]

The similarity of the selected atrocities is notable in the intersection of the crimes committed in Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa, and Raphael Lemkin's expansive and nuanced definition of genocide, offering further credence to the selection of the two distinct historical events. In 1944, Lemkin's definition of genocide was introduced into jurisprudence upon the publication of his work *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. Lemkin's definition suggests that although genocide can signify an "immediate destruction of a nation" (80), the term refers to a culmination of various techniques and

> signif[ies] a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of individuals belonging to such groups. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group. (80)

Thus, Lemkin indicates that it is not enough to think of genocide as a form of mass murder targeted at groups, but rather that genocide is a system of oppression, subjugation, and violence. While the Shoah is firmly located within the parameters of the contemporary definition of genocide, those prosecuted at the Nuremburg Trials (1945–1946) were indicted on charges of "the common design or conspiracy," "war crimes," "crimes against humanity," and "membership in criminal organisation" (International Military Tribunal 5–12). Those prosecuted could not be charged under the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, which entered into international law in 1948.

With regards to apartheid South Africa, the *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* marks the crime of apartheid as a crime against humanity (5). However, the crime of apartheid contains overt and multiple intersections with Lemkin's definition. It was the intention of the

[11] See Fanon's chapter, "On National Culture" for a comprehensive discussion of specificity. Furthermore, Kurtz's *Trauma and Transformation in African Literature* has been selected for this thesis as it engages with the specificity of the African trauma narrative.

National Party (NP) to segregate racial groups and directly oppress and exclude Black people, [12] to a varying degree, from economic and social institutions; to unjustly limit the freedoms of people of colour associated with movement, security, dignity and even life. [13] *The South African Terrorism Act 83 of 1967* deliberately marked those who engaged in, or incited, protest action or who had "the intention to endanger the maintenance of law and order" as terrorists (2. 1. a). In doing so, the NP directed their forces against South Africa's people of colour, echoing Lemkin's assertion: "Genocide is the antithesis of the Rousseau-Portalis Doctrine […]. This doctrine holds that war is directed against sovereigns and armies, not against subjects and civilians" (81). The NP justified their acts of crime against humanity by labelling the freedom fighters terrorists. They similarly employed oppressive systems that kept Black people outside of social and economic advancement. This conception is therefore pivotal to my argument that Lemkin's definition of genocide intersects with the atrocity of apartheid South Africa. That being said, there remains a distinction between genocide, as it is understood in international law, and apartheid South Africa. Accordingly, I adopt the term "terror", in agreement with Lauren van der Rede's argument in *The Post-Genocidal Condition* (12). Given the vast number of deaths that occurred within this period and, specifically, the "atrocities committed by Wouter Basson" suggest further alignment with this period and Lemkin's definition (12). As van der Rede asserts, many of the acts committed by Basson "should warrant charges of genocide" such as his "development of anti-fertility treatment and the weaponization of Anthrax and paraoxon, as part of Project Coast, a clandestine division of the Chemical and Biological Weapons programme, which Basson oversaw" (12). These kinds of biological warfare are reminiscent of the Nazi party's use of Zyklon B in the gas chambers to murder millions of targeted individuals and the systematic and forced sterilization of "approximately 400,000" mentally and physically handicapped individuals (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum).

In addition, as van der Rede notes, it is not enough to think of genocide as confined to the boundaries of "bloodliness", but rather it remains important to acknowledge "latent violences of genocide" (4). She further notes that genocide should be considered as that which "extend[s]

[12] Throughout this thesis, I use the term Black to signify, in accordance with the Black Consciousness Movement, all people of colour; whereas the term black delineates only those communities who were registered as black during the apartheid era under the *Population Registration Act 30 of 1950*.
[13] See Steve Biko's conception of subjugation, in *I Write What I Like* where he argues that Black people "are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in South African society" (48).

beyond what is presumed as genocide's end" (5). Intergenerational trauma directly stages what van der Rede argues as the "false limit" of genocide, and is, in such a way, a material manifestation of the inaccuracy of the limit of thinking genocide as defined by its "bloodliness" (5). If one accepts these limitations, and the broadening of this conception of genocide, then both the enduring traumas and the intergenerational traumas of those who were exposed to the violence of apartheid, provide an argument for its thinking in terms of Lemkin's nuanced interpretation of genocide.

While these atrocities share similarities, it is similarly significant for the idiosyncrasies of experience to be unpacked and exposed in the public domain. The two apartheid memoirs offer divergent considerations of the enduring effects of apartheid and of the expression of trauma. The Calatas' *My Father Died for This* provides a political critique of South Africa, before and after the transition to democracy. Their narrative is largely historical, commenting on the political life of Lukhanyo's father, Fort; and is seldom introspective. Their text poses questions of whether successful resolution to mourning can be achieved without justice and closure. The memoir renders a family whose enduring effects of trauma are portrayed as integrally related to the lack of judicial justice for Fort's murder. Additionally, this text showcases the heroics of the Calata family's legacy of political activism, highlighting the family's resilience and agency, as opposed to traumatic expression. Contrarily, Koopman's text is comprised of self-reflexive musings. She represents her selfhood as intertwined with her father's trauma, observing the parts of her identity that remind her of him. For example, she includes both of their struggles with anxiety and major depression relating her father's mental health problems to her own. Her narrative is similarly burdened by the emotional consequences of testifying to a trauma that has been predominantly silenced by her family, a concept that will be further explored in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

In addition to works from the apartheid era, and given the canonical weight of Spiegelman's memoir, I offer commentary on a work from the Shoah that did not receive substantial critical acclaim, and that explores an unusual experience of WWII. The *Wall Street Journal* asserts that Spiegelman's memoir is "[t]he most affecting and successful narrative ever done about the Holocaust" (Spiegelman back cover). The narrative stages Vladek Spiegelman's imprisonment in Auschwitz, arguably the Shoah's most well-known concentration and death camp. Contrarily, in *The Mascot* Alex is never sent to a camp. While Alex alludes to the ghettos

(Kurzem *e*book 278),[14] this aspect of his narrative is peripheral to his experiences as a Jewish child mascot for the Latvian Schutzstaffel (SS), who hides his identity as a means of survival. Thus, the text offers a notably unique experience of the Shoah. There is very limited critical analysis on Kurzem's memoir, and the work received mixed reviews. Theodore Feit writes that *The Mascot* "is a perfect example of Truth is Stranger than Fiction" and "is of the high quality of a seasoned novelist". Contrarily, Frederic Krome's review is rather disparaging, suggesting that "[h]ad [Kurzem] focused on re-creating his father's experience and avoided trying to make this into an international thriller, he would have produced a much better book" (84).

Chapter Outlines

The first substantive chapter considers the intergenerational effects of the interview process in Spiegelman's *The Complete Maus.* Spiegelman's double volume graphic memoir documents the problematic relationship between his father, Vladek, an Auschwitz survivor and his own character, Artie, a second-generation survivor.[15] This chapter reflects on Spiegelman's frame narration in which Vladek describes his wartime experiences and Artie struggles with his second-generation survivor status. I discuss the protagonists' differing reactions to the interview process and how this undertaking impacts their respective healing processes, or lack thereof, and their survivor's guilt.[16] Furthermore, their individual and separate, although interrelated, traumas ultimately produce challenges in their capacity to produce a whole sense of self. Decades after his liberation from Auschwitz, Vladek continues to repeat the behaviours that allowed him to survive WWII. This is demonstrated, for example, in his incessant need to hoard everything from food to, seemingly useless, objects. Similarly, Artie struggles with his inability to relate to his parents' experiences as Shoah survivors and resultingly engages in frequent conflict with Vladek, complicating his capacity to form an identity consistent with his Jewish family.

[14] In the Random House *e*book of Kurzem's memoir, Mark asserts that "[a]longside the potential rediscovery of a family home there was the topography of the ghetto in which my father's family were incarcerated" (278). However, there is no mention of the ghetto in the Plume publication.

[15] I conceptualise second-generation survivors as those who were born to either one or two survivor parents. As Samuel Juni explains, in his discussion of intergenerational trauma, following the Shoah many survivors "adopted various coping strategies" "to maintain a functional life" (99). However, given the severity of their experiences, many of these strategies "engendered significant negative repercussions in the children they raised," labelling these children as survivors in their own right (99).

[16] It will be shown that Artie experiences his own sense of survivor's guilt as a manifestation of his second-generation identity and the death of his older brother during WWII, in respect of Michael Brown's assertion that "[Artie], theoretically, should never have been born and so he feels guilty" (139)

Chapter 3 reflects on the reversal of the roles of the caregiver and the dependent in Kurzem's *The Mascot.* The concept for this chapter is inspired by Gita Arian Baack's argument, in *The Inheritors: Moving Forward from Generational Trauma,* that survivors' children recognise their parents' vulnerability and assume the role of the caregiver to protect them from further harm (114). This chapter analyses the narrative's representation of the impact of silence on both Alex and Mark and the possibility for intergenerational trauma to persist despite silence. The narrative draws attention to the characters' shifts in identity during the testimonial process, and in the production of the text. I will argue that the writing of the memoir represents Kurzem's decision to protect his father, demonstrative of his desire to alleviate Alex's grief. This is recognisable in Kurzem's narration of his father's affective dimensions of testifying to trauma. As this thesis will show, Kurzem portrays his father as childlike and childish, highlighting Alex's lack of choice and voice during the Shoah, imploring for a sympathetic reader. This text draws attention to the severity of the effects of the loss of identity through the depiction of Alex's search for his origins.

At the time of writing his memoir, Kurzem was a research student at Oxford University as he notes in his narrative (Kurzem 4). He worked as an "international relations adviser in Osaka, Japan" (i). *The Mascot* is his first book and grapples with somewhat inconceivable events that have been met with doubt as to their factuality (390–393). [17] Kurzem addresses this from the outset in the book, opening the author's note with the statement, "The story of my father, the mascot, is a true one" (ix). Perhaps this is the reason that he includes his research degree: an effort to lend credibility to the memoir's truthfulness. Throughout the narrative Kurzem goes to great lengths in his research to reinforce the truth of his father's past, his efforts appearing to tie together much of his father's missing memory and make a claim for the reality of Alex's trauma.

The fourth chapter critically analyses Lukhanyo and Abigail Calata's *My Father Died for This* as supplementing the archive's representation of the Cradock Four and the Calatas' legacy of political activism. [18] This chapter reflects on what is missing from the archival representation

[17] According to the narrative, both the Holocaust Museum in Melbourne and the Claims Conference in New York denied Alex's Jewish origins, the New York Claims Conference stating, "How has your father suffered?", he "was not even in a concentration camp," further suggesting that Alex had "volunteered for the SS" (392).
[18] For ease in distinguishing between the various Calatas, first names have been used in this thesis.

of the Cradock Four and the Calata family, with particular reference to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). I argue that the memoir goes beyond the work of the TRC to attend to the intergenerational expression of apartheid's violence. This is principally achieved by the acknowledgement of Nomonde Calata's trauma and her political activism. The TRC's limited scope has been largely criticized for offering a gendered representation of anti-apartheid activism and victimhood. Contrastingly, this memoir offers an avenue to expose Nomonde's experiences of apartheid and her enduring expression of trauma. The Calatas' narrative notes the intergenerational legacy of the Calata identity of activism, offering Lukhanyo's past as integrally connected to his own politicking. The narrative suggests that Lukhanyo's decision to defy the South African Broadcasting Commission's (SABC) censorship laws are associated with his identity as a Calata. Furthermore, as I will show, his traumatised psyche is staged in the unemotional reliance on and engagement with primary and secondary sources to re-story his father's political activism and, consequent, murder. The reliance on sources indicates the expression of numbing concurrent with trauma.

Lukhanyo is an "award-winning journalist, who has worked for eNews – now eNCA – among others before joining the parliamentary bureau in 2011" (Calata 271). He famously became one of the SABC 8 in "July 2016", which is further discussed in Chapter Four. Abigail, previously worked as a "parliamentary reporter for *Beeld* and worked in production and the newsroom of *Die Burger*" (271). She has also been on the faculty of the "communications departments of the University of Cape Town and the Cape Peninsula University of Technology" (271). For both authors this is their first book. While the text has yet to receive academic interest, possibly due to its recent publication in 2018, it has enjoyed widespread praise. Ray Hartley notes that the memoir is "[a]n unflinching personal account of an apartheid tragedy written with wisdom, warmth and clarity" (Calata back cover). Mathatha Tsedu asserts:

> Fort Calata's struggles are transposed into the contemporary challenges of managing freedom and democracy through the microcosm of the heroism demanded of today's generation… A brilliant and emotion-filled read. (Calata back cover)

The text has similarly received attention from the internationally renowned independent news organisation, Al Jazeera, who, in May of 2021, produced a special with the same name.

The final substantive chapter considers Koopman's narrative representation of working-through her experiences of a psychologically abusive father in *Because I Couldn't Kill You*. The memoir stages Koopman's experience of domestic violence as a nuanced form of intergenerational trauma. Her narrative positions André's abusive behaviours and identity as inextricably linked to the apartheid era. The narrative indicates that André believes that he was a member of uMkonto we Sizwe (MK), although there is no evidence to suggest as such (Koopman 16). Accordingly, her text stages the enduring consequences of the everyday violence of apartheid, beyond the political struggle for freedom. In this chapter, I argue that Koopman's memoir depicts the cathartic qualities of writing trauma, ultimately suggesting a transformation in her identity. The narrative offers Koopman a space to denounce her abusive father and assert her identity as distinct from his influence. By narrating her experiences of abuse, she defies her family's objective of staying silent regarding trauma. This chapter draws on Henke's concept, scriptotherapy, to extrapolate on how the writing of trauma is represented as a therapeutic space for Koopman. The narrative stages the process of writing trauma as fostering two interrelated outcomes for Koopman: she finds solace in her identity, and her anxiety surrounding her father is transformed into anger.

Koopman defines herself, in the biography of her work, as "a multi-disciplinary storyteller who dreams of a more just and equal South Africa" (Koopman back cover). She "co-developed the webseries and dialogue platform Coloured Mentality" "[w]ith her partner, Sarah Summers" (the resource alliance). She is "part of the We See You Movement, an LGBTQI activist group" and "an alumni of the Atlantic Fellowship for Racial Equity" (the resource alliance). *Because I Couldn't Kill You* is her debut memoir. Given the memoir's recent publication, in 2019, it has yet to receive scholarly attention. However, it has received positive attention by reviewers. Brian Joss notes that "Koopman is an articulate writer with an unusual insight into the human psyche"; her "thoughts are heart-wrenching but [the memoir] does end on a note of hope – and acceptance". Further, it is a "thought-provoking read and it deserves a place in your library" (Joss). Sarah-Jayne King generously proposes that "Koopman brilliantly rewrites herself, and all of us whose identities have been smudged, misshapen and erased, back into existence. South Africa needs this book" (Koopman front cover).

Chapter 2: "Auschwitz just seems too scary to think about"[19]: Intergenerational Trauma and Identity as Depicted During the Interviews in Art Spiegelman's *The Complete Maus*

> *Then for the first time, we became aware that our language lacks words to express this offense, the demolition of a man.*
> \- Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*

Arguably the most iconic graphic memoir published to date, Art Spiegelman's *The Complete Maus* considers Artie's turbulent relationship with his father, Vladek, an Auschwitz survivor. The memoir is set against the backdrop of Vladek's experiences as a Jew in World War II (WWII). A graphic memoir is a unique platform to depict the complexities of trauma since it utilises both graphic and textual elements, thereby adding two layers of reader engagement. In such a way, Spiegelman emphasizes the seriousness of the Shoah, despite defamiliarizing its solemnity by illustrating his human characters with animal heads. The Jews are portrayed with mice heads, drawing on the association of Nazi propaganda in which Jews were depicted as vermin and acting as a reminder of the inhumanity afforded to the victims of the Shoah. Spiegelman undercuts the possibility of activating a Nazi stereotype by representing other nationalities as animals in relation to mice. Hence, the Nazis are portrayed with cats' faces, the natural enemy of mice. The Americans, who aided in the liberation of the concentration camps, have the face of a dog, indicative of their triumph over the feline representation of the Nazis.

Due to its unconventionality, Spiegelman initially encountered difficulties in publishing his book. As Robert Hutton states,

> *Maus* stands out as a watershed moment for the entry of comics into mainstream bookstores. This is not just because *Maus* was a great work, or an appealing crossover text, but because of a publication strategy that was radically different from that of other comics, both underground and mainstream. (31) [20]

[19] (Spiegelman 204: 1)

[20] Hutton does qualify his statement, indicating that *Maus* "was far from the first" graphic novel, as many comic series had been made into "collected editions", combining the monthly releases into a single volume (40).

Spiegelman originally published a series of the memoir's chapters in his self-owned *RAW* magazine (Hutton 34). Since it was well-received by his readers, he presented the first instalment of the work to many large publishing houses as a single volume, *Maus: A Survivors Tale: My Father Bleeds History.* After several rejections, *Maus* was published by Pantheon Books in 1986 (Spiegelman 4). Despite its initial difficulties, it went on to garner substantial critical and commercial success, winning the coveted Pulitzer Prize (Special Citation Winner) in 1992 (The Pulitzer Prizes), the only graphic text to have achieved such an accolade (Leith). One year prior, Pantheon books published the second half of the memoir, *Maus II: A Survivor's Tale: And Here My Troubles Began*. The texts were then combined into one large volume, *The Complete Maus,* in 1996 (Spiegelman 4). *Maus* was "the subject of a special exhibit at the Museum of Art in late 1991 and of a 1994 [Public Broadcasting Service] special" (Hathaway 262). Further testament to the text's success, *The Complete Maus* has been translated into more than twenty different languages. In 2011, A Digital Optical Disc (DVD) version of the text was released as *MetaMaus,* which includes:

> digitized images of Spiegelman's notebooks, notes from his interviews with women who were in the camps with Anja [Spiegelman's mother], and complete, unedited transcriptions of his interviews with Vladek in 1972, 1978, and 1979. (Hathaway 263)

Over and above its accolades, the work is heralded for bridging the gap between so-called highbrow and lowbrow literature.[21] Spiegelman's text created a space for the graphic medium to be recognised as a serious literary form, illustrating an indisputably grave topic in a previously considered informal narrative style (Hutton 34). While the animal heads certainly appear to push the boundaries of Shoah historiography, they highlight the text's constructedness. Spiegelman emphasizes the difficulties of "reconstruct[ing] a reality that was far worse than [his] darkest dreams" (Spiegelman 176: 4). Moreover, the constructed nature of the text underpins the potential for the graphic medium to produce multiple layers of meaning in a deceptively simple manner. As Spiegelman acknowledged in an interview with *The Guardian*, "[t]he mouse metaphor allowed me to universalize, to depict something that was too profane to depict in a more realistic way" (Cooke). One could argue that the subversive depiction of one of history's most horrific occurrences, gives the text its appeal. At first jarring

[21] According to Lawrence Levine, the use of the terms highbrow and lowbrow came into being "in the late nineteenth century" to define types of culture. Highbrow culture, originating in the 1880s, describes "intellectual or aesthetic superiority", whereas lowbrow culture indicates "someone or something neither 'highly intellectual' or 'aesthetically refined'" (221–222).

and shocking, *The Complete Maus* stands out as an intelligently created work with substantial complexity.

The Complete Maus is essentially an interview, captured in a frame narration, between Artie and his father. The text is both self-reflexive and semi-autobiographical and juxtaposes 1930s–1940s Europe with 1970s–1980s America. The embedded narrative represents Vladek's experiences of the Shoah and the enduring consequences of trauma on his identity and psyche. Similarly, in the frame narration, Spiegelman depicts his own character, Artie's, experiences of growing up under the "tutelage of guilt-ridden survivors" (Juni 100). He highlights his experience as a second-generation survivor and the effects this has had on his identity development. By directing the reader's attention to his positionality in producing the text, Spiegelman does not shy away from illustrating his personal investment in creating this work. He includes his honest frustrations with his difficult and traumatized father, emphasising the very real and complex emotional dimensions of producing this non-fictional work. *The Complete Maus* illustrates Vladek's Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Artie's perceived distance from his family since he was born after the family tragedy.

This chapter critically analyses the representations of the consequences of the interview process on the expression of intergenerational trauma and its effects on identity in *The Complete Maus*. It will begin with an examination of Vladek and Artie's different motivations for undertaking the interviews and the divergent manners in which they engage in the process. It will be shown that Vladek participates in the interviews to spend time with his son. As I will show in what follows, the narrative suggests that Vladek engages somewhat reluctantly with the interviews and displays a tendency to veer from his trauma. Conversely, the narrative stages Artie's choice to partake in the interviews to better understand his childhood by gaining a more detailed description of his father's experiences, thus connecting with his family identity. Secondly, this chapter will examine the immediate effects of the interview process. It will be shown that engaging in the interviews is represented as a triggering experience for both Vladek and Artie, as both protagonists experience symptoms of trauma related to the difficulties of providing testimony. Dominick LaCapra's conceptions of "working-through" and "acting-out", as he defines in *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (22), will be used as a framework to understand how the characters negotiate the interview space. The narrative suggests that Artie lacks empathy and understanding towards his father, indicative of acting-out trauma, whereas

Vladek's PTSD symptoms are heightened due to the triggering nature of recounting his trauma. Cathy Caruth explains in *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*, that

> [PTSD] reflects the direct imposition on the mind of the unavoidable reality of horrific events, the taking over of the mind, psychically and neurobiologically, by an event that it cannot control. As such, PTSD seems to provide the most direct link between the psyche and external violence and to be the most destructive psychic disorder. (58)

Caruth notes the intrusive and overwhelming nature of PTSD and the concomitant flashbacks. Accordingly, the affected individual cognitively relives the trauma in his/her daily life. In the memoir, the impact of Vladek's PTSD is expressed in his difficulty with recounting his experiences, his narrative frequently distorts the timeline of past events and his understanding of his present. Similarly, Artie displays bursts of anger towards his father. This pattern is indicative of the psychoanalytic understanding of confronting trauma as a complex and difficult experience. Relatedly, it shows the presence of intergenerational trauma in that both protagonists have necessarily interlinked, however, fundamentally separate, traumas. The persistent expressions of Vladek's trauma during his testimony demonstrate his stalled identity, resulting in the possibility for Artie to develop symptoms of intergenerational trauma. Lastly, this chapter considers the enduring effects of the interview process. It will be shown that Artie entered the process with the aim of working-through his trauma. The narrative stages his transition from criticizing Vladek's resilient behaviours, stressing the frustration they cause him, to more empathetic and considerate interactions with his father. Consequently, the narrative indicates the cathartic qualities of the interview process for Artie. However, Vladek's traumatized behaviours continue. This is largely attributed to the triggering nature of the interviews and his lack of desire to testify to his trauma, as his only motivation to engage in the process is to spend time with his son. The act of testifying is a profoundly challenging undertaking. As LaCapra states, in *Writing History, Writing Trauma,* "[i]n testimonies the survivor as witness often relives traumatic events and is possessed by the past" (97).

Divergent Engagements: Intergenerational Motivations in the Interview Process

The narrative suggests that the different ways in which the protagonists engage in the interviews is related to their separate motivations for undertaking this challenging testimonial process. The enthusiasm with which Artie addresses the interviews correlates with his desire

to make sense of his second-generation survivor identity, thereby understanding his upbringing which was affected by largely untold stories about his parents' experiences of the Shoah. Spiegelman's opening chapter sets the tone for the protagonists' divergent reasons for engaging in the interviews, and the differing manners in which they approach the interviews. Artie's assertion, "I still want to write that book about you…" (Spiegelman 14: 2) contrasts starkly with Vladek's reluctant response, "It would take **many** books, my life, and no one wants anyway to hear such stories" (14: 4, emphasis in the original). Consequently, throughout his complex wartime narrative, Vladek returns to the more manageable present, serving to alleviate the difficulty of confronting his past. For example, Vladek recounts an event from 1941 and then connects the event to the death of his first-born son in 1943, to which Artie responds, "**WAIT!** Please dad, if you don't keep your story chronological, I'll never get it straight" (84: 1, emphasis in the original). Through Artie's insistence on linearity, Spiegelman represents Artie's desire to grasp the fine details of Vladek's history. Hence, Vladek's constant veering from the narrative frustrates Artie. As a second-generation survivor, Artie wishes to engage in the interviews as a means for self-discovery, a journey inward through his father's history. While it is not explicitly stated in the text, it is apparent that the Shoah was largely a taboo subject in the Spiegelman home. In *The Inheritors: Moving Forward from Generational Trauma,* Gita Arian Baack explains that, by not talking about the Shoah and its effects, the survivor parents may feel that they are sheltering their children from their traumatic past (82).[22] However, silence around the subject can result in a lack of a "meaningful frame of reference" for the next generation, leading them to question why they experience such profound anxiety to life's uncertainties (85). The narrative suggests that by learning about Vladek's past, Artie wishes to make sense of his difficult upbringing and connect himself to the family tragedy from which he was absent. Consequently, he creates the perspective not provided for him by his silent parents. Moreover, as James E. Young notes, by asking Vladek to "[s]tart with mom" (Spiegelman 14: 6), Artie immediately directs Vladek's narrative to his "*own* origins" (679, emphasis in the original). After surviving Auschwitz, deeply burdened by her trauma, Artie's mother, Anja, committed suicide on May 21st, 1968, an act that has greatly affected both Vladek and Artie.

[22] This silence may also be linked to the "collective amnesia" regarding the Shoah that permeated Europe during the 1950s (Karstedt 28). Susanne Karstedt explains in her discussion of collective memory and amnesia surrounding the Shoah, that "collective amnesia allow[ed] victims as well as perpetrators and all those whose past does not easily fit into either of these categories to forge new identities, to leave the past behind and re-shape their memories" (30). This understanding could account for why Vladek does not wish to share his past, allowing him to move on with his life, albeit with the spectral presence of trauma.

During an interview with *The New Comics*, Spiegelman explained that he began the project as a means to focus on issues of material importance: "I wanted to deal with subject matter that could matter […], something that would take me further" (Groth 192, cited in LaCapra *History and Memory* 178). However, he also wanted to commemorate and honour Anja,

> when I was a kid I remember my mother wishing she could write about her experiences and not being able to. Not feeling able to. I remember vaguely her saying,… 'and then someday maybe you'll write about this stuff'. (Groth 192, cited in LaCapra *History and Memory* 178)

After her death, Artie's only recourse to his mother's experience of the Shoah is mediated through his traumatized father who was separated from her for much of the war. Likewise, Spiegelman's illustrations depict his own mediated experience of his father's story. Utilizing the frame narration, Spiegelman tells a story that is as much about his father as it is about himself. In such a way, the memoir's form mimics the interview's method, in that the interview is naturally a discursive, collaborative process. In the interviews, both Artie and Vladek effectively co-produce the narrative. The frame narration demonstrates Artie's understanding of the interviews, whereas the embedded narrative offers Vladek's understanding of his past, meticulously provided in his own words, reinforced by the illustration of Artie's tape recorder (Spiegelman 75: 6). The frame narrative captures Artie's experience of growing up with his survivor parents and emphasizes the real-world challenges of living with Vladek. Spiegelman similarly depicts his father's and his own reactions to Vladek's experiences. The embedded narrative of Vladek's WWII experiences provides a context for the frame narration and thus the characters' lives and post-traumas. In Spiegelman's own words, "*Maus* is not what happened in the past, but what the son understands of the father's story" (Spiegelman "Commix" 196, cited in Young 670). Hence, Spiegelman comments on the hermeneutic and constructed nature of his memoir. In Artie's case, his ability to comprehend and assess Vladek's experiences are complicated by his resentment towards his father and his concurrent intergenerational trauma.

Spiegelman's production of the text effectively writes himself into his family. As Michael Brown states, "Spiegelman, has to turn, ironically, to his father for the experience in order to create his book, which is his attempt at creating identity" (139). As such, the self-reflexive frame narration almost implores the reader to sympathise with Artie's story and his

psychological struggles as a second-generation survivor. As Young argues, Spiegelman is "born after – but indelibly shaped by – the Holocaust," he "does not attempt to represent events he never knew immediately, but instead portrays his necessarily hypermediated experience of the memory of events" (669). So, while Artie's parents may not have made much mention of the war during his childhood, the awareness of their survivor status has had a large bearing on his identity and his ability to write and illustrate this text. The interview process, and the subsequent making of *The Complete Maus*, is therefore an opportunity to make sense of an event outside of his personal recall that caused such a disruptive effect on his childhood. He learns about his family's past through his father, helping him to generate an holistic sense of self and part of his identity is positioned as the family chronicler. He produces a text that will preserve his family's history, and represent his intergenerational trauma, but not without difficulty. The interviews are an emotionally harrowing undertaking for both father and son. The interview process depicts both Vladek's traumatic history and the very reasons for why his relationship with Artie is so difficult. As Emily Miller Budick indicates,

> the frame narrative identifies how the son's psychoanalytically informed autobiographical investigation of his father's history is a reversal of the psychic processes that have rendered the investigation of his father's untold history the determinative metaplot for the son's actual mental life, the primary and controlling narrative. (381)

So, what is depicted is, "[t]he father who survived the war, and the son who has survived the father" (Miller Budick 381). The subtle expressions of Vladek's trauma are represented in his incessant need to save as much as possible, be that through his constant narrative interruptions about money, or his unrelenting hoarding. These stalled and disruptive behaviours cause difficulty in the relationship between Vladek and Artie. Whereas Artie's traumatised behaviours are predominantly conveyed through his challenges with selfhood, both in his depressive episodes and in his trouble relating to his family. Vladek's defense mechanisms constantly disrupt the wartime narrative,[23] mirroring both their ability to disrupt Artie's identity development, and Vladek's own disrupted sense of reality.

[23] I refer to Sigmund Freud's ego-defense mechanisms which defines a process in the neuroses during which "ego feels uneasy" and so it "disowns" these feelings by "tak[ing] precautions against them" in order not to be "paralysed" by their power (*XVI 1916–1917* 141–142).

Vladek's tendency to veer from his wartime narrative is indicative of the repression of his past.[24] This is particularly apparent in scenes that discuss his late son and late wife indicating the importance he places on his family. Vladek's inability to move past the deaths of Richieu and Anja, are suggestive of what Freud terms, "[p]rofound mourning" (*XVI 1916–1917* 244). Freud proposes that profound mourning differs from melancholia in the aspect of the self (244). Melancholia necessarily involves a process of a "disturbance of self-regard", which is absent in profound mourning (244). Hence, I argue that Vladek's recognition that Anja and Richieu's deaths were out of his control, indicates he experiences profound mourning as opposed to melancholia. While Vladek experiences an enduring grief, he does not experience episodes of self-degradation that are present in melancholia. A poignant example of Vladek's continued mourning occurs when he returns home from the German Prisoner of War (POW) camp (Spiegelman 68). When Vladek picks up Richieu, he immediately starts to cry and scream (68: 5). Startled, Vladek exclaims, "Why do you cry my boy? I'm your ***father***!" (Spiegelman 68: 6, emphasis in the original). Just three frames later, Vladek has moved on from the distressing story of returning home to Richieu to complain about his unhappy marriage to Mala, following Anja's death. He thereby contrasts the happiness he felt with his family before the war and the profound loss he experiences after Richieu's and Anja's deaths. Vladek's grief is demonstrated as two-fold. He not only grieves the death of his family members, but he also grieves for his happy household prior to the war. Vladek's continued mourning corresponds with the psychoanalytic understanding of "traumatic fixation" (*XXII 1932–1936* 29), in which "the attack corresponds to a complete transplanting of the patient into the trauma situation" and results from having not adequately addressed the trauma (*A General Introduction* 315). Freud notes that an individual fixated on mourning "involves the almost complete alienation from the present and the future […] and remains permanently absorbed in mental concentration upon the past" (316). Furthermore, unresolved mourning has severe consequences for the second-generation. According to Dan Bar-On's study on trauma and grief, "*abberated mourning*" is congruent with children of survivors' negative patterns of coping, suggesting that children assume the maladaptive coping strategies of the survivor parents (cited in Arian Baack 90, emphasis in the original).[25] Furthermore, the moment in which Vladek veers from the narrative is particularly significant. Just before the aforementioned scene, Spiegelman dedicates many

[24] According to Freud in *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis,* repression denotes a resistance of the movement of information from unconscious recall to consciousness (258).
[25] Arian Baack conceptualises "*abberated mourning*" as an "unresolved mourning" in which the survivor becomes "locked in their own trauma, unable to work through it" (90).

pages to Vladek's undisrupted recounting of his experience as a Jewish soldier and POW. He describes himself shooting and killing a German soldier and the ill-treatment he received as a Jew in the German POW camps. However, as he starts to talk about his late son, he returns to the present, resisting the traumatic memory of Richieu. Freud's theories explain that the traumatized individual, in this case Vladek, resists conscious recollection of an event by actively removing themselves from the traumatizing topic (*XXII 1932–1936* 68). Thus, the individual draws on associations that depart from the topic at hand and experience distress at addressing the trauma (68). Vladek thus moves from his challenging past to consider his frustrations with Mala as a means to reject conscious recall of his late son. Understanding the importance of family for Vladek is an important aspect of why he agrees to, albeit somewhat unwillingly, undertake the interview process with Artie. Spiegelman wittingly opens the text by indicating that Artie seldomly visits his father, claiming, "I went out to see my father in Rego Park. I hadn't seen him in a long time – we weren't that close" (13: 1). But he contrasts this with Vladek's seemingly elated response at Artie's appearance, exclaiming, "**MALA! LOOK WHO'S HERE! ARTIE!"** (Spiegelman 13: 3, emphasis in the original). Thus, Vladek's interest in the interviews is largely staged as his desire to spend time with his son. The narrative suggests that because family is important to Vladek's identity, he cooperates with Artie's request to confront the difficulties of his past. He, thus, maintains contact with his son which would have been more difficult had Spiegelman not been interested in writing the memoir. In an interview with *The Guardian,* Spiegelman discussed his difficulty relating to his father and the positive impact the interviews had on their communication, stating, "Auschwitz became for us a safe place: a place where he could talk and I would listen" (Cooke). The difficulty with communication between the protagonists in daily life contrasts with Artie's desire to engage in the interviews, suggesting the personal importance of the process.

Artie's desire to produce the work compared to Vladek's need to put the past behind him, is signposted in the subtitling of the text: *My Father Bleeds History.* Various critics have highlighted two reasons for this choice. Firstly, as Hillary Chute suggests, the bleeding of history symbolizes that the "enunciation and dissemination [of his past] are not without cost to Vladek", "suggesting that the concept of 'history' has become and is excruciating for Vladek" (203). Chute similarly avers that Vladek's "headstone that marks, however understandably, the ending of [*The Complete*] *Maus*" speaks, not only to Vladek's death but to the physical distress of the psychological harm of bleeding history (203). In such a way, the subtitle reminds the reader that it is not Vladek who chooses to engage in the interviews, but Artie. Secondly, the

subtitle "identifies the father's pain as not belonging to the father alone: it is also bleeding into the life of the son" (Miller Budick 380). The subtitle demonstrates Vladek's difficulty in recounting his past, reinforcing the severity of his trauma. However, this difficulty juxtaposes Artie's incessant interest in his parents' pasts. The lack of information regarding the family history, leaves Artie feeling left out and confused about his self in relation to his family. The relationship between father and son is aesthetically illustrated, as the happenings in the contemporary chronotope interrupt the wartime narrative; but also in the moments in which the frames combine the separate chronotopes. For example, Artie is drawn lying across two frames when Vladek is explaining his POW story, indicating the impact the past has had on both of their lives and identities (Spiegelman 47: 1–2). Spiegelman thereby visually depicts the enduring intergenerational impacts of this historically significant event. He indicates that reminders of the past constantly intrude on the present. This intrusion invokes Freud's conception of the "compulsion to repeat" that "replaces the impulsion to remember" (*XII 1911–1913* 151). Spiegelman thus "insists on the persistence of trauma" (Chute 213). Vladek's foibles are, therefore, not positioned as a negative space but rather a resilience against his intrusive memories that invade his present. Similarly, this blending of past and present, reminds the reader that, during Artie's childhood, remnants of the Shoah were always there, lurking in the background.

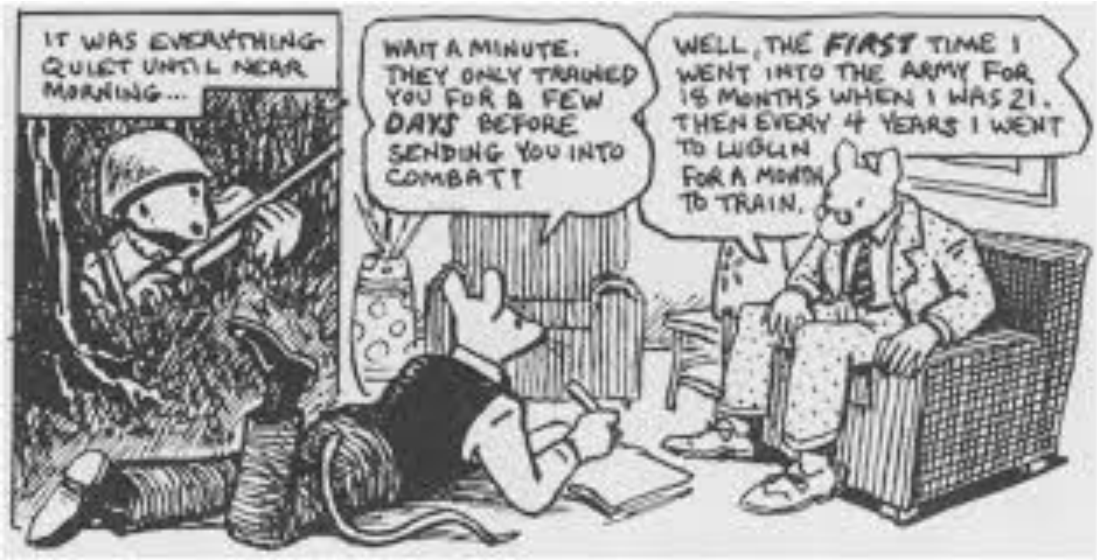

Figure 1: Spiegelman 47: 1–2

Triggering Trauma: Immediate Intergenerational Consequences of the Interview Process

As a consequence of the intertwining of past and present, both protagonists express symptoms of trauma during the interview process. This is highlighted through their complex emotional responses to the testimonial process. Firstly, Spiegelman's text considers the challenge of memory work as it relates to trauma victims. As LaCapra states, in *The Complete Maus* "the past returns to create uneven developments in the present and to pose the problem of the intricate relation between acting-out and working-through" (*History and Memory* 154). Artie's frame narration captures the affectual manifestations of confronting trauma. Vladek starts his wartime narrative by including memories with rich, personal details about his life before the war, and before meeting Anja. He asserts that these memories have "nothing to do with Hitler, with the Holocaust" (Spiegelman 25: 2). Artie promises Vladek he will leave these details out of his book, however, obviously failing to do so (25: 6). To Vladek this information is private, but for Artie these moments are inherently identity defining. To foster his own history, and thus identity, Artie wants to document Vladek's entire story, stating, "I want to tell **YOUR** story, the way it really happened" (Spiegelman 25: 4, emphasis in the original). There is a marked irony in Artie's comment, the text is overtly constructed, Spiegelman is aware that he is unable to holistically represent Vladek's experiences. Additionally, by inserting himself into the narrative, Artie tells not just Vladek's story, but his own. Many of Vladek's traumatic memories contain gaps that Artie pushes him to fill in to make sense of the missing narrative from his life. Accordingly, this produces tension in their discussions but it also demonstrates the real challenges that giving testimony creates for survivors.

By recounting his traumatic past, Vladek provides Artie with access to his truth. As Shoshana Felman suggests, in "Education and Crisis, or the Vicissitudes of Teaching", "[i]n literature as well as in psychoanalysis […] the witness might be […] the one who *witnesses,* but also, the one who *begets,* the truth, through the speech process of testimony" (24, emphasis in the original). Thus, Spiegelman's text has a doubly important role in the testimonial process as the text stands as a witness to both Vladek's traumas and to Artie's second-generation trauma. In a moment of discomfort, Vladek admits, "[a]ll such things of the war, I tried to put out from my mind once for all… until you rebuild me all this from your questions" (Spiegelman 258: 5). The discomfort the interviews cause Vladek prompts the question of ethics and care that Artie appears to almost entirely neglect. However, this ethical neglect also reminds the reader that the interviews are a means for Artie's self-exploration. Vladek's repressed memories

fragment the timeframe of his experiences in Auschwitz. As LaCapra states, "the father may himself not fully possess this knowledge, and he is reluctant to try to evoke the past or reconstruct missing knowledge" (*History and Memory* 154). Hence, he poignantly responds to Artie's frustrations with, "[i]n Auschwitz we didn't wear watches" (Spiegelman 228: 6). These gaps portray their own relative importance in reconstructing history. As LaCapra states, in "Trauma, History, Memory, Identity: What Remains?"

> [t]he very breaks in an account such as a testimony may attest to the disruptive experiences and relate to a reliving of trauma that collapses the past into the present, making it seem or feel as if it were more 'real' and 'present' than contemporary circumstances. (377)

Spiegelman's representation of Vladek's traumatised mind defamiliarizes the notion of historical truth, highlighting the importance for literature to offer the enduring reality of traumatic history. The frame narration captures the great lengths Spiegelman undertakes to accurately recreate Vladek's and his own life, on his own terms. Artie's insistence on maintaining the personal details of Vladek's history, and pointing to Vladek's traumatised, and therefore missing, memory, also points to his own reliability as a witness to his father. Spiegelman's text, therefore, affirms Caruth's argument in *Unclaimed Experience* that traumatic memory "permit[s] *history* to arise where *immediate understanding* may not" (11, emphasis in the original). Spiegelman maintains both a fidelity to historically documented information and Vladek's personal, traumatised, and therefore somewhat fictitious, memories of the events in his text.[26] In a scene in which Vladek describes the daily march to work, Artie asks him about the "camp orchestra" (Spiegelman 214: 2) which plays music while the inmates marched. According to Artie, this is "very well documented" (214: 4), but Vladek does not recall having seen them, replying, "No. I remember only ***marching*****,** not any orchestras…" (214: 3, emphasis in the original). However, Spiegelman illustrates both a frame with the historical account of the orchestra and an almost identical corresponding frame without the orchestra. Thus, he casts Vladek's personal memories of the event as equally important as the historical documentation of the Shoah, thereby affirming Vladek's traumatised identity as a consequence of his past. Spiegelman gestures towards the multiplicity of historical events, accounting for the significance of lived experience. The narrative stages personal memories of

[26] The fictionalisation of memory is not a fabrication of memory, rather it is a consequence of the mind's attempt to protect itself. As Freud argues, when the traumatised individual is confronted with "especially painful" "unconscious material" on the verge of consciousness, the individual tends to resist conscious recall, thereby shielding themselves from the painful memories of trauma (*A General Introduction* 257–258).

history as not undermining historical documentation but rather that they underscore and supplement history.

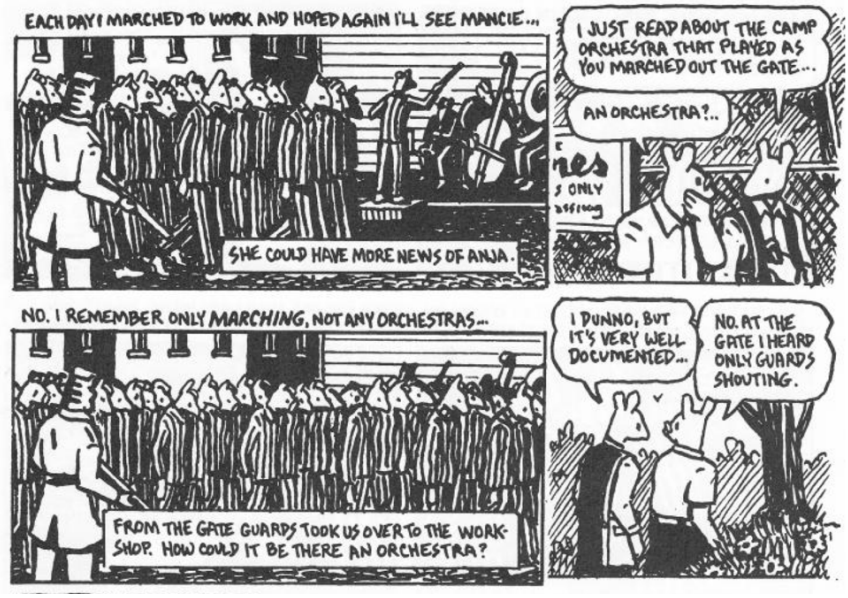

Figure 2: Spiegelman 214: 1–4

The production of an holistic sense of self is influenced by an integration of these traumatic memories, as LaCapra suggests, in "Trauma, History, Memory, Identity: What Remains?" (391). Trauma disrupts this process, causing "decentering, pluralization, and splitting" of experiences that overwhelm the psyche and cause gaps in one's memories (391). In the memoir, Vladek's identity is stalled in his trauma, as he continues to behave as he did during the Shoah. As Dori Laub asserts, in *Testimony: Crisis of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History,* traumatic experiences occur outside the framework of "'normal' reality, such as causality, sequence, place and time" (69). Thus, for the victim, such as Vladek, trauma continues indefinitely (69). This is underscored by Vladek's incessant hoarding of anything from seemingly useless objects to food. As Artie asserts, "[l]ook at all this stuff!… Old menus he picked up on cruises. … a pile of stationery from The Pines Hotel…" (Spiegelman 95: 4). The graphic element of the scene enhances the reader's understanding of the extent of Vladek's hoarding. Spiegelman illustrates Artie's discovery of various memorabilia belonging to Vladek.

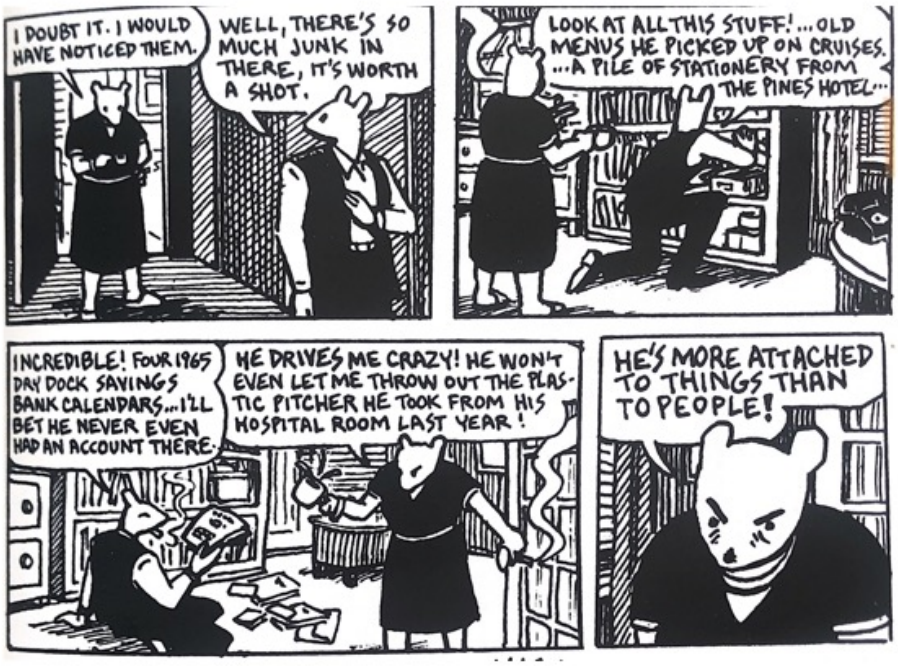

Figure 3: Spiegelman 95: 3–6

During the Shoah, Vladek used his resourcefulness as a means for survival, for example saving his rations of food when he has typhus, "I couldn't eat, but I cut pieces to pay for help to go down to the toilet" (256: 7). But perhaps more poignantly, his repetitive behaviours are captured when he "compulsively reliv[es his] traumatic past" (LaCapra *Writing History* xxi). This is demonstrated in the narrative when the trauma of seeing people being stepped on becomes a recurrent fear. On recalling being transported from Gross Rosen by train to an undisclosed location, Vladek explains, "You see, people began to die, to faint…", "It wasn't ROOM to fall… and if he fell, they stood on him" (Spiegelman 246: 3). Similarly, later in the narrative, he recalls having typhus and his concerns about being stood on, "So now I had typhus, and I had to go to the toilet down, and I said 'now it's **my** time. Now I will be laying like this ones and somebody will step on me!'" (255: 4, emphasis in the original). This fear of being trampled returns when Vladek falls in the street in America in the 1970s, he is reminded of the train ride in which people were repeatedly stepped on, saying, "I crawled to the side so people can **see** me but won't **step** on me" (283: 4, emphasis in the original). In this way the past and present are intertwined, and Vladek's repetitive behaviours demonstrate his stalled identity, as just one aspect of his PTSD represented in the memoir.

Additionally, Spiegelman emphasizes the enduring grief that Vladek experiences, both for the deceased victims of the Shoah and for his family members. The interviews worsen Vladek's

aberrated grief. Accordingly, he struggles to contain his emotions when considering those who have perished. Vladek tells Artie about his black-market dealings in the ghettos that quickly came to a halt when four Jewish men, two of whom Vladek had entered into transactions with, were hanged for "dealing goods without coupons" (85: 2). The Nazis showcased the men hanging in the street for "one full week" (85: 4). Vladek further explains the fear he felt about leaving the house after their murders, saying "I didn't want to pass where they were hanging" "and maybe one of them could have talked of me to the Germans to try to save himself" (86: 1). His enduring grief may be connected to a form of paranoiac delusions of persecution, worried about being persecuted by the Nazis for his involvement in the black-market, even years after leaving the ghetto. His continuation of sadness around their deaths, "when I think now of them, it **still** makes me cry…" (86: 2, emphasis in the original), demonstrates his enduring survivor's guilt. As LaCapra suggests, in *Writing History, Writing Trauma,* for Shoah survivors, working-through grief may feel like a betrayal of those who have perished, and victims may "create a more or less unconscious desire to remain within trauma" (23). Thus, one may suggest that Vladek's grief, and consequent survivor's guilt, continues to cause him great distress in the contemporary chronotope. This is pivotal in understanding why he struggles to produce an identity separate from the Shoah.

Furthermore, Brown suggests that Vladek perceives Anja's death as a persistent form of personal persecution (136). Spiegelman disrupts the narrative to include a disturbing depiction of his mother's death in a previously published work, "Prisoner on the Hell Planet". When Vladek finds and reads the comic, his traumatised behaviours impact the other characters, a common feature of acting-out trauma. He becomes moody and short-tempered with Artie, eventually admitting the sadness he felt in reading the comic: "It's good you got it outside your system. But for me it brought in my mind so much **memories** of Anja" (Spiegelman 106: 7, emphasis in the original). He further asserts, "…Of course I'm thinking always about her **anyway**" (106: 8, emphasis in the original). Here, Spiegelman demonstrates Vladek's desire to forget, with the concurrent impossibility to do so. However, Vladek also engages in a level of empathy for Artie's need to work-through the death of his mother, a phenomenon that subverts LaCapra's conception of the traumatised individual's incapacity for consideration for others (*Writing History* 28). I argue that this capability is integrally linked to the importance Vladek places on family. In essence, the importance of family outweighs Vladek's generalised traumatised responses, and he is able to accept that Artie is also grieving and is thus entitled to his own method of mourning. Conversely, Vladek's grief over the death of his wife is

emphasised when he burns her notebooks that include personal accounts of her experiences in Auschwitz-Birkenau (Spiegelman 161: 1). This act may be read as symbolic of his desperate attempt to erase the past. LaCapra notes that in doing so Vladek's "assertion against Auschwitz (fighting with fire) is also a bizarrely inappropriate act against his wife" (*History and Memory* 156). Vladek fails to appropriately work-through both the trauma of the Shoah and his grief which perpetuates the suffering he feels since Anja's passing. Much of Vladek's identity is centred around his losses, or as Young states, Vladek's "entire story is haunted by Anja's lost story" (686).

The burning of Anja's notebooks causes substantial distress for Artie, who wishes to produce an identity centred around the missing narrative of his parents' wartime experiences. Artie's general attitude towards Vladek in the memoir is fairly impatient and terse, as is demonstrated by the frame narration depicted below. Despite the violent and solemn details of Vladek's history, Artie maintains his intolerance to his father's resilience. Instead, Vladek's defence mechanisms, outside of the interviews, frustrate Artie and alienate him from his father. The moment Vladek tells Artie about the loss of the notebooks appears to be the most severely inappropriate response to Vladek's trauma. LaCapra states that working-through trauma is a psychologically stressful and difficult process, hence brief moments of acting-out are commonly expressed during this process (*Writing History* xxxii). Thus, Artie has an angry outburst at his father's revelation, in which he shouts at Vladek, "God **DAMN** you! You – you MURDERER! How the hell could you do such a thing!!" (Spiegelman 161: 3, emphasis in the original). The interview process, in particular confronting the death of his mother, deeply affects Artie. The loss of the notebooks feels like an additional loss of his mother, the loss of the last recourse he has to her. Artie, therefore, projects the pain he feels at this loss from himself to the inappropriate act against Vladek. Artie's emotional response at addressing the trauma is an overarching indication of his resentment towards his father. Artie suggests that Vladek deprives him of what is rightfully his, the information that his mother kept for him. Artie remembers his mother telling him that he should write her story. In such a way, the destruction of the notebooks places the additional burden on Artie that he cannot fulfil the very wish his mother bestowed upon him, compounded by her suicide.

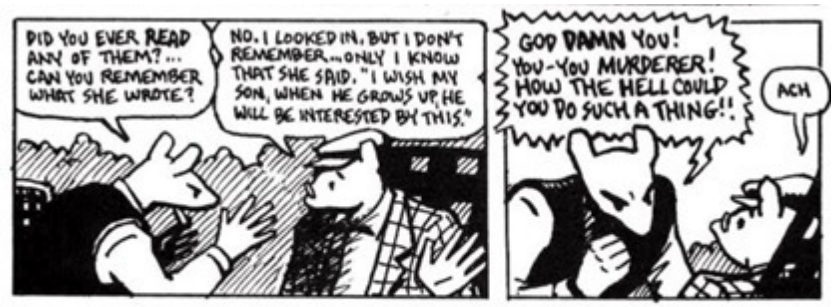

Figure 4: Spiegelman 161: 2–3

Trauma as Spectral: Enduring Intergenerational Consequences of the Interviews

The interviews appear, ultimately, to be a cathartic experience for Artie allowing him to integrate a part of his identity with that of his family. Vladek, however, does not experience therapeutic relief from the interviews. Vladek does not ask to bear witness to his past, nor does he ask to undergo any kind of therapeutic intervention. The narrative echoes Laub's assertion, in "Bearing Witness: Vicissitudes of Listening", in which he explains that in order to effectively work-through trauma, the survivor must first "*re-externaliz[e] the event*" followed by a counter-process of integration (69, emphasis in the original). Laub stresses that for this process to take full effect, the trauma survivor must have the desire to undertake the process (69). The cathartic possibility of testifying to trauma is hampered by Vladek's reluctance to engage in the interviews and the fact that he does not so do with a desire towards working-through trauma. Rather, his traumatic symptoms are amplified throughout the narrative. A particularly telling moment for the protagonists' divergent enduring consequences occurs when Artie and his wife, Françoise, visit Vladek after Mala leaves him. During the drive from Vermont to The Catskills,[27] Artie confides in Françoise about his second-generation survivor's guilt and the consequent anxiety with which he grew up. Hadas Wiseman, Einat Metzl, and Jacques P. Barber describe survivor's guilt as "feelings of guilt for outliving loved ones" (177). Additionally, they suggest that this guilt is easily transmittable as "children may feel guilty toward their parents because of the parents' suffering even though the [child is] not responsible for it" (177). As Brown states, "Spiegelman […] should not exist because no one [sh]ould have survived the Holocaust. He, theoretically, should never have been born and so he feels guilty" (139). Artie's survivor's guilt becomes an integral aspect of both his intergenerational trauma

[27] While The Catskills Mountains is a real place, considering Spiegelman's use of the cat to illustrate the Nazis, the name's inference invokes Freud's conception of "the compulsion to repeat" that describes the recurrence of trauma long after the event itself (*XVIII 1920–1922* 19). The reference thus reminds the reader of the enduring spectral sense of the sinister in Vladek's life.

and his consequent identity struggles. In the conversation with Françoise, Artie states, "I [had] nightmares about S.S. men coming into my class and dragging all us Jewish kids away." (Spiegelman 176: 1), "Don't get me wrong, I wasn't **obsessed** with this stuff… it's just that sometimes I'd fantasize Zyklon B coming out of our shower instead of water" (176: 2, emphasis in the original). I argue that this childhood desire is connected to Freud's concept of "'identification' – that is to say, the assimilation of one ego to another one, as a result of which the first ego behaves like the second in certain respects, imitates it and in a sense takes it up into himself" (*XXII 1932–1936* 63). Artie's comment suggests that he takes on the identity of his family as Shoah survivors. His identification with his family could be related to his desire to assimilate into his family from which he feels disconnected because he was not present in the family tragedy. Moreover, this appears to be new information for Françoise, indicating he had seldom spoken about it to her. This indicates that the interviews have enabled him to feel more comfortable addressing his own psychological struggles, labelling his own pain as important, a phenomenon he struggles with in comparison to the magnitude of his parents' past. Recognising the validity of his own trauma is an important aspect to working-through it (Arian Baack 97). In addition, Artie is now able to distinguish between the past and the present, a phenomenon that is disturbed by trauma, further indicating his cathartic benefits from the interviews. This thinking accords with LaCapra's assertion regarding trauma that "[i]n memory as an aspect of working-through the past […] one is able to distinguish between (not dichotomize) [past and present]" (*Writing History* 90). Artie's survivor's guilt is reinforced by his sibling rivalry with Richieu. He notes that not only does he feel like a replacement for Richieu but he feels wholly inadequate. In such a way, Artie is staged as competing with and haunted by the brother he never knew, reinforcing his fixation on a past that is not entirely his own. Artie addresses the sibling rivalry and the challenges of growing up in the shadow of the photograph of his deceased older "ghost brother" (Spiegelman 175: 2). Françoise's assertion that she was not aware that it is not a photograph of Artie, indicates that he seldomly spoke about Richieu, implying the psychological damage the comparison has had on his identity. Artie stresses, "[t]he photo never threw tantrums or got in any kind of trouble… it was an ideal kid, and I was a pain in the ass. I couldn't compete" (175: 6). Here, the memory of Richieu, becomes symbolic of the grief of both the older brother and the childhood unplagued by the Shoah. In *Traditions, Tyranny, and Utopias: Essays in the Politics of Awareness,* Ashis Nandy explains that the adult experiences a nostalgia for the perceived utopian state of childhood, viewing childhood as imbued with "innocence and spontaneity" (65). In a sense, Artie's mourning of his past is compounded by the perceived nostalgia for the innocence that *should*

have been part of his childhood, of which he was robbed by the remnants of the Shoah. Artie is aware of his parents' understandable melancholy over the death of his older brother and the impact this has on their survivor's guilt, only reinforcing his conception of himself as a replacement. Vladek and Anja never stop searching for Richieu. Artie states, "After the war my parents traced down the vaguest rumors [sic], and went to orphanages all over Europe. They couldn't believe he was dead" (Spiegelman 175: 3). The impact of survivor's guilt is, therefore, positioned as intergenerational, as both Vladek and Artie experience profound affects to their identities as a result of their survival despite the fact that "loved one[s], for no good reason, did not survive" (LaCapra *History and Memory* 156).

Vladek spends the next day telling Artie the story of his arrival at Auschwitz when he learns about the mass graves. Vladek asks a fellow prisoner, "[w]hat are they doing over there – digging trenches in case the Russians attack?" to which the prisoner responds, "Trenches – Hah! Those are giant GRAVES they're filling in!…" (Spiegelman 232: 1). Consequently, Vladek struggles to fall asleep and when he finally does, he experiences nightmares. Psychoanalysis indicates that nightmares are a common symptom of PTSD. As Freud states, "dreams […] bring to memory the psychical traumas [of the past]. They arise, rather, in obedience to the compulsion to repeat" (*XVII 1920–1922* 32). Hence, the frame narration demonstrates Vladek's expressions of trauma as related to the triggering nature of the interviews. This scene also indicates that Artie is beginning to portray "ethically responsible behaviour" (LaCapra *Writing History* xxi), notably he is learning consideration for Vladek. This is depicted in his compassion towards Vladek's nightmares, telling Françoise, "[Vladek is] moaning in his sleep again. When I was a kid I thought that was the noise **all** grown-ups made while they slept" (Spiegelman 234: 5, emphasis in the original). Similarly, in response to Françoise's assertion that "[i]t's so **claustrophobic** being around Vladek. He straightens everything you touch – he's so **anxious**", Artie laments, "[h]e never learned **how** to relax" (182: 5, emphasis in the original). Artie's responses to Vladek's behaviours slowly change, from struggling to relate to him and constantly criticising him, to learning to view his resilience with more empathy, suggesting that Artie is working-through his trauma (LaCapra *Writing History* 40). As Victoria A. Elmwood states,

> [Spiegelman's] biography of his father's experiences in Auschwitz seeks to narrow the psychological rift between himself and each one of his family members, [thus,] he is successful

> in creating a place for himself in the family by soliciting, shaping, and representing his father's story. (691)

Artie experiences at least some assuaging, if not therapeutic, relief from the interview process, integrating a part of his identity with that of his family. Through this process, the narrative suggests that he develops consideration for his father that he had previously lacked. LaCapra comments that "[Artie] nowhere sits himself down and asks about his own motivations and reasons or directs himself at the same dogged scrutiny to which he subjects his father" (*History and Memory* 177). However, I argue that this is because his parents' traumas are so integral to his own personhood and self-discovery that understanding his father's experiences heightens his incapacity to show Vladek empathy during the testimonial process. This is about himself as much as it is about his father. It is the reason the experience has such a profound impact on him, and why, through this process, he manages to work-through his trauma. Laub states, in his discussion of trauma testimony, that the listener is expected to be "a witness to the trauma and a witness to himself", thereby enabling a safe space for the testifier, allowing for both the "initiation" of testifying and "as the guardian of its process and of its momentum" ("Truth and Testimony" 58). However, Artie is not bound by these rules, as his role in the interviews is not that of a therapist. He chooses to enter into the interview process to reflect on his trauma. The strenuous process of working-through his trauma does not afford him the space to simultaneously provide sufficient safety and comfort for Vladek to use this process in a similar manner. While there is the recognition of the triggering nature of the interviews for Vladek, Artie's lack of ethical care is fundamentally linked to his personal motivations for his engagement in the interviews, providing a sense of permissibility for his insensitivity.

However, Vladek does not experience the same catharsis during the interviews as Artie does. This can be largely attributed to the fact that, as Miller Budick states, "he in no way asks for or benefits from his son's 'witnessing' of these events. On the contrary, he is, if anything, retraumatised by his son's ventures into witnessing his historical past" (384). Spiegelman even admits that Vladek "has no desire to bear witness" to the Shoah, in an interview with *The New Comics* (Groth 192 cited in LaCapra *History and Memory* 178). Laub suggests healing from trauma through testimony can only be successful when there is a mutual understanding of truth with the listener ("Bearing Witness" 69), in this case Artie. According to Laub, the process requires a discursive element in which the testifier tells the story to another and then reintegrates the story into self (69). Both individuals need sufficient emotional strength and a

readiness to withstand the harrowing events of the testimony (69). Conversely, J. Roger Kurtz asserts, in *Trauma and Transformation in African Literature,* that "the simple act of remembering or testifying, done badly, has the potential to re-traumatize the victim" (30). This is predominantly what is depicted in *The Complete Maus.* Artie is never intended to be a psychoanalyst for Vladek's troubled psyche, nor is he even an historian who seeks to engage with Vladek in an ethically responsible manner. Instead, Spiegelman depicts the persistence of trauma across generations and never veers from Vladek's unwavering devotion to his family. Thus, he continues to provide Artie with his distressing narrative despite the challenges it causes, responding to Artie wanting to ask about Auschwitz with, "of course, darling. To me you can ask **anything**" (Spiegelman 184: 7, emphasis in the original).

The memoir's very last scene depicts Artie putting Vladek to bed. Despite the memoir being full of symbolism, this scene stands out as one of the most symbolic of all. The intimacy that is portrayed between father and son provides a real sense of calm. Spiegelman thereby draws attention to the comfort the interactions with his father have brought Artie, and the consequent comfort he is able to afford Vladek after the fact. However, Spiegelman simultaneously juxtaposes this relaxed environment with Vladek's calling Artie by his deceased brother's name and with an indication of the difficulty of the interviews for Vladek. "I'm **tired** from talking, Richieu, and it's *enough* stories for now…" (296: 6, emphasis in the original). This scene portrays Artie's relinquishment of resentment towards Vladek. As Miller Budick states, "[a]t the end of the narrative, Art[ie] allows that his father's efforts have not been in vain. The narrative stands as the father's testimony to the dead son" (395). In such a way, and in Spiegelman's own words, the final scene "just keeps ending" (cited in Chute 215).

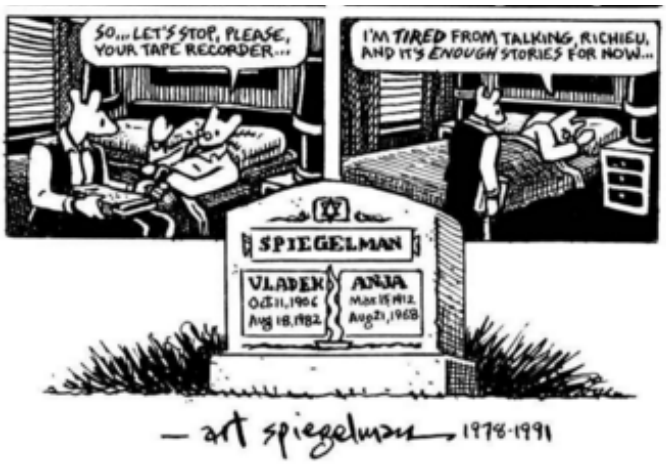

Figure 5: Spiegelman 276: 5–7

Conclusion

Intergenerational trauma and Artie and Vladek's consequent concerns with identity are represented throughout the frame narration's depiction of the interview process. Spiegelman emphasises the divergent motivations for undertaking this process as fundamentally separate but integrally linked to each protagonists' founding trauma. Artie's desire to engage with the interview process is rendered as a space for self-reflection. As a second-generation survivor, Artie's identity has been fundamentally shaped by his family's traumatic experiences as Jews in the Shoah. However, this remains a trauma of which he was not a part. To produce a whole sense of self and, thereby, understand his challenging upbringing, Artie wishes to document his father's experiences. Conversely, Vladek agrees to the interviews as a means to spend time with Artie. An important aspect of Vladek's identity is tied to the deaths of his family. As Artie is the last remaining member of his immediate family, he wants to maintain a relationship with him. The interview process therefore serves a distinctive purpose for both protagonists and, as such, they engage with the process differently. Artie questions and listens to Vladek's stories enthusiastically, constantly redirecting Vladek's tendency to veer from the narrative to a linear progression of events. However, for Vladek the interviews serve to allow time and space to be with his son, though his deviations serve their own purpose: a means to alleviate the pressure of the narrative, particularly when he recounts stories of his late son and wife. Artie struggles to relate to Vladek's repetitive behaviours. Not only does Vladek continue to behave as he did under persecution, he similarly maintains a commitment to his mourning. Accordingly, Vladek is positioned as a demanding and difficult character. Vladek is never able to successfully work-through his traumatic past. Contrastingly, Artie finds solace in the interview process. He eventually learns to integrate a part of his identity with that of his family, and empathise with Vladek's resilience, finally relinquishing his resentment towards his father. *The Complete Maus* demonstrates the difficulties of intergenerational trauma, in that it confronts the possibility for one's identity to be affected by trauma despite not being an active participant in the Shoah. The narrative reinforces the challenges of the Shoah, representing the incidents that occurred during this well-documented historical event through a personal extrapolation of Vladek's personal experiences.

Chapter 3: "I wasn't one of them"[28]: Reversing the Roles of the Caregiver and the Dependent in Mark Kurzem's *The Mascot*

'I implore my God to witness that I have made no crime'
Anthony Hecht, "More Light! More Light!"

Set in the sanctity of the darkened kitchen in his family home in Melbourne, Mark Kurzem's memoir, *The Mascot: Unraveling the Mystery of My Jewish Father's Nazi Boyhood,* considers his father, Alex's,[29] disclosure of his Jewish childhood with the Latvian Schutzstaffel (SS). The narrative represents Alex's astounding half-century silence regarding World War II (WWII). Additionally, the memoir stages the markers of intergenerational trauma demonstrated in Kurzem's ambivalent narrative voice which fluctuates from confusion regarding his father's silence to sympathy for Alex's traumatic past. Having run away from his mother and two younger siblings to escape the Nazi massacre in his hometown (Kurzem 41), the memoir stages Alex's traumatic upbringing and complex emotional response to his testimony. Alex is portrayed as experiencing guilt, grief, and extreme identity confusion, resulting from a profound repression of his original Jewish identity. Like Art Spiegelman's *The Complete Maus*, Kurzem's memoir includes a frame narration that depicts interviews between father and son exposing the violence of the father's experiences. However, contrary to Spiegelman's text in which Artie initiates the interviews, in *The Mascot*, it is Alex who wishes to reflect on the past, impelled by his desire to uncover his original identity. In such a way, the memoir comments on our most fundamental questions of self: where do I come from and who am I?

While the narrative represents Alex and Mark's search for Alex's identity, much of the memoir concerns the emotional costs of Alex's trauma, for both father and son. Through detailed descriptions of Alex's affective response to testifying to trauma, the text attests to Alex's expression of guilt surrounding not just his survival of an inconceivable atrocity, but his guilt related to how he survived. The significance of Kurzem's first-person frame narration goes beyond detailing trauma and expresses the relationship between father and son. It offers significant insights into the interior monologue of a son who is shocked by his father's past, grappling with feelings of betrayal, and yet concerned about prodding too harshly at his father's

[28] (Kurzem 89)
[29] To distinguish between Mark and Alex Kurzem, I will refer to Kurzem as the author, and narrator of the contemporary chronotope; Alex as the father; and Mark as the character who interacts with Alex in the memoir.

trauma. The narrative depicts Alex's secret as fostering difficulty with familial closeness, and the process of working-through trauma in the interviews brings them closer together. Accordingly, the narrative portrays a family deeply affected by the Shoah and comments on the differences and similarities of the expression of intergenerational trauma as it relates to silence.

This chapter will critically analyse the representation of the reversal of the roles of the caregiver and dependent in Kurzem's *The Mascot.* I argue that the text depicts this concept as a consequence of the disruptive effects of Alex's trauma, suggesting an expression of intergenerational trauma. Accordingly, I will show that the memoir echoes Gita Arian Baack's argument, in *The Inheritors: Moving Forward from Generational Trauma*, that children of survivors perceive their parents as vulnerable, leading them to fulfil the parental role for their traumatised parent (114). This chapter will start with a discussion of the narrative's depiction of Alex as both childlike and childish. Utilising Ashis Nandy's conceptions of childishness and childlikeness, which he outlines in *Traditions, Tyranny and Utopias*, I will demonstrate that Kurzem's portrayal of Alex as the dependent amplifies his lack of voice and choice during the war. I will show that the narrative's infantilisation of Alex suggests Kurzem's desire to alleviate his father's deep-seated and enduring feelings of guilt regarding the atrocities that he witnessed during the Shoah. Secondly, this chapter will discuss Mark's representation as the caregiver in the familial relationship. I will show that Kurzem's frame narration positions himself as the curator of the text, who guides the reader on how to respond to Alex's childhood experiences, thereby alleviating his father's guilt. The memoir becomes a metaphorical space to hold trauma, but similarly as the curator of the text, Kurzem mirrors his father's storytelling rituals, positioning himself as assuming his father's responsibilities in the narrative. Lastly, this chapter will discuss the newly acquired relationship between father and son that is staged in the narrative. Kurzem explains that Alex's secret has fostered difficulty with familial closeness (23). The narrative suggests a subtle transformation in the relationship between Mark and Alex, generated by the discursive interview process. While there are moments in the text where Mark notes that he feels betrayed by his father's secret (143), ultimately the interviews are represented as an affirming experience for both father and son. The narrative indicates that the interviews create a closeness between them that would not otherwise have been achieved. However, Kurzem acknowledges the remnants of trauma following Alex's testimony, making a claim for its enduring nature.

In addition to Alex's embedded historical narrative, the memoir speaks to Alex and Mark's contemporary lives. In such a way, Kurzem writes himself and his relationship with his father into the narrative. While much of the frame narration concerns Mark's experiences of researching Alex's past, the night-time kitchen interviews are possibly the most significant use of space, or setting, within the narrative, and largely communicates the relationship between father and son. This is the only space in the narrative that Alex will testify to his WWII experiences, and he will only relate his past to Mark. Consequently, much of the suzjet is fragmented. The narrative moves from the night-time interviews where the reader is privy to Alex's first-person interpretation of his childhood, to Kurzem's detailing of their daily life in the frame narration. Consider, for example, the contrast in Kurzem's narrative in these two temporally divergent scenes: firstly, "It was after 2:00 a.m., but my father showed no signs of flagging" (48); and secondly, during the daytime chronotope, Mark notes, "[w]henever I tried to broach what had happened to him, […] my father would lapse into an unshakable silence before either abruptly changing the topic or, more often, rapidly handing the telephone to my unsuspecting mother" (164). In the former instance, Alex shares his experiences with vigour whereas over the phone or during the day any attempt Mark makes to communicate with Alex about his wartime experiences is unsuccessful, underpinning the importance of the night-time kitchen setting. The non-linear suzjet mirrors the difficulty with which Alex recounts his past, the confusion that the secret creates for Mark, and the fragmented mind that typifies trauma.

The recurring trope of the night-time interviews demonstrates an intrinsic safety in the darkness that comments on Alex's need for his childhood not to be open to scrutiny. As Thomas Becknell describes, in "Old Hymns of the Night", the night is a "time of turning inwards, of retrospection, […], of closure, [and] of waiting" (17). The darkness affords Alex privacy and covertness during his testimony. The inherent safety of the kitchen is reinforced by the ever-present comfort of a cup of tea (Kurzem 144), symbolic of the warmth Mark attempts to produce for Alex through his gentle encouragement of his testimony. The narrative, thereby, stages the comfort of the kitchen as effectively tempering the difficulty of addressing trauma. The setting is ultimately imbued with a specific social meaning indicative of a safe testimonial space, but similarly draws significant attention to the reversal of the caregiver-dependent dynamic. Mark leads the interviews, positioning his authority within the space but similarly offering guardian-like comfort to his father. Conversely, Alex is depicted with the shyness of a child, emphasised by the covert night-time testimony. As such, this setting invokes Henri Lefebvre's suggestion, in *The Production of Space*, that "physical space has no reality without

the energy deployed within it" (13). The comfort of the night, the reversal of the caregiver-dependent roles, and the warmth of the tea, create a safe enough space for Alex to testify to his past.

It is during these interviews that the reader learns of Alex's childhood as a mascot for the Latvian SS. The narrative indicates that, as a Jewish child of approximately five-years-old, Alex was found by a Latvian police brigade, later incorporated into the Latvian SS (Kurzem 105). Through a series of uniforms made to match his battalion, Alex's identity as a Latvian soldier became his "only means to cheat death" (Porter 18). Alex explains to Mark that a Latvian soldier, Sergeant Kulis, instructed him to maintain the secret of his Jewishness, indicated by his circumcision, or risk an almost certain death, a secret he maintained well into his adulthood (Kurzem 63). This comments on the importance of the secret for Alex's physical and mental survival, and the magnitude of his enduring concern that he will be persecuted as a Jew. Alex explains that when he was found he was unable to recall his original name and hometown, and so he was given a name and a fake background by the Latvians (125). Based on the language he spoke, the soldiers believed him to be Russian, and so they claimed he was a lost Russian child from a family of pig herders (125). Alex's narrative indicates that he learnt multiple renditions of how the soldiers came to take him in as their mascot, to conceal the truth that he was nearly shot in "a small yard next to a tiny schoolhouse" (57). The memoir does not clearly delineate why the soldiers chose to save the young child but, it does show that in his position as the mascot, Alex was made to feel a sense of duty to the 18th Battalion and, by extension, to Latvia.

The narrative similarly renders Alex's life in Melbourne, Australia. To escape Allied persecution in December 1949, Alex moved to Melbourne with his guardians, the Dzenis family (8).[30] As an adult, Alex deliberately distorts stories of his past to maintain the ruse of his happy childhood with the soldiers. Consequently, the text invokes Arlene Stein's argument, in her discussion of silence after the Shoah, that survivors frequently refrain from speaking about their pasts as they are outside of the range of standard circumstance and, thus, they lack "a viable frame for making their experience intelligible to others" (45–46). Alex's particularly

[30] The narrative suggests that Alex is unsure of the exact affiliation between the Dzenis family and the Latvian army. However, Jekabs Dzenis is the owner of Laima, the 18th Battalion's sponsor (110). Although a civilian at the time of meeting Alex, Jekabs and the commander of the 18th Battalion, Commander Lobe, had served together in the "Bolshevik revolution" (123).

idiosyncratic circumstances, position his past as even less relatable than most Shoah survivors, and therefore less communicable, making a reasonable claim for his prolonged silence. The narrative similarly indicates that Alex is deeply concerned that if people know about his past, they will view his association with the Latvian SS as a betrayal of his Jewish heritage (Kurzem 143). Alex's silence is additionally attributable to his sense of duty to the soldiers and Latvia, his concern for his family's safety, and his desire for an identity separate from the violence he was exposed to as a child. Stein further suggests, in her discussion of silence and trauma, that repression of memories perpetuates silence (45). The memoir includes the substantial gaps in Alex's childhood memories, gesturing towards Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Furthermore, the narrative stages Alex's belief that he is indelibly incapable of escaping the Latvians and the guilt he feels for his past that he perceives as deeply connected to their war crimes.

Infantilising Alex: Choiceless and Voiceless During Atrocity

Kurzem opens the memoir with a comment on his inability to adequately assess his father's selfhood. He draws immediate attention to the difficulties his father's secret has caused in their relationship. Thus, from the outset he writes himself into the narrative, but similarly reinforces that the memoir is about his father. Kurzem notes:

> If I'm ever asked, 'What's your father like?' a simple answer always escapes me. // Even though I can look back on a lifetime spent in his company, I have never been able to take his measure: One part of him is a shy, brooding, Russian peasant who shows a certain air of naivety, if not gullibility, with strangers. Then there is another side: alert, highly gregarious, and astonishingly worldly. (3)

Kurzem's opening emphasises Alex's duality that has created confusion for Mark and consequently hindered their capacity for a close familial relationship. This, in turn, implies a plea for sympathy for both Mark and Alex. This opening paragraph similarly suggests Alex's childlikeness, considering his "naivety" and, yet concedes Alex's capacity for maturity: "alert, highly gregarious, and astonishingly worldly" (3). The ambivalence of this opening statement typifies the text as a whole: a seemingly unbelievable story, that contains many moments in which the reader is left questioning the narrative's validity, ultimately tied up somewhat too neatly with verifiable information. Moreover, Kurzem points to the multifaceted nature of his

father and his father's story. He comments on the complexity, or lack of "simple answer", within his father that is to be later revealed to the reader: an adult who is represented as innately childish, at once open to uncovering his identity and, yet, reluctant to engage in the testimony that will assist the discovery. Alex even acknowledges this duality in himself, stating, "[i]t's as if there are two men inside me, and one of them has been asleep for more than fifty years. Now he's waking up, and the two are not getting on so well" (189). Here, Alex not only acknowledges his identity confusion, but suggests the metaphor of sleep as a state of unconsciousness, invoking two common symptoms of PTSD: nightmares and repression. He, therefore, echoes Sigmund Freud's argument, in *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, that what is repressed attempts to access the conscious mind through dreams (99). It is this duality that makes space for the portrayal of Alex as the dependent and amplifies the helplessness of the figure of the child in the war.[31] Not only was Alex a child, but his vulnerability was compounded by his Jewish identity, and he was hyperaware that he would be killed if this facet of his identity was revealed. Accordingly, in the portrayal of Alex's enduring childlikeness, Kurzem reminds the reader of Alex's lack of choice and voice during the Shoah and reinforces the severity of Alex's trauma. In *Traditions, Tyranny and Utopias* Nandy explains that childlikeness is idealised by society, as it encompasses "innocence and spontaneity" and, thus, typifies a nostalgic utopian state for the adult (65). Contrastingly, the concept of childishness is characterised by underdevelopment and irrationality, the antithesis of the mature adult (65). Kurzem's emphasis on Alex's childlike and childish qualities immediately impresses upon the reader that his father is deserving of sympathy, represented as too vulnerable to be held responsible for the soldiers' violent actions that are later outlined in the memoir.

The text opens with a notably out of character anecdote about Alex's trip to visit Mark in England. Here, the use of setting enhances the infantilisation of Alex. Europe is staged as Mark's home and, conversely, a place that causes Alex discomfort. The narrative suggests that after leaving Latvia, Alex is adamant that he does not wish to return to Europe (Kurzem 5). Hence, his presence in England confuses Mark as he is unable to determine the reason for his father's unexpected visit, an episode that is framed as childlike in its impulsivity. In England, Alex is spatially located as the inferior individual, enhancing the characterisation of Alex as the child.

[31] This idea will be further extrapolated on in this section.

During his visit to England, Alex starts to display a more alert side, he becomes paranoid in public, concerned that people might overhear their discussions or recognise him (15). This is exemplified when a stranger politely waves at Alex, and he "seemed to freeze on the spot […,] gripped [Mark's] hand tightly and abruptly moved on, as if eager to escape something" (15). This paranoid episode, that is linked to Alex's more alert, adult side, is seldom expressed in the narrative. While one could argue that the narrative centres around Alex's trauma, thereby making a space for the prominence of a regressive personality, Kurzem largely infantilises Alex. Considering Alex's more adult side would stand in stark contrast from the conception of the innocent child, who lacks both choice and voice, that Kurzem reinforces throughout the memoir. This makes a claim for the imperative of maintaining the conception of Alex as helpless. It is only at the very end of Alex's trip that he discloses to Mark that he has come to England to ask for assistance in uncovering his origins, stating, "I want to know who I am. I want to know who my people are before I die" (20). Alex's plea creates a strong ending to the opening chapter as it highlights what was taken from Alex as a child, his identity. This loss of identity translates to the helpless child who is then left as a helpless adult, forced to turn to his son for guidance, demonstrative of the reversal of the roles of the caregiver and dependent.

The childlike portrayal of Alex is most noticeable in the late-night interviews between father and son. Here, Kurzem amplifies the depiction of Alex as the dependent, portraying him as emotionally unfit to undergo the testimonial process. Kurzem portrays Alex's veering from the narrative and the difficulty with which he expresses his testimony. As such, I read the narrative as representing Alex's struggles with feelings of guilt and the challenges of memory work that the process evokes. His narrative oscillates between a desire to disclose his childhood and a tendency to withdraw from the testimony. Hence, his statement, "to be truthful, I don't want to remember anything of what happened to me. […]. But the bigger truth is that I am more terrified to forget" (100). Alex's desire to forget is complicated by the impossibility to do so. In such a way, he comments on a demand that is placed on his self to never forget the horrors of a genocide. This deliberateness reads as a countermeasure to the final stage of a genocide, that according to Gregory Stanton, the president of Genocide Watch, is denial (2). Alex's comment suggests a confrontation with this idea. Furthermore, the impossibility of forgetting

may be linked to a fidelity to the horrors of his past,[32] that to forget would be an injustice to the effects of his past on his identity. Correspondingly, Mark's tentativeness with Alex's emotional state suggests that he experiences what Dominick LaCapra, in *Writing History, Writing Trauma,* conceptualises as "empathic unsettlement", "a desirable affective dimension of inquiry" that allows the listener to greater understand the victim's emotional position in recounting "traumatic events" (78). Accordingly, Mark is hesitant with Alex's testimony, careful not to intrude too harshly on his father, noting a concern for his "father's emotional state", worried that Alex was "driving himself to the gallows to be hanged by his past" (135). Kurzem's language use gestures towards the execution by hanging of those prosecuted at the Nuremberg trials, indicative of the severity with which he represents Alex's trauma. Hence, the question of the continuation of the interviews becomes a recurrent ethical decision for Mark. As Roger J. Porter suggests, he is forced into a "continual balancing of competing impulses" as he

> vacillates between on [the] one hand a desire to end the father's paralyzing silence and elicit authenticating detail and on the other hand a temptation to spare the older man's self-recrimination by putting a stop to his own investigatory practice and to his father's recall. (19–20)

In representing Alex's difficulties in addressing his trauma, the dualism that Alex notes within himself is staged. Kurzem represents Alex's deep desire to discover his original self. However, during the testimonial process, Alex is portrayed as hesitant to address the more guilt-inducing aspects of his past and Kurzem highlights the emotional toll of testimony on his father. Alex survived the war by repressing his identity and he survives the enduring trauma of his childhood by continuing to do so. The narrative, thereby, suggests that Alex experiences a latency period. In *Unclaimed Experience*, Cathy Caruth conceptualises this phenomenon as a period in which "the effects of the experience are not apparent" (186). Given the triggering nature of giving testimony, Alex is portrayed as expressing a range of traumatised responses from subtle manifestations of trauma, such as profound guilt regarding his Latvian connections and an enduring grief pertaining to the death of his family, to more overt symptoms, including recurrent nightmares.[33]

[32] This impossibility is similarly marked in Spiegelman's memoir, on p.29 of this thesis, and in Kelly-Eve Koopman's memoir, on pp.83–84 of this thesis.
[33] The narrative does not indicate that these symptoms existed prior to the interviews, suggesting a latency period.

While the narrative discusses Alex's experiences with the Latvian SS, Kurzem makes no mention of Alex's direct involvement in the violent activity of his Battalion. Rather, it is emphasised that he was used as a mascot to uplift the soldiers' wellbeing with his childlike optimism (Kurzem 110). This speaks to an inherent tension in the conception of a child as a perpetrator of violence. Alex explains that his duties were mainly to assist in keeping the barracks clean, washing laundry, and making tea, but mostly, he remembers that "the soldiers wanted [him] to simply sit and talk with them" (110). The presence of a child, who symbolises innocence, and ignorance of the inhumanity of war, provides the soldiers with a sense of comfort and companionship during a period of destruction. However, the narrative suggests that Alex was occasionally taken along during military action. He was exposed to atrocities against Jews and women. An example of a particularly traumatic experience for Alex occurs when the soldiers exploit him to lure a group of women to drink alcohol with them (85). The soldiers proceed to rape and beat the young women (85). All these years later, Alex testifies to still feeling "responsible for what had happened to them" (85). Furthermore, Alex comments that he wanted to tell the young women that he "wasn't one of these men, that [he] wasn't anything like them. But then [he] thought: 'Who would want [him] after [he had] been with these devils?'" (85). Kurzem thus demonstrates the endurance of Alex's belief that he has been stained by the soldiers' war crimes. Hence, maintaining the secrecy of his affiliation with the soldiers remains important for Alex, certain that nobody would accept him if they knew about his past.

The narrative suggests that Alex's shame on account of his affiliation with the soldiers propels him into a regressive state. Consequently, he is portrayed as assuming the voice of his Latvian child self. In his discussion of psychoanalysis, as aforementioned, Freud explains that the traumatic neuroses are characterised by a "fixation" with the traumatic event (*A General Introduction* 241). This fixation manifests in a "*temporal* regression", which defines a "harking back to older psychical structures" (Freud *The Interpretation* 549, emphasis in the original). Thus, the traumatised individual reverts to a previous stage of development, to a "very definite part of their past; they are unable to free themselves therefrom" (Freud *A General Introduction* 240). In the memoir, the interviews act as a catalyst for Alex's regressive behaviours. Moreover, his regression implies an unconscious desire to adopt the innocence of a child. In *Traditions, Tyranny and Utopias*, Nandy suggests that the child is viewed "as a lovable, spontaneous, delicate being who is simultaneously dependent, unreliable and wilful and thus,

as a being who needs to be guided, protected and educated as a ward" (56). In the memoir, Alex's most pivotal concern is that others will view his affiliations with the soldiers as shameful and as if he were complicit in their war crimes. Considering Nandy's conception of the child, regressing to a state of childlikeness is valuable to Alex insofar as he can assume the vulnerability of the child with its features of both ignorance and, more positively, innocence. As such, Alex distances himself from the soldiers' guilt. Thus, he is portrayed as regressing into a period in which he cannot be held accountable for the soldiers' actions, as a child who is given no choice but to engage in the incidents he describes. Alex's regressive states are depicted as the most intense when he considers topics that relate to his involvement, albeit indirect involvement, in the soldiers' actions.

In the embedded narrative, Alex describes the first time he was confronted with the deportations outside Laima.[34] He explains that Commander Lobe decides that Alex's presence as a mascot will "boost the morale of the troops. Like a puppy" (Kurzem 105). Lobe, thus, dehumanises Alex, making his exploitation of the child, in an inherently violent situation, an acceptable activity. Even in the dehumanisation of Alex, the representation of the child figure remains; Lobe does not refer to Alex as a dog, but a puppy specifically. Moreover, Kurzem juxtaposes the innocence of a child with the cruelty of the commander, separating his father from the soldiers. Alex explains that while standing in the courtyard, he notices a young, emaciated boy and recognises himself in the child (132). He reflects on the hunger pains he felt wandering alone in the forest. Taking pity on the boy, Alex gives him a chocolate and then another,[35] eventually telling the child to eat slowly to stop him from "becom[ing] sick" (132). His actions emulate the old woman who took him in and gave him soup before he met the soldiers, he thus repeats what he learnt from his own trauma (55). He eventually notices the "yellow star on [the boy's] jacket" and understands it indicates that the child is Jewish (132). He worries that "if [he] showed [the boy] any kindness, the soldiers might become suspicious of [him]" and "turn[s] away from [the boy] in anguish" (132). He refers to his turning his back on the child as having "overshadowed [his] entire life" (133). This may also be read as echoing Alex's belief that he turned his back on the Jewish people and his family, indicative of why this moment has weighed so heavily on him. Additionally, having turned his back on the

[34] The deportations describe the transportation of Jews and other prisoners from the ghettos to the death camps and concentration camps across Europe.
[35] Ironically, the chocolates are provided to Alex by Laima, "the official sponsor of the Eighteenth [Battalion] and the Second Division" (Kurzem 110). Therefore, Alex attempts to aid and soothe the boy with a symbol of the very people who are responsible for his persecution.

innocent child, Alex turns his back on the innocence that he wishes to claim, acknowledging that he is on the wrong side of justice. Ultimately, what is intended as a kind and innocent act is staged as complicated by the difficulty and complexity of his identity as a Jewish mascot for the SS. Alex's position as the mascot is then further exploited when the commander notices Alex giving the boy chocolate and decides that he should do so for all the deportees as they enter the wagons (132–133).

While Alex speaks of this to Mark, he is portrayed with a growing sense of guilt, at once relieved to have finally spoken of the event and ashamed of his role in the deportations. However, he remains childish in his understanding of the experience, stating, "[a]t least the chocolates seemed to make it easier for them" (134). Alex maintains the juvenile belief that the chocolates made the event more cheerful, failing to recognise the severity of the incident. As a child who is made to follow orders as a soldier would, Alex is ignorant of the cruelty in providing the deportees with a piece of chocolate before their long journey to the death camps. Commander Lobe exploits the child's kind and innocent gesture to torment the deportees, to further add to and prolong their suffering. After fifty years of silence, the narrative represents Alex's childish memory of the event, indicated by his enduring belief that the prisoners were just being "relocated to another part of the country" (134). He maintains his childhood, Latvian self, unable to move past the guilt it induces in him. It is this guilt that most significantly permeates the familial home and creates confusion in the next generation. The narrative suggests that it is not until Alex speaks of the deportations that he perceives the event realistically, and he exclaims, "they killed them, didn't they?", "Those people in the yard in Laima were murdered, and I eased them on their way, not with a gun but with those damned chocolates" (134–135). Significantly, this scene depicts Alex's adult self as he comments on his childlike thought processes, this change in perspective implies the cathartic qualities of the interviews for Alex. It could be argued that Kurzem chooses to include this moment of adult perspective as Alex condemns the soldiers for their cruelty, and specifically focuses upon a moment in which Alex's innocence was manipulated. Kurzem emphasises Alex's virtuousness and his ability to negatively perceive the soldiers' actions, further acting to alleviate his father's guilt. The narrative suggests that in identifying the reality of the deportations, Alex has gained the capacity to recreate the experience and testify to its complexities. Thus, the narrative echoes LaCapra's argument, in *Writing History, Writing Trauma,* that accurately recounting a traumatic event allows for the traumatised individual to make sense of the past and integrate the event appropriately into the self (xxi).

Having said this, it must be noted that Kurzem's voice almost overtakes Alex's story. The frame narration comments on Alex's physical and emotional state, mirroring Mark's need to metaphorically hold his father's testimony. Mark is positioned as Alex's protector, as the adult. Kurzem's infantilisation of Alex entices the reader's sympathy for Alex, portrayed as a child without another option for survival but to stay with the Latvian soldiers and as an adult who has never truly matured as a consequence of his childhood trauma. Following the aforementioned testimony, Kurzem notes that Alex "withdrew further into himself. He seemed beaten. Not a shred of his usual animation remained" (135). The image of Alex's physical state as drawing inward, suggests he becomes physically smaller, further invoking the conception of the child. Kurzem also asserts that his father continues to beg for his innocence, "plead[ing] meekly in his own defence," commenting repeatedly on his lack of choice:

> I didn't understand the adults around me, or the world I was living in. I just went from moment to moment – what child doesn't? – grateful for food and shelter and warmth. Even more than that, I was so terrified that my true identity would be discovered. (135)

Alex's comment amplifies his choiceless position as a child, pleading for Mark to recognise his most basic survival needs: "food", "shelter and warmth" (135). Hence, Kurzem emphasises Alex's vulnerability, reminding the reader of the tragedy of his father's experiences.

Assuming the Caregiver: Mark Curates the Memoir and Mirrors Alex

Kurzem's first-person frame narration offers commentary on Alex's difficulty in addressing trauma, generating the reader's sympathy for his father. As such, Kurzem's narrative voice reads as a conscience, intended to remind the reader of his father's innocence during the war. This is most noticeable in the memoir when Alex reflects on particularly harrowing events. For example, Alex recounts witnessing what he believes is the Slonim massacre.[36] The narrative states:

[36] Kurzem notes that Commander Lobe was never prosecuted for his alleged involvement in this massacre (275). However, the narrative also states that "the Kurzeme Battalion had been held responsible by the Soviet authorities for a massacre that had taken place there in late 1941" (275). The eyewitness accounts of the Slonim massacre "perfectly reflected the memory [his] father had recounted to [him]" (275).

> After a short silence my father spoke. I could sense his unease. // 'There were other times' – he hesitated – 'when I saw things… other atrocities committed by soldiers. Sometimes when I was shunted to the rear of the troops I could only hear things. That was bad enough, but I guess they thought they were protecting me… as if I could be protected in any way from their brutality.' // My father fell silent. I could see that he had again become despondent. (82–83)

Following each of Alex's statements, Kurzem comments on Alex's physical state, guiding the reader on how to respond to his father's testimony. By representing Alex's emotional response to testifying to trauma, the narrative reinforces the horror of the event, and the innocence of the young child who is forced to go along with events outside of his control. Kurzem's frame narration, positions himself as his father's protector in the text, careful to not portray Alex as complicit in the soldier's war crimes, but rather reinforcing his traumatised psyche.

Furthermore, the frame narration comments on Alex's capacity to speak about his trauma as it relates to Mark's affective response to his testimony. The frame narration underpins the importance of Mark's position in the interviews, as the sympathetic listener. Similarly, it demonstrates Alex's distress surrounding how he survived the Shoah, highlighting his complex and compounded survivor's guilt. When Mark responds to Alex's testimony favourably, providing sympathy and support for Alex's suffering, he is compelled to continue with his story and appears confident in his memories. However, when he perceives Mark's reactions as negative, concerned that Mark views his childhood as collaborating with Nazis, the narrative suggests that Alex withdraws from the testimony. Consider when Alex first explains to Mark that he "was to be[come] SS Sturmann Kurzemnieks" (105). Kurzem exclaims "I was appalled to hear what they had done to my father, and my face must have portrayed my sense of horror" (105). Alex immediately defends himself. Having misinterpreted Mark's disdain for the soldiers as a personal attack, Alex quickly states, "I did not volunteer or choose that," "I had no say in it" (105). The narrative reminds the reader that as an SS mascot, Alex is forced to follow orders, as a soldier would, but underpins his vulnerability as a Jewish child whose life is in danger. Alex is represented as fearful regarding how he is perceived by his son, and unable to continue with his testimony unless he feels a sense of comfort and sympathy from Mark. This scene demonstrates the two overarching identities that are present during the memoir. Alex is depicted as guilt-ridden and melancholic; he pleads for someone to understand the complexities of his childhood choice to stay with the soldiers. Mark is portrayed as protective

of his father and the child version of his father who was made to engage in inherently traumatic activities.

Furthermore, Kurzem's narrative comments on the distress that the testimony produces in himself and his father. His frame narration is introspective and alert to the intricacies and complexities of testimony: "[m]y inner life had been churned up in ways I was not yet able to fully understand" (136). Here, Kurzem directly comments on the intergenerational effects of Alex's testimony. While he has been subject to Alex's confusing personality his entire life, he is now confronted with the reality of Alex's past and the shock creates difficulty in Mark's sense of self. As Roger J. Porter suggests, Mark's identity becomes "'dislocated'" as he learns about his father's previously hidden identity as a Nazi mascot (20). He is thus compelled to "reevaluate his own sense of self and relation to [his] father" (20). During the interviews, Mark creates an identity as his father's guardian. In a standard parent-child relationship, the parent provides safety and comfort for the child (Juni 98). In the memoir, Mark provides this safety by acknowledging Alex's emotional state and discomfort during his testimony, Mark provides Alex with the parental comfort largely absent in his childhood. Mark's acknowledgment of Alex's need for a gentle approach with his testimony, reinforces the conception of the child of a survivor taking on the role of the caregiver for the trauma victim, thereby strengthening the conception of intergenerational trauma as present in the familial home despite the silence surrounding Alex's experiences.

Mark's protectiveness of his father is further reinforced by his belief in the cathartic qualities of the interviews. His narrative comments on the possibility that if he, and his family, had made more effort to understand Alex's childhood, then he may not have had to suffer in silence for so many years. Kurzem writes,

> What if we had pushed him harder? Would he have given in and told us more? I wondered whether it was us – our family – who had failed our father by not asking questions, and that his decision not to offer us anything was a terrible indictment of us all. Had we been complicit in his silence? (144)

Kurzem's use of the word "indictment" is reminiscent of Alex's belief that he deserves the persecution that he self-inflicts. So, this insert suggests that Kurzem assumes a similar kind of guilt to his father, impelling him to believe that he is complicit in his father's suffering. The

narrative intimates that by engaging in the interviews, Mark feels as if he is changing the narrative, that he is no longer failing his father. This would make an argument for the substantial effort Mark goes to in order to research Alex's past and assist him to discover his original identity. Kurzem's mirroring of guilt, and his representation as the caregiver within the narrative both suggest that he emulates his father's position, taking on similar qualities to Alex.

The curation of the memoir and Mark's assumption of the position as the caregiver in the text is additionally gestured through the memoir's multifaceted portrayal of storytelling. Kurzem explains that during his own childhood, his father had used the ritual of storytelling to distort his childhood with the Latvian soldiers. The narrative suggests that, to hide his past from his family, Alex carefully constructed a different version of events with the soldiers, one that implied a happy, untroubled childhood and did not convey any of the guilt he feels (21). Kurzem's curation of Alex's story, in determining what to include and instructing the reader on how to respond to what he has chosen to include, further invokes the concept of storytelling. Kurzem's construction of the memoir mirrors his father's construction of the storytelling rituals. The rituals only occurred when Alex chose to host them and what is represented in the narrative is mediated by what Kurzem deems suitable for the reader. Therefore, this text unwittingly emphasises the multiplicity of the modes of storytelling. In doing so, Kurzem inadvertently makes a comment about truth claims. If the main feature of the memoir is to make truth claims, as noted by G. Thomas Couser, in *Memoir: An Introduction,* then the memoir can similarly distort our ability to understand the truth of what happened (74). Kurzem's curation of his father's story mirrors Alex's distortion of his childhood stories, which begs the question of whether his curation of his father's history is intended to paint his father as worthy of the "authentic Aussie" position that Alex hopes for (Kurzem 9). Moreover, the assumption of the role of the storyteller, makes a further claim for Mark as the caregiver in the relationship, assuming a pivotal aspect of Alex's identity during Mark's childhood.

The narrative represents the stories of Alex's childhood as a family ritual that centred around his briefcase which was "all he'd brought with him from Europe at the end of" WWII and contained "a few meagre belongings: momentos from his childhood in Russia and Latvia" (6). The briefcase comprised various documents and letters, evidence of his violent past with the soldiers; photographs of Alex wearing his different uniforms; and pictures of him starring in a Nazi propaganda movie (139–140). Accordingly, the case was not only a reminder of the past

but a safe place to house his guilt and a means to construct a past of which he could be proud. Ironically, despite his efforts to distance himself from the Latvian soldiers and their behaviours, Alex's efforts to reinvent his identity mirror the soldiers' construction and subsequent reconstruction of how Alex came to be in their care and the identity they manufactured for him. Notably, this reconstruction of Alex's identity is similarly reflected in the language choice in the memoir. Kurzem portrays a Westernised version of Alex. The language deployed in the text is washed of Alex's Eastern European influence,[37] indicating a perpetual cleaning, or washing over, of the stain of Alex's secret, a stain that is reinforced by the presence of the briefcase. As the embodiment of his trauma and the secret that it hides, the briefcase invokes the Freudian concept of "displacement" (*A General Introduction* 121). Freud explains that the traumatised psyche "modifi[es] and rearrange[s]" trauma (121). By transferring the "psychic accent" of the trauma to an artefact or element that has a material relation to the traumatic event, the conscious aspect of the psyche accomplishes a process of "substitution [of trauma] by allusion" (151). This substitution is present in Alex's carrying of the physical remnants of his past in his briefcase. The contents of the case embody the past that Alex carries with him in his consciousness thereby substituting a conscious consideration of the past with a tangible reminder of his Latvian self. As Kurzem notes, "[h]e took it with him everywhere, clasping it so closely under his arm it might have been grafted to his rib cage" (10). This image suggests the briefcase acts as a shield for Alex, protecting him from other people prying into his most private secret. He keeps the case at a safe distance from other people, only to be disclosed on his own terms, with his own distorted and entertaining narrative. The presence of the briefcase calls into question whether Alex always wanted to speak of his past. As he clings onto the case, so he clings onto a past he may wish to unravel and uncover, that of the truth of his trauma and the truth of his original identity.

Porter questions whether the case symbolises "an unconscious death drive" as the contents continue to haunt Alex wherever he goes (28).[38] This is reinforced by Alex's frequent comments about wishing he had died with his mother and siblings in the massacre, for example, "'Sometimes I wished I'd died with them that day,' he said. 'Held my brother's hand like I'd

[37] Lina Caneva's 2002 documentary, *The Mascot*, recording Alex and Mark's discovery of Alex's origins, includes this influence in Alex's language use, suggesting Kurzem's distortion of Alex's voice.
[38] In *Unclaimed Experience,* Caruth describes the death drive as "the originating and repeated attempt by the organism to return to the inanimate, the awakening into life that immediately entails an attempt to return to death" (143).

promised my mother. Gone into the pit and died with them. Even now'" (Kurzem 47). Porter thus suggests that

> Alex's personally accumulated archive is both painful evidence of his past and a bane he has transformed into comic raconteurship. We are never quite sure if his archive represents an affirmation of his life or a gesture towards suicide. (28)

Hence, the case carries substantial magnitude in Alex's life. He asserts that the case is Mark's "inheritance" (Kurzem 18), unwittingly identifying the impact of his trauma on his son.

For Mark, the importance of the briefcase changes drastically during the memoir. As a child the briefcase's meaning was attached to the storytelling rituals and represented excitement and humorous offerings into Alex's European childhood (179). In his discussion on familial relationships, Edward Said asserts that "filiative relationship[s are] held together by natural bonds and natural forms of authority" (20). Thus, the inherent authority of the father figure suggests that his "ideas", "values", and "systemic totalizing world-view" bear substantial influence on the family identity (19–20). Accordingly, the meaning Mark attached to the storytelling rituals, that are connected to his perception of his father, have important implications on Mark's identity development. Moreover, Said's discussion of filiative relationships argues that "the past weighs heavily on the present" and the challenges of the past must be "curtailed in [their] powers to dominate present and future" to produce children with a healthy state of wellbeing, in which they model the parents' favourable traits (123). The narrative suggests that the contents of the briefcase, and his past, torment Alex. While the stories are a place in which a healthy relationship could have been nurtured, the deliberate distortion of information confused Mark. Hence, he notes, "I felt more ambivalent about the stories of his childhood in Europe during the war. I could never get a clear picture of what had gone on because my father had painted that time in the broadest of brushstrokes" (20). Kurzem, thus, expresses the extent to which Alex hid his wartime experiences, rather providing vague and misleading impressions of his childhood to portray the illusion of a happy upbringing. Kurzem's use of "brushstrokes" (20) intimates the metaphor of Alex painting over of his past, reinventing a narrative on Alex's terms that only provides just enough information as not to divulge his trauma. Thus, Alex uses language to his advantage, as he shields himself from the pain of acknowledging his past. This mirrors Kurzem's efforts to only reveal certain aspects of his father's story to the reader. Kurzem only explores topics to the extent that they will not

negatively depict his father, consistently portraying Alex as a victim deserving of sympathy, burdened by his trauma and the briefcase that hides its contents. Ultimately, this parallel reinforces the conception of Kurzem as assuming the role of the caregiver in the narrative.

Familial Closeness: Alex and Mark's New Relationship

The father-son relationship that is formed and complicated by trauma is a significant trope used in this memoir that reflects the effects of silence in trauma. This relationship is staged in Kurzem's commentary on his childhood, and the confusion that his father's secret has caused him. As Stein argues, in her discussion of silence after the Shoah, the attempt made by survivors to "distanc[e] themselves from their wartime losses" simultaneously creates a detachment between themselves and their subsequent relationships (58). In the memoir, Kurzem notes that he "never felt that [Alex] was taking [him] into his confidence" (13), demonstrative of the intergenerational effects of secrecy. The narrative similarly represents a high degree of discomfort with acts of familial closeness. For example, when Mark attempts to appease his father's anxiety, he states, "I […] instinctively reached out to grasp his arm in an attempt to soothe his nerves. I was surprised by my own gesture: neither my father nor I were physically demonstrative with each other" (23). Mark's response invokes the impression of a parent who pacifies a distressed child, representative of the caregiving role he assumes for himself in their relationship and in the construction of the memoir. The discomfort of the gesture suggests that familial affection is seldom practiced in their home. This is contrary to Said's conception of an intimate familial environment that fosters healthy boundaries and childhood development (19). This awkward interaction reinforces Alex's secret as creating distance between himself and those closest to him.

While the challenges of their relationship are compounded by Alex's secret, the narrative suggests that Alex believes he is protecting his family from the turmoil of knowing about his Jewish identity. As a child, the soldiers impressed upon him that to be Jewish is to be "vermin" and "evil" (247). Consequently, Alex hides his identity not only from others but from himself, a phenomenon Kurzem refers to as "a terrible self-obliteration", underpinning the difficulties of Alex's childhood (248). Thus, Alex's need to remain silent regarding his identity extends beyond the taboo of his Latvian affiliations. Alex believes that his Jewishness profoundly Others him, echoing Dori Laub's assertion in "Truth and Testimony: The Process and the Struggle",

> [t]he burdensome secret belief in Nazi propagated 'truth' of Jewish subhumanity compels [Shoah survivors] to maintain silence. As 'subhumans,' a position they have accepted and assumed as their identity by virtue of their contamination by the 'secret order,' they have no right to speak up or protest. Moreover, by never divulging their stories, they feel that the rest of the world will never come to know the *real* truth, the one that involved the destruction of their humanity. (67, emphasis in the original)

Laub's reference to the maintenance of the belief in the "subhumanity", related to religious affiliation and victimisation during the Shoah, creates an adequate argument that working-through this adverse belief system is equally challenging. While there is no textual evidence to suggest Alex's family would reject him if they were aware of his Jewish heritage, Laub's argument provides a reasonable case for why Alex's belief is represented as such. He stresses to Mark, "[y]our mother didn't know she was marrying a Jew" (246). His concern that his wife will be displeased at the idea of being married to a Jew, further stands as an instantiation of Alex's paranoia, in that he believes revealing his religion would lead to persecution, mirroring the persecution he feels that he will receive if he reveals his Latvian SS affiliations, hence the importance to maintain both interrelated secrets.

The narrative does not provide much information about how Alex's family respond to his revelations other than acknowledging that they were all quite shocked (261). However, Mark does tell Alex that his mother and brothers, "Martin and Andrew[,] will be fine with [the fact that Alex was born Jewish]" (246). The narrative similarly suggests that Mark affirms to Alex that his Jewishness is an acceptable aspect of his identity and that he need not feel ashamed (246). This affirmation from Mark allows for a more honest communication between father and son. This is particularly noticeable when Mark and Alex discuss Alex's testimony at the Melbourne Holocaust Centre during which the interviewers are sceptical of the truth of his past (248). Alex declares that he felt as if he had "betrayed [his] Jewishness" and that "perhaps it's been wise to have stayed silent all these years" (248). Mark responds sympathetically telling Alex, "I understand, Dad. At quite a few moments my instinct was to tell you to get up and leave" (248). This is followed by Kurzem's explanation that his father "seemed relieved that [Mark] wanted to support him" (248). These affirming moments in the memoir permit Alex to feel confident in confiding in Mark, fostering greater closeness between them.

Accordingly, the narrative represents a transformation in their relationship because of the interviews. The accurate reflections on Alex's childhood have a positive impact on both father and son. The narrative suggests that, through the interviews, Alex begins to work-through his trauma. Accordingly, he becomes more confident in his recollections. The new information about Alex allows Mark to understand aspects of his father that were previously confusing to him. A poignant example of this occurs in the text when Mark describes a photograph of Alex at Carnikava that Mark had seen as a child.[39] He notes that as a child the photograph had "unsettled" him since Alex had always "spoken of his time at Carnikava as one of happy and peaceful days spent in a rural idyll" (Kurzem 199). However, in the photograph his father "seemed withdrawn and somehow damaged […] as if he had just woken from a nightmare" (199). After learning that Alex had just returned from living in the trenches with the soldiers, Mark perceives the photograph differently, stating, "I understood that expression on his face – truly he had just woken from the nightmare of his experiences with the soldiers" (120). This transformation of his perception of the photograph demonstrates Mark's greater understanding of his father because of the interviews. Porter notes that "if the Latvian soldiers" had "robbed" Alex of "his very identity – then telling the story is as close as he will ever come to gaining back that identity" (29). This process has a similar impact on Mark. While Mark can never regain a childhood without the distance that Alex's distorted stories created, their experience of communication is as close as Mark will ever come to understanding the reason for that distance. The narrative suggests that the interviews lead them on a collaborative discovery of not just tangible evidence of Alex's childhood, but of building a relationship together.

[39] According to the narrative, Jekabs Dzenis was gifted a holiday home in Carnikava "as a reward for bravery and services to Lacplesis" (123). Kurzem discovers "that Lacplesis was […] an organization of Latvian Fascists" (123), reinforcing the spectral presence of violence in Alex's life with the Latvians. It was here, where Alex was made to star in the Latvian SS propaganda movie (139).

Alex and Auntie in the garden at Carnikava.

Figure 6: Kurzem 120

Alex tells Mark that he only remembers two words from his childhood, Koidanov and Panok (Kurzem 18). In Belarus, they discover that Koidanov was the former name of a village where Alex had originally lived. Similarly, Panok turns out to be the surname of his childhood friend. This new information is represented as providing Alex with a sense of hope in uncovering his original identity. Accordingly, Kurzem notes that Alex's desire to communicate his experiences intensifies, expecting people to affirm his trauma without perceiving him negatively. Kurzem writes that "[Alex] seemed eager, almost desperate […] to talk to the ones with sympathetic faces and tell his story" (272).

Ultimately, the narrative stages their journey to Belarus to search for more information to verify Alex's original identity. Here they meet people who confirm the details of Alex's memories. The trip is arguably the most affirming experience for Alex throughout the text. He discovers his original name, Ilya Galperin, and recognises his family home (341). The verification also functions to alleviate the ambivalence Mark felt about putting his father through the stress of the interviews. As Porter states, "[t]he intermittent guilt Mark has felt in pressing his father into torment of memory begins to dissipate in the face of manifold confirmations and coincidences" (30). They learn that Alex's father was sent to a concentration camp but survived the war, remarried and had a son, Erick Galperin, whom they meet (313). Moreover, Alex meets his father's best friend and his wife, Volodya and Anya (343). Anya further alleviates

Alex's concern about his complicity, telling him, "[y]our family were good people. You carry that goodness in you. The Nazis took you, but they never touched your goodness" (Kurzem 353–354). Here Kurzem reinforces Alex's innocence in the Shoah. The narrative suggests that the information and validation that Alex receives in Belarus is essentially everything that he wishes to gain from sharing his story, and, similarly, what Kurzem wishes to impress upon the reader. However, while Alex could integrate this information into his life, he struggles to accept it, continuing to question whether he may be a Panok despite the substantial evidence to suggest that he is a Galperin (390). The symptoms of his trauma continue, he is never able to give up his childhood self. He continues to be cautious when reminiscing about his time in Laima, concerned that people will overhear him and consider him a Nazi (361). This demonstrates the endurance and severity of Alex's trauma despite the favourable aspects of testifying to trauma.

In addition to uncovering Alex's original identity, the interviews allowed for two very definite goals: a journey of self-discovery and an intimacy beyond what they had had previously. However, as Porter notes, "the searching for the secret has been the significant thing, and the searching goes on, […] because his relation[ship] with his father is forever changed by what they have experienced, *together*" (32, emphasis in the original). The collaborative efforts of co-narrating the memoir have a positive impact on their respective traumas, but the effects of Alex's Latvian childhood remain a spectral presence in their lives. Mark continues to guard his father against the horrors of his past, present in his final act of kindness. After learning that Alex's childhood best friend had perished in the massacre, Mark comments: "The mystery of Panok had been solved, and although he didn't remember it, I realized that my father had likely witnessed the extermination of his dear friend, also only five, that day" (Kurzem 345). Mark, thus, spares his father the same realization hoping to shield Alex from further distress and mourning. Mark thereby continues to act as the caregiver, providing safety for his father by protecting him from the pain associated with acknowledging that he watched his entire community perish, including his closest friend and family. Kurzem ends the narrative by suggesting that there is "no resolution" to trauma, that their lives are inevitably changed by undertaking this process and memoir, and that all they could do was find "an accommodation of the past [something his] father had somehow known […] all along" (396). This final comment underpins the subtlety of the transformation in their relationship. The sharing of information has, invariably, brought them closer together, and allowed Mark to understand his father in a way that he was unable to do so prior to the interviews. However, there remain expressions of intergenerational trauma despite their newfound closeness.

Conclusion

Kurzem's *The Mascot* considers a unique experience of intergenerational trauma following the events of the Shoah. For me, this narrative represents the presence of intergenerational trauma despite substantial silence surrounding trauma. Kurzem stages the effects of his father's over fifty-year silence regarding his Jewish childhood amongst the Latvian SS. Notably, this text stages trauma most specifically in its portrayal of the reversal of roles of the caregiver and dependent, a phenomenon that Arian Baack suggests in *The Inheritors: Moving Forward from Generational Trauma* (114). She explains that this phenomenon is related to the perception of vulnerability in the parent and the need to protect the parent from further harm (114). Kurzem's narrative largely infantilises Alex, reinforcing the helpless child in an inherently violent space. This portrayal depicts Alex as incapable of complicity in the Latvian war crimes and reinforces the vulnerability of his position in their care. Accordingly, the embedded narrative stages Alex's regressive episodes in which he assumes the voice of the child and the innocence that is imbued in the symbolism of the child. Secondly, Kurzem positions himself as the narrator who comments on his father's emotional state, demonstrating Alex's difficulty in recounting his trauma. For me, Kurzem's narrative voice, thus, portrays himself as a conscience who guides the reader's emotional response to Alex's testimony. This gestures towards Kurzem as the caregiver in their relationship, protective and nurturing over the childlike and childish Alex. Additionally, in the memoir, Kurzem mirrors his father's position in his own life. Where Alex used his briefcase to create enjoyable, albeit untrue, anecdotes about his childhood, Kurzem uses the memoir to render his father's experiences and his interactions with Alex. Accordingly, Kurzem usurps his father's position as the storyteller, lending credence to his position as the caregiver in the narrative. Lastly, this memoir stages a subtle transformation in the relationship between Alex and Mark. In her discussions of silence after the Shoah, Stein argues that silence creates distance between the survivor and their family members (58). In the memoir, this distance is demonstrated in the awkwardness of the interactions between father and son, and Mark's confusion regarding his father. However, the interviews allow Mark to better understand his father, finally privy to the reality of Alex's past. For Alex, the testimonial process appears to be largely affirming and allows him to integrate his past better into his self. The narrative suggests that the honesty between Alex and Mark creates a closeness that would otherwise not have been possible. However, Kurzem acknowledges the endurance of Alex's trauma and includes the continuation of the expressions of Alex's trauma, and his own, even after the testimonial process. This narrative emphasises the incommunicability of the Shoah.

Survivors went to great lengths to deny their pasts and move on with their lives. However, this effort was largely counterintuitive, as the traumatic aftereffects persist, fostering distance and confusion between the survivor and their loved ones.

Chapter 4: "the legacy of activism"[40]: Lukhanyo and Abigail Calata's *My Father Died for This* supplementing the archive

Don't moan, mobilise! Don't mourn, organise!

\- *Zwelinzima Vavi,* May Day message

Lukhanyo Calata and his wife, Abigail,[41] worked together to produce a memoir that is, at once, a political statement constructed with journalistic investigation, and a personal account of a family affected by the atrocities of the apartheid regime. *My Father Died for This* reflects on a personal experience of trauma, creating a narrative that centres around a familial identity of political activism, but places it within the context of the collective trauma of apartheid and the political conflict in the Eastern Cape. The narrative includes a careful balancing of the personal details of the Calata family and the violence of apartheid South Africa, framed around the assassination of Lukhanyo's father, Fort Daniel Nqaba Calata,[42] one of the Cradock Four.[43] This balance is principally achieved by the memoir's juxtaposition of the loving family life, represented by the inclusion of personal, reflective anecdotes about the family's history, and the depiction of the violent conduct of the Security Police against the Cradock community.

The authors reinforce this juxtaposition by portraying the Calata political legacy as intimately tied to their family's morality. The narrative intertwines political activism with Lukhanyo's great-grandfather, Tatou's, religious teachings as an Anglican priest and a former secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC) "from 1936–1949" (Calata 24).[44] As such, the memoir stages activism as inherently moral and ethical. This contrasts deeply with the violent depiction of the apartheid government and the narrative's criticisms of the ANC government for having failed to prosecute those who were not granted amnesty at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). I argue that this is the memoir's overarching intention: to highlight the lack of prosecutions following the TRC. The descriptions of the Calata family

[40] (Lukhanyo and Abigail Calata 23–24)
[41] To avoid confusion between the two authors and the characters in the text, first names have been used throughout this chapter.
[42] The narrative states that Lukhanyo was just "three years and eight months old" when Fort was murdered (Calata 217), and his only memory of his father is his funeral (120).
[43] The Cradock Four is the name given to four political activists from Cradock, namely Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparro Mkonto, and Sicelo Mhlawuli, who were murdered by the Security Police in 1985.
[44] Tatou's full name is Canon James Arthur Calata (Calata 24).

appeal to the reader's emotionality, causing the recognition of the toll of violence on individuals and families during the apartheid years. The reality of an affected family appeals to the reader's humanity making the memoir's political claims more poignant. The memoir, thereby, echoes Maria Pia Lara's argument, in *Moral Textures: Feminist narratives in the Public Sphere,* that narratives encompass an "illocutionary force" (2). Lara proposes that it is such illocutionary force by which literature makes certain claims upon the reader, and discursively manufactures "new meanings and understandings in relation to justice" (2). Hence, for me the memoir's interweaving of politics and morality appeals to the reader's conscience, asking for the acknowledgement of the need to prosecute those who did not receive amnesty at the TRC. Accordingly, the memoir is made up of a compilation of historical documentation pertaining to the Cradock Four and information generated from interviews with family members, friends, and former political activists. The first-person narration reinforces the humanity of the story, reminding the reader that this is a personal story of tragedy. As such, the narrative interlaces historical with personal truth, offering a greater understanding of the Cradock Four case and highlighting the significance of lived experience in addition to historical documentation.

This chapter will critically analyse Lukhanyo and Abigail Calata's *My Father Died for This* as supplementing the work of the archive.[45] The narrative provides proof that Fort Calata, and his comrades, were murdered by the apartheid state. As such, the narrative continues the legacy of family activism, an integral aspect of the Calata family identity. It will start with a discussion of the representation of Lukhanyo's mother, Nomonde Calata. The narrative suggests that she experiences an enduring expression of trauma. Accordingly, Nomonde's trauma creates a space for Lukhanyo's inherited trauma. Despite the representation of her profound grief, the narrative stages Nomonde as brave and resilient in the face of trauma and deeply contrasts the media depiction of her as a grieving widow. Abigail's reflective discussions of family life, particularly relating to Nomonde, contrast and effectively temper the journalistic and political assertions in Lukhanyo's narrative voice. The dual narration highlights Lukhanyo's traumatised psyche as it indicates a pronounced binary in the authors' decisions to engage narratively with the affective dimensions of trauma, namely grief, depression, and anxiety. Secondly, this chapter will consider the memoir's amalgamation of primary and secondary texts, including journal

[45] The archive refers to a collection of materials pertaining to the Cradock Four case. Specifically, I adopt Ann Laura Stoler's understanding of archives, that she conceptualises in "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance", as "knowledge production" in that they can be considered as "sites of state ethnography" (90).

articles, newspaper articles, books, archival material, and webpages. I will argue that this compilation speaks to intergenerational trauma as it offers a space for Lukhanyo to depict his father's experiences in a distanced manner, representative of the numbing congruent with trauma. I will highlight what the text makes available in comparison to the TRC transcripts. This comparison demonstrates the text's fact-heavy and unemotional representation of the Security Police's use of disproportionate violence against the Cradock community members.[46] Lukhanyo's chapters commonly refer to episodes of violence compiled from newspaper articles, and interviews with community members. These depictions largely undermine and contrast the TRC transcripts, underpinning the inadequacies and inaccuracies of testimonies at the commission. Finally, this chapter will consider the text's portrayal of journalism as political activism. I will reflect on the impetus for writing the memoir that, I will argue, is fundamentally influenced by Lukhanyo's decision to defy Hlaudi Motsoeneng's, the South African Broadcasting Commission's (SABC) Chief Operating Officer's, censorship laws, and his desire to seek justice for the murders of the Cradock Four (17). Significantly, the narrative's circular suzjet starts and ends with the representation of Lukhanyo's defiance of media censorship. The text emphasises the contemporary political landscape as deeply connected to the history of apartheid, and the family's enduring struggles, in part, because of the failures of the ANC government. In such a way, this text stages intergenerational trauma through the representation of Lukhanyo's continued pursuit for justice in South Africa.

Historical and Political Context

The narrative represents the Calata family's legacy as particularly significant in the Eastern Cape town of Cradock, the region in which the memoir is largely located. In their discussion of the political resistance to apartheid in the Eastern Cape, Melissa de Villiers and Marianne Roux, explain that the region "used a number of experiments to promote the revolution in South Africa" and was the home to many prominent political activists (46). In the 1970s the Eastern Cape saw the rise of Black Consciousness (47); defined by Steve Biko in *I Write What I Like* as "the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group in order to

[46] See amnesty discussion pp.66–67.

rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude" (49).[47] While the memoir largely considers the Calata family, Lukhanyo draws on Cradock's history of political conflict, expressly concerning Fort and Matthew Goniwe to strengthen his assertions in the text. Goniwe and Fort were prominent political activists, members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK),[48] Cradock community leaders, and former teachers who had been fired due to their political affiliations (Calata 172; Nicholson 35). Their consequent influence in Cradock made them instrumental in the ungovernability of the small town (Catsam 135). Accordingly, they represented a serious threat to the apartheid government (135). On the 27th of June 1985, Goniwe and Fort were murdered "alongside […] Sparro Mkonto, and Sicelo Mhlawuli" (Calata 29), later known as the Cradock Four. Derek Catsam asserts that the assassination of the Cradock Four "mark[s] a signature event in arguably the most tumultuous year in the tumultuous history of the struggle against apartheid rule" (136). Their deaths provoked mass outcry in the community and led to an escalation of resistance (*Taylor v. Amnesty Committee, day 8* 33–34). As such, "an estimated 60 000 mourners not only defied a government ban to travel" to Cradock, but the funeral included the "unfurling of both the Soviet and ANC flags", marking the event as "one of the biggest political rallies of the time" (Calata 29; 238). Following the funeral, Lukhanyo notes that the apartheid government "declare[d] a partial State of Emergency starting [that] midnight in 36 magisterial districts across the country, including Cradock",[49] further lending credence to the impact of assassinations (238).

The state made an unsuccessful attempt to link the murders to the feud between the UDF and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) (*Taylor v. Amnesty Committee*, *day 7* 6). Ultimately, two inquests into the Cradock Four assassinations were conducted, the second of

[47] The narrative's representation of Fort and Matthew Goniwe's association with the Cradock Resident's Association (Cradora) and the Cradock Youth Association (Cradoya) demonstrate their involvement in Black Consciousness (Calata 138; 133).
[48] The UDF, founded by Dr Alan Boesak in 1983, was an anti-apartheid movement encompassing a variety of organisations, including "churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations, and sports bodies" (South African History Online). MK, meaning "the Spear of the Nation", were a "small group of dedicated revolutionaries trained by the Soviet Union and its allies, they were committed to the seizure of state power" during the apartheid era (Cherry 9).
[49] The State of Emergency, provided for by the *Public Safety Act 3 of 1953* (*PSA*), was weaponised by the apartheid state to control the population, and specifically to inhibit political uprisings. The *PSA* enabled mass scale "power to use all security forces" including the defence force and police services and provided immunity to state personnel against any prosecutions for the violence that ensued during these periods (Human Rights Committee 38). The *PSA* provided for arrest and detention without trial; the banning of persons, organisations, public gatherings; "[i]mposition of curfews"; "restricted access to specified areas" and more (41). Furthermore, media houses and freedom of speech were severely restricted during a State of Emergency; regulations of prisons and educational institutions were similarly imposed (41–42). While the *PSA* indicated a period of 12 months for the State of Emergency, repeat proclamations could be warranted to "ensure an indefinite State of Emergency" (38).

which was presided over by Judge Neville Zietsman between 1993 and 1994, determined that the apartheid state was responsible for the murders of the Cradock Four; however, the evidence against specific individuals was not substantial enough to make a conviction (Nicholson 167). In the memoir, Lukhanyo offers comment on his frustration with the failed inquests that speak to the desire for the text to highlight the need for justice: "Judge Zietsman's judgement was yet another blow to our families' hopes of finding justice for the murders of my father and his comrades" (Calata 246). As indicated in the narrative, the Calata family's disappointment would continue following the transition to democracy in South Africa (248).

In 1995, the TRC was established having been provided for by the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995* (hereafter referred to as "*Act 34*"). Lauren van der Rede notes, in *The Post-Genocidal Condition: Ghosts of Genocide, Genocidal Violence, and Representation*, that while the TRC was "revered by the international community for its use of retributive justice and amnesty," the legislation has received widespread criticism largely related to its limited scope (138). The legislation marks that the purpose of the TRC was to investigate and establish an understanding of the "gross violations of human rights" committed during the apartheid era, defined by the provision as: "the killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment of any person" (1.a.). As Cheryl McEwan states in "Building a Postcolonial Archive", this definition fundamentally undermines and disregards the everyday violence inflicted upon Black people (746). Furthermore, the legislation provides for "amnesty to persons who make full disclosure" of "acts associated with a political objective", provided that the act was proportional to the intention and that it occurred between "1 March 1960" and "11 May 1994" (1.a.). It does not, however, delineate the boundaries of proportionality, suggesting a vagueness to this concept, and affording discretion to determine a pivotal intention of the TRC. Additionally, the legislation provided the opportunity for victims to relate the "violations they suffered" (1). As the provision allowed for family members to testify on behalf of deceased victims, many women testified to the activism and consequent deaths of their male relatives. However, given the limited scope of the definition for gross human rights violations, these same women were not afforded the space to testify to their experiences of activism and victimisation. Accordingly, the TRC can be criticised for misidentifying women's trauma as only that which pertains to the abuse levelled at another and failing to acknowledge women's political agency. McEwan states that "the absence of women's testimony" "produced only a partial truth" about apartheid and did not account for the substantial sexual violence against women, raising questions about the "gendered truthfulness of apartheid history told through

the TRC Report" (746). Furthermore, van der Rede notes that the TRC appeared to be "perpetrator orientated given its authority to grant amnesty with immediate effect, whilst victims had to qualify […] and then apply for reparations" (138). Following the TRC, there similarly appeared to be an onus of forgiveness placed upon the victims of apartheid, as perpetrators were afforded amnesty for their violent actions while victims had no choice but to remain with their trauma (138).

This memoir stands in marked contrast to these criticisms. Lukhanyo's narrative is necessarily unforgiving, condemning apartheid's violence and the murder of his father. The narrative similarly accounts for Nomonde's personal experiences of trauma, over and above her TRC testimony that pertained solely to her husband's death. The memoir documents her experiences of violence and her profound grief following Fort's murder, accounting for the endurance of trauma following the end of apartheid (17; 27). The memoir as a whole addresses the aftermath of apartheid, and the intergenerational effects of trauma, for which the TRC could not account. I argue that the text's archival representation echoes the TRC's format of listening to the victims', their families', and the perpetrators' experiences of apartheid. The relating of victim's experiences in the TRC theoretically emulates Sigmund Freud's "talking cure," in which treatment is conducted via an "exchange of words" (*XVI 1916–1917* 17). Similarly, in *Trauma and Transformation in African Literature*, as aforementioned, J. Roger Kurtz notes that the "traumatomimetic" potential of literature affords an ability to "'re-story,' that which has been destroyed by trauma" (79). Kurtz explains that to re-story trauma one reinterprets the event, not only in view of the present but by "reintegrating the ruptured connections in the mind" (79). If trauma has the potential to create holes and disruptions in the understanding of the event, the act of writing allows one to piece together the missing parts and reorder the parts that have been dislocated (79). In this memoir, Lukhanyo is only able to re-story the murder of his father by piecing together primary and secondary sources. If the intention of the TRC was to reflect on and record the past, then, in its collation of sources and re-storying of trauma, this memoir represents a literary version of the TRC.

The memoir concludes Fort's story with the outcome of the Cradock Four's TRC hearing. Lukhanyo notes that "six police officers Eric Taylor, Gerard Lotz, Harold Snyman, Johan 'Sakkie' van Zyl, Herman du Plessis, and Nic van Rensburg applied to the Amnesty Committee […] for the murders" (Calata 247). However, the transcripts show that an additional individual was implicated in the Cradock Four case. Former commander of the Vlakplaas police division,

Eugene De Kock, applied for amnesty "in respect of defeating the ends of justice in that he advised Van Zyl what to do with the firearm".[50] De Kock was the only applicant granted amnesty.[51] Notably, De Kock's successful application is not mentioned in the memoir. The exclusion may be related to the fact that De Kock was not applying for amnesty for murder, though this interesting omission points to the text demonstrating a need to prosecute those who were not granted amnesty at the TRC. Regarding those whose amnesty applications were denied, the judgement cited reasons for the refusal as having "failed to disclose everything they know about the murders" and "reservations as to whether the requirement related to political objectives have [sic] been complied with" marking the TRC as the third failed attempt to uncover the events that transpired the night of the Cradock Four's murders. Indicative of his disappointment, Lukhanyo's narrative laments, "even the TRC […] fail[ed] to bring our families much needed justice and closure on the murders" (247–248).[52] The TRC intended to afford the victims' families restorative justice. In the two previous inquests, the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) was expected to provide retributive justice for the murders of the Cradock Four. Accordingly, the narrative stages Lukhanyo's disillusionment with the judicial and restorative systems. This is reinforced by the narrative's inclusion that those charged with the murders of the Cradock Four have yet to be prosecuted under the governance of the ANC (248).

The memoir's largely fact-based and critical tone slates the lack of prosecutions following the TRC. The narrative suggests that Lukhanyo's efforts in seeking justice for his father's murder have been curtailed due to what he deems as "a lack of political will" (249). This is complemented by an Al Jazeera special sharing the memoir's title that states that the case's "investigation docket has disappeared out of the offices of the [NPA]" (Al Jazeera 5:47–5:52). In this special, former head of the NPA, Vusi Pikoli, further submits that the reason for the lack of prosecutions after the TRC concerns the "fear within the ANC, [that] prosecuting the apartheid generals, would also mean members of the ANC […] being prosecuted" (8:56–9:09). Pikoli's comment references the gross human rights violations committed by many of the high-ranking ANC officials, such as "the Church Street bombing of the South African air force headquarters" during which 19 people were killed and 217 were wounded, "many of [whom] were civilians" (9:56–10:12). Notwithstanding the substantial difficulties Lukhanyo has

[50] *Taylor, Lotz, Janse van Rensburg, Snyman, Van Zyl, Du Plessis, De Kock v. Amnesty Committee* 5
[51] *Taylor, Lotz, Janse van Rensburg, Snyman, Van Zyl, Du Plessis, De Kock v. Amnesty Committee* 9
[52] *Taylor, Lotz, Janse van Rensburg, Snyman, Van Zyl, Du Plessis, De Kock v. Amnesty Committee* 9

experienced thus far, the special indicates that he remains ever hopeful at the possibility of achieving justice for his father's murder (6:12–6:18). His efforts include "open[ing] a charge of theft against the [NPA]" for the missing investigation docket (6:18–6:23). While his persistent efforts suggest a perpetual spectre of the trauma of his father's death, his determination in seeking justice similarly represents a continuation of the Calatas' legacy of political activism.

Adding to the Archive: Rewriting Nomonde Calata

Nomonde experiences a complicated form of mourning in reaction to Fort's death that is staged from the outset of the memoir when Lukhanyo is fired from his job at the SABC (Calata 27). Lukhanyo notes that "[a]ccording to [Nomonde], the manner in which the SABC had fired me was far too similar to the circumstances surrounding my father's dismissal […] in the months leading up to his assassination" (32). Nomonde conflates Fort's dismissal and subsequent murder with Lukhanyo's dismissal from his state job, paranoid that Lukhanyo will experience a similar fate. While the events share similarities in that both men were unfairly dismissed without warning, this is significant insofar as Nomonde is concerned for her son's safety. The reader is thus confronted with repercussions of the violence of the apartheid state and the endurance of Nomonde's trauma. In Gita Arian Baack's explanation of inherited trauma, she argues that there is a "consistent" association between the ability to cope in society and the parent's capacity to successfully complete the stages of mourning (90). Hence, she states that "it is not the trauma itself but the lack of resolution of mourning that creates difficulties for the children" (90). Following the death of her husband, Nomonde is the sole parent to her three children (Calata 217). Her unresolved mourning, that is staged in the narrative, could lead her children to acknowledge her vulnerability. It is this vulnerability that Arian Baack suggests that children of trauma survivors are attuned to, and the acting-out of trauma that creates the possibility for intergenerational trauma. However, while the narrative acknowledges Nomonde's enduring expressions of trauma, the depiction of her defiance of the apartheid forces, positions Nomonde not as a victim but as an activist. Hence, her portrayal echoes Christopher J. Colvin's conception of "Survivor", in *Traumatic Storytelling and Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa,* that "privileges the agency and resilience of the person who has endured suffering and highlights the ways in which suffering and injustice can produce strength and resistance in response" (viii).

The memoir's depiction of Nomonde contrasts with the media portrayal of her testimony at the TRC. As such, the text rewrites the archival representation of Nomonde. In her discussion of the TRC, Erin Holliday-Karre argues that the Commission invoked a "cultural discourse that establishes women as the victims of apartheid injustices and men as political activists" (79). While Nomonde testified to her experience of Fort's murder at the TRC, Holliday-Karre explains that Nomonde's cry became the focus of the media's attention (80). In her reflections in *Country of My Skull*, Antjie Krog suggests that Nomonde's wail was representative of the TRC's "signature tune" (42). [53] Krog unintentionally perpetuates the silencing of women's resistance and reduces their contribution to the TRC and the political landscape of apartheid to the doting and heartbroken widow (Holliday-Karre 80). The media, thus, portrayed Nomonde as the figure who is endowed with the ability to forgive the perpetrators of her husband's murder without resentment, and in this case, a comprehensive understanding of his death. Furthermore, Holliday-Karre asserts that the media's over-emphasis on Nomonde's cry "came to represent an entire victimized, feminized nation […] synonymous with women's reality in post-apartheid South Africa and gradually subsumed all female experiences of the apartheid regime" (80). Hence, the memoir's inclusion of Nomonde's lived experiences of resistance do not just supplement the archival representation of women during the apartheid years but present a powerful disruption of this portrayal. Thus, the text offers a space to reimagine the role that women played in the transition to a democratic South Africa.

Accordingly, the narrative's representation of Nomonde's experiences during apartheid contrast with the criticism of the TRC regarding a lack of acknowledgement of the strife of women during the apartheid era. As Annie E. Coombes asserts, in "Witnessing history/embodying testimony: gender and memory in post-apartheid South Africa", "the TRC had unwittingly condoned the silencing of women's experience because of a lack of attention to the distinctive ways in which apartheid affected women across all sectors" (Mgxashe 216, cited in S94). Contrastingly, the memoir depicts the substantial police harassment and brutality to which Nomonde was subject during the apartheid years. As Abigail declares: "To me, Nomonde is the real hero of this story" in recognition of her "selflessly sacrificing herself to provide the best she can for [her and Fort's] children and now grandchildren" (103). There is

[53] While I acknowledge Kate Highman's discussion of the plagiarism and overt misrepresentation of the testimony given at the TRC (see Highman's "Forging a New South Africa: Plagiarism, Ventriloquism and the 'Black Voice' in Antjie Krog's *Country of My Skull*"), Lukhanyo specifically includes Krog's assertion in the text, making it an important text to note in my argument (247).

a gendered quality to the recognition of Nomonde's maternal qualities. However, Abigail's assertion similarly infers a kind of political hybridity within Nomonde, positioning her maternal qualities as just as important as her political agency in the fight against apartheid. The representation of Nomonde's defiance and resilience in maintaining the familial home, and in attending to her children's needs, despite the substantial grief and trauma to which she was exposed, stands in testimony to the strong character with which she is portrayed. For me, the narrative thus stages the maintenance of the family during atrocity as its own form of political activism.

In emphasising a grieving family, Abigail's narrative demonstrates the intergenerational quality of trauma, but similarly offers a criticism of the TRC. Abigail's representation of family life appeals to the reader's emotionality, offering personability and humanity to the Calatas. This contrasts with the TRC's delineation of the victim and the perpetrator, viewing those who testified at the Commission as victims rather than persons. While the TRC intended to provide a space to listen to the lived experiences of trauma, the personal reflections of living under apartheid went largely untold (McEwan 746). The narrative's acknowledgement of the instrumental role that Nomonde played in maintaining the family unit despite the difficulties she faced as a victim of police brutality, largely due to her husband's political affiliation, unwittingly answers Coombes' call,

> to widen the definition of acts of resistance to include, for example, the determination to create a 'normal' family environment, to persevere with instilling ethical, moral, and social values in one's children. (S97)

Coombes, thus, directly criticises the limited scope of *Act 34's* definition of "gross human rights violations" that only accounts for "killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment of any person", suggesting that the maintenance of the family unit deserves attention (1.a.). Hence, the text's overarching representation of Nomonde's resilience is an important demonstration of Coombes' request.

Beyond her TRC testimony, the memoir demonstrates the violence to which Nomonde was subject following Fort's imprisonment, after which they were "fired from [their] state jobs" (172). The narrative indicates that Nomonde opens a spaza shop in her home to support her family financially (157). She explains that "one officer in particular, Henry Wentzel […] took

it upon himself to visit [their] home every single day […] and by the time they left [their] house it would have been turned inside out" (172–173). The two accompanying officers would be ordered to "ransack her little home spaza shop" and "'pull off all the blankets and mattresses from [their] beds, sometimes while you guys [Dorothy and Lukhanyo] were asleep'" (173). The significant use of the phrase "turned inside out" not only reinforces the physical damage to property but, similarly, the disruption to the family life caused by the harassment, underscoring the psychological effects of such an act (173). The Security Police were aware that a woman of colour, particularly whose husband was a high-profile target and imprisoned at the time, and her two young children, were unable to both physically and legally resist their violent displays of intimidation. Thus, the violence of apartheid is positioned as extending to inside the home and connects to the memoir's notion that resistance and activism similarly reside inside the home.

Furthermore, in this scene, Nomonde and her children are depicted as primary victims of apartheid crimes. However, the violence, intimidation, and demonstration of the Security Police's power, are outside the bounds of the TRC's definition of "gross human right's violations" as their actions did not constitute "killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment" (*Act 34* 1.a.). Hence, in representing a violent event that is outside of the bounds of *Act 34's* definition of victimhood, the text illustrates the inadequacies of the TRC and goes beyond its scope to include the violent realities of apartheid. Moreover, this scene demonstrates the lack of proportionality of the Security Police's behaviour, an additional reminder of the TRC's amnesty criteria, and their capacity to go outside of the bounds of the political uprisings and to intimidate the most vulnerable members of the community.

Abigail's chapters focus on the everyday, domestic life of the family. Contrastingly, Lukhanyo's chapters consider the violence of the apartheid state gesturing towards a lack of desire to forgive those who murdered his father. A comparison of the affective elements of Abigail and Lukhanyo's narrative voices emphasises Lukhanyo's traumatised psyche. Abigail's co-narration offers an emotional and personal engagement with the family's history, distinct from the political landscape reflected in Lukhanyo's chapters. Her reflective narrative voice engages with private, family stories that induce humanity and a likeability to the Calata family. For example: Abigail depicts, what she defines as, "Fort and Nomonde's love story" (Calata 98), an entire chapter dedicated to how Fort and Nomonde came to marry. By engaging with these familial anecdotes, Abigail's narration reminds the reader of the reality of this

trauma narrative and the devastation the family experience after Fort's death. Comparatively, Lukhanyo's narrative almost solely reflects the political experiences of his family. Accordingly, the co-narration emphasises the scarcity of emotionality in Lukhanyo's voice. This omission invokes the concept of numbing congruent with trauma. Thus, Lukhanyo's narrative echoes Kurtz's suggestion, in his description of the authorial act of documenting trauma, that following a traumatic event, the self undergoes a process of disarticulation which resists literary expression,

> disrupt[ing] the normal narrative unity of representation and affect; what the trauma survivor feels cannot adequately be represented, and the numbing or amnesiac effects of trauma mean that what is represented cannot really be felt. (25)

For Lukhanyo, I argue that it is precisely this disarticulation of self that results in his choice not to narrate the emotional aspects of trauma. His narrative largely represents the events that lead up to his father's murder. The text's reliance on fact, in place of emotionality, suggests his resentment of the National Party (NP), as opposed to the narrative possibility of working-through loss.

Collating and Corroborating: External Sources as Authenticating the Calata Legacy

In addition to the two different narrators, the memoir's experimental narrative form is made up of an amalgamation of secondary and primary works intertwined with the information generated from the interviews and the narrators' perspectives on the content. Thus, the memoir's political claims are strengthened by the collation of material in the text. The work includes 175 footnotes, each pertaining to a reference. In addition, the bibliography is sectioned by the type of document: books, journal articles, newspaper articles, webpages, and archives (Calata 257–259). The inclusion of these details highlights the exhaustive research that has gone into the making of this memoir. Consider, for example, Lukhanyo's insertion:

> A young *Eastern Province Herald* reporter, Jo-Ann Bekker, was interested in the unfolding political situation in [Cradock following the Cradock Four murder…]. In one of her articles, published on 2 April under the headline 'Cradock Meetings Banned' shortly after Minister Le Grange had imposed the ban [on Cradora and Cradoya meetings], she quoted Molly Blackburn

> who 'had visited the area on four occasions since October last year. Blackburn believes the three-month ban was timed to silence protest against these detentions.' (156)

Here, Bekker's credibility is reinforced by including the news agency for which she worked. Furthermore, Lukhanyo identifies the source of Bekker's quote, a significant insertion given the political importance of Molly Blackburn, a prominent member of the Black Sash.[54] While Blackburn died in a car crash, the narrative states that it is rumoured that she was murdered by the apartheid state (Calata 242). One could argue that the references are important to guard against plagiarism, though they also lend credence to the documents, offering evidence of the text's truth claims. Lukhanyo emphasises the violence of the apartheid state, reminding the reader of the murderous activities of the Security Police and offers credibility to his own work by highlighting the substantial research undertaken in the making of this memoir.

Furthermore, the references remind the reader that neither author has their own memory of the event. In view of Lukhanyo's young age at the time of his father's death, Abigail states that Lukhanyo's only memory of Fort was his funeral (120). Similarly, she and Nomonde hypothesise that the trauma of Fort's murder has caused a repression of Lukhanyo's memories of his father (120). As Abigail is Fort's daughter-in-law, she was not yet a part of the family when he was murdered. Ultimately, the authors were forced into investigating the story, to create a text that deeply resonates with their backgrounds in journalism. Accordingly, the narrative is fact-heavy, producing a trustworthy narrative.

In *Memoir: An Introduction*, G. Thomas Couser comments that memoir "is based primarily on memory, a notoriously unreliable and highly selective faculty. In turn, this creates the expectation that the narrative may be impressionistic and subjective rather than authoritatively fact based" (19). Given that the authors' do not have their own memory of the event, they are dependent on the additionally unreliable nature of the traumatised memories of those whom they interview. Thus, the supplementary reliance on credible secondary and primary sources, somewhat mitigates Couser's concern. In this memoir, history is represented as a compilation of historical fact, made possible by considerable investigation, and personal perspectives generated in the interviews. In such a way, the memoir heightens the tension between history

[54] According to the Black Sash official website the Black Sash was made up of women who resisted the apartheid laws and "embarked on […] campaigns against the erosion of civil liberties, racial segregation and the damage inflicted by the policy of migrant labour".

and memory, combining these elements to demonstrate how history supplements the lived experiences of the Calata family. This memoir, as its own archive, combines information from various sources to holistically represent the Calata family's political activities. Ultimately, the text's historical and moral claims, corral the reader into indignation and frustration with both the lack of prosecutions following the TRC and the lack of resolution provided to the Calata family.

The text's archival representation speaks to the transformative possibilities of literature.[55] The work pieces together various documents to produce as whole a story of the Cradock Four's assassinations as possible, something that the inquests and the TRC had failed to achieve. Hence, in presenting a fuller picture of the Cradock Four murders, the memoir stresses the inadequacies of the restorative system. Additionally, the collation of fact highlights a traumatised author who chooses to offer very little engagement with his emotional response to his father's death. Thus, the text gestures towards Kurtz's assertion that "[a] traumatised mind is rigid and brittle, unable to flex with the complexity and integration that categorize mental health" (79). Thus, without an emotional engagement with Fort's death the transformative possibilities of "scriptotherapy", as suggested by Suzette Henke in *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life-Writing* (xii), are mitigated.[56]

Furthermore, the collation of documents highlights discrepancies in the archival representation of the Cradock Four case. Hence, the amalgamation of memory and history critiques and deconstructs the idea of *Truth* within the TRC, probing the reader to engage more thoughtfully with the text's political claims. The memoir includes details about the victims that imply that the Security Police's testimonies within the judicial spaces were intentionally false. For example, one of the narrative's most noteworthy inclusions is the publication of the *New Nation* newspaper article that reads: "It is recommended that [Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe, Fort Calata] be permanently removed from society, as a matter of urgency" (Calata 212). The insertion draws attention to the political intent of Fort Calata's murder, emphasising the extent

[55]Lukhanyo's unrelenting efforts for justice gestures towards a continued haunting of the traumatic event. As Cathy Caruth states in "Trauma and Experience", "[t]o be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or event" (4–5). Thus, the persistent determination towards justice for his father's death, represents Lukhanyo as stalled in his trauma, unable to move forward from his experience of mourning. As such, the text echoes Kurtz's assertion that "literary texts offer insight into traumatic experience through the 'potency and polyvalency of the trope of haunting'" (Kirss 26, cited in Kurtz 66). Accordingly, as indicated in the Al Jazeera special, "Lukhanyo's been seeking justice for his father's death since the TRC's work ended back in 2003" (5:33–5:40).

[56] Henke's concept "scriptotherapy" posits the cathartic potential of narrating trauma, in its "reenactment" of the psychoanalytic talking cure (xii)

to which Fort had disrupted the apartheid state and the meaningful activism that he achieved during his lifetime. Significantly, of the four men who were murdered on the 27th of June 1985, only two of their names appear on this list. This similarly stands in contrast to the Security Police's testimonies at the TRC that all four of the men were political activists (*Taylor v. Amnesty Committee, day 7* 45–48, 57). Lukhanyo stresses that this publication was pivotal in the reopening of the inquest, stating:

> [George] Bizos, who represented [the] families in the second inquest, writes: 'the publication of the signal took the country by storm, as it seemed to contradict what Judge [Louis] Harms had found a year and a half earlier and showed that everything that President PW Botha and the security forces had been accused of was true. The authenticity of the signal was not denied.' (245)

Lukhanyo's mention that the signal's authenticity was not denied verifies that the signal came from government security forces, enhancing the credibility of the work. In drawing attention to the Security Police's guilt, the inclusion reinforces the need for retributive justice that has not yet been afforded to the Cradock Four's families. It is this objective that stands in testimony to Lukhanyo's continuation of the Calata legacy. The text contrasts the traditional understanding of the trauma memoir as imbued with "notions of suffering and victimhood" (Maurer 11). Where the trauma narrative would generally focus on the internal conflicts of trauma survivors and the endurance of the expressions of trauma, the Calatas' memoir suggests the possibility for trauma to manifest differently, in this case in activism. The text, thus, echoes Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela's call, at the Rivonia Trial, for people to "fight" and not "submit", a comment that the narrative includes in an interview with Dr Alan Boesak (227).

Furthermore, the narrative stages an additional discrepancy in the Cradock Four case by mirroring George Bizos' argument during the TRC hearings. The memoir stresses that Sicelo Mhlawuli was not a political activist, but a teacher from Oudtshoorn who happened to be in the car on the night of their deaths (217). In retrospect, there is an awareness that those who testified to the murders of the Cradock Four were not granted amnesty for having "failed to disclose everything they knew about the murders".[57] However, in addition to disclosing the truth of the events, amnesty was only granted for an "act associated with a political objective"

[57] *Taylor, Lotz, Janse van Rensburg, Snyman, Van Zyl, Du Plessis, De Kock v. Amnesty Committee* 9

(*Act 34* 20.1.b.). Thus, during the hearings there maintained an intense need to guard against testifying to information that would, invariably, work against the amnesty applications. Much of Bizos' cross-examination focused on Mhlawuli and his status as an ordinary citizen without political ties (*Taylor v. Amnesty Committee*, day 7 45–48). Accordingly, Bizos intended to demonstrate that, in testifying to Mhlawuli as a known political activist, the policemen were not telling the truth. For example, Eric Taylor's testimony states:

> Mr Mhlawuli came to my attention during visits to Port Elizabeth where he linked with UDF members. He often had contact with Mr Goniwe. He visited Port Elizabeth on more than one occasion and my information was that Mr Goniwe was not satisfied with the silence from South Western districts and he got Mr Mhlawuli to implement his plan in the South Western districts. (*Taylor v. Amnesty Committee, day 6* 12)

The problem of Mhlawuli was a large hole in the testimony of the Security Police and cast serious doubt on the validity of their testimony. If it were true that Mhlawuli was merely a schoolteacher, totally uninvolved in the political activity during the apartheid era, there would be absolutely no political motivation for his murder. Hence, their applications would have been entirely undermined by the admission that the police were unaware of Mhlawuli's identity and that his death was a result of the abuse of power prevalent during the time. In the memoir, Lukhanyo's description of Mhlawuli as an ordinary citizen highlights the Security Police's abuse of power (Calata 214). Thus, the narrative suggests that while political murders occurred during the apartheid era, they were not legally sanctioned. Rather, the work stresses the ruthlessness of the Security Police, appealing to the morality of the reader and emphasising the need for prosecutions that have yet to occur. This is the message that is so strongly endorsed in the text, a message that prompts the reader to re-evaluate their understanding of the apartheid era, to consider the hidden aspects of history. It is also this message that speaks to the continuation of the Calata legacy. The true details of the Cradock Four's deaths may still be largely unknown, but the collation of sources implies an intention to uncover the missing parts of the murders. As such, Lukhanyo's extensive investigation and interrogation of fact in the memoir goes to great lengths to provide, what he terms, his

> personal summation of the sequence of events which led to their murders […] based on [his] own investigation and conversations with individuals, some of whom had first-hand knowledge and experience of the Security Policy and the Hammer Unit. (216)

By noting his use of his journalistic, investigative skills in his search for answers about the death of his father, Lukhanyo underpins the likelihood of the accuracy of his detailed description of the Cradock Four's murder. While the judicial systems have failed to provide the Calata family a description of Fort's death, the amalgamation of his investigative skills and the archival work of this memoir provide Lukhanyo with an opportunity to create his own understanding.

Hereafter, Lukhanyo reminds the reader of the intergenerational effects of Fort's death, noting a description of his family life when his father died: "On the night my father was killed, I was three years and eight months old. Dorothy was just weeks away from her tenth birthday, while my 26-year-old mother was seven months pregnant with my younger sister, Tumani" (217). The narrative emphasises the magnitude of the familial loss and the vulnerability of Nomonde's position as a widow with three young children. Contrastingly, while the TRC offered a space for victims to reveal their lived experiences, it could not account for the personal details of families affected by the brutality of the apartheid regime. Thus, the memoir goes beyond the work of the TRC, demonstrating the loss of a father, a detail that was left out of the archives.

Lukhanyo further emphasises the violence of his father's death by including another piece of information that was omitted from the TRC testimony. He quotes from his interview with Dr Boesak:

> 'They did the same to me, but to then abduct them and for us to find out, not only that they were tortured, but the pathologist's report said, that they were tortured with a blow-torch, that was not just torture. That was a demonstration, a lesson that the people had to learn. They had to learn that this is what happens to you when you challenge us. This is where the power lies, this is what our power can do, not only do, but that we can get away with it. That's the lesson.' (226)

The pathologist report that Boesak describes was done independently (229). Considering that one of the criteria for amnesty was the proportionality of the act, this kind of torture would have been outside of the TRC's scope for amnesty. While torture is noted in the definition of "gross human rights violations" provided in *Act 34*, this extent of torture would have been outside of the grounds for amnesty (1.a). The narrative stages the apartheid state's abuse of

power, reinforced by the removal of this information from any public record. Hence, the narrative supplements what was previously public knowledge about the Cradock Four's case, reinforcing the memoir as its own form of political activism congruent with the Calata family legacy.

Intergenerational Politics: Journalism as Activism

The consideration of the family legacy as having impacted Lukhanyo's selfhood is staged in the memoir's circular suzjet. The impetus for writing the story is positioned as intimately tied to Lukhanyo's activism at the SABC. The memoir opens and closes in the contemporary chronotope, contextualising Lukhanyo's own politicking at the SABC as grounded in the Calata legacy of political activism. The narrative includes Lukhanyo's statement, on the 26th of May 2016, condemning "the SABC's decision to ban the broadcast of violent service delivery protests" (Calata 25). Consequently, he "joined six of his Johannesburg colleagues who had also opposed this directive", later named the SABC 8 (26). The representation of Lukhanyo's defiance of Motsoeneng's censorship laws mirrors the dedication to activism that his father and great-grandfather achieved during their lifetimes. Lukhanyo's act of defiance is particularly significant given that state media was heavily censored under the authoritarian apartheid regime (Radebe 127). Lukhanyo notes that "particularly in the turbulent eighties", markedly referring to the period in which Fort was assassinated, "the SABC was truly 'his master's voice' a tool used to great effect by the brutal and murderous regime of PW Botha" (35). Thus, the narrative echoes Keneilwe Radebe's argument, in "Emergence of an authoritarian democracy: the ghost of Nat Nakasa", that the squashing and skewing of political stories to produce good optics for the ANC-led government, after the transition to a democratic South Africa, profoundly resonates with the successive government's use and abuse of state media (132). In an interview with PolitySA, Lukhanyo comments on his decision to take a stand against the SABC censorship, stating:

> I think what was happening at the SABC at the time, was almost like a micro-reflection of what was happening within the country […] run by President Jacob Zuma at the time and he had one of his cronies, in the name of Hlaudi Motsoeneng, who was running the SABC. So, that kind of clamp down that we were seeing in the SABC was very reminiscent of what we were seeing playing out in the country on a national scale. (Dlamini 8:02–8:34)

Lukhanyo locates his defiance of media censorship within the context of the political climate of democratic South Africa, riddled with corruption. He, thus, outlines the need for a continuation of activism and a continuation of the important work that his family have achieved through the generations.

Following the transition to a democratic South Africa, the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996* (hereafter referred to as 'the *Constitution*') intended to ensure media freedom. The drafters of the *Constitution* offered a multi-layered approach to the protection of media freedom in South Africa that ensures diverse expression as it relates to the media.[58] This is a direct response to the apartheid media censorship. Accordingly, the *Constitution's* call for transformation within state media mitigates against a continuation of white and urban dominated media houses and acknowledges an expression of the intergenerational quality of apartheid violence as it recognizes the lasting effects of apartheid. However, the corrupt political climate that has prevailed in contemporary South Africa, has sought to undermine the authority of the *Constitution*. The narrative's representation of Lukhanyo's choice to not only defy the media censorship but to highlight the censorship to the public, speaks to his passion, and his family's passion, towards a truly democratic state. The narrative's commentary on this phenomenon suggests that the other side of intergenerational trauma is an intergenerational drive toward the enjoyment of democratic freedoms and liberties.

In such a way, the memoir intertwines the Calatas' past, laden with the struggle for freedom during the apartheid regime, and the present in which the maintenance of democracy is still a work in progress. These temporal linkages echo Meg Samuelson's argument, in "Scripting Connections: Reflections on the 'Post-Transitional'", that texts which categorise the post-transitional landscape consider "traditional concerns and apartheid struggles while re-circuiting these concerns into new engagements" (113). The memoir represents Lukhanyo's selfhood as inherently tied to the family legacy. The narrative stages Lukhanyo's choice to challenge the censorship laws and to bring his concern to the public's attention, reflecting the brave acts of resistance displayed by his family during the apartheid era. Furthermore, the memoir suggests that his condemnation of the SABC censorship and the desire to work towards a free and truly democratic state, is undeniably congruent with the intentions of the Calata legacy. As

[58] See Section 16(1)(a) of the *Constitution* that offers a foundational level of protection, specifically mentioning the media amongst those who have freedom of expression. See Section 192 of the *Constitution* which guarantees one demographic's interests are not favoured over another.

Lukhanyo writes: "Today, I look back at that moment with Jimi and feel so proud of my defiance, particularly for not betraying the dreams and aspirations of all South Africans" (Calata 35).[59] Accordingly, Lukhanyo emphasises his integrity in his politicking to reinforce the virtue of political activism, thereby underpinning the moral claims in the text.

In comparison to the integrity that Lukhanyo reinforces in his selfhood, the text represents the concept of betrayal as intimately woven into the narrative surrounding the current ANC-led government. Hence, the final chapter is titled "A Life Betrayed" (243). This implies not only the betrayal of his right to freedom of expression, but to his father's life which came to an abrupt and violent end in the name of the liberation movement that Lukhanyo believes has inherently failed Fort after death. The ANC government's failure to prosecute those responsible for the murders of the Cradock Four and the additional failure to maintain the standards of a truly democratic South Africa are significant themes woven into Lukhanyo's critical narrative voice. In the close of the text, Lukhanyo questions the legitimacy of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), claiming that he and his family suspect that

> the generals and architects had negotiated themselves out of murder making the ANC – in whose name Fort Calata, Matthew Goniwe, Sparro Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli were killed – complicit, at least in [his] opinion, in their murders. (249)

Lukhanyo's comment invokes Pikoli's aforementioned statement in the Al Jazeera special pertaining to the ANC's concern that they would also be prosecuted if not for the lack of prosecutions following the TRC (8:56–9:09). Lukhanyo's bold statements throughout the narrative, but particularly at the close of the text, point to a disillusionment with the ANC, a movement in which his family's history is so intimately intertwined. A disillusionment Lukhanyo believes should never have happened, given the ANC's responsibility to the families of those who have lost loved ones in their name (248). Lambasting the government's lack of action on prosecuting those individuals who were not granted amnesty for the deaths of the Cradock Four, he writes:

[59] The conversation "with Jimi" refers to when Lukhanyo received instructions not to include soundbites and footage that concerned the Economic Freedom Fighters' interruption of the National Assembly in which they chanted "Pay back the money!" and would not allow Jacob Zuma to address the National Assembly, indicating that "first he needed to pay several millions of rands, as per the findings and recommendations of then-Public Protector Thuli Madonsela" (Calata 35–36).

> In September 2017, over 32 years after the murders of the Cradock Four, I sat down for an interview with Deputy Minister of Justice John Jeffrey. I wanted to hear his explanation for why the ANC-led government had failed to prosecute those responsible for the deaths of my father and his colleagues. (248)

Lukhanyo's reference to the substantial time that has elapsed since his father's death emphasises his frustration but, similarly, entices the reader's frustration highlighting the illocutionary force of the text. During an interview with the SABC, Lukhanyo explains that while writing the memoir's final chapter, "Judge Billy Mothle had just delivered his judgement in the Timol matter" and despite the order "by a court of law, to investigate and charge those people who were responsible for the murder of Ahmed Timol," the ANC have continued to create "obstacles" in providing justice to the Timol family (1:10–2:02).[60] Here, he echoes the memoir's sentiments surrounding the TRC. He criticises the same enabling of prosecution and, yet, lack of movement, that occurred two decades prior. Thus, the text calls the reader to question the political motivation behind this absence and to acknowledge the disappointment it has fostered in the people of South Africa.

In a final dedication in the memoir, Lukhanyo cites many names of the "activists who risked their lives every day for me [Lukhanyo] to live in a South Africa that is free of oppression and injustice of apartheid" (254). He states, "I hold dear their sacrifices and honour their lives" (254). This memoir becomes a means in which he achieves this and an opportunity to share the story, not only of his activist father, but of his family of activists, of which he gallantly takes on the duties in this text, typified by his final statement:

> I hope to tell their stories. In my father's case, however (and of course that of Matthew, Sparro, and Sicelo), it means a continued pursuit of justice for his life. I'm certain it is what he and his comrades would want. *A luta!* (254, emphasis in the original)

The close of the memoir stages the desire for the greater good for which his family have dedicated their lives. In such a way, this text implores the reader to acknowledge the

[60] In 2018 the late former security branch police sergeant Joao Jan Rodrigues was charged with the murder of anti-apartheid activist Ahmed Timol (Bhengu). Due to delays in the case, Rodrigues died before the start of the trial (Bhengu). These delays beg the question of the optics of prosecuting Rodrigues. Hence, Lukhanyo's comment infers the delays are a political stunt to appease people's frustrations at the lack of prosecutions following the TRC.

appropriateness of Lukhanyo's frustration at the political contingencies upon which justice is served. The moral weight of the memoir is ultimately revealed through a moral and ethical sense of what should be present in a democratic South Africa.

Conclusion

In representing *My Father Died for This* as an archival compilation of history and memory, this text makes truth claims about the need to prosecute those responsible for the assassination of the Cradock Four. The memoir documents the lead up to the Cradock Four's death and the Calata family history and legacy of activism in Cradock. The text comments on Nomonde's expression of trauma following the murder of her husband and her own interactions with apartheid violence. Accordingly, the expression of Nomonde's trauma makes a claim for the possibility of Lukhanyo's inherited trauma. Lukhanyo's reliance on an investigative journalistic texture and critical tone in his narrative, accords with the sense of numbing that trauma victims experience. Lukhanyo's chapters rely on both primary and secondary sources pertaining to his family and father. Consequently, he highlights feelings of resentment towards the apartheid state and chooses to engage with the historical documentation of Fort's murder as opposed to the more emotional and personal reflections that are present in Abigail's narrative voice. Moreover, the memoir juxtaposes the peaceful Cradock community, reinforced by the morality of the Calata identity spearheaded by Tatou's Anglican priesthood, with the violence of the apartheid state. This speaks to the ethical claims in the text, calling for prosecutions to be made. Thus, the memoir corrals the reader to consider the inadequacies for the Calata family of the inquests, the TRC, and the current NPA. The collation of materials, similarly, reinforces this idea, creating a more thorough investigation into the Cradock Four case, something that the judicial system has failed to provide the Calata family. Hence, for me, in its archival representation of fact, the text goes beyond the work of the TRC and places memory and history alongside each other to validate the work's truth claims. Lastly, the text reinforces the political role of journalism. The memoir stages Lukhanyo's own experience as an outspoken member of the SABC 8, inspired by the political legacy of his family. For me, Lukhanyo and Abigail's memoir reflects on a personal story of activism and trauma during the apartheid regime, but, similarly, notes the disillusionment with the current democratic government.

Chapter 5: 'I don't carry you anymore'[61]: Writing-Through Intergenerational Trauma, and Identity Creation in Kelly-Eve Koopman's *Because I Couldn't Kill You*

A mouth without cellotape
- Koleka Putuma, "No Easter Sunday for Queers"

Utilising a stream-of-consciousness narrative structure, Kelly-Eve Koopman's *Because I Couldn't Kill You* negotiates her sense of self in relation to her psychologically abusive, and currently absent father,[62] André Christian Koopman (hereafter referred to as André).[63] The narrative stages Koopman's racial and gendered subjectivities, as a Coloured, queer, South African woman "born just a little bit too soon for freedom", in 1990 (Koopman 61). Koopman narrates her selfhood in relation to the politics of post-apartheid South Africa. This is staged in one of the chapter titles "Rainbow Nation Depression" (34). In this chapter, Koopman contextualises her experience of Crescent Clinic, a private psychiatric clinic, within post-apartheid South Africa (34–41). She explains that access to the clinic is made available to anybody financially privileged enough to afford medical insurance (34). Koopman's facetious commentary on "class" as an "equalise[r]" in the clinic (34), portrays the substitution of racial segregation for class privilege in democratic South Africa and typifies the wit with which she demonstrates the persistence of economic and social discrepancy. Koopman's memoir is as much a personal reflection of her experiences with an abusive, mentally ill father, as it is a political commentary on the continuation of racial segregation and gender inequality in South Africa. The narration is self-reflexive and highly conscious of its constructedness. Following her interior monologue, fashioned as a tapestry of reflective subjective experiences, the text weaves honest themes of the emotional and cognitive problems of memory work in detailing trauma. For example, Koopman notes the persistence of André in her home and in her mind, she writes of her temptation "to resist the residue of madness held close in the walls and the

[61] (Koopman 158)
[62] The narrative states that following her parents' divorce, André left without warning (1–2). The family has no way of contacting him and no idea of his whereabouts (1–2). The text ends with André's phone call to Koopman, about which she writes "I had assumed you were dead or dying, or missing, or so mad that you couldn't remember our names, never mind my phone number. I never assumed that you hadn't called simply because you didn't want to" (162).
[63] The narrative indicates that Koopman was never personally subject to her father's physical violence, but rather to his psychological and emotional abuse. However, the memoir does declare that André was frequently physically abusive to her mother, and his physical violence against Koopman's sister led to her parents' divorce (127–128).

floors, no matter how many times they have been scrubbed, like the ghosts that will not be evicted from my heart, no matter how much I am loved" (xii). She comments on the inescapability of trauma, and the enduring effects of her father's abuse on her ability to form and trust attachments.

This chapter will critically analyse the representation of Koopman's working-through the trauma of her abusive and traumatised father in the process of authoring *Because I Couldn't Kill You,* by producing an identity independent of André's influence. It will start with a discussion of the memoir as an opportunity for Koopman to acknowledge her experiences of abuse in the public domain. I will show that in narrating the trauma her father caused her, Koopman establishes a counter-discourse to her family's silencing of women's experiences. This is demonstrated in the insistence of the phrase, "[g]ood women do *not* talk out of the house" (xiii, emphasis in the original). Secondly, this chapter will consider the representation of Koopman's decision to write her memoir as subverting the literature her father imposed upon her during her upbringing, as staged in the narrative. The genre of the memoir stands in contrast to the narrative's representation of André's reverence for Eurocentric, male-created literature, philosophy, and fine art. I suggest that in writing her memoir, Koopman creates something distinct from her father: a memoir with a feminist discourse that is located in post-apartheid South Africa. Lastly, I argue that the narrative depicts the process of "scriptotherapy", a term coined by Suzette A. Henke in *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life-Writing* (xii). Henke defines scriptotherapy as "the process of writing out and writing through traumatic experience in the mode of therapeutic reenactment" (xii). She posits that life-writing potentially embodies the "scene of psychoanalysis" offering a "therapeutic alternative for victims of severe anxiety and, more seriously, of post-traumatic stress disorder" (xii–xiii). Koopman traces the transformation of the affective dimensions of her trauma while writing the memoir, from extreme anxiety and depressive episodes to a capacity to feel and express anger towards her father. I will show that the narrative represents this transformation as principally achieved by the therapeutic process of writing. Furthermore, the narrative suggests that the therapeutic quality of writing memoir allows for the recognition that, contrary to André's negative influence on Koopman's identity, her family and friends influence her selfhood in a healthy manner.

While Koopman positions her identity as intimately tied to the abuse she experienced at the hands of her father, and her family's racial classification as Coloured during the apartheid

years, the text does not focus on her father's experience of apartheid. Rather, Koopman renders the story of the aftereffects of the trauma of apartheid, claiming that her family's story resonates with that of "thousands and thousands of everyday people who would lay down their lives for the struggle of justice" (17). Thus, the narrative identifies the pervasive effects of the trauma of apartheid. Koopman states that her father "felt unjustly deprived of the iconography we bequeath to our favourite freedom fighters", acknowledging the heroism with which people view those whose activism became famous and similarly commenting on the unseen and undocumented activism of many South Africans. Koopman includes what reads as her own diagnosis of her father's Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (17). She thereby highlights that the trauma of apartheid was present in everyday experiences of oppression and subjugation. By writing a narrative about her traumatised psyche in relation to André's psychological abuse, Koopman notes how the intergenerational effects of André's trauma have affected her selfhood.

That being said, she does not excuse or in any way condone the abuse that her father imposed upon her family. On the contrary, in exposing his abuse and the negative repercussions of his abuse on her selfhood, the narrative represents a condemnation of the trauma that he has caused her and her family. In such a way, the text embodies G. Thomas Couser's claim, in *Memoir: An Introduction,* that filial memoirs commonly consider a desire for "disaffiliation" with the father figure (155). In these narratives, authors "expose and denounce their fathers because their testimony has particular authority" (155). In Koopman's memoir, she asserts dominance over how she chooses to portray her father and her selfhood.[64] The condemnation of her father draws a parallel between this text and Spiegelman's *The Complete Maus,* in which he similarly exposes the harm his father's trauma has caused him. While Spiegelman's memoir does not disaffiliate his selfhood with his father's, his memoir reflects this impulse via the depiction of his identity as separate from his Jewish family's experiences and the exposure of the daily difficulties of Vladek's traumatic reliving of his past.

Koopman identifies herself as belonging to the Coloured community in the memoir (vii, 98, 143). The term Coloured is a contested concept in South Africa. The debate is connected to the liminal position Coloured communities occupied in relation to the white minority hegemony and the black majority during apartheid rule (Adhikari ix). In his introduction to *Burdened by*

[64] More detailed explanation of this is offered with textual evidence later in the chapter.

Race, Mohamed Adhikari states that in South Africa the term does not represent a derogatory delineation of Black people, as it does outside Southern Africa; rather it "denotes a person of mixed racial ancestry" (ix). Countering this argument, in *Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa,* Zimitri Erasmus suggests that "the category Coloured refers to those South Africans loosely bound together for historical reasons such as slavery, creolization and a combination of oppressive and selective preferential treatment under apartheid" (112). Erasmus comments on the "constitution of 'Malay' as a category of people" (110), referring to individuals in the Coloured community who practice Islam. She further identifies the "*Karretjiemanse*", signifying "rural nomadic communities of the Great Karoo, considered to be descendants of the Khoi-San and (in South Africa's racial language) considered Coloured" (113, emphasis in the original). Erasmus' acknowledgement of the multiplicity of the Coloured community's origins, and in particular her identification of the *"Karretjiemanse*" (113, emphasis in the original), is significant in Koopman's memoir. The narrative comments on the possibility of Koopman's Khoi-San lineage: "I had become interested in the possible connection to Khoi indigenous ancestry and culture" (142). Accordingly, the text echoes Zoë Wicomb's famous essay on Colouredness, "Shame and Identity: The Case of the Coloured in South Africa". Wicomb suggests that the concept of "miscegenation" has an inherently negative inflection, suggesting that there is a deep-seated shame concurrent with Colouredness (115). She further claims that Colouredness was manipulated by the National Party government to garner support for this oppressive regime by labelling this grouping of people as "'Brown Afrikaners,' which successfully drew in the coloured vote, as well as in its evocation of country folk, an attempt at fabricating a traditional past to foster the notion of a coloured nation" (124). In such a way, the text stages Koopman's interest in this connection as a desire to investigate the possibility of her heritage as separate from a mixed racial lineage, inherently connected to the history of colonialism, apartheid, and white supremacy in South Africa.[65] Given the apartheid government's political manipulation of Coloured communities, this term is inextricably linked to this era. Koopman's desire to separate her selfhood from whiteness, through the connection to the Khoi-San, accords with her father's disdain for the term Coloured, which Koopman makes available in her description of him: "my father would never have identified as coloured" (3).[66] She further explains that André refers to himself as Black to

[65] This comment does not intend to deny the history of the colonial oppression of the Khoi-San, but rather acknowledges Koopman's interest in considering her history as separate from whiteness.
[66] Koopman's identification of herself as Coloured can, similarly, be interpreted as a separation from André's influence.

produce a connection with the anti-apartheid freedom movement (3). Koopman's political motivation for the investigation into her possible Khoi-San heritage, mirrors her father's rejection of the apartheid government's narrowly defined parameters of race, as provided for in the *Population Registration Act 30 of 1950* (hereafter referred to as '*Act 30*').

In *Race Otherwise,* Erasmus asserts that race classification definitions are "deliberately loose" and inadvertently highlight a lack of biological, scientific explanation for race categorisation undermining the apartheid government's racial rhetoric (88). One can ascertain that the intention of the race classification was to construct racial segregation and inequality in a legal domain that would be reproduced in the social sphere. Notably, in *Act 30*, both Coloured and white persons were defined in relation to their humanism, "coloured person", "white person", while the definition for "native" had no such qualifier (1.iii, 1.x, 1.xv). This lack of qualification points to an intention to further dehumanise black communities in apartheid South Africa.

Considering the manifestation of the racial categories, Adhikari states that the Coloured identity holds "a strong association with Western culture and values in opposition to African equivalents" (viii). Furthermore, Adhikari specifies that the "marginality of coloured communities […] was central to the manner in which the identity manifested itself socially and politically" (viii). Adhikari, thus, suggests that the apartheid regime is responsible for a pronounced role in the production of Coloured identity. His argument feels significant in the context of Koopman's memoir. Much of the identity politics that the narrative delineates relates to the dehumanisation of Black people and her family's desire to maintain what Koopman describes as their "painstakingly difficult ascent into the brown middle class" (ix). Thus, these aspects of dehumanisation, and hindrance of upward social mobility, that existed prior to the democratization of South Africa, are still present in the portrayal of Koopman and her family's identity.

Acknowledging Trauma: The Memoir "talk[s] out of the house"[67]

Koopman closes the prologue of her memoir with a statement that she explains dominated much of her upbringing: "Good women *do not* talk out of the house" (xiii, emphasis in the

[67] (Koopman xiii)

original). There is an air of irony in this statement, the text achieves the opposite. The writing of the memoir affords Koopman the opportunity to defy this family objective. The narrative exposes the abuse her father inflicted upon herself and her family in the public domain, the antithesis of the privacy and secrecy embedded in the statement about how "good women" should behave (xiii). This phrase resonates with Marciana N. Were's argument, in *Negotiating Public and Private Identities: A Study of the Autobiographies of African Women Politicians*, that "patriarchal societies impose silence on women's private experiences in public spaces" (25). The silencing of women's experiences, embedded within the statement, invokes Koopman's critique of the patriarchy rooted in the memoir's discourse and her identification with "black radical feminism" (89). From the outset of the text, there is an understanding that not only will Koopman discuss details of her life that stand in contrast from her family's gendered expectations of her, but the text reads somewhat like a confessional in which she asserts dominance and authority over her story and her voice. Koopman effectively redefines how "good women" can speak, or in this case, write, about trauma.

While recognising her authority in creating a text about her experiences, Koopman is also mindful of the unreliable nature of the traumatised memory. For example, she writes:

> In the process of writing this, as I wade through varied landscapes of my memory, I wonder: What have I re-sketched, what have I missed about my father? What have I gotten wrong about him, my family, about myself, about South African history, about the world, about everything? (6)

Koopman's narrative displays a consciousness of the indeterminacy of the truth of her writing. Accordingly, she exposes the constructedness of the work but, similarly, a recognition that her truth is not inaccurate, just different. She asserts authority over her memories of events and her writing, creating a space to validate her voice. Koopman likens the possibility of the misrepresentation of the appearance of dinosaurs, indicating that they could "have had feathers" (6), to her conceivable re-storying of her experiences with her father, asking: "Does my dinosaur have feathers?" (6). Thus, she does not deny the truth of her memories, she just redefines the meaning of truth in the acknowledgement of her traumatised reality. I propose

that the work constitutes what Couser describes as a postmodern memoir,[68] in which he submits that

> [m]emoirs are, undeniably artful. And it is salutary to remind readers that, in the end, memoirs are just 'texts'. They're never the whole truth, never truth-*ful*. They're errant, fallible, fictive human constructions. They should be read skeptically, not confused with that which they purport to represent. (168)

Couser reminds the reader that life-writing is a reflection of real events and is naturally imbued with subjectivity (168). The postmodern memoir is distinct because it accepts this element of its representation as part of its authority (168). Furthermore, in "Family Memoir and Self-Discovery", Jeremy D. Popkin asserts that the family memoir is further complicated by the emotional engagement with the material, and as such, the memoir can never be "a matter of constructing an objective historical narrative" (133). Koopman echoes Couser and Popkin's statements in a written statement about her memoir, in which she asserts: "When I started writing the memoir I realised how close fiction and memory are and how they can be one and the same thing. I am South African, born just shy of free. You'd think I'd realise how easily fabricated narratives become history" (Koopman and Jacana Media). Koopman draws a parallel between the subjective elements of her text, the deception that occurred during the apartheid era and the secrecy that surrounded the transition to a democratic South Africa. Verne Harris' discusses this secrecy in "The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory and Archives in South Africa". He argues that "the constructedness of memory and the dimension of power are most obvious in the extreme circumstances of oppression and rapid transition to democracy" and further states that these "realities [inform] archives in all circumstances" (63). Harris explains that "[b]etween 1996 and 1998", his "investigation into the destruction of public records" pertaining to the apartheid state

> exposed a large-scale and systematic sanitisation of official memory authorised at the highest levels of government and, while embracing all organs of the state, targeted the records of the security establishment. Between 1990 and 1994 huge volumes of public records were destroyed in an attempt to keep the apartheid state's darkest secrets hidden. (64)

[68] Couser specifically defines the postmodern memoir as a memoir "which admits that it constitutes not life but only life *writing* – a partial and highly mediated representation of experience" (168, emphasis in the original). So, while the selected quotation could be applied to all memoirs, this periodizing has been specifically selected in accordance with his argument.

Harris highlights the intentional burying of information that would further lend credence to the extreme violence of the security forces during the apartheid era. To return to Koopman's comment concerning the similarities between fiction and memory, she draws a parallel between her subjective, traumatised *history* of events and the *history* of events that state organs fabricate in the public realm.

Koopman's lived experience of trauma is multifaceted. As a primary victim of trauma, Koopman represents herself as a domestic abuse victim and, although born just prior to the end of apartheid, subject to systemic racism. Importantly though, Koopman also acknowledges the connection between the apartheid system and her father's mental state. The narrative suggests that André's violent behaviour is attributable to the trauma he experienced as a result of the structural violence of apartheid (Koopman 16). Much of André's identity is portrayed as tied to his obsessive, enduring belief in his political activism during the apartheid years. The narrative seems to suggest that André imagines being a member of uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Koopman appears largely unsure of the validity of his involvement, but never completely denies the possibility of his experiences of political activism (16). Consider this excerpt in which André is depicted as nearly physically attacking Koopman as a child:

> I came up behind him and tapped him on the shoulder […]. He whirled around in boxing stance, ready, heavy hand thrust out to be aimed at an assailant's throat. […]. I dodged and the blow went just over the top of my head. He cried out when he made out the shape of me in the dark. Daughter not enemy. Later on, these lines became much more blurred, he believed we were all, children included, implicated in this insidious plot against him. 'Don't ever sneak up on me again,' he said. 'I could have killed you.' (16)

André is portrayed with the belief that he must physically guard his family, mirroring his certainty that he had been a member of MK. The narrative echoes Gita Arian Baack's assertion in *The Inheritors: Moving Forward from Generational Trauma* that an intense need to safeguard the family is a common phenomenon amongst survivor parents, as they are "plagued with fear for their children" (114). Koopman depicts her father's enduring paranoia of an external threat to his and his family's safety. The narrative's portrayal of André's traumatised psyche, whether connected to MK or not, suggests a space for the possibility for

intergenerational trauma and is represented as being related to the abuse he imposed upon his family.

Through narrating her family's incapacity to recall or verbalise the trauma of André's abusive behaviours, Koopman demonstrates how ingrained the idea of "good women *do not* speak out of the house" is in her family dynamic (xiii). As it relates to her family members, Koopman acknowledges the complexity of trauma and memory, considering the multifaceted manner in which trauma finds expression in memory: notably, repression and negation. She notes that her brother is unable to recall "anything that happened pretty much up until his pre-teens" and her "sister cannot afford to remember" André's abuse (4). Koopman's siblings are, thus, represented as experiencing a repression of the memory. Contrastingly, Koopman renders her mother and grandparents' reluctance to engage in discussions relating to André's abuse:

> My mother, despite being a university-trained historian can offer me some things but they are mired in her own feelings, her untouched pain, her infallible desire to forget and move forward. My grandparents, although eager to share old photographs, anecdotes and oral history, do not know how to talk about these things. (4)

Koopman contrasts her mother's ability to engage objectively with historical traumas in her career and the subjective challenges of attending to her trauma that manifest in a denial of the past. Similarly, the narrative portrays her grandparents' hesitancy to attest to the discomfort of their memories of André, contrasting deeply with Koopman's decision to narratively identify her, and her family's, trauma. The depiction of her mother and grandparents' denial of trauma can be illuminated by engaging with Sigmund Freud's concept of negation. This process denotes the ego's defence to trauma that involves a "function of intellectual judgement" of a traumatic event, as opposed to the more advantageous affectual response present in working-through trauma (*XIX 1923–1925* 236). In a state of negation, the patient acknowledges the traumatic event but does not accept "what is repressed" (*XIX 1923–1925* 236).

Contrastingly, in writing the memoir, Koopman asserts her self as subject by rejecting her family's insistence on the unspeakable nature of trauma and silencing of the past. Beyond just acknowledging trauma via the narrative, the counter-discourse to her family's expectations of her demonstrates her desire to find a place for her own identity to be constructed without the

input of others. In this text, Koopman takes ownership of her narrative, no longer stunted by her family's difficulty in addressing the past, an important aspect of working-through trauma.

Counter-Narrative: Feminist, Post-Apartheid Memoir, Subverting the Classics

Koopman's use of the genre of memoir functions as a counter-narrative to André's reverence for the Western novel and other artworks, predominantly authored or created by men.[69] The narrative represents literature as transmitted through the patriarchal figure of the father and typically comprised of texts from the Western canon. For example, Koopman writes "All of us – me, my brother, my sister – were taught by you to recite" "couplets of [William] Shakespeare sonnets" "pretty much as soon as we could read" (19). Here, Koopman notes the importance for André to impose literature on his children, significantly literature with prominent historical and social status. While the narrative draws a correlation between Koopman and her father through their shared interest in literature, the memoir is entirely different to the Western texts André recommended to her during her upbringing. Koopman is a female author, her memoir offers a Black radical feminist perspective of her life, located within postcolonial and post-apartheid South Africa, as opposed to the Eurocentric, white, and male-authored novel. The memoir, thus, invokes Were's argument, in her discussion of African women's political life-writing, that there is a misconception that "the impulse to narrate the self is Western" and that texts located outside of Western spaces destabilise this conception (20). In the creation of her memoir, Koopman rejects Eurocentric notions of writing and offers a distinction between herself and her father, while acknowledging their connection through the literary in her various intertextual references to Western classics. The memoir becomes a means to assert her identity difference from her father, and to disassociate herself from André while still acknowledging his influence on her identity.

The narrative represents Koopman and her father's shared interest in literature as a common trope that highlights André's influence on Koopman's selfhood. The narrative stages literature as a haunting presence in Koopman's life that reminds her of the aspects of her identity that are connected to her father. As such, her father's absence and the endurance of the trauma that

[69] While many of the authors and various other artists (sometimes represented in the form of titles of works authored or painted by these artists) that Koopman notes are men (examples include but are not limited to: William Shakespeare, Vincent Van Gogh, Oscar Wilde, John Irving, Woody Allen, Pablo Picasso, and John Masefield), she also indicates that André exposed her to renowned novelist Toni Morrison (19; 20; 21; 159).

he caused her are portrayed as spectral and literature symbolises their familial connection. As Koopman writes:

> You are the reason why I have most of my beloved paperbacks and so now you lean, slouched in the best shelves of my bookshelves. […]. Also a gentle push toward a second-hand copy of *The World According to Garp*, the tattered pages carrying multiple copies of both our fingerprints and our mutual coffee stains. We can now both never forget the sinister, incessant pull of the Undertoad [sic]. (19–20)

The imagery invokes the spectral presence of André as overlooking her home, a particularly intimate space. As such, this imagery reinforces the concept that the trauma of André's abuse is all encompassing and lurking in the most private and personal parts of Koopman's world. Poignantly, Koopman uses this trope to symbolise the shared connection of both her own and her father's challenges with mental health, noting the effects of André's abuse on her psyche. The imagery mirrors the format of the memoir. As the author, Koopman is given an opportunity to assert her selfhood entirely separately from her father, but she chooses to include elements of André throughout the narrative, suggesting that he intrudes on her psyche. In this excerpt Koopman highlights her and her father's shared love for literature in a significant reference to John Irving's *The World According to Garp.* Irving's novel represents a violent depiction of society. As Barbara Louensberry suggests in her discussion of Irving's text*,* "[v]iolence, both physical and psychological, is one of the most unnerving features of *The World According to Garp,* John Irving's 1978 novel of mutilation and death in American society" (30). Correspondingly, Koopman discusses both physical and psychological violence in her memoir. The narrative suggests that Koopman was not personally exposed to André's physical violence, rather her experience of abuse was psychological. However, as mentioned earlier, the narrative indicates that her mother was frequently subject to his physical violence and includes a scene in which André physically assaults her younger sister (127). In referring to Irving's novel, Koopman highlights a commonality between his text and her own. This excerpt invokes the unavoidable nature of trauma. In her mention of their incapacity to escape "the Undertoad [sic]", Koopman draws a parallel between her own loss of innocence related to André's abuse and loss of innocence that the symbol represents for Irving's protagonist. In Koopman's narrative, "the Undertoad [sic]" symbolises the ubiquity of structural violence and the leftover effects of apartheid through framing André's abusive behaviour as partly attributable to his PTSD (20). André was a journalist during the apartheid era (57). The narrative suggests that

he was exposed to the violence of apartheid through this career. For example, Koopman's mother shares her experience as a High School teacher and the countless student funerals she and André attended (57). The loss of the child connects to the loss of innocence, further invoking Irving's novel. André's documenting of the deaths of children mirrors the loss of innocence he experienced as a journalist during the violence of apartheid. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for mental disorders V* indicates that PTSD is prevalent in the witnessing of trauma, specifically noting "repeated or extreme exposure to aversive details of the traumatic event(s)" as it relates to one's career (American Psychiatric Association 271). As such, it follows that André's PTSD could have been a result of his repeated exposure to the violence of apartheid through his job. Furthermore, in relating André's violence to literature, Koopman comments on the parts of her selfhood that are both connected to her father and distinct from his actions.

The narrative suggests that much of Koopman's identity is influenced by André's spectral presence, in phrases such as: "Yet I hear there are still parts of me enamoured with the poetry of your tragedy" (24). She, thus, acknowledges her selfhood is not untouched by the trauma he caused her. Koopman asserts her dominance over how she wants to write about her father, acknowledging the parts of him that are uncomfortable, and how she chooses to represent her identity. Koopman states that "[p]eople are immortalised by the books they wrote, not the books they loved. You are not art" (21). In acknowledging herself as an artist, something André has not achieved, the narrative asserts her difference from her father. Koopman immortalises her memories and her identity via the literary. She, similarly, immortalises André, but not in the artful, iconographic manner in which he would have written himself. Rather she asserts ownership over her narrative, writing him as she remembers him, as "a non-functional, un-aesthetic artefact that will not hang in a museum of anybody's heart" (24). Thus, she reminds the reader that the narrative stages André as currently absent from her life, abusive, ill, and unworthy of esteem.

In documenting the violence her father imposed on her family, Koopman is aware of the distress this may cause him, and she writes,

> you might be upset that I chose to write you down in this book. But you set the precedent that we should always meet most authentically on the page. And I'm a little scared that by putting together the right collection of words I might summon you back like a spirit. But there is nothing

> unique here, this is no new story. In my country, everyone is a little haunted by our lost bodies. And nobody knows where to put them to rest. (25)

She reminds the reader of the missing narratives of apartheid crimes that were too violent for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to report. She comments on those who died whose stories were never told and the inability to work-through trauma without closure. Furthermore, Koopman comments on the ethical ambiguities of life-writing, noting the possibility of her father's discomfort with being exposed in her memoir. Couser similarly notes this concern regarding memoirs, arguing that "[m]emoir *always* impinges on the real world in a way that fiction does not, and therein lies both its power to do good and its ability to cause harm" (107, emphasis in the original). In such a way, Koopman impinges on André's right to privacy, exposing the parts of him that he would not likely want to be made known in the public sphere. However, any potential harm that her memoir may cause her father, feels like an ethical grey area, and is mitigated, if not entirely undermined, by the substantial harm that he caused her and her family.

The dominance of writing self in her narrative extends beyond the condemnation of her father to Koopman's decision in how she chooses to represent her own identity. While the text has ties to her father's identity, by writing a memoir with an inherently postmodern style, it sets her apart from his artistic interests in the modernist classics. Significantly, much of the text draws on her identity politics as a queer, woman of colour, deeply contrasting the Eurocentric, heterosexual male figure present in the texts André selected for her, that she draws on in the memoir. The narrative frequently represents Koopman's experience of being Othered for her identity as a Coloured, queer woman. For example, the narrative stages an experience of homophobia, during which Koopman and her partner, Sarah are harassed because of their relationship during "a spiritual migration expedition that follows the ancient Khoi migration paths" (142–143). In a space in which Koopman and Sarah should not have been discriminated against based on their race, they were still subject to victimisation because of their sexuality. The narrative, thereby, reminds the reader of the multiple levels on which Koopman experiences Othering. In testifying to these experiences in contemporary society, Koopman demonstrates the endurance of discrimination in post-apartheid South Africa. This reads as an important assertion of self in the narrative. The work provides a space for Koopman to assert her difference from her father. Similarly, the importance of creating self in relation to the political climate, reads as a central reminder of her family's challenges during the apartheid

era. Thus, these moments of calling out of discrimination are reminiscent of the subjugation that her family experienced as people of colour under the apartheid regime and are similarly important in working-through trauma.

Scriptotherapy: Writing-Through Trauma, Making Space for Anger

The narrative stages a transformation in Koopman's affective response to her trauma from extreme anxiety and depressive episodes to feelings of anger and resentment towards André. In her depiction of the haunting presence of trauma, much of the memoir seems to accept trauma as an inescapable reality. She writes, "I can't forget you. I understand the concept of being triggered but you are more like a landmine", "the memories detonate all the time these days, abrupt, explosive. You make yourself known all around me, everywhere, inappropriately, inconveniently" (18–19). Koopman invokes the history of South Africa through the imagery of landmines. As Alex Vines explains in "Still Killing: Land-mines in Southern Africa", "South Africa used stocks of land-mines captured in the invasions of southern Angola in the 1980s to supply insurgent forces in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe" (148). Koopman, thus, likens the uncomfortable manner in which trauma finds expression through persistent and uncontrollable flashbacks to the violent and traumatic history of apartheid South Africa. In *Shattered Subjects: Trauma and Testimony in Women's Life-Writing,* Henke characterises flashbacks as "intense and absorbing visual imagery" which make "repeated intrusions into consciousness until their haunting reverberations take the form of an idée fixe" (xviii).[70] Henke, thus, explains that the consciousness becomes fixated on the traumatic event, and vivid visual images induce a highly emotional, anxious state for the traumatised individual.

By the end of the memoir, the narrative depicts Koopman's change of attitude towards her father. While her feelings of anxiety towards André remain, she exhibits anger towards him, indicative of her desire to move past her trauma (Koopman 166). While anger is not necessarily considered progress in working-through trauma, Koopman suggests that she is pleased with this transformation of emotion, and she writes, "[t]here is no poetry left for him. Only anger, and it feels good" (165). I argue that this change in attitude is largely attributable to addressing trauma in the process of writing the memoir. Accordingly, Koopman's narrative echoes

[70] Henke further avers that, according to Bessel van der Kolk and Daniel Schacter's research on cognition, traumatic memories are processed in the amygdala, the region of the brain responsible for emotion, which likely accounts for "the extraordinary power and persistence that characterize[s]" traumatic flashbacks (xviii).

Henke's concept, scriptotherapy, in which she suggests that in writing about trauma, one engages with an alternative version to the psychoanalytic talking cure (xiii). This process involves speaking freely regarding traumatic experiences, transferring private thoughts to the public realm, guided by the psychoanalyst (xiii). I suggest that Koopman's stream-of-consciousness narrative structure potentially embodies this space, allowing her to work-through the intimate, personal details of her trauma by revisiting her experiences on the page. As the narrative states, "I started thinking I should write a book about my father. And then it became so much more. And in the process of this I am done. We are done, I don't carry you anymore" (158). Koopman, thus, indicates the catharsis concurrent with writing her memoir. Moreover, this comment mirrors the title of the memoir, *Because I Couldn't Kill You,* which invokes Freud's Oedipus-complex. This complex suggests that, as a young child, the son, overtaken by affection for his mother and recognising his father as a rival for her love, wishes to kill his father (*A General Introduction* 181). The son is ultimately unable to do so and chooses to align his selfhood with the father, hoping to find a suitable mate, like his mother, as an adult (*A General Introduction* 181). In the memoir, Koopman's incapacity to kill her father is rather transferred to the denunciation of him in exposing his wrongdoing via the narrative. In such a way, the text is representative of Koopman's ability to effectively mourn the absence of her father, no longer haunted by his presence, and scriptotherapy becomes the means with which she achieves this outcome.

Henke observes that scriptotherapy offers the possibility for the self to be reinvented and reconstructed as the self is given an opportunity to "reinterpret the intertextual codes inscribed on personal consciousness by society and culture" (xvi). As aforementioned, the narrative acts as a counter-narrative to the silencing of Koopman's trauma. This is demonstrated both within her family life in the instruction not to "talk out of the house" (xiii), and in her representation of the Othering and, consequent silencing, of women, people of colour and queerness in broader society. Koopman's narrative observes her experience of the toxicity of the normalisation of silenced voices:

> I think the first time I even used the word 'abuse' to describe it was in my early 20s, partly because […] I questioned the validity of the experience. […]. Living alongside the onslaught of femicide, it feels almost disrespectful. When violence touches us with its savage indelible hand, no matter how 'much' or how 'little' we feel it has hurt us, changed us, haunted us, it is worth feeling and naming if we want to. We don't have to add 'at least'. (141)

Here, Koopman acknowledges the discomfort in verbalising her trauma, perpetuated by the silencing of her experiences both inside her home and in broader society. She recognises the problematic notion that, unless the violence results in murder, it is not worth voicing, and rather places the agency with the victim, suggesting it is their choice to voice their truth. Koopman's call to victims to voice their trauma suggests that the text has offered her a space to rebel against the discourse of silencing women's experiences. The memoir becomes not only a space to denounce her father and criticise the abuse that he imposed upon her, but to empower her voice and the voice of other victims of Gender-Based Violence.

While Koopman's narrative demonstrates a consciousness of the cathartic and empowering qualities of text, she does not deny the complexity and endurance of trauma. The two final chapters both indicate the memoir's end, with the penultimate chapter, "This is an end for now", utilising the metaphor of John Masefield's "Sea-Fever" to symbolise Koopman's letting go of her father and working-through her trauma (159). However, in the memoir's final chapter, Koopman concedes that the previous chapter's resolution was premature, that she had not yet fully forgiven her father for his actions. She writes,

> I thought I had come to some kind of realisation, that I had tasted real forgiveness. The nice metaphor of the tall, wandering ship sailing out on the open ocean, letting go and letting be, kindly, gently… // Instead I got what I asked for. I found you. Or rather, you found me. (161)

Koopman makes an honest observation about trauma, that while she has achieved a cathartic output in writing trauma, the complexity of trauma cannot be neatly captured and confined in literature. The narrative reflects her reality. While her narration indicates a desire to move forward, and to forgive André, her demonstration of the endurance of trauma reads as her continued desire to speak out about the reality of abuse. In this chapter, Koopman outlines her affective response to the phone call from her father. She describes her anxiety during the phone call, followed by her conversation with her mother, partner, and best friend. These three women offer emotional support and affirm that André was wrong and intrusive in calling her (165). The narrative frequently demonstrates that Koopman reveres the women in her life, most especially her mother (see: 54, 91, 97, 118), so their affirmation reads as particularly significant in the transformation of her anxiety and distress to anger. As Koopman writes,

> [m]y mother holds me, her mouth in a rigid line, her words wound tight. 'Forget him. Fuck him. How fucking dare he.' The firm stronghold of this boundary, this outright evidence of her secret anger is, [sic] really gratifying for me. She doesn't curse his memory often enough. But she is brave, she is healing too. (165)

Following this, the narrative stages Koopman's own anger towards her father: "I am no longer crying. Instead I am ranting and throwing around a random collection of expletives" (166). Koopman's anger mirrors her mother's emotional response to the phone call. In writing this anger into her memoir, along with the condemnation of her father, Koopman sets her own boundaries, further mirroring the boundaries she indicates her mother makes in the excerpt. The narrative represents her mother's acceptance of "her secret anger" as tangible evidence of her mother working-through trauma (165). In the recognition that her mother "is healing too" (165), Koopman acknowledges that working-through trauma is a long-term and personal process that is not always recognisable to others. Koopman writes anger as not only a validatory affective engagement with trauma, but a means to show that in the intimacy of writing a trauma memoir, her response to her trauma has changed. She writes anger as a more genuine reaction to her experiences than her attempt at providing resolution to the text with a metaphor for forgiveness. Perhaps more importantly though, Koopman indicates that her identity is not just entangled in her father's abuse but is intimately tied to the women in her life, that she can find healing in the women she admires, and that her voice is worth verbalising.

Conclusion

For me Koopman's memoir depicts herself as working-through the trauma of her abusive and traumatised father. In the process of authoring her text, Koopman creates an authorial self distinct from her father's influence. The text portrays her father as marked with the symptoms of PTSD, largely influenced by the subjugation of Black people during apartheid. Koopman's narrative indicates that while André is adamant that he was a member of the MK, there is little tangible evidence to suggest as much (16). Accordingly, she highlights the effects of apartheid outside of the well-known political activists. In authoring her trauma memoir, she demonstrates the intergenerational effects of André's trauma, relating his abusive behaviour to his traumatised psyche. In creating a memoir that subverts the silencing of women's experiences of abuse, Koopman's *Because I Couldn't Kill You* highlights the pervasive and enduring aftereffects of apartheid's systems of discrimination and violence. While acknowledging her

father as mentally ill, Koopman's memoir condemns the violence he imposed on her family in the public domain. The memoir provides Koopman with an opportunity to redefine her lived experience of abuse. Despite the gendered expectation of silence surrounding traumatic events in her family, this text exposes her father's behaviour, offering a counter-narrative to her family's discomfort in addressing trauma. In such a way, she sets herself apart from her family and denounces her father. Koopman's feminist, post-apartheid memoir subverts her father's reverence for Western art, and symbolically rejects his influence in her life. The narrative includes intertextual references to the works that André had selected for her during her upbringing. She demonstrates the artfulness of her own creation, entirely distinct from his influence, drawing parallels between canonical texts and her own writing of self. Her narrative represents her and her father's identity as she chooses, indicative of the authority of her voice and the ownership she asserts over her experience of trauma. Lastly, the narrative depicts a transformation of her affectual response to her father's abuse, from anxiety and severe flashbacks to anger. For me the memoir, thus, invokes Henke's scriptotherapy, which suggests writing trauma can emulate the experience of psychoanalysis. For me the act of writing trauma allows the traumatised individual to revisit and redefine the experience in a similar manner to the therapeutic process of talking through the event(s). In writing her memoir, Koopman addresses the intimate details of her abuse and reproduces her experiences in the public domain. Her transformation of affective response to her father demonstrates the cathartic qualities of writing trauma. Ultimately, Koopman's narrative suggests that writing trauma has been a positive experience for her, and she encourages others who have been silenced to verbalise their experiences.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: Curating the Memoir of Intergenerational Trauma and Identity

[Y]ou have shown us a way in which the mute always speak. You have sought out your voices via your curation or you have highlighted practices or answers that have deserved attention and have gone unnoticed.

- Sharlene Khan, "*Curating as World-Making* – An *Art on Our Mind* Creative Dialogue"

In the process of writing this thesis, a significant question came to mind: how does one curate the lives of traumatised parents? In the context of the intergenerational trauma memoir, trauma is viewed as a disruptive mechanism within the narrative. So, the curatorship of the narrative becomes a space where the memoirist grapples with how to effectively re-story their parents', and their own, experiences of trauma. In many ways, for me, the memoir has the capacity to repair trauma; not only in its ability to re-story, but to write through and hold trauma. This is demonstrated differently across the four selected works. Both Art Spiegelman's and Lukhanyo and Abigail Calata's narratives reorganize their understanding of their protagonists' experiences, offering the authors insight into a part of their lives that they missed. For me, Spiegelman's ending offers a transformation in his relationship with Vladek, representing the narrative as affording him greater sympathy for his father. Contrarily, for me the Calatas' text does not demonstrate a narrative working-through of trauma, rather it suggests the endurance of trauma without closure and retributive justice. I suggest that Mark Kurzem utilizes the memoir as a tangible space to hold his father's suffering. In such a way, *The Mascot* underpins the cathartic qualities of testifying to trauma, as opposed to merely offering the challenges concurrent with silence and trauma. For me Kelly-Eve Koopman's narrative stages her writing-through of her father's psychological abuse and features a change in her perception of her selfhood. These personal accounts of the lived experience of trauma demonstrate how, for me, the form of the memoir affords the memoirist authority over their experiences, and in this case, over their parents' narratives. As G. Thomas Couser notes, in *Memoir: An Introduction,* because memoir is rooted in memory, the stories that are told in memoir are afforded a kind of "urgency" (21). As such he argues that "[i]f the events are not recounted, they may be forgotten; memoir serves to archive them for subsequent generations. Thus, memoir can be a repository for witnesses' accounts of historical events in a way that fiction, for all of its range and power, cannot" (21). This is particularly significant in historical events that constitute atrocity, given

that memory becomes fragmented and distorted by trauma. These traumatised accounts of history demonstrate the enduring effects of atrocity, offering something distinct from historical representation of events. The literary similarly enables the memoirist authority over what they are willing to share in the public discourse. In traumatic events, there are ethical dimensions to writing memoir. As Couser notes, memoirs "emerge from personal […] practices that are initially private" (32). They are naturally "concerned with the identities of actual people" (33). In such a way, the narrative is imbued with a sense of responsibility, of consciousness of what is being released into the public discourse.

The memoir becomes its own tangible space for trauma to be displaced. In *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis,* Sigmund Freud explains that the concept of displacement denotes a form of "modification and rearrangement" of trauma (121). As in Kurzem's narrative where Alex's briefcase acts as substitute for his consciousness and comes to physically house his trauma, the memoir as object, can achieve a very similar outcome, operating as a safe space for trauma to be translated into words. In such a way, the desire to write trauma can similarly be considered an expression of trauma. However, the memoir is almost paradoxical in its safety. The narrative affords the traumatised individual a space to testify to their trauma, offering a means to write through the intimacies of their past in the way they wish to express themselves. However, once published, a memoir is open for public scrutiny, suggesting that it is not entirely safe, but rather fairly exposing. *The Mascot* clearly demonstrates why curatorship is a significant aspect of the memoirist's position in the text. Prior to the publication of the memoir, Alex had already experienced difficulty in people believing his story (Kurzem 392). While the narrative includes many details verifying Alex's past, his experiences are now available for public opinion. Accordingly, Kurzem curates his text in a way that emphasises the truth and solemnity of Alex's experiences.

Spiegelman chooses to curate his memoir by engaging linearly with Vladek's experiences. On multiple occasions in the narrative, Artie is staged as constraining Vladek's testimony to a linear progression of events. He seems uninterested in Vladek's desire to entangle events, despite their interrelatedness, intent on understanding what happened when. I argue that this is largely related to his yearning for an understanding of the past that is unavailable to him. Through the linear staging of events, Spiegelman's work provides an opportunity to himself, as the memoirist, to further make sense and piece together an undeniably significant aspect of his family history to which he has no other recourse. It is in this decision not to veer from the

chronology of the story, that speaks to his desire to make sense of the past. However, Spiegelman's insertion of self into the frame narrative, similarly interrupts the chronology of Vladek's past. In such a way, the narrative form mirrors the disruption of the traumatised mind. Spiegelman blends the significance of his intergenerational trauma and Vladek's enduring expressions of trauma with Vladek's testimony of the Shoah. Through the illustration of the interviews between father and son, the reader is offered insight into Vladek's daily expressions of trauma, depicted via hoarding and general discomfort with waste, reminiscent of his resourcefulness during the Shoah (Spiegelman 95: 4). As such, Spiegelman highlights some of the ethical issues of life-writing. While the interviews are a productive and relatively harmless space for Artie, the same cannot be said for Vladek who is staged as experiencing intense difficulty in recounting his past and the reliving of his past in the present chronotope. As Kurtz notes, in his account of trauma testimony, if handled improperly, testimony can be dangerous insofar that it re-traumatises the victim (30). In Spiegelman's memoir, Artie is not portrayed as an historian or researcher who is obliged to consider possible harm to Vladek's wellbeing. Rather, he is traumatised in his own right, eager to understand an event that has deeply affected his upbringing and his relationship with his parents. As such, it would be unfair to expect him to abide by ethical considerations in his interviews with his father. Perhaps, this could account for why Spiegelman includes the difficulties of testimony with his father: he makes a space for his own expressions of trauma. *The Complete Maus* offers the curatorship of Vladek's story as intertwined with the curatorship of Artie's story, mirroring the intergenerational quality of trauma.

In contrast to the lack of concern for the difficulties with which Vladek testifies to trauma, Kurzem curates his text in a way that offers protection to his father. Kurzem's memoir accepts that public scrutiny is a substantial part of the publication of the memoir. The narrative suggests that Alex has already been made to feel guilty, if not ashamed, about his past (Kurzem 392). Consequently, Kurzem tends to amplify the healing potential of testifying to trauma. His curation of the narrative is predominantly represented as a space to ameliorate Alex's distress, demonstrated through his insistence on uncovering the details of his father's past. Kurzem's voice dominates the narrative, providing the reader with his responses to Alex's testimony of his experiences during the Shoah. Kurzem includes his substantial research into Alex's past, and any affective experiences of events are provided to the reader through Mark's understanding of events. The narrative frequently comments on Alex's difficulty with recounting trauma, reinforcing the trope of the substantially traumatised father and the tragedy

of his experiences. Kurzem suggests that he is the only person whom Alex will confide in regarding his past. In such a way, the safety that Kurzem provides for Alex, positions him as assuming the role of the caregiver in the narrative. It follows that Kurzem's curatorship is demonstrated in the portrayal of Alex as childish and childlike, even in the parts of the memoir that portray Alex in adulthood. Kurzem's infantilization of Alex reinforces the helplessness of the child and the impossibility of choice to absolve Alex from what other people may perceive as shameful. Alex is cleansed of any European influence in the narrative, Kurzem goes to great lengths to position his father as the "authentic Aussie" that the narrative suggests Alex wishes to assume (9). Alex's diction is noticeably absent of the European influence demonstrated in Lina Caneva's documentary of their trip to Belarus. Kurzem's choice to remove Alex's Russian influence, contrasts with the authenticity with which Spiegelman depicts the Polish influence in Vladek's use of language. I argue that the elision of European influence in Alex's character is fundamentally linked to the recuperative capacity of the narrative. Alex is written as incapable of complicity in the Latvian's war crimes. So, in the representation of Alex as not just traumatised and arrested in his childlike state but washed of his Europeanism, Alex is further separated from the Latvians and the atrocities that the narrative suggests he witnessed. The memoir ends on a contradictory note, at once suggesting Alex's trauma is enduring and similarly signifying he has, in a way, been able to overcome his violent past. Ultimately, this begs the question of whether this neat ending is more reflective of Kurzem's own need to reach a sense of closure than that of Alex.

Contrastingly, in Spiegelman's memoir, Vladek and Artie are both rendered as irreparably damaged by the Shoah. Vladek physically survived much atrocity: he survived as a Jewish prisoner of war in a German camp (Spiegelman 43–60), he survived the harsh environment of the ghetto (61–164), and he survived Auschwitz with the number on his arm as evidence (186: 5). However, Vladek is notably affected by the trauma of the Shoah, there is no question that he has not come out unscathed. Alex, in contrast, has been curated by Kurzem to show that he is capable of a kind of separateness from his experiences of the Shoah. I argue that this divergence in representation is connected to the perceived sides of violence on which Vladek and Alex found themselves. Alex is portrayed as believing that having grown up with the Latvians he was on the wrong side of history and his feelings of guilt are strongly connected to this belief. Contrastingly, Vladek's past positions his story as the quintessential Shoah experience. Contrary to Alex's experiences, Spiegelman's narrative does not suggest that

Vladek has experienced a questioning of the validity of his suffering. Hence, the divergence in Alex's and Vladek's representation allows for sympathy for both victims.

The concept of curatorship in *My Father Died for This* feels more literal than in the other memoirs. The Calatas curate the amalgamation of secondary and primary sources in their text, forming an archive of materials pertaining to the Cradock Four case and the Calata legacy. The text renders the extensive research the authors undertook in the making of this memoir, referencing the various sources used, including newspaper and journal articles, books, letters, archival material, and webpages (Calata 257–259). The Calatas' memoir makes available the intimate details of a family affected by the violence of apartheid South Africa, with specific reference to the family's dedication to political activism. The narrative comments on the lack of prosecutions following the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). This text offers not just a critique of the current government's failure to provide both retributive and restorative justice to the Calata family, but it includes insights into the aspects of life under apartheid neglected by the TRC. Hence, the narrative's curation of events, both personal and political, provides an opportunity to engage with the violence of apartheid outside of the limited scope of the TRC. Through the depiction of the endurance of Nomonde's grief and the effect this has had on Lukhanyo, the memoir accounts for the intergenerational expression of trauma, a phenomenon for which the TRC could not account. Thus, the text highlights the inadequacies of the TRC, indicating the multifaceted manner in which the judicial systems have failed the Calata family.

The memoir similarly engages with a gendered critique of the TRC, offering a new insight into the depiction of Nomonde Calata, whose activism is staged as multiple in the text. The Calatas portray Nomonde's personal and political agency, subverting the media's emphasis on her wail during her TRC testimony (247). The narrative renders Nomonde's relentless will to protect her children from the violence of apartheid, staging motherhood as a political activity. In such a way, the memoir subverts the misogynistic representation of maternity as a passive act of femininity. It suggests motherhood could be used to defy the apartheid regime's efforts to diminish the dignity of the lives of Black people. In addition, the narrative highlights Nomonde's own political actions. Lukhanyo includes Nomonde's experiences of police brutality inside her home spaza shop (157). Hence, he shows that both the violence of apartheid and political activism extend inside the home.

Finally, Lukhanyo also curates the text as embedded in his political activities. The narrative includes Lukhanyo's status as one of the South African Broadcasting Commission (SABC) 8 because of his decision to defy the SABC's censorship laws. While this reads as the impetus for writing the memoir, it similarly reinforces Lukhanyo's identity as uniquely intertwined with the political legacy of his family. The circular suzjet intertwines the Calata's legacy with Lukhanyo's efforts as a journalist. Moreover, the entire narrative, in the collation of documents, inextricably connects the work of investigative journalism in the fight for freedom in South Africa, both during apartheid and after the transition to democracy.

Lastly, Koopman's *Because I Couldn't Kill You* is curated to include the details of her experiences of intergenerational trauma on her own terms. Like the Calatas' memoir, Koopman offers a narrative concerning an absent parent, but where Lukhanyo renders his family as heroic, making a claim for the morality of political activism, in Koopman's narrative, she denounces her father. Of course, the narratives stage the respective fathers' absence as circumstantially different. In the Calatas' memoir, Fort is absent because he was murdered by the Security Police and his death is connected to his fight for a more just South Africa. In Koopman's narrative, André is absent by his own volition. Struggling with mental health and portrayed as psychologically and physically abusive, the narrative represents André's absence as, in many ways, desirable for Koopman and her family. While Koopman is unsure of the validity of André's experiences of political activism, her narrative stages the everyday violence of apartheid through the effects on her father. Accordingly, his trauma is represented as resulting in the violence that he imposes on her family. The narrative offers Koopman an opportunity to write her trauma in a way that she has been unable to verbalise, not just in her personal capacity, rendered through her noting her discomfort with the term "abuse" (141), but in the silence pertaining to violence that occurs in her family (4). Koopman's narrative subverts the gendered expectations to remain private about the violence imposed upon women. Her narrative asserts her selfhood in a manner that she chooses. Accordingly, the role of curatorship in Koopman's memoir can be read as ownership of her narrative. The text stages the various ways in which Koopman's narrative has been provided for her throughout her upbringing. She considers society's expectation of her to be accepting of how others judge and diminish her agency as a queer, Coloured woman; and to appreciate the Eurocentric, patriarchal texts that her father imposed upon her. This narrative reads as a celebration of selfhood, an expression of the various parts of her identity that she does not necessarily like but are a reality and that deserve space on the page. Her text combines the unreality of democratic, equal South Africa

with the reality of her upbringing, afflicted by abuse and the intergenerational effects of the violence of apartheid, and the inequalities that she continues to face after the transition.

The Shoah and the crime of apartheid are notably distinct atrocities, both with considerable capacity for primary and secondary effects of trauma and the selected memoirs offer their own interpretations of these events. One way to think through the different curatorship of the works, is the position of the memoirist in relation to their parent(s). Spiegelman and Kurzem's narratives offer stories originating *from* the father. Their stories are co-created, they engage directly with the parent who is also the protagonist of the memoir. In such a way, the expressions of intergenerational trauma can be seen in the relationship between the traumatised parent and the intergenerationally traumatised sons. The narratives naturally mirror the kinds of intergenerational trauma that the memoirist is subject to outside of the narrative. Instead, in the two apartheid memoirs, the works are *about* the father. There is an important contrast to be noted here, the different auxiliary verb offers a way to think about the different atrocities and the need for the memoirists to curate their lives rather differently. The Calatas' and Koopman's memoirs are marked by the father's absence. As such, their curation cannot reflect an emotional engagement with the missing parent and so, the texture of the narratives is distinct from the Shoah memoirs. Koopman's narrative includes a resentment regarding her father's absence and the violence to which he has subjected her and her family. Her narrative follows an interior monologue, in which she allows herself space to write her father on her own terms. Contrarily, the Calatas' text attends to the difficulty of writing trauma without access to memories of the parent. Neither Lukhanyo nor Abigail have memories of Fort and so they rely on external sources to produce a text about Fort. Lukhanyo's intergenerational trauma is, thus, marked by grief. Ultimately, these memoirs offer divergent expressions of trauma and make available the multiplicity and dynamism of trauma's capacity to transcend the boundaries of time, space, and generations.

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