

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments vii

Introduction: The Americanization of the Holocaust i

- 1 The Imaginary Jew and the American Poet
Hilene Flanzbaum 18
- 2 Aliens in the Wasteland: American Encounters
with the Holocaust on 1960s Science Fiction Television
Jeffrey Shandler 33
- 3 Imagining Survivors: Testimony and the Rise
of Holocaust Consciousness
Henry Greenspan 45
- 4 America's Holocaust: Memory and the Politics of Identity
James E. Young 68
- 5 Inheriting the Holocaust: Jewish American Fiction
and the Double Bind of the Second-Generation Survivor
Andrew Furman 83
- 6 Surviving Rego Park: Holocaust Theory
from Art Spiegelman to Berel Lang
Amy Hungerford 102
- 7 "Three Thousand Miles Away": The Holocaust
in Recent Works for the American Theater
Joyce Antler 125
- 8 The Cinematic Triangulation of Jewish American Identity:
Israel, America, and the Holocaust
Sara R. Horowitz 142

- 9 Reflections on the Holocaust from Nebraska
Alan E. Steinweis 167
- 10 "You Who Never Was There": Slavery
and the New Historicism—Deconstruction and the Holocaust
Walter Benn Michaels 181
- 11 Suffering as a Moral Beacon: Blacks and Jews
Laurence Mordekhai Thomas 198
- 12 Play Will Make You Free: Reprising *The Triumph of the Will*
in Chicago's Nike Town
Andrew Levy 211
- Notes 225
- Contributors 255
- Index 257

INDEX

- African Americans: in Nebraska, 177–78;
rivalry with Jews over suffering, 198–99,
204–6, 207–10
- Albright, Madeleine, 9
- Alter, Robert, 84
- American identity and history, 183
- American themes in Holocaust
remembrance, 13
- American veterans as liberators, 178–79
- "Act of Defiance, An" (Rosenbaum), 93–95
- anti-Semitism: African Americans and,
205–6; *Gentleman's Agreement* and,
148–52; in Nebraska, 169; Nike and, 223;
representations of Shoah and, 144–45
- Applebaum, Ralph, 140
- assimilation: becoming American, 20–21;
ethnicity and, 12–13; in postwar America,
99; as threat to continuance of culture,
105–6, 195–97
- baby-boomers, cultural and religious iden-
tity of, 10–12
- Barkley, Charles, and Nike, 219, 224
- Bear, Greg, *Blood Music*, 183–85
- Beit Ha-Tefutsot Museum, 162
- Bellow, Saul: "The Old System," 99–100;
role of Holocaust in work of, 84
- Beloved* (Morrison): historicism of, 187–89;
role of memory in, 185–87
- Berg, Gertrude, *The Rise of the Goldbergs*,
130
- Berryman, John: "The Imaginary Jew,"
18–19, 27–29; victimhood and, 30
- blacks. *See* African Americans
- Blood Music* (Bear), 183–85
- Blue Light* (Ozick), 126, 136–39, 139–40, 141
- Broken Glass* (Miller): basis of, 128–29;
metaphors in, 130–31; Philip character
in, 130, 133–34; premiere of, 125, 126;
reviews of, 133; setting of, 129–30;
Sylvia character in, 131–33; themes
of, 135–36
- Butz, Arthur, 109, 110
- Carter, President Jimmy, and U.S. Holo-
caust Memorial Museum, 72–73
- "Cattle Car Complex" (Rosenbaum), 89–92
- children of survivors: as bearers of the
legacy, 60–62; intergenerational trans-
mission of trauma, 121–24; literary works
by, 88–89; represented in Spiegelman's
Maus books, 118–21; silence between sur-
vivors and, 100–101; spiritual crisis of,
95–100. *See also* Rosenbaum, Thane
- Christ, story of, and suffering, 201–2
- Christianity: Holocaust and: —in Ne-
braska, 171–73; —in *The Pawnbroker*,
154–55; rivalry between African Ameri-
cans and Jews over suffering and, 204–7,
208–9
- cinematic representations of Holocaust:
The Cutting Room, 142–46; *Everything's
for You*, 165–66; *Exodus*, 155–56; *Gentle-
man's Agreement*, 148–52; *Ha-behira
ve-hagoral* (Choice and Destiny), 163–64;
in Israeli film, 147–48; *Ma Kara* (What
Happened), 164–65; *The Pawnbroker*,
153–55; *QB VII*, 156–61; triangulation in,
146–47. *See also* Schindler's List
- Cohen, Robert, *The Here and Now*, 96–97
- Communion* (Strieber, 1987), 182–83, 184–85,
189
- "Conscientious Objector, The" (Shapiro),
30–31
- contradictions in survivor's experience,
47–48, 52
- corporations and icons of Nazism, 217–19,
220–21, 222–24
- Counterlife*, *The* (Roth), 97
- cultural identity: of American Jews, 12–13;
assimilation and, 195–97; of baby-
boomers, 10–12; danger of overlooking
loss of, 78–79, 81; threats to continuance
of, 104–6
- culture and truth, 181–82
- deconstruction and historicism, 194

Delbo, Charlotte: on duality, 48; *Who Will Carry the Word?* 126

de Man, Paul, 192, 193, 194

Diary of Anne Frank, The: as landmark, 1–2; popularity of, 125; versions of, 2–3, 3–4
diaspora as responsible for Shoah, 146–47
Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths? (Veyne), 181–82

Douglass, Frederick, 199

Eichmann, Adolf trial: broadcast on American television, 36; dramatization on *The Twilight Zone*, 38–39

“Eli, the Fanatic” (Roth), 90–91

“Elijah Visible” (Rosenbaum), 98–100

ethnicity: John Berryman and, 27–29;

German Americans and Holocaust, 174–76; vs. national identity, 18–19, 32; in Nebraska: —African Americans and Jews in 177–78; —public recognition of, 169–70; Karl Shapiro and, 21–23; suffering and, 14, 80–81

Everything's for You, 165–66

Exodus, 155–56

Felman, Shoshana: Holocaust's resistance to intelligibility, 193–94; performative testimony, 191–92; on testimony, 190

Final Solution, morality of historical accounts of, 108–11

Frank, Anne: Foundation goals, 2; in Roth's *The Ghost Writer*, 85–86. *See also* *Diary of Anne Frank*

Freed, James Ingo, and design of U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 74–76

Gentleman's Agreement: anti-Semitism depicted in, 148–49, 151; Jewish identity in, 150–52; universalized meaning of Holocaust in America, 149

German Americans and Holocaust, 174–76

ghost stories: *Beloved*, 186–87; New Historicism and, 187–89; return of reference and, 194

Ghost Writer, The (Roth), 85–86

Giv'a 24 Eina Ona (Hill 24 Doesn't Answer), 147–48

Goldberg, Michael, *Why Should Jews Survive?* 106–7

Graver, Lawrence, on toning down Jewishness of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, 3

Greenblatt, Stephen, and New Historicism, 187–89

Grubman, Sally, survivor testimony of, 56
guilt and suffering, 202

Ha-behira ve-hagoral (Choice and Destiny), 163–64

ha-shoah ve-ha-gevurah (destruction and heroism), concept of, 146–47

Heffner, Avraham, *Ma Kara* (What Happened), 164–65

Here and Now, The (Cohen), 96–97

Hilberg, Raul: on evil, 178; on surge in academic study of Holocaust, 45

historicism, 187–89, 194

history: as memory, 183; popular culture and folk discourse, 145–46; remembering vs. learning, 188–89; value of documenting and studying, 43

Holocaust: assimilation as second Holocaust, 195–97; as current event, 9; evolution of view of, 179–80; finding significance of, 170–71; as metaphor, 7–8; as moral paradigm, 33–34, 39, 43–44; 1978 as turning point in American perception of, 45–47; as paradigmatic evil, 173; resistance to intelligibility of, 193–94; universalized meaning of in America, 149, 154

Holocaust cult, 11–12, 13

Holocaust research, growth of, 6–7

Holocaust studies in U.S., 4–5

hysteria in Miller's *Broken Glass*, 130–33

images and historical knowledge, 216–17, 217–19, 222, 223

“Imaginary Jew, The” (Berryman), 18–19, 27–29

incommunicability of suffering, 83, 92–93

intergenerational transmission of trauma, 121–24

Israel: film depictions of Holocaust from, 147–48; popular understanding of Holocaust in, 146–47; representation of in film, 161–63

Israeli Jewish identity: *The Cutting Room*, 143–45; *Ma Kara* (What Happened), 164–65

Jarrell, Randall, 19, 26

Jewish American Holocaust fiction, 87–89.
See also Rosenbaum, Thane

Jewish American identity: assimilation as second Holocaust, 196–97; in Berryman's “The Imaginary Jew,” 27–29; *The*

- Cutting Room and, 143, 144–45; dependence of on memory, 189–90; *Exodus* and, 155–56; *Gentleman's Agreement* and, 150–52; Holocaust connection as center of, 80–81, 107, 194–95; in post-Holocaust world, 29–30; *QB VII* and, 158–59, 160–61; racism and, 205–7; rivalry with African Americans over suffering, 198–99, 204–7, 207–10; in Shapiro's *V-Letter*, 21–23
- Jewish presence in Nebraska, 168–69
- Job, story of, and suffering, 201
- John Paul II (Pope), outreach to Jews by, 172
- Jordan, Michael, and Nike, 219
- Kindertransport* (Samuels), 126, 139
- Kingsolver, Barbara, *Pigs in Heaven*, 104–5
- Klein, Kurt, 10
- Kremer, S. Lillian, 84, 85, 87–88
- Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass), 128–29
- Lang, Berel, "The Representation of Limits," 102, 104, 108–11
- Lanzmann, Claude, *Shoah*, 190, 193
- Lauck, Gary ("Gerhard"), 176–77
- Leitner, Isabella, 48
- list as technology of recruitment, 108–13
- literary representations of Holocaust: "An Act of Defiance" (Rosenbaum), 93–95; "Cattle Car Complex" (Rosenbaum), 89–92; *The Counterlife* (Roth), 97; "Eli, the Fanatic" (Roth), 90–91; "Elijah Visible" (Rosenbaum), 98–100; *The Ghost Writer* (Roth), 85–86; *The Here and Now* (Cohen), 96–97; "The Imaginary Jew" (Berryman), 27–29; Berel Lang, on, 102, 104, 108–11; Bernard Malamud, 84; *Night* (Wiesel), 95, 199; *The Oath* (Wiesel), 83; "The Old System" (Bellow), 99–100; Cynthia Ozick on, 86–87; "The Pants in the Family" (Rosenbaum), 92–93; "Romancing the *Yohrzeit* Light" (Rosenbaum), 96, 97–98; "The Shawl" (Ozick), 136. *See also* Spiegelman, Art
- Lowell, Robert, 27, 31–32
- Lumet, Sidney, *The Pawnbroker*, 153–55
- Ma Kara* (What Happened), 164–65
- Malamud, Bernard, role of Holocaust in work of, 84
- Marcus, Paula, diary entries of, 52–55, 64–65
- Maus* books. *See* Spiegelman, Art
- media. *See* cinematic representations of Holocaust; televised representations of Holocaust
- Memorial Candles* (Wardi), 121–22, 123
- memorials: events of American history vs. American's history, 70–71; motives for, 68–69, 71–72; public commemorations of Holocaust, 69–70, 167–68, 169–70; technology of the list, 111–13
- memory and history, 183, 184, 186–87, 188–89
- Miller, Arthur: *After the Fall*, 126–27; autobiography of, 134–35; on denial, 135; *Incident at Vichy*, 127–28; *Playing for Time* adaptation, 128. *See also* *Broken Glass*
- Modernist poetry, 24–27
- morality of historical accounts, 108–11
- moral knowledge: of African Americans and Jews, 207–10; suffering as key to, 200–202, 209–10
- moral modesty, 203
- Morrison, Toni, *Beloved*: historicism of, 187–89; memory in, 185–87
- Nazi era invoked in television programs, 40–41
- neo-Nazis in Nebraska, 176–77
- Night* (Wiesel), 95, 199
- Nike Town (Chicago): concept of, 213–15; façade of, 211–12; going too far too fast, 219–20; images and referents in, 215–17; "mythic-symbolic-magic" potential of architecture and, 220–21; 1939 images in, 216–17; relationship to consumers, 220, 222, 223–24; reviews of and "reading retail," 212–13; swastika images in, 216, 217–19, 223; values brought to design of, 221–23
- Oath, The* (Wiesel), 83
- "Old System, The" (Bellow), 99–100
- Osborne, Tom, 171
- Ozick, Cynthia: *Blue Light*, 126, 136–39, 139–40, 141; on fictional representations of Holocaust, 86–87; "The Shawl," 136
- "Pants in the Family, The" (Rosenbaum), 92–93
- "passivity" of murdered Jews, 146–47, 147–48, 152
- Pawnbroker, The*, 153–55
- Pearson, Sybille, *Unfinished Stories*, 126, 139

perception of Holocaust, 4
 performative testimony, 191–94
 Petchek, Manny, survivor testimony of, 50–51, 55
Pigs in Heaven (Kingsolver), 104–5
 Plath, Sylvia, 19
 poetic vocation in 1940s and 1950s, 19;
 Modernist poets, 25–27; representative
 victim, 32; view of Karl Shapiro, 23–24
 popular culture and folk discourse of his-
 tory, 145–46
 Preminger, Otto, *Exodus*, 155–56
 “pro-life” movement and Holocaust, 173
 QB VII: Jewish American identity and,
 158–59, 160–61; novel vs. film, 156–57;
 Six-Day War (1967) and, 158
 racial identity and memory, 184, 186–87
 racism and Jews, 206–7
 Ravett, Abraham, *Everything’s for You*,
 165–66
 recruitment to a cultural identity, 106–8;
 intergenerational transmission of
 trauma, 121–24; technologies of connec-
 tion, 114–21; technology of list, 108–13
 Reibenbach, Tsipi, *Ha-behira ve-hagoral*
 (Choice and Destiny), 163–64
 religious identity: baby-boomers and,
 10–12; as distinct from nationality,
 150–51; primacy of Holocaust in estab-
 lishing, 13–14
 religious perspectives on Holocaust, 171–73
 remembrance: American themes in, 13;
 conflicts among scholars and laypeople
 regarding, 6; controversy over role in
 contemporary life, 96–97; increased in-
 terest in past decade, 9–10. *See also*
 memorials
 “Representation of Limits, The” (Lang),
 102, 104, 108–11
 representations of Holocaust: morality of,
 102, 104, 108–11; technologies of, 107–8.
See also cinematic representations of
 Holocaust; literary representations
 of Holocaust; televised representa-
 tions of Holocaust; theatrical represen-
 tations of Holocaust
Rise of the Goldbergs, *The* (Berg), 130
 “Romancing the Yohrzeit Light” (Rosen-
 baum), 96, 97–98
 Rosenbaum, Thane: “An Act of Defiance,”
 93–95; “Cattle Car Complex,” 89–92;

“Elijah Visible,” 98–100; on imagination
 of children of survivors, 83; “The Pants
 in the Family,” 92–93; “Romancing the
 Yohrzeit Light,” 96, 97–98
 Rosenberg, Robert, *The Cutting Room*:
 American Jewish identity in, 143, 144–45;
 Israeli Jewish identity in, 143–44;
 overview of, 142–43; popular culture and
 folk discourse of history in, 145–46
 Rosenfeld, Alvin: on “Americanization,” 5;
 on Anne Frank, 3, 4; on Holocaust re-
 membrance, 8
 Roth, Philip: *The Counterlife*, 97; “Eli, the
 Fanatic,” 90–91; *The Ghost Writer*, 85–86
 Rubinoff, Lionel, 195–96
 Samuels, Diane, *Kindertransport*, 126, 139
 Sandel, Michael, on democracy’s discon-
 tent, 67
Schindler’s List: list as technology of re-
 cruitment in, 112–13; representation of
 Israel in, 161–63; responses to, 5; Spiel-
 berg’s decision to make, 11; success of, 7
 Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., *The Disuniting of
 America*, 183
 Schwartz, Delmore, 25–26
 Schwartz, Lynne Sharon, *Leaving Brooklyn*,
 129
 second-generation survivors. *See* children
 of survivors
 Shapiro, Karl, 18–19; “The Conscientious
 Objector,” 30–31; ethnic identity and V-
 Letter, 21–23; Jewish identity and, 32;
 Modernist poetry and, 24–25, 27
 “Shawl, The” (Ozick), 136
 Shoah: anti-Semitism and representations
 of, 144–45; meaning of term, 146–47; vs.
 slavery for suffering, 198–200, 209–10
Shoah (film, Lanzmann), 190, 193
 Shoah Visual History Foundation, 10
 silence regarding Holocaust, 14–15, 19–20
 slavery: as memory in *Beloved*, 185–86; vs.
 Shoah on suffering, 198–200, 209–10
 Spiegelman, Art, and *Maus* books: critiques
 of, 86; destruction of representations in,
 102, 103; identities in, 114–16; intergener-
 ational transmission of trauma in, 123;
 second-generation issues in, 118–21; as
 work of nonfiction, 116–18, 123–24
 Spielberg, Steven: life of, 10–12; model for
 Schindler, 162. *See also* *Schindler’s List*
 spiritual crisis of second generation,
 95–100. *See also* children of survivors

- Star Trek* "Patterns of Force" episode, 39–43
 stigmatization: as "other," 41–42; as survivor, 50–51
 Strieber, Whitley, *Communion*, 182–83, 184–85, 189
 suffering: ethnicity and, 14, 80–81, 175, 177–78; incommunicability of, 83, 92–93; as key to moral knowledge, 200–202, 209–10; rivalry of African Americans and Jews over, 198–99, 204–7, 207–10; "transitivity of understanding suffering" principle, 203–4; vicarious psychological immersion in Holocaust and, 89, 91–92, 101
 survivors: advancing age of, 10; celebratory vs. psychiatric discourse, 49–50, 56–63; "conspiracy of silence," 51–55; death of as threat to Jewish identity, 189–90; depictions of in film, 163–66; emergence in public awareness, 46; isolation of, 55; legacies and last words of, 63–65; listening to, 46, 47–50, 51; meaning of term, 65–67; stake in forgetting, 138; suppression and stigmatization of, 50–51; television coverage of, 60–62; "to be and not to be," 47–48; upsurge of interest in, 57–58; as victims, 58–59
 swastika images in Nike Town, 216, 217–19, 223
 Tate, Allen, 25, 26
 televised representations of Holocaust: crime/legal series references to Holocaust, 35; as "guest" topics in, 34–35; impact on Holocaust memory culture, 33–34; science fiction series references to Holocaust, 35; *Star Trek* "Patterns of Force" episode, 39–43; *Twilight Zone* "Death's Head Revisited" episode, 36–39
 television coverage of Holocaust issues, 60–62
 testimony. *See* Felman, Shoshana; survivors, legacies and last words of
 texts: referential function of, 194; transmitting horror, 190–91
 theatrical representations of Holocaust: *After the Fall* (Miller), 126–27; *Blue Light* (Ozick), 126, 136–39, 139–40, 141; *Broken Glass* (Miller), 125, 126, 128–36; *The Diary of Anne Frank*, 1–4, 125; *Incident at Vichy* (Miller), 127–28; *Kindertransport* (Samuels), 126, 139; *Unfinished Stories* (Pearson), 126, 139; *Who Will Carry the Word?* (Delbo), 126
 Thompson, Gordon, of Nike, 213–14, 215, 216, 218
 "transitivity of understanding suffering" principle, 203–4
 truth and culture, 181–82
Twilight Zone "Death's Head Revisited" episode, 36–39
Unfinished Stories (Pearson), 126, 139
 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum:
 Michael Berenbaum and, 73–74, 80, 162; dedication of, 82; design of, 74–76; exhibition narrative, 76–80; identity cards, 76–77, 111–12; justification for, 72–73; limitations of, 78–79, 80–81; opening and construction of, 5; placement of, 74; popularity of, 7; proposal for, 72; success of, 80; theatrical nature of, 140–41
 universalized meaning of Holocaust in America, 149, 154
 Uris, Leon: *Exodus*, 155–56; *QB VII*, 156–61
 veterans as liberators, 178–79
 Veyne, Paul, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths?* 181–82
 victim status of ethnic groups, 14, 80–81, 175, 177–78, 209–10
 Vietnam, American experience of, 42–43
 visitor experience and myth, 182–83, 184–85, 189
 V-Letter (Shapiro): ethnic identity and, 21–23; Jewish identity and, 18–19, 32
 Wardi, Dina, *Memorial Candles*, 121–22, 123
Who Will Carry the Word? (Delbo), 126
Why Should Jews Survive? (Goldberg), 106–7
 Wiesel, Elie, 5–6; at dedication of U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 82; *Night*, 95, 199; *The Oath*, 83; survivor testimony of, 47, 48, 50; Yom HaShoah speech in Lincoln, Nebraska, 167–68
 Yom HaShoah (Day of Remembrance of Holocaust), 167–68, 169–70
 Zemach, Eddy, on culture, 104, 105, 106, 196
 Zionist films, 159–60