

# Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	x
<i>List of Tables and Figures</i>	xi
<i>Foreword</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xiv
Introduction: How the Holocaust Looks Now <i>Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann and Martin L. Davies</i>	xxii
<b>Part I The Ark of Innocence – Morality and Memory after Auschwitz</b>	
1 The Ark of Innocence – Morality and Memory after Auschwitz <i>Eveline Goodman-Thau</i>	3
<b>Part II Memories of the Holocaust: Public and Private Discourses</b>	
2 ‘One goes left to the Russians, the other goes right to the Americans’ – Family Recollections of the Holocaust in Europe <i>Olaf Jensen</i>	19
3 Bringing the Holocaust Home. Danish and Dutch Third Generation’s Struggle to Make Sense of the Holocaust <i>Isabella Matauschek</i>	30
4 Verbalising the Holocaust. Oral/Audiovisual Testimonies of Holocaust Survivors in the United States <i>Maria Ecker</i>	41
5 Christa Wolf’s <i>Patterns of Childhood</i> . An East German Confrontation with the Nazi Past <i>Peter J. Graves</i>	50
6 The Presence of the Shoah in Daily Discourse in Israel <i>Esther Hertzog</i>	60

### Part III The Holocaust and European Historical Culture

- 7 The Undivided Sky – The Auschwitz Trial on East and West German Radio 75  
*René Wolf*
- 8 The Holocaust as a History-Cultural Phenomenon 85  
*Klas-Göran Karlsson*
- 9 Between the Holocaust and Trianon – Historical Culture in Hungary 97  
*Kristian Gerner*
- 10 The Holocaust in Ukrainian Historical Culture 107  
*Johan Dietsch*
- 11 A Tale of a Former Shtetl. The Memory of Jews and the Holocaust in Poland 116  
*Barbara Törnquist Plewa*
- 12 Heroic Images. Raoul Wallenberg as a History-Cultural Symbol 126  
*Ulf Zander*

### Part IV Representing the Holocaust: Memorials

- 13 Holocaust Survivors and Early Israeli Holocaust Research and Commemoration: A Reappraisal 139  
*Boaz Cohen*
- 14 “Auschwitz in the Museum?”: Holocaust Memory Between History and Moralism 149  
*Simone Lässig and Karl Heinrich Pohl*
- 15 The Establishment of National Memorials to the Nazi Past: Yad Vashem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Topography of Terror Foundation 163  
*Matthias Hass*
- 16 Filling the Void: Representing the History of Bergen-Belsen for a New Generation 173  
*Rainer Schulze*
- 17 Visiting Memorials: A Worthwhile Cathartic Experience or ‘A Waste of Time and Money’? 185  
*Jochen Fuchs*

**Part V Representing the Holocaust: Writing, Art, Education**

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 18 | History and Memory: Saul Friedländer's Historiography of the Shoah<br><i>Karolin Machtans</i>                         | 199 |
| 19 | What Kinds of Narratives Can Present the Unpresentable?<br><i>Tatiana Weiser</i>                                      | 208 |
| 20 | The Possibilities and Problems of Narrating Facts<br><i>Veronika Zangl</i>  | 219 |
| 21 | <i>Maus</i> , Toys and Him: Contemporary Fine Art as a Reflection on the Reception of History<br><i>Mirjam Wenzel</i> | 229 |
| 22 | 'Education after Auschwitz' Revisited<br><i>Martin L. Davies</i>  | 247 |

**Part VI Anti-Semitism Today**

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 23 | Anti-Semitism Today<br><i>Wolfgang Benz</i> | 261 |
|    | <i>Index</i>                                | 273 |

## **Part I**

# **The Ark of Innocence – Morality and Memory after Auschwitz**



# 1

## The Ark of Innocence – Morality and Memory after Auschwitz\*

*Eveline Goodman-Thau*

As we look back on the end of the Jewish world in Europe, especially in what was the Jewish space called *Ashkenaz* – united by the common use of the German language in all its cultural ramifications – we are no longer using the same discourse as before, neither from a religious nor from a secular perspective: we are living in a time of man-made disasters and apocalyptic myth come true in the tumbling towers of Manhattan for all to see in real-time over and over again by the power of technology and the global media. The Golem – as a *deus ex machina* – has taken a terrible revenge on its master and we are groping for words and images to describe the unimaginable, to bring our world-view and self-image into focus.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the problem of Holocaust representation touches not only on the question of the Biblical prohibition of making a graven image of the divine, as that which should not be seen but only heard, but also enlarges the horizon of our consciousness in a new way, enabling us to comprehend this prohibition from a human, that is a *moral, point of view*, crossing the boundaries between aesthetics and ethics.<sup>2</sup> Although one would not deny the extraordinary character of the Holocaust as an *historical* event, there exists a considerable debate concerning the uses and misuses of memory regarding its moral implications, its 'moral space of figurative discourse', including its more radical one: silence.<sup>3</sup>

The problem is however not only inherent in the context of Holocaust writing, but even more so in reading Holocaust narrative. So when dealing with the relationship between 'how narratives are told (their aesthetics) and how they mean (their hermeneutics)', Daniel Schwartz notes, 'I see telling as a crucial act, all the more crucial because of the trauma of the originating cause. Because we can never trust memory fully, in narrative effects (how a teller presents himself or herself) sometimes *precede cause* (the explanation for why a narrator is the person he or she is)'.<sup>4</sup>

The very act of telling the story thus creates a discontinuity with the historical past: the narrator chooses to place him- or herself in the situation of those who did not live to tell their story to us, as survivors burdened with the task of creating continuity in time.<sup>5</sup>

The question posed by memory and morality after Auschwitz is therefore: what are the ethical implications of breaking the silence of Auschwitz, of speaking not only the unspeakable but speaking the language of those whose voices were not heard then and which cannot be recaptured to-day? 'The disaster always takes place after having taken place', Maurice Blanchot remarked. The remarkable fact of the Holocaust representation confronts us in the first place with our own lives, with the way we look, directly and indirectly, through the very blurred vision of consciousness, trying at all costs to recapture something of the recognition of origin, of its originality, to try and fill the gap caused by a general feeling of 'world-loss', to avoid falling into the abyss of meaninglessness.

Being part of human history and yet outside of human experience, used as we are to imagining un-lived events, the Holocaust directs us to face the 'Unavoidable', a point of no return, where the Real breaks the boundaries of the Imaginary, shattering our hopes and illusions, the very foundations of human culture and civilization. 'Perhaps we should say that Holocaust narratives have become a genre with its own archetypes and its own cultural continuity.'<sup>6</sup> It means starting at the very beginning: questioning language.

*The question of language has come back again. You thought it seemed as if you had solved it; and you discover that, where language is concerned, you are in exile again.*

*Not that you lack a language, rather the question of your mother tongue, the German language, is back again.*

*Are you able to speak in this language or was it extinguished in Auschwitz?<sup>7</sup>*

Re-visiting the *Ark of Innocence* means entering into the literary representation of the human construct of the world as the concrete world of immediate experience.

The world of literature is human in shape, a world where the sun rises in the east and sets in the west over the edge of a flat earth in three dimensions, where the primary realities are not atoms or electrons but bodies and the primary forces not energy or gravitation, but love and death and passion and joy.<sup>8</sup>

In the world of literature and imagination anything can be imagined: 'the limit of imagination is a totally human world'.<sup>9</sup> In *The Ark of Innocence* experience and imagination are seeking each other: broken apart by the stark reality of death and destruction, devoid of memory, as all traces of life have been erased, no bridge to our world, the world of the living, seems possible: where the train-tracks end, life ends.

*'Where is the train going?' the little girl asks her mother.*

*'It's going to ... it's taking us to Lodz. It's a long, long journey. Patience my child, you'll have to be patient. Lodz is a long way away; the city is beyond our*

*reach. We'll only know what it is like by the journey it takes us to get there, where we are going – a journey that has no end. The rails take us on further to where they end, through the gateway, through the gateway to heaven that is always open, but leads to death, the end of the railway line, that's where life ends.'*<sup>10</sup>

Here, the imagination does not go beyond the point of death, there is no Heaven and Hell, no story of a lost Paradise: an abyss opens up between us as readers of the conversation between mother and child, with the child asking and the mother, from experience, answering. There is no memory of this conversation, no written account to verify its truth, it is only by identifying ourselves with the questions and the answers that we overcome the dichotomy of fact and fiction, but more so between fact and value.<sup>11</sup>

The text *Arche der Unschuld (The Ark of Innocence)* was born out of a visit to Auschwitz of almost ten years ago with my non-Jewish students at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, where I established and, between 1992 and 1998, built up the first Department for Jewish Studies in the East after the reunification of Germany. It was a first visit to Auschwitz for me and for my students – a group of about 15 young people including the eight-year old daughter of one of them – taken by train from Halle to Krakow, a long train-ride eastward, which brought back to me images of memory of the train-ride which I did not take – I was lucky to survive the war in hiding with my family in Holland – but was a last journey for so many others.

The time of our journey was most significant: it was 50 years after the liberation and the fifth anniversary of the Seminar for Jewish Studies. After five years of hard work, it would finally become firmly established with a permanent chair, but, as it turned out, the students and I did not succeed in conveying the originally conceived aim of the department: to tackle, through the teaching of Jewish-European Studies, the issue of a renewal of the Humanities in Germany after the Holocaust.

As the author of *The Ark of Innocence*, I realised only much later, in fact five years later, when reading the transcribed version of my notebook, that I was the child – having survived the war in hiding with my family in Holland, and surely pondered on the meaning of 'trains and transports', Deportation – also the mother. My parents were with us during the period of hiding, but there was however a silence about the unspeakable: what would happen, if, God forbid, we would be called up for deportation. There is in fact in my memory a scene of my father coming home with five knapsacks after having followed the orders of the *Judenrat* – Jewish Council – to prepare a knapsack for each member of the family with the bare essentials for a journey of a few days, and of my mother standing at the top of the stairs in our house in Hilversum, shouting at him not to dare enter with these bags: 'If we prepare ourselves, we are, in fact, already with one foot on the train. No, if we are called, we will in the emergency get ourselves ready, but we will not prepare ourselves to be deported.' This was not, what we would call a classical case of 'denial', of not wanting to see reality as it is, but rather an

amazing insight on the part of my mother into the strategy of the Gestapo: first, Jews were separated from the rest of the population by special ordinances, then they had to register (the official reason given was the fact that workers were needed in 'work-camps', since the German work-force was doing its duty as soldiers at the front). If you didn't register for the 'work-camp' you were punished and sent to a concentration camp, which was the euphemism for the death camps. My mother could see a 'logic' behind the ordinances: once you had registered and once you had psychologically entered into that realm of experience, the much dreaded day of the call-up for deportation would seamlessly fit into the scenario of the imaginable. Only what was to follow lay outside the imaginable, outside the speakable, exactly because of the break between human experience and imagination: the mind cannot find the original of such an event, a picture that can adequately fit reality.<sup>12</sup>

*Stepping out of experience* is in itself an act of defiance, of questioning the 'logic' of the authorities, of accepted opinion. It meant in the first place questioning the order of things, of a reality that had replaced normality where knapsacks are used for happy occasions, for an outing to the mountains or the seaside. Out of this realisation came my mother's act of resistance, her enacting of a will of her own and her insistence that she, and the members of her family, would not bow to the will of the executioners and would take their fate into their own hands. It was this questioning of the ordinances and of the law that eventually saved our lives during the period of hiding and that has stayed with me until this very day as a 'hermeneutics of suspicion' in my own scholarly work.

We can encounter the convergence of memory and 'morality' here, when we recognize the Nazi perversion of values in the name of a 'higher order' which demanded a human 'sacrifice' on the part of the German nation, moving towards its intended destiny, its *Heilsgeschichte*, an issue we will deal with later on in this essay.

As the author of *The Ark of Innocence*, I realised that I was the child and the mother in conversation in real time *in the past*, but also the grandmother in conversation in *real time* – this time as a listener to their conversation – being with mother and daughter on the train. It meant breaking not only with the aesthetic conventions of Western tradition but also seeking to bridge the gap between art and knowledge, touching upon the question of concern versus indifference when dealing with detachment and objectivity as scholarly virtues. The search for truth discovered that the solid ground for knowledge had become fractured, revealing the deep fissures caused by the very fact that Auschwitz really happened. Remembering this historical fact thus poses a moral burden, which is normally hidden from the eye when dealing with historical knowledge.

In an essay on the goal of humanities and the morality of scholarship, Northrop Frye notes:

The scholarly virtue of detachment, we said, is a moral virtue and not merely an intellectual one: what is intellectual about it is its context. It

turns into the vice of indifference as soon as its context becomes social instead of intellectual. Indifference to what? Indifference, let us say, to what we may call, with the existentialists, concern. *By concern, I mean something, which includes the sense of importance of preserving the integrity of the total human community.* Detachment becomes indifference when the scholar ceases to think of himself as participating in the life of society, and of his scholarship as possessing a social context. We see this clearly when we turn from the subject itself to the social use made of it. Psychology is a science, and must be studied with detachment, but it is not a matter of indifference whether it is used for a healing art, or for 'motivational research' designed to force people to buy what they neither want nor need, or for propaganda in a police state.<sup>13</sup>

In *The Ark of Innocence* I have tried to find this language of concern. I have tried to give it a voice in the midst of silence, making the invisible visible. There are a number of these conversations in *The Ark of Innocence*:

*'Where has the train come from and where is it going to?*

*Where has it come from? From Paradise. Where is it going to? It is going to Hell. And the only way, the only way human beings come to know about paradise was when the trees were still blooming, when the flowers were there still for picking, when children were still playing and laughing,*

*When lovers were still in love.*

*Only after escaping from Hell, from the flames, you get to know this, my child, of humankind.<sup>14</sup>*

Here the dialogue turns into a triologue: a vantage point becomes visible from which beginning and end can be perceived. Paradise and hell, a short distance, a train-ride away from each other. The child and the mother can speculate about this, but you have to escape from the flames to know, to know as a grandmother knows *her* child, and the child of her child. But, too few grandmothers survived to bear witness and to live on the threshold of Life and Death, on the dividing line, the *Rakia* (Hebr. horizon)<sup>15</sup> between experience and perception, trying to bridge the gap between history, memory and reality.

For the first time, I dared to break the barriers of amnesia in myself, confronting history with memory, questioning historical evidence with life: my life as child, mother and grandmother and thus the lives of so many other children, who would now have a similar story to tell, but whose voices remained unheard. It was not sufficient for me to live vicariously through the stories of others, to rely on their images. I had to break through to the original story, *my story*. To break time by my presence in history, describing the present, not in the light of a projected future, but of a transformed past. A past, which according to historic logic, cannot be changed, but which can

be transformed by memory, expressed in a language of concern, which does not bring the dead back into life, but which opens the 'Way to Life' for us.<sup>16</sup> By *displacing* oneself, it is indeed possible to unmask the disguises of detachment and the trappings in society, to gain the solid ground of morality steeped in the knowledge of having touched, however slightly, the veil of human freedom and truth.

In *The Ark of Innocence* I experienced displacement, in an existential manner – it made me understand many of the decisions of my life, but more important the thrust of my scholarship.

*'Where is the train going?'*

*'It is heading for the void, my child, bound for the beginning. For you and for me, my child. But for the others, for those who'll survive, where is the train taking them? Perhaps on holiday, as it used to, to the mountains, to the lakes, to the seaside, to the islands, or into the city. I don't know, my child, I don't know what life with Auschwitz will look like. I just don't know.'*<sup>17</sup>

*'I don't know what life with Auschwitz will look like'* is the challenge that we – *nolens volens* – face 60 years after: Auschwitz is not a different planet; it is here on earth, a place one hour from Krakow. In the winter ice-cold – as this past 27 January 2005 when we stood in the snow at 16 degrees below zero listening to the speeches of the Kings and Queens, Presidents and Ministers, Rabbis and Pastors from all parts of Europe, watching them as they lit memorial-candles at the sound of drums in the summer burning hot, as I visited the camp for the first time with my East German students ten years ago.

Auschwitz is sheer experience. This is so, because the only way of knowing about it, is through experience, through encountering one's real original after having forgotten the imagined original – the re-presentation of what Auschwitz 'looks like' in memory.<sup>18</sup> The point of amnesia allows the encounter with reality itself that from this moment onward affects all reality.

The bond between perception, imagination and reality has been broken and must be mended in order to see. This 'mending of the world' (Emil Fackenheim)<sup>19</sup> is at the heart of our concern for history and memory 60 years after Auschwitz.<sup>20</sup>

It raises the question of what Emmanuel Levinas named the *Conditio Judaica* – the Jewish Destiny:

When temples are standing, the flags flying atop the palaces, and the magistrates donning their sashes, the tempests raging in individuals' heads do not pose the threat of shipwrecks. They are perhaps but the waves stirred by the winds of the world around well-anchored souls within their harbors. The true inner life is not a pious or revolutionary thought that comes to us in a stable world, but the obligation to lodge the

whole of humankind in the shelter – exposed to all the winds – of conscience ... But the fact that settled, established humanity can at any moment be exposed to the dangerous situation of its morality residing entirely in its ‘heart of hearts’, its dignity completely at the mercy of a subjective voice, no longer reflected or confirmed by any objective order – that is the risk upon which the honor of humankind depends. *But it may be this risk that is signified by the very fact that the Jewish condition is constituted within humanity.* Judaism is humanity on the brink of morality without institutions.<sup>21</sup>

Levinas reflects then on the price that the Jewish people have paid for this ‘exposure’ and concludes:

But that condition, in which human morality returns after so many centuries as to its womb, attests, with a very old testament, its origin on the hither side of civilizations. Civilizations made possible, called for, brought about, hailed and blessed by that morality – which can, however, in its part, only know and justify itself in the fragility of the conscience [...].<sup>22</sup>

Conscience is, in fact, fragile, because knowledge breaks down in the face of each individual and becomes relevant where the ‘personal’ meets the ‘general’, the ‘religious’ meets the ‘profane’. Our debate on the future of Judaism on the brink of morality without institutions, therefore, cannot avoid the question of the nexus between power and memory.<sup>23</sup> Dealing with the Jewish Question after Auschwitz is thus not only a political issue, a form of restitution or reparation, but rather about the intellectual survival of society as a whole and about the necessary consideration of the renewed role of the Humanities in countries experiencing the late consequences of a rupture of civilisation, especially in those countries where Jews are no longer a present force to help carry the burden of values. It means addressing the question of the relevance of traditional texts – be they religious or secular – which, to paraphrase William James, reveals the impact of the *varieties of historical experience*, and offering an opportunity to study and research the tradition-founding elements in the various traditions, that have shaped European identities and their cultural connection with Judaism.<sup>24</sup> This would be a common task for all, to make a new beginning out of destruction, to confront the historic hour and, therefore, history. It would allow us to delve into the *Archives of Memory* rather than *History* to extract the deep layers of amnesia and strategies of denial inherent in human nature, to free the spirit from the burdens of forgetting, as an act of resistance to any form of totalitarianism, as ‘The struggle against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.’<sup>25</sup>

It means coming to terms, not merely with the historical fact of the annihilation of European Jewry, the conscious killing of six million innocent men, women and children under the cloak of war, but also with the way we

look at life and history, judge our actions and those of others, practice political activism and social critique. In short, it poses the question of the *politics of history and memory*, and urges us to reflect on the means and ways to move towards, what I would call a *political hermeneutics of culture*. Before we consider this, we must return once more to the *Ark* for one more – this time the last – conversation between mother and child on the train, breaking into the intimacy of this encounter, where the mother finally reveals the truth to her child and opens the end for a beginning: for human freedom.

*'Where is the train going to? It is going to annihilation, my child. It is best for you to know that now, straightaway. Perhaps that will comfort you, be a way of accepting the end more easily. Close your eyes, open your lungs and take a deep breath, it will happen more quickly that way, you will lose consciousness immediately and angels will immediately be able to carry you up to heaven. Survival will be much, much worse. Not because life was so terrible, but because survival will be impossible. The world will have changed beyond all recognition, people will not recognize each other, because they have been there, in that place, from which no-one returns alive, with a mind that feels alive, with hope, faith, and love. All that, my child, will be gone. Un-recoverable, lost for ever and ever, going up in the smoke of the crematoria, in the smell of the bodies, in children's screams. And so it's better to wish for death than life. 'I put before you life and death and you choose death.' (Deuteronomy 30:10) No, you choose death, because, until we get there, death is still bound up with life. Afterwards, after Auschwitz, there will no longer be any life that is a choice between death and life. You choose death now, you choose death now freely, in dignity, in freedom, in order to save life, your own life.'*<sup>26</sup>

The French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard critiques the aestheticising of death in Western tradition:

Auschwitz is the forbiddance of the beautiful death [...]. Sacrifice is not available to the deportee, nor for that reason accession to an immortal collective name. One's death is legitimate because one's life is illegitimate. The individual name must be killed (whence the use of serial numbers), and the collective name (Jew) must also be killed in such way that no one bearing this name might remain which could take the deportee's death into itself and eternalize it. This death must therefore be killed, and that is what is worse than death. For, if death can be exterminated, it is because there is nothing to kill. Not even the name Jew.<sup>27</sup>

Choosing death means re-affirming the choice between life and death, saving the legitimisation of the individual and thus of humanity.

Thus Giorgio Agamben writes on the *homo sacer*, that obscure figure in Roman law, who *'may be killed and yet not sacrificed'*, as a paradigm in modernity

of those who are excluded from society by the logic of sovereignty as outlaws: '[...] his entire existence is reduced to a bare life stripped of every right by the virtue that anyone can kill him without committing homicide [...] yet he is in a continuous relationship with the power that banishes him precisely insofar as he is at every instant exposed to an unconditional threat of death.'<sup>28</sup>

When considering memory and morality after Auschwitz, the question of European Jewry after the Enlightenment becomes particularly important: Jews were murdered in the 'Third Reich', not because they were criminals or deviants – not even solely for their riches in Germany and other parts of Europe – but for the simple reason that they were *Jews*: Europe had to be made 'judenrein' for the establishment of the Third Reich – *Das Heilige Roemische Reich Deutscher Nation* – on the threshold of the Third Millennium.

In *The Ark of Innocence*, that imaginary refuge after the Great Man-Made Flood, I describe this event and its meaning for us in the following way:

*How easy it is to picture all this to yourself, to dream that everything was just a dreadful nightmare, a demonic plan. 'What the hell were they thinking of?' They were not thinking of anything, they just could not summon up the will to stop the operation.*

*It had to be proven at all costs that the decision had been the right one, otherwise why all the sacrifice, why all the effort and commitment? A logical, rational reason had to be found to validate for generations to come the recording, the need for image and film documentation, so that it would be known for ever and ever how much their forefathers, the heroes of Auschwitz, had done for the 'Vaterland'. What acts of cruelty they had to commit, so that the Aryan could live for ever and ever on Jew-free European soil. It was worth all the deprivation to ensure they remained heroes for ever and ever.*

*Precisely this cruelty, this descent into the abysmal depths of humanity, was their heroic act. Where in the whole of human history was there an annihilation process that was planned in such detail and carried out by so many people? Where else had there been such commitment to tracking down even the last Jewish child in the smallest of villages? – No-one was to remain, so that we may live ...*

*Sometimes you do not recognize the world any more. You would have expected the peoples of Europe to have learnt something from an operation such as that. To be obliged from now on to examine every procedure for its humanitarianism, to see if it works in a humane way, to check it doesn't put the system, democracy, in jeopardy, e.g. through too many 'special ordinances'. But after an age of 'special units', 'special treatment', 'Sonderweg', one surely just can't carry on as normal. How can you go over seamlessly into a democracy if you do not have this chasm for ever and ever before your eyes? If with every signature, with every official stamp, you do not see a human face in front of you? To write down the names of the 'victims' is just a substitute, a replacement for your own name,*

that is inscribed in every one of those that died. The grace that is gained from being born late or the innocence that is earned by being born early are of no use. You are never born too early or too late: you live only at the right time, then as now, today you live for yesterday and tomorrow, stretched on a wire, between heaven and earth.<sup>29</sup> This hour is my hour, as Paul Celan says: 'The hour stood before the clock and commanded it to keep the right time.'<sup>30</sup>

*My hour, in which I by my own decision, since this hour is given to me, inscribe myself and my time onto eternity. For good and for bad. As hero or as victim. Why do we always speak of others, why do we not speak about ourselves. About our hopes, anxieties, rage, grieving, helplessness. They then, victims as well as victimizers, they did have the same feelings ... or did they not? Was it a heroic deed, to do all this for 'Fuehrer und Vaterland' without feeling anything, to harden yourself? To show weakness, is, after all, to show mercy, to take the children's crying seriously. You also were a child once, weren't you? You also once sought warmth and comfort in the dark, didn't you? Was all this forgotten? Had it become impossible? Was death in the end a way of being saved from a life that had become impossible? But if it had been your own death at least, everything would not have been so terrible. But it was by killing others, not your acquaintance in the house next door, no, an unknown other, strangers, people who strike me as strange, now that I have become a stranger to myself.<sup>31</sup>*

So, beyond the question of good and evil, representation finds its answer in the reflection not on the premises of legal and philosophical concepts or pseudo-conventions such as 'etiquette' and 'political correctness', nor in an attempt to hide behind learned discussions concerning the correct facts and figures, nor even in the use of language borrowed from the lexicon of religious canon, such as 'martyrdom', 'victim' or 'suffering'. (It is for this reason that I find the word *Holocaust* – Greek: burnt-offering – so problematic since Jews were not given a choice in Auschwitz to die for *Kiddush Haschem*, the Sanctification of God's name: they were murdered in the name of duty for 'Fuehrer und Vaterland'.<sup>32</sup>) But representation entails a serious reflection on accepting the onus to rethink not only the Shoah,<sup>33</sup> but the very project of the Humanities as a discipline, in the light of history, language and the self,<sup>34</sup> directed towards finding a critical cultural paradigm which breaks down our preconceived notions of reason, reality, and normality, and critiques our normative values and standards: 'The universe of dying that was Auschwitz yearns for a language purified of the taint of normality,<sup>35</sup> writes Lawrence Langer, but was it a 'universe of dying' and can this universe 'yearn for a language purified of the taint of normality'? Can a universe yearn at all, when those who were murdered cannot speak, but still move *our* lips? Our mourning and yearning for them is much stronger than any act of memory that can possibly heal the universe by way of language: 'Manchmal freilich stirbt der Himmel unseren Scherben voraus' (Paul Celan).<sup>36</sup> Looking up to Heaven thus makes no sense and is to no avail and we are left to gather the pieces which have rained

down on us from the broken sky: the flight into an outdated metaphysics – or theology – is no longer possible.

So when assuming the moral responsibility of becoming a witness to the *Shoah*, we are indeed, each one of us, telling our own story, showing who we are, and adding not only a missing link to our biography, but to history itself, which is the sum total of the actions of mankind.<sup>37</sup>

Acting in the world involves and construes my identity continuously, and my identity is a narrative. In the very same sense in which telling my narrative is a speech act, my actions, my involvement with the world, are an act of speech, a building up of a continuous story. 'Ich wünschte, ich wäre eine Beethovensche Symphonie oder sonst etwas, was geschrieben ist,' said the young Rosenzweig in one of his letters,<sup>38</sup> 'das Geschriebenwerden tut weh'.<sup>39</sup>

Where history and biography cross is the place where true historiography, the painful process of *writing history* and *being written by history*, begins: the historian becomes a witness to history not only by relating mere facts and collecting relevant documents, but by asking pertinent and probing questions in regard to their meaning *for the present*. The ethical demand inherent in this task cannot be overestimated, since it touches the very core of the search for meaning after Auschwitz, picking up the thread of life after destruction, creating historical continuity.

## Notes

\* The essay is part of a longer study that will appear in the wake of the publication of my book *Arche der Unschuld. Versuch einer Kulturkritik nach Auschwitz* (Vienna, 2006).

1. 'World-view and self-image are indissolubly intertwined with each other. The way man sees the world is the way he sees himself; the way he conceives himself is the way he conceives the world. Alterations in his view of the world lead to alteration in his view of himself and vice versa', in Christoph Wulf, 'The Temporality of World-views and Self-images', in D. Kemper and C. Wulf (eds), *Looking Back on the End of the World*, trans. D. Amtal (New York, 1989).
2. See Robert Eaglestone, 'From the Bars of Quotation Marks: Emmanuel Levinas's (Non)-Representation of the Holocaust', in A. Leak and G. Paizis (eds), *The Holocaust and the Text: Speaking the Unspeakable* (London, 2000), 97–109.
3. Berel Lang, *Act and Idea in the Nazi Genocide* (Chicago, 1990), 160–161.
4. Daniel R. Schwartz, *Imagining the Holocaust* (New York, 1999), 35.
5. Compare the Biblical injunction to remember the Exodus from Egypt: "*Vehigadeta lebincha bayom hahu lemor – And you shall tell your son on that day, saying*" (*Exodus* 13:8).
6. Schwartz, *Imagining the Holocaust*, 35.
7. All passages taken from my book, *Arche der Unschuld. Versuch einer Kulturkritik nach Auschwitz* (Vienna, 2006), are set in italics throughout this essay. They are cited from the (unpublished) English version, *The Ark of Innocence. A Critique of Reason after Auschwitz*, trans. M.L. Davies. *The Ark of Innocence*, p. 5.

8. Northrop Frye, *The Educated Imagination* (Bloomington, MD, 1964), 28.
9. Frye, *The Educated Imagination*, 29.
10. Goodman-Thau, *The Ark of Innocence*, 8.
11. Hillary Putnam, *The Collapse of the Fact/Value Dichotomy* (Cambridge, MA, 2002).
12. Cf. Goodman-Thau, *The Ark of Innocence*, 5–6.
13. Northrop Frye, 'The Knowledge of Good and Evil', in M. Black (ed.), *The Morality of Scholarship* (Ithaca, NY, 1967), 9–10 [italics are mine].
14. Goodman-Thau, *The Ark of Innocence*, 9.
15. *Gen.* 1:6, where *Rakia* denotes the dividing line between heaven and earth.
16. cf. Goodman-Thau, *The Ark of Innocence*, part 3: A Shipwreck with no Spectators.
17. Goodman-Thau, *The Ark of Innocence*, 11–12.
18. Cf. Goodman-Thau, *The Ark of Innocence*, 5–6.
19. Emil L. Fackenheim, *To Mend the World. Foundations of Post-Holocaust Jewish Thought* (New York, 1982).
20. Eveline Goodman-Thau and Fania Oz-Salzberger (eds), *Das Jüdische Erbe Europas. Krise der Kultur im Spannungsfeld von Tradition, Geschichte und Identität* (Berlin, 2005), 13–39 and Eveline Goodman-Thau, *Erbe und Erneuerung. Kulturphilosophie aus den Quellen des Judentums* (Vienna, 2004).
21. Emmanuel Levinas, *Proper Names*, trans. M.B. Smith (London, 1996), 122.
22. Levinas, *Proper Names*, 123.
23. Cf. Jan-Werner Mueller (ed.), *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe. Studies in the Presence of the Past* (Cambridge, 2002).
24. Jürgen Habermas, 'Die verkleidete Tora. Rede zum 80. Geburtstag von Gershom Scholem', in Jürgen Habermas, *Politik, Kunst, Religion* (Stuttgart, 1978), 133; William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience. A Study in Human Nature* (London, 1921).
25. Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (New York, 1980).
26. Goodman-Thau, *The Ark of Innocence*, 34.
27. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Differend. Phrases in Dispute* (University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 100–101.
28. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. D. Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA, 1998), 183. Compare the Biblical story of Cain and Abel, when the agonising cry of Cain, that anyone may now kill him as he is banished as a murderer, is heard by God, who grants him a sign on his forehead as a reminder, that he is indeed not to be killed (*Genesis* 4).
29. Cf. *Job*, 26, 7: 'He stretcheth out the North over an empty place, /And hangeth the Earth upon nothing.'
30. Paul Celan, 'Gegenlicht', in: Paul Celan, *Gesammelte Werke*, 5 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), III, 163.
31. Goodman-Thau, *The Ark of Innocence*, 35–37.
32. Cf. Heinrich Himmler's famous 1943 Posen speech to the upper-level SS-officers revealing the importance and function of the annihilation of the Jews in shaping the German psyche: '[...] In our history, this is an unwritten, never-to-be-written page of glory [...] All in all, we may say that we have accomplished the most difficult task out of love for our people. And we have not sustained any damage to our inner self, our soul and our character,' in Lucy Dawidowicz (ed.), *A Holocaust Reader* (West Orange, NJ, 1976), 132–133.
33. Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (London, 2002).
34. Eveline Goodman-Thau, *Aufstand der Wasser. Jüdische Hermeneutik zwischen Tradition und Moderne* (Vienna, 2002), 9–10, 15–31.
35. Lawrence Langer, *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays* (New York, 1995), 93.

36. 'Surely, Heaven sometimes dies ahead of our shards.'
37. In *The Human Condition* Hannah Arendt shows how through *acting* and *speaking* men reveal their unique personal identities, 'who' they are in the web of human relationships, retaining their agent-revealing capacity even in objective matters of the world of things. Turning to the question of history, she observes, that the condition of history is the fact that each and every individual human life is a story, with history being the storybook of mankind, 'with many actors and speakers and yet, without any authors', since 'both are the outcome of action'. See Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago, 1958), 184.
38. 'I would wish I were a Beethoven symphony or anything that is written': Franz Rosenzweig, *Briefe*, ed. E. Rosenzweig (Berlin, 1935), 19.
39. 'Being written is painful' in Amos Funkenstein, 'History, Counterhistory and Narrative', in S. Friedländer (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation. Nazism and the Final Solution* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 66–67.



# Index

- Achinger, Christine, 60  
Adorno, Theodor W., 212, 247–258  
    Auschwitz as barbarity, 255  
    on cultivation of personal autonomy, 248  
    ‘Education after Auschwitz’ essay, 247–258  
    on education as remedy for socially endemic inhumanity, 252  
    on remembrance, 249–250  
Agamben, Giorgio, xxix, 10, 209, 213, 216, 250  
Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, xxiv  
*Aktion Sühnezeichen* (International Youth Meeting Centre of the Action Reconciliation group), 184  
Alexander, Jeffrey, 7, 108  
Allende, Isabel, 57  
Alliance of Hungarian Jewish Religious Communities (MAZSIHISZ), 101–102  
Allied bombing, 20, 22, 150  
Allied Military Authorities, 75  
All Souls’ Day, 174  
Antelme, Robert, 210  
anti-Jewish laws, 98–99, 101  
anti-semitism today, 57, 64, 91, 112–113, 123–124, 132, 151, 190, 261–272  
    in Eastern Europe, 269  
    as an essential component of the ideology, 268  
    Islamic anti-Semitism, xxiv, 271  
    manifest anti-Semitism, 262  
    racial anti-Semitism, 262  
    religious anti-Judaism, 262  
    secondary anti-Semitism, 262  
    secretive forms of, 267  
anti-Zionism, 57, 262, 270  
Arad, Boaz (*Hebrew Lessons*), 232–234, 243–244  
Arendt, Hannah, xxxiii, 213, 219–221, 226  
    *Black Book, The*, 220  
    *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 226  
    on factual truth, 220  
Aristotle, 222, 225  
Arrow Cross, 102–103  
‘Aryan paragraph’, 203  
*Ashkenaz*, 3, 66  
Auerbuch, Rachel, 141–143, 145  
Auschwitz, 4–6, 8–13, 19, 23, 35, 58, 61, 75–82, 86, 90, 92, 102, 104, 107, 112, 116, 149, 150–151, 153–154, 156–158, 160, 179–180, 184, 186–192, 194, 201, 205, 221–222, 242, 247–249, 253–257, 261–263  
Auschwitz-Birkenau, xxii, 23, 179, 184  
Auschwitz Trial on East and West German Radio, 75–84  
and ‘country exhibitions’, 184  
and European Jewry, 11  
in Europe, as negative image, 107  
impact of the visit to, 188–190  
intriguing radio programme about, 79  
Jewish question after, 9  
‘*Konzentrationslager Auschwitz*’, radio programme, 76–77  
memorial visits, experience, 184–195  
morality and memory after, 3–12  
as Polish martyrdom, 116  
Austria, xxiii  
Azoulay, Ariella, 232  
  
Babi Yar, 110  
BBC, xxvi  
Bartana, Yael (*Trembling Time* video), 244–245  
Baudelaire, Charles, 224  
Baudrillard, Jean, 209  
Bauman, Zygmunt (*Modernity and the Holocaust*, 90), 65, 69, 90  
Belarus, 113  
Ben, Tony, xxii  
Ben-David, Yoav (*Join the Party* painting), 239–240, 244  
Benjamin, Walter, 224–225, 227  
Benz, Wolfgang, xxxii  
Bergen-Belsen memorial site, xxxiv  
    Anne Frank at, 179  
    appearance of exhibition, 180

- Bergen-Belsen memorial site – *continued*  
 Association of Survivors of  
 Bergen-Belsen, 178  
 basic tasks, 175  
 Documentation and Information  
 Centre, 170, 174, 176, 177,  
 179, 180  
 educational programme at, 181  
 exhibition at, 174  
 redesigning of the memorial, 176  
 tasks, 181  
 handed to *Gedenkstätte*, 175  
 history, 173–174  
 importance, 175  
 Jewish survivors, 174  
 Polish survivors, 174  
 redesign, 176  
 texture for exhibition, 178
- Berlin, xxiii, 54, 60, 77, 79, 151–152,  
 154, 158, 160, 164, 169–171, 185,  
 187, 203, 210, 243, 263  
*Aktives Museum Faschismus und  
 Widerstand in Berlin*, 169  
 Berlin Holocaust memorial Régine  
 Robin on, 210  
 East Berlin, 54, 77, 79  
 exhibition in, 152  
 Holocaust museum in, 151–152  
 House of the Wannsee Conference,  
 171, 184  
 Jewish Museum in, 154  
 Monument for the Murdered Jews of  
 Europe, 171  
 ‘Myths of Nations’ exhibition in, 152  
 official political side involvement, 170  
 site development, 170–171  
 terror foundation in, topography, 169
- Bernstein, Michael André, 223  
 Berthold, Karl, 203  
 Biermann affair, 58  
 Bitburg affair, 169  
 ‘bivalence’ concept, 97  
 ‘black tower’, 178  
 Blanchot, Maurice, 4, 204  
 Bloxham, Donald, xxix  
 Blumental, Nachman, 141–142, 145  
 Boder, David, 42, 44  
 Böll, Heinrich, 51  
 Boltanski, Christian, 225  
 Bosnia, xxx  
 Bratislava, 97
- Britain, xxii, xxvi  
 British Military Government, 173  
 Broszat, Martin, 200–201  
 Browning, Christopher (Ordinary Men),  
 xxviii  
 Buchenwald, 53, 112, 242  
 Budapest, 98–101, 126, 130–133  
 ‘Judapest’, 98  
 Raoul Wallenberg in, 126–133  
*Szabadság Tér* (Freedom Square), 98  
 Szent István Park, 131–132  
*Terror Háza* (House of Terror) museum,  
 102–104
- Bundestag*, 175  
 Burgenland, 98  
 Burke, Jason, xxiv  
 Bush, George, xxii  
 bystanders concept, 33, 55, 91, 108, 150,  
 152, 157, 202
- Cambodia, xxx  
 Carter, Jimmy, 167  
 Cassirer, Ernst, xxxv  
 Cattelan, Maurizio, 231–232, 234  
 Celan, Paul, 12, 51, 212–214, 241, 250  
*Death Fugue*, 51  
 Central Historical Commission of  
 Liberated Jews, 142  
 Central Jewish Historical Commission,  
 142  
 Channel 4 TV station, xxvi  
 children under state custody, 68  
 Chile, 57  
 Christian Democratic Union (CDU), 170  
 Cohen, Boaz, xxxii  
 Cohen, Daniel, 141  
 Communists, 22, 35, 52, 57, 267–269  
 communist ‘genocide’ in Hungary,  
 100, 102–104, 107, 123–124  
 communist victims’, 89  
 of Jewish origin, 266  
 Soviet-Communist genocides, 92  
 concentration camp, 6, 31–32, 36–38, 41,  
 45, 52–53, 62, 67, 76, 79, 93, 100,  
 110, 112–113, 153, 208, 212–213,  
 227, 239–241, 243, 250, 254  
 at Bergen-Belsen, 173–175, 177,  
 179–182  
*LEGO Concentration Camp*,  
 239–240, 243  
 visiting memorials, 189

- Concentration World*, 215  
 contemporary fine arts, and Holocaust,  
 229–246  
 Copenhagen, 33  
 Cracow, *see* Krakow  
 Crick, Bernard, xxii  
 Croatia, 25  
 Crowe, David M., 130  
 Cyprus camps, 67  
 Czechoslovakia, 100
- Dachau concentration camp, 112,  
 183n10
- Dagens Nyheter*, Swedish newspaper,  
 133
- Danish Jews, 30–40  
 rescue, 32–34
- Davies, Martin L, xxxii
- Deák, István, 98, 103
- de-Nazification, 75
- Denmark, 25, 30–36, 39
- Dercon, Chris, 229
- Derrida, Jacques (*On Cosmopolitanism  
 and Forgiveness*), 232
- Deuteronomy, 10
- Deutschkron, Inge, 81
- Deutschlandsender* (GDR radio station), 79  
*Ehrenmänner* (Men of Honour)  
 programme, 79–80
- Dietsch, Johan, xxxii, xxxiv
- Dinur, Ben-Zion, 140–146
- 'Disabled Veterans of the War against  
 the Nazis Law', 139, 143–144
- Displaced Persons, 42, 142, 178,  
 181–182, 247, 261
- Dost, Wolfgang, 78
- Dresler-Hawke, E., 187
- Dworzecki, Meir Marek, 141
- Eagle has Landed, The*, film, 129
- Eck, Nathan, 143, 143–145
- Ecker, Maria xxxii–xxxiii
- education  
 'Education after Auschwitz' essay,  
 247–258  
 and enlightenment, 252  
 as a simulacrum of the society, 253
- Eggebrecht, Axel, 80–82
- Eichmann, Adolf, 90, 130–134  
*Eichmann in Jerusalem* (Hannah  
 Arendt), 226  
 Eichmann trial, 75, 128, 132, 139–140,  
 150, 165  
 Ein langer, dunkler Schatten (A long,  
 dark shadow), 226–227
- Elbe, 50, 55
- 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition, 229
- Eriksen, Anne, 33
- Esch, Shaul, 141
- Europe, xxiv, 3, 8, 107–115, 168–180,  
 208–212, 258  
 European Jewry, 9, 11, 33, 85, 88–91,  
 140–146, 149–159, 163, 190, 202,  
 220, 248, 264–271  
 family recollections of the Holocaust  
 in, 19–29  
 Holocaust and European historical  
 culture, 73–136  
 Wallenberg in, 130–134  
 European dimension, of Holocaust, 107  
 European Jews, destruction of, 19, 27,  
 85, 107–114, 149  
 narration, 114
- Ezrahi, Sidra DeKoven, 222–223
- Fackenheim, Emil L., 8
- Fascist movements, 249
- Fateless, 221
- Federal Republic of Germany (FRG),  
 78, 80
- Felstiner, J., 212–213
- Figenbaum, Moshe, 142–143
- Finkelstein, Norman, 90
- Flössenburg concentration camp, 183n10
- Fox, Claire, xxvi–xxvii
- France, Holocaust theme in, 90,  
 178, 262
- Frank, Anne, 32, 35–38, 91, 128, 180  
 Anne Frank's diary, 38  
 in Dutch historical consciousness, 38  
 in United States, 38  
 as a universal symbol of Holocaust, 39
- Frankfurt/Main, Auschwitz Trial in, 75
- Frei, Norbert, 150
- Friedländer, Saul, xxv  
 on 'double dilemma' of language and  
 narration, 205  
 on 'historical consciousness', 199  
 on historiography of Shoah, 199–207,  
*see also under* Shoah  
 on memory and historiography,  
 200

- Friedländer, Saul – *continued*  
*Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 199–200, 202–203  
*Pius XII and the Third Reich*, 201  
 postmodernist approaches to the Nazi past, 205  
 on redemptive closure, 204  
 theoretical concepts, 202  
 on transference situation, 202
- Frye, Northrop, 6
- Fuchs, Jochen, xxxii, xxxiv
- Galon, Zehava, 63
- Galeerentagebuch (Gallery Diary)*, 221, 227
- Geffen-Ludomer, Hilma, 203
- German Democratic Republic (GDR), 50–59, 77–81, 149, 185, 262, 267  
 1990 collapse, 57
- Germany, xxiii, xxvii, 27  
 attack against the Soviet Union, 85  
 attack on Netherlands, 32–40  
 attacking Ukraine, 111  
 Auschwitz trial on East and West German radio, 75–84  
 East German confrontation with the Nazi past, 50–59  
 first generation Germans on, 150  
 German generation's memories about Holocaust, 19–31  
 German Historical Museum, 154  
 German racial policies, 109–113  
 German Resistance Memorial, 171  
 historical memory of Holocaust in, 150  
 memorials in, 184–195  
 second generation Germans on, 150  
 secondary anti-Semitism in, 262  
 third generation Germans on, 150
- Gerner, Kristian, xxxii
- Geschwister-Scholl-Preis, 203
- Gestapo, 6, 25, 31, 34, 169
- Globke, Hans Maria, 78
- Gnielka, Thomas, 76–77
- Goes, Albrecht (*Das Brandopfer*), 51
- Goffman, Erving, 27
- Goldhagen, Daniel (*Hitler's Willing Executioners*), xxviii, 90
- Gömbös, Gyula, 100
- Good Evening, Mr. Wallenberg* film, 129, 131
- Goodman-Thau, Eveline (*Ark of Innocence, The*), xxx, 3–8, 11, 12, 14, 16–18, 26, 31  
 origin of the text, 5
- Grass, Günter, 51
- Graves, Peter, xxxiii
- Grentestein, Yehiel, 143
- 'Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung', 229
- Gush-Shalom movement, 61
- Habermas, Jürgen, xxv
- Hadamar, 52
- Halbwachs, Maurice (Collective Memory; The Social Framework of Memory)  
 on event versus consequences of events, 219  
 on facts versus interpretation, 219
- Halle, 5  
 Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, 5
- Halpern, Israel, 141
- Hanover, 173
- Hartley, L.P., 53
- Hass, Matthias, xxiii, xxxii
- 'Haus der Deutschen Kunst', 229
- Hein, Christoph, 58
- Hendeles, Ydessa, 229–231
- Herf, Jeffrey, 50
- Hertzog, Esther, xxxii
- Hilberg, Raul, 107
- Hilversum, 5
- Himmler, Heinrich, 130, 166, 169  
 historical consciousness, of Holocaust, 86–88  
 and historical science perspective, 86–87  
 as a mental phenomenon, 88
- Historikerstreit*, 90
- history-cultural analyses, mediation of history in, xxxiii, 128
- Hitler, Adolf, 50–54, 60, 90, 92, 101, 110–113, 122, 168, 231–237, 243, 264–265, 271  
*Mein Kampf*, 112, 234–236, 271

- Hitler Youth, 52
- Hoffman, Jerzy (*After your Decrees* film), 120
- Holland, 5, 37
- Holocaust, xxii  
 apprehension, xxxii, xxxiii  
 as a 'borderline event', 107  
 contemporary fine art as a reflection on, 229–246  
 in contemporary historical culture, 93  
 and current political affairs, 166  
 Danish and Dutch third generation's struggle to make sense of, 30–40  
 definition, in Ukrainian educational content, 113  
 as a 'dysfunctional symbol', 89  
 as an elixir of life, 86  
 in Europe, family recollections, 19–29  
 in European and North American historical culture, 89  
 as a European trauma in Ukrainian educational content, 112  
 factually historical distinctive character, 92  
 generational perspective, 90  
 as an historical event, xxxiv–xxxvi, 3  
 as a history-cultural phenomenon, 85–96, *see also separate entry history of reactions*, xxxii–xxxiii  
 'Holocaust and Ghetto Rebellion Memorial Day Law', 139  
 'Holocaust and Heroism Memorial Act – Yad Vashem', 139  
 Holocaust and Heroism Memorial Day Law', 140  
 Holocaust Memorial Day, xxvi, 139, 167  
 Holocaust memory between history and moralism, 149–162, *see also separate entry*  
 'Holocaust tower', 154  
 How the Holocaust Looks Now, xxxii  
 humanities renewal in Germany after, 5  
 iconic dimension, xxiv  
 international perspectives and common themes, xxx–xxxvi  
 International Forum on the Holocaust', Stockholm (2000), xxiv, 111, 113, 160  
 key issues, xxix  
 and modern consciousness, xxv–xxvi  
 as a moral reference point, 159  
 museum, *see under* Holocaust museum  
 narratives of Holocaust, a traumatic experience, 208–218  
 need to individualize the presentation of, 159  
 Novick's description, 89  
 perceptions and instrumentalisation, xxiv  
 ramifications of the issues, xxx  
 representation, 3, 223  
 research into, xxvii–xxx  
 as scientific importance, 86  
 survivors, *see under* Holocaust survivors  
 and Trianon, historical culture in Hungary, 97–106  
 in terms of 'memory reversal', 90  
 turned into a media event, 237–238  
 in Ukrainian historical culture, 107–115  
 varieties and meanings, xxii–xxvii
- Holocaust as a history-cultural phenomenon, 85–96  
 Americanisation process of, 91  
 'faceless' cultural strategies, 91  
 functional history cultural analysis, 89  
 historical consciousness, 86–87  
 historical science perspective, 86–87  
 structurally orientated history-cultural problems, 92
- Holocaust memory between history and moralism, 149–162  
 Americanization of, 151, 155  
 and Europeanization of, 151  
 first generation Germans on, 150  
 German new generation interests in, 149–151  
 Germany, historical memory in, 150
- Holocaust museum,  
 as authentic sites (first type), 151  
 challenge to, 152–153  
 from the perspective of German history (third type), 152  
 from the perspective of politics and cultural memory, 152  
 fundamental types, 151  
 message from, 156  
 multi-sided Holocaust, 158

- Holocaust museum – *continued*  
 museums of Jewish history (second type), 151–152  
 National Socialist genocide, exploration of, 158  
 oral testimonies in, 159  
 presentation, concepts, and media in, 159
- Holocaust survivors  
 and early Israeli Holocaust research and commemoration, 139–148  
 in the first decades after war, 42  
 Gender Holocaust testimonies, 45–46  
 Holocaust testimony projects in the United States, 43  
 memorial at Bergen-Belsen by, 174  
 perception of, 42, 45  
 shifting age of the interviewees, 44  
 in the United States oral/audiovisual testimonies, 41–49
- Holodomor* (Terror Famine) 1932–33, 113
- Holy War ( *jihad* ), 270–271
- Horthy, Admiral Miklós, 100–103
- Hotel Rwanda* film, 131
- Hungary, 267  
 Hungarian Jews, Holocaust victims, 100  
 Hungary's Jews from 1945 to 2004, 104  
 Jewish dimension, in Hungary's modernisation, 97  
 Jews role in pre-war Hungarian economy, 99  
 support to Germany in 1938, 98  
 Trianon and Holocaust, historical culture in, 97–106  
 urbanists and populists in interwar Hungary, 98
- immigration experience, 43, 85, 143, 157, 164
- International Forum on the Holocaust, xxiv, 111, 113, 160
- Iran, xxiv
- Irving, David, xxiii
- Irving–Lipstadt libel suit, 128
- Islamic Summit Conference, 270
- Israel, xxii–xxiv  
 migrant labor in, 67  
 Shoah in daily discourse in, 60–71
- Israel Defense Force (IDF), 61–62
- Israeli society on European Jewry destruction, 164  
 ‘Catastrophe and Heroism’, 164  
 ‘Catastrophe and Rebirth’, 164  
 and ‘Catastrophe and Redemption’, 164  
 categories, 164
- Israeli–Palestinian conflict, 60–61
- James, William, 9
- Jensen, Olaf, xxxiii
- Jerusalem, xxiii, 61, 75, 90, 128, 141, 151, 157, 160, 164  
 Eichmann trial in, 75
- Jews, xxii, xxiii, xxvii, xxviii, xxxv
- Judaism, 9, 254, 261–262
- Judenrat*, Jewish Council, 5
- Jutland, 36
- Kádár, Gábor, 99, 104  
*Kadish for the unborn child*, 211
- Kant, Immanuel, 220, 251
- Kansteiner, Wulf, 81
- Kaplan, Israel, 142–143
- Karlsson, Klas-Göran, xxxii–xxxiii
- Kastner trial, 165
- Katzir, Ram (*Your Coloring Book*, exhibition-installation), 238–239
- Kaul, Karl Friedrich, 78–79
- Kazimierz, 185
- Kermish, Josef, 141, 142, 144–145
- Kertész, Imre, 221–222  
*Fateless*, novel, 221  
*Galeerentagebuch* (*Galley Diary*), 221, 227
- Kiddush Haschem*, 12
- Kloskowska, Antonina, 97
- Knesset, xxii
- Koselleck, Reinhart, 87
- Kosovo, xxx
- Kovács, Éva, 98
- Krakow, 5, 8, 80, 129, 185
- Kristallnacht*, 52
- Kundera, Milan, 56, 59n19
- Kushner, Tony, xxiii, 89, 91
- LaCapra, Dominick, 200
- Lagrou, Pieter, 32, 90
- The Language in Exile, 211
- La Isla Toy-Company, *Mimmie Mouse with Felix in Cages* toy, 229–230

- Landsberg an der Warthe, 51, 53  
*Landsmanschaften*, 143  
 Langer, Lawrence, 12, 204, 223  
 Lanzmann, Claude, 204, 223  
 Lash, John, 133  
 Laub, Dori, 223  
*Law & Order* TV series, 41  
 Lazar, David, 145–146  
 Lentin, Ronit, xxv, 61, 70  
 Lepenies, Wolf, 56  
 Leskov, Nikolai, 224–225  
 Levinas, Emmanuel, 8–9, 22  
 Levinthal, David, 234–236  
 Libera, Zibigniew, 239–240, 243  
 Lipstadt, Deborah, 90  
*Literaturstreit* (literary controversy), 57  
*Living History* project, 132  
 Los Angeles, Museum of Tolerance in  
 Los Angeles (MOT), 152  
 Lurie, Boris (*Saturation Paintings* series),  
 242–243  
 Lyotard, Jean-François, 10, 205, 224
- MacArthur Foundation Award, 203  
 Machtans, Karolin, xxxii  
 Magdeburg, 185–187  
 ‘the Magyars’, 103  
 Manhattan, 3  
 Mann, Thomas (*Mario und der  
 Zauberer*), 53  
 Markowitsch, Erich, 79  
 Marrus, Michael, 93  
*Matador* drama series, 35  
 Matauschek, Isabella, xxxiii  
*Maus* comic, 160, 204, 229–246  
 Mauthausen concentration camp, 32, 112  
 Mayer, Hans, 57  
 Mecklenburg, 52  
 Milton, Sybil, 168–169  
 Mohamad, Mahathir, 270  
 Molotov – Ribbentrop pact, 110  
 Monument for the Murdered Jews of  
 Europe, xxiii  
 Mühl-Benninghaus, Wolfgang, 82  
 museums, *see* Holocaust museum  
 Muslim Council of Britain, xxvi–xxvii  
 Mussolini, Benito, 53
- Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging*  
 (NSB), 32  
 Nazis/Nazism
- in aesthetical and superficial way, 234  
 American Nazis, 43  
 Germans remembrance of, 19–31  
 iconographic references to, 243  
 ‘Judo-Nazis’, 61–62  
 Nazi genocide, history as facts and  
 history as representation on, 127  
 Nazi-German racial policies, 112  
 Nazi past, an East German  
 confrontation with, 50–59  
 Nazi past, national memorials to,  
 establishment, 163–172  
 ‘Nazi-racial’ discourse, 62–63  
 Nazis, term description, 67–69  
 neo-Nazis, 262–263  
 Second World War due to, 19  
 Neruda, Pablo, 55  
 Netherlands, 25–27, 30–40  
 German attack on, 32–33  
 Neuengamme concentration camp,  
 183n10  
 New York, 41, 133, 141, 151, 157, 243  
 Jewish Museum New York, *Mirroring  
 Evil* exhibition, 243  
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 87, 93  
 Nikodym, Jerzy, 121  
 Nora, Pierre, 97, 105, 199  
 Norden, Albert, 78  
 Norway, 25  
 Novick, Peter, 42, 89, 129, 156  
 Nuremberg Trials, 55, 75, 78, 108  
 Nurok, Rabbi Mordechai, 139  
 Nybroviken, 133
- Odyssey*, 224  
*onderduiker*, 32, 36  
 Oneg Shabat Archives, 142  
 Orbán, Viktor, 102  
 Organisation of Disabled Veterans of the  
 War, 143–144  
 Ortwed, Kirsten, 133  
 Oswiecim, 185  
*Internationale Jugendbegegnungstätte*, 184
- Palestinian cities, bombing of, 67  
 Paris, xxiii  
*Partners* exhibition, 229–231, 237  
 Paul, Gerhard, xxviii  
 Recollections of childhood, 214  
 Perec, George, 214–215  
 Perlasca, Giorgio, 129

- perpetrators, 19, 55, 75, 79, 82, 89–92,  
101, 104, 108, 149–152, 155,  
158–159, 164, 185, 201–204, 225,  
227–231, 235–237, 241, 243
- 'Pinkas Ha'kehilot' project, 140
- Pinochet, Augusto, 57
- Pohl, Karl Heinrich, xxxiv
- Poland, xxiii, 80, 261, 264  
Jewish cemetery, 119–120  
Jews population before and after  
Holocaust, 264  
memory of Jews and Holocaust in,  
116–125  
Polish campaign, 52
- Portugal, 100
- Postone, Moishe, xxiii, xxix
- Pozsony, 98
- Prague, 151, 267
- Pres, Terrence Des, 241
- Prometheus, xxxiv
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion* pamphlet,  
269–271
- Queen Wilhelmina, 32, 268
- Radio, role in Auschwitz Trial, 75–84
- Radio Islam, 269–270
- RAF (*Rote Armee Fraktion*), 82
- Rakia*, 7
- Ravensbrück concentration camp, 14
- Rede über das Jahrhundert (A speech  
about the Century), 221
- Red Army, 52, 82, 117, 121, 123
- Red Cross, 75
- Reichstag, 171
- Richard, Lionel, 226
- Ringelblum, Emanuel, 142
- Robin, Régine, 210
- Romania, 100
- Rosen, Rooe (*Live and Die as  
Eva Braun*), 234
- Rosenzweig, Franz, 13
- Rosenzweig, Roy, 127
- Rotterdam, 32
- Rousset, David (concentration World), 215
- Rouso, Henri, 90
- Rubenstein, William D., 129
- Rüsen, Jörn, 86
- Rusesabagina, Paul, 131  
as Rwandan Schindler, 131
- Russia, 19–29, 52, 54, 89, 100, 110–113,  
178, 266–268, 271
- Rwanda, xxx
- Sachsenhausen concentration camp,  
112, 184, 183n10
- Sacks, Jonathan, xxii
- Šafarevič, Igor, 268
- Said, Edward, xxxiii
- Sajid, Abduljalil, xxvii
- 'samarbejdspolitik', 31
- Santer, Eric, xxiii, xxix
- Saxony-Anhalt, 187
- Schindler's List* film, 35, 90, 128–131,
- Schmidt, Mária, 102, 104
- Schorske, Carl, 87
- Schulze, Rainer, xxxii, xxxiv
- Schwartz, Daniel, 3
- Second World War, 20, 22, 33, 44, 76,  
88, 92, 102, 109, 112, 116,  
154, 169  
aftermath, 31  
cause, 19  
Holocaust as the marginal issue  
in, 102  
lessons from, 88  
memorials, 121  
official commemoration, 33  
post-war commemoration, in  
Denmark, 31  
Soviet Union account of, 109
- Seewann, Gerhard, 98, 105
- Serbia, 25, 102
- Shafir, Michael, 69, 101–103
- Sharon, Ariel, xxii
- Shas party, 63
- Shoah, xxvii, xxix, 12  
in daily discourse in Israel, 60–71  
instrumentalizing, Shoah symbols, 62  
parents and the welfare authorities,  
violent confrontation between, 68  
representations, manipulation and  
exploitation, 69–70  
representations, social and scientific  
significance, 69
- Saul Friedländer's historiography of  
Shoah, 199–207
- Shoah Visual History Foundation,  
44–46
- 'shtetl', 116–119

- Siberia, 22–23
- Silverman, Kaja (*Threshold of the Visible World, The*), 236
- Simone Lässig, xxxiv
- Singh Kholi, Hardeep, xxvi
- Sinti and Roma, 22, 156, 179
- Six Day War, 165, 167
- Skokie (Illinois), 43
- Slovakia, 97–98, 102
- Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), 22, 52, 101–104, 170
- Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), 54, 75–78
- Sonderkommando*, 130
- Sonderweg*, 85
- Sophie's Choice* film, 35
- Soviet Union, 85, 92, 98, 100, 102–103, 109–114, 126, 131–132, 168, 181, 266, 268
- Spiegelman, Art, 160, 204, 229–230, 237
- SS (Schutz Staffeln), 22, 76–77, 110, 130, 169, 173–174, 179, 239
- Stalin, Joseph, 54, 57, 92, 110–112, 123, 263, 267
- Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust Studies, University of Leicester, xxv–xxvi (footnote 21), xxx
- Steinert, Heinz, 81
- Steinlauf, Michael, 116
- Structure, 222
- Stockholm Forum, 2000, *see* International Forum on the Holocaust
- Sukkoth* (The Feast of Tabernacles), 119
- Suleiman, Susan, 100
- Sunshine* film, 99–100, 104
- survivor historians, 141–143  
     their expectations of Yad Vashem, 143–146
- Svenska Dagbladet*, Swedish newspaper, 133
- Sweden, 31–34, 39, 89–90, 132, 262, 269  
     Holocaust theme in, 90  
     Stockholm Forum, 2000, 113
- Switzerland, 25, 265  
     Jews image, expressed by Swiss citizens, 265–267
- Szabó, István, 99–100, 104
- Szydłowiec (in Poland), 116–124  
     Catholic Square, 117  
     Garbarska Street, 118–119
- Jewish cemetery, 117–124
- Jewish Memorial in, 121–123
- ‘the Jewish square’, 118
- Main Square, 117
- Maria Konopnicka Square*, 118
- Rabbi Street*, 118
- Radomska* street, 118
- Rynek Skaleczny* (Rock Square), 118
- Slomiany* (Straw Square), 118
- Synagogue Street*, 118
- Wschodnia* Street, 120
- Tantawi, Mohamed Sayyid, 271
- Tel-Aviv, 151, 178
- Teleki, Pál, 100–101
- The Independent newspaper, xxii
- Thelen, David, 127
- Theresienstadt camp, 31
- ‘Third Reich’, 11, 19–22, 25, 28, 77, 80, 130, 184, 200–201, 229, 231
- Tibi, Achmad, 64
- Törnquist Plewa, Barbara, xxxii, xxxiv
- Transylvania, 98, 101
- Treblinka, 112, 117, 119
- Ukraine, 113  
     *Holodomor* (Terror Famine) 1932–33, 113
- Ukrainian historical culture, Holocaust in, 107–115  
     democratisation, in Ukrainian educational content, 109, 120, 269  
     education in newly won independence, 109–110  
     European Jews, destruction of, 107–108
- Ulbricht, Walter, 54, 78
- United States, xxiii, 38, 89–91, 149–151, 158, 262  
     Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC (USHMM), 151–163–172  
     Holocaust survivors in, 41–49,  
     *see also under* Holocaust survivors  
     ‘September 11’, xxiv
- ‘vaccination theory’, 186
- Vági, Zoltan, 99
- van Alphen, Ernst, 223–226, 236  
     *Caught by History*, 225  
     *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, 54

- 'Vichy syndrome', 90  
 Vietnam, 43, 57  
 Voivodina, 98
- Wallenberg, Raoul, as a history-cultural symbol, 126–135  
 monument erection, 131–132  
 monument in Stockholm, 133  
 public art, television series and films on, 126–135  
 Richard Chamberlain in series as, 131  
*Wallenberg: A Hero's Story*, 129, 131  
 Walser, Martin, 19, 263
- 'War of Annihilation. Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941-1944', exhibition, xxviii
- Watergate affair, 43  
*Wehrmacht*, 20, 22, 31, 173, 179  
 Weiser, Tatiana, xxxii  
 Weiss, Peter (*The Inquiry* play), 80  
 Welzer, Harald, 241  
 Wenzel, Mirjam, xxxii  
*What is left after Auschwitz*, 209  
 Wiesel, Elie, 128, 250  
 Wilkormirski, Benjamin, 241
- Wolf, Christa, 50–59  
 as a target of Stasi campaign, 58  
*Kindheitsmuster*, 50–58  
*Patterns of Childhood*, 50–59  
*Quest for Christa T., The*, 54
- Wolf, René, xxxii  
 women survivors of Holocaust  
 reluctance of, 46  
 testimonies, 45–47
- Wonderyears* exhibition, 243–244
- Yachad party, 63  
 Yad Vashem, xxiii, 38, 42, 140–147, 151, 163–172
- Yerushalmi, Yosef Haim, 199  
 Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO), 42, 44, 141
- Yishai, Eli, 63–64  
*Yizkor* [memorial] books, 144
- Young, James E., 91–92, 116, 119, 232, 239, 241  
*At Memory's Edge*, 239
- Yugoslavia, 100  
 Yushchenko, Victor, 111
- Zamosć, 79  
 Zander, Ulf, xxxii, xxxiv  
 Zandman, Itzhak, 144  
 Zangl, Veronika, xxxii  
 Zephaniah, Benjamin, xxvi  
 Zionism, 57, 124, 262, 268, 270  
 'zone of silence', 208, 209  
 Zuckermann, Moshe, 61