Schindler's List as an Archetype of Hollywood Filmmaking: the Holocaust, Representation, and Nostalgia

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Abstract

This thesis begins in 1993 as a means of re-exploring the centrality of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* in American visual culture and in the wider global perception of historical events fifty years prior. I examine whether Spielberg's film signified a retrospection of Hollywood's engagement with the Holocaust as much as an actual representation of those events. To do this, I argue the three-act structure that is so central to Hollywood films defines not only the chronology leading up to 1993, but crystalised as a definite access point to the past in Spielberg's film. Yet, the three-act structure has been moulded by over a century of cinematic conventions which in turn were products of capitalism, patriarchy, and a perceived Anglo-American superiority that dominated Hollywood from its very beginning. To illuminate how *Schindler's List* is a product of this history, my methodology focuses on the technical and creative capacity of film in the twentieth century.

To do this, I will employ the theories of Gilles Deleuze to show how a presumably universal form of character-based storytelling provides the basis for an American narrative of the Holocaust in 1993. Thus, the thesis is examining the representation of the Holocaust in *Schindler's List* and how it increased the popularity of physical memorial sites such as the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) by being both a product and an architect of American national identity. This will allow me to situate my project within the ever-growing scholarship on the "Americanisation of the Holocaust". I will argue that *Schindler's List* belongs to a specific historical moment of nostalgia in late 1980s and early 1990s, where Hollywood filmmaking was seen to have a dependence on late-capitalism. Economics, politics, and Hollywood film folded into each other in such a way that recreating the past became more about emphasising a singular experience, rather than exploring histories in the plural. Therefore, revisiting *Schindler's List* enables us to witness the ultimate saturation of the Holocaust in American culture: the point at which foreign images of atrocity are consumed as Americanised markers of the event.

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Introduction

Thesis Statement

On 28 December 1993, *ABC News Nightline* introduced their late-night news program with the phrase, 'tonight Americans remember the Holocaust'.[1] While cutting between visitors of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington D.C and viewers' reactions to the premiere of *Schindler's List* (Steven Spielberg, 1993) outside movie theatres, news headlines flashed over the screen. *The Washington Post* headlined with 'Passing On The Memory Of The Holocaust', *Newsweek* stated 'We Are Witnesses' and *The New York Times* read 'Holocaust Museum Adjusting To Relentless Flood of Visitors'.[2] As these words moved across the screen with the black-and-white newsreels of liberated concentration camps in the background, the reporter proclaimed 'this is being called the Year of the Holocaust'.

This moment peaked the American public's interest in the Holocaust, leading the news anchor to open the floor to why Spielberg's film was so popular. In a discussion that followed, writers William Styron (author of *Sophie's Choice*), Leon Wieseltier (*New Republic* editor) and Letty Cottin Pogrebin (author of *Deborah, Golda, and Me*) assessed why Americans were then flooding to movie theatres to get a glimpse of Spielberg's film.[3] While Styron informed the public that 'the Holocaust had really not entered the consciousness of this country till 1979', citing the impact of the miniseries *Holocaust* (Marvin J. Chomsky, 1978), it was Wieseltier who offered an insight into the role Hollywood played in peaking such a drastic interest in the events. As Wieseltier noted, despite the broadcast of Adolf Eichmann's trial in 1961 that first brought the Holocaust into American homes and the subsequent films that sought to represent the Holocaust, Spielberg's film confirmed that 'something doesn't have reality in this culture until Hollywood says it does'. What in effect occurred in 1993 was not only the registering of the Holocaust into the official memory of the nation through the dedication of the USHMM on the National Mall. There was also a sense that the reaction to *Schindler's List* signified that a "reality" of the Holocaust was being manufactured by

[1] 'Nightline' *ABC News* (1993-12-28) United States Library of Congress: ABC-TV [accessed 10/02/2020].
[2] Judith Weinraub, 'Passing on the Memory of the Holocaust', *The Washington Post* (2 February 1990), Kenneth L. Woodward, 'We are Witnesses', *Newsweek* (25 April 1993), Roberta Smith, 'Holocaust Museum Adjusting To Relentless Flood of Visitors', *New York Times* (23 December 1993).
[3] William Styron, *Sophie's Choice* (New York: Random House, 1979), Letty Cottin Pogrebin, *Deborah, Golda, and Me: Being Female and Jewish in America* (New York: Anchor Books, 1991).

Hollywood. Although audiences had already been introduced to the events of the Holocaust from the late 1950s with the release of *The Diary of Anne Frank* (George Stevens, 1959), *Schindler's List* projected the Holocaust into the world stage unlike ever seen before which highlighted the global ramifications of the Hollywood industry.

This project investigates the structural and visual impact of *Schindler's List* and how American perception of the historical events fifty years prior were shaped by present-day representations. I examine the extent to which Spielberg's film signified a retrospection of Hollywood's engagement with the Holocaust as much as an actual representation of those events. *Nightline* presented this by not only emphasising the relevance of the Holocaust and its potential recurrence in the war in Bosnia, but also through its recognition of the increased consumption of the images displayed in *Schindler's List*. My project sets the task of scrutinising these images in *Schindler's List* via a retrospection of film and its capacity to represent the Holocaust.[4] To do this, I will argue the three-act structure that is so central to Hollywood films provides a template for navigating the history of the Holocaust in 1993. The three-act structure, popularised by Hollywood, created a framework through which America could understand the Holocaust as an historical event. This means that the three-act structure has been pivotal in how America sees itself and how it sees historical events. Yet, the three-act structure has been shaped by over a century of cinematic conventions which in turn were products of capitalism, patriarchy, and a perceived Anglo-American exceptionalism that dominated Hollywood from its very beginning. Thus, the thesis is examining the representation of the Holocaust in *Schindler's List* as both a product and an architect of American national identity.

This means that the film conforms to a structure that centralises Schindler as the hero who we follow from the beginning where we see the "victims" through his eyes, through his redemptive arc as he struggles to save them, and then his success. The success as seen in the survivors at the end provides closure for the audience because we are reassured by Schindler's heroism. However, the problem is that the success of *Schindler's List* was not only confined to the realm of film but shaped how Americans perceived the Holocaust and their own relationship to it. Such a structure even influenced the curation of museums like the USHMM. For example, during the preparation of the USHMM, design team leader, Ralph Applebaum, stated that visitors would be able to engage with the history of the Holocaust if it was presented as '"a play in three acts"'. Aiming to transform the complexity of the Holocaust into a coherent physical space, Applebaum employed a three-act structure that demarcated

dates and events. The exhibition begins with the 'Nazi Assault – 1933-1939', progresses through the 'Final Solution – 1940-1945', and finishes with the 'Last Chapter'.[4] Thus, the popularity of *Schindler's List* and its means of interpreting the historical events of the Holocaust extended Hollywood's influence even outside of the movie theatres.

To interpret the representation of the Holocaust in *Schindler's List*, my methodology is informed by the technical and creative capacity of film in the twentieth century. This means that I will be tracing a specific historiography of both the contextualisation of the events in American culture and the role individual films played in this process. To scrutinise the medium of film and its effects on Holocaust memory, I employ different concepts taken directly from film criticism and film theory. These concepts will be incorporated alongside the various elements of design that express a film's vision and aesthetic. This can include on-screen/off-screen space, plot and story space, situations, behaviours and the techniques used to create them. All of these factors generate a sense of time and space, set the milieu for the events to unfold and situate the protagonist's state of mind.

With an in-depth focus on competing narratives between European and American cinematographic traditions, the monopolistic mode of storytelling found in Hollywood throughout the twentieth century will come to the fore. I use the term "Hollywood" to refer both to its history as a mode of production and using it as an all-encompassing term that encapsulates aspects of American mainstream culture.[5] I am here referring to how the word "Hollywood" has become a synonym for the American mainstream film industry. Following Jonathan Harris' work, I define Hollywood as a 'synonym for commercial film and society', which 'are in a kind of dialectical relation of effect, each posing questions about the other'.[6] This dialectical relationship is central to my thesis as Hollywood will be seen to simultaneously inform and reflect mainstream American culture.

Historians such as Jeffrey Shandler and Michael Rothberg also recognise the paradigmatic status of the Holocaust as shaped by Hollywood in the aforementioned *Nightline* program, whereby the Balkan conflicts are being compared to events fifty years prior. This permits Shandler and Rothberg to question the uses of the Holocaust in mass culture, and what the effects of the persistent demand on representation have on the contemporary status

[4] Edward Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 168.
[5] For more on the origins of Hollywood and its role in the formation of the American film industry see: Steve Neale, 'Introduction', in Neale (ed.), *The Classical Hollywood Reader* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-6.
[6] Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 134.

of Holocaust memory.[7] For them, the release of *Schindler's List* and its subsequent widespread appeal signified the weight of cultural representation usurping the process by which the events of the Holocaust are being historicised. My project will further these ideas by researching into both the form and content of *Schindler's List*. When analysed together Spielberg's film constructs a nostalgic viewing. Its content embeds the use of an 'iconographic code' traced back to post-liberation photography and newsreels, and its form arranges these images to fit with the sensationalism of Hollywood storytelling.[8]

Methodology

By locating my argument within the realm of cinema and Hollywood filmmaking, it is crucial to elucidate the relationship between the Holocaust and representation. The challenge that the genocide of the European Jews poses to representation, memorialisation and the aesthetics of cinema pertains to Theodor Adorno's assertion that the 'writing of poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric'.[9] Due to this, representations of the Holocaust have become increasingly caught between aesthetically approaching the event and the ethical constraints of what should be represented.

In Adorno's dictum, he is not merely taking a stance against the act of writing poetry, but the inherent tension between aesthetics and ethics within each artistic creation that reproduces the cultural conditions of a society that caused the Holocaust. As Hampus Östh Gustafsson explains, Adorno is arguing that in the aftermath of the Holocaust 'the traditional dialectical relationship between Western culture and barbarism has collapsed', and the Holocaust 'does not eliminate art but demands it to be radically different than before'.[10] In this dialectical breakdown Adorno is drawing further attention to the meaning of the Holocaust within the overarching concept of modernity. In a continuation of this criticism, Zygmunt Bauman is adamant that social thinkers must:

> …consider the relation between the event of the Holocaust and the structure and logic of modern life, to stop viewing the Holocaust as a bizarre and aberrant episode in modern history and think through it instead as a highly relevant, integral part of that

[7] Jeffrey Shandler, *While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 240, Michael Rothberg, *Traumatic Realism The Demands of Holocaust Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), p. 181.
[8] Noël Carroll, 'The Future of Allusion: Hollywood in the Seventies (and beyond)', *October*, 20 (1982), 55.
[9] Adorno's dictum on the writing of poetry after Auschwitz has been widely interpreted and debated but the original quote comes from his 1955 publication, *Prisms.* Adorno, *Prisms* translated by Samuel Weber and Shierry Weber (Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1997), p. 34.
[10] Hampus Östh Gustafsson, 'Auschwitz, Adorno and the Ambivalence of Representation: The Holocaust as a Point of Reference in Contemporary Literature', in Diana I. Popescu and Tanja Schult (ed.), *Revisiting Holocaust Representation in the Post-Witness Era* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), p. 192.

> history; 'integral' in the sense of being indispensable for the understanding of what that history was truly about and what sort of society we all inhabit.[11]

Bauman maintains that the Holocaust is not merely an event that took place in modern history, but it signifies the culmination of Enlightenment thinking. Following Adorno, Bauman emphasises that the Holocaust did not contradict modern society but was an inherent outcome of its destructive potentials. As he states, 'the Holocaust was not the antithesis of modern civilisation and everything it stands for…we suspect that the Holocaust could merely have uncovered another face of the same modern society whose other, more familiar, face we so admire'.[12] In the same vein, Adorno pronounced that 'when even genocide becomes cultural property in committed literature, it becomes easier to continue complying with the culture that gave rise to the murder'.[13] Due to this dialectical tension, there is a paradox of how one is to represent something of such magnitude without in some way complying with or validating the culture (modernity) that produced it. The debates that developed out of this tradition of critique have expressed this in terms of an aporia inherent in representation itself, which has led to the Holocaust becoming widely defined as unspeakable, ineffable or incomprehensible. As I will illuminate throughout, Spielberg's approach to realism 'does not seek to negate the representational, iconic power of filmic images, but rather banks on this power'.[14] In other words, it does question or disclose the unrepresentability of the mass extermination, but instead reuses familiar tropes and conventional techniques to uphold the extraordinary survival of 1,200 individuals. In his *Negative Dialectics*, Adorno later qualified his statement about representation after the Holocaust:

> Perennial suffering has as much right to expression as a tortured man has to scream; hence it may have been wrong to say that after Auschwitz you could no longer write poems. But it is not wrong to raise the less cultural question whether after Auschwitz you can go on living – especially whether one who escaped by accident, one who by rights should have been killed, may go on living.[15]

In Adorno's revision he suggests that art which expresses the suffering of the survivor and simultaneously avoids the continuation of a culture that gave rise to the Holocaust could negotiate this aporia. Nevertheless, Adorno's suspicion is that modern culture based on mass consumption keeps the memory of the camps alive by creating art with the potential for

[11] Zygmunt Bauman, 'The Duty to Remember, - But What?', in James Kaye and Bo Strath (eds.), *Enlightenment and Genocide, Contradictions of Modernity* (Brussels: PIE-Peter Lang, 2000), p. 31.
[12] Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), p. 7.
[13] Adorno, 'Commitment', pp. 252-3.
[14] Miriam Bratu Hansen, '*Schindler's List* Is Not *Shoah*: The Second Commandment, Popular Modernism, and Public Memory', *Critical Inquiry* 22:2 (Winter, 1996), 302.
[15] Theodor Adorno, *Negative Dialectics* translated by E.B. Ashton (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 207.

aesthetic pleasure to be gained from it. As he notes, 'so-called artistic rendering of the naked physical pain of those who were beaten down with rifle butts contains, however, distantly, the possibility that pleasure can be squeezed from it'.[16]

Adorno's critique has become a point of reference for a range of historiography which claims that the Holocaust is 'an "event at the limits"'.[17] In line with Adorno, Holocaust historians such as Saul Friedlander and philosophers like Jurgen Habermas argue that the Holocaust tests traditional conceptual and representational categories.[18] This challenge that the Holocaust poses to representation has become perceptible through the ongoing shaping and re-shaping of the image of the Nazi era. The very limits placed on representation, then, are revealed through the expanding literary, artistic and aesthetic renditions of the Holocaust. The more the Holocaust is arranged according to popular modes of storytelling, narrative and genre in order to "make sense" of the events, the greater the demands on representation become. As the following project engages with these debates on representation by re-assessing the shape given to the Holocaust by Hollywood, this relates directly to Adorno's own concern about the Holocaust being refashioned for mainstream consumption. Adorno's suspicion of post-Auschwitz art derives from his condemnation of what he terms the culture industry: a 'pre-digested' culture based on repetition that restricts individuals from thinking for themselves. For him, it does this by creating, packaging and justifying reality through the film industry, commercial marketing and publishing houses.[19]

To interrogate *Schindler's List,* this dissertation will formulate a methodology from the theoretical notions of reproduction and sameness apparent in the culture industry. Situating my approach in line with the debates on Holocaust representation, I will first link the Spielberg's film to Adorno's conceptualisations of sameness. This method readdresses how the currency of the Holocaust manifests in the aesthetic, political and social systems of Hollywood. More precisely, my work will be extracting Adorno's polemical claim that although culture may appear to offer a range of diverse and free choices it in fact dictates self-expression through 'perpetual sameness' that 'always expresses an identical meaning'.[20] For

[16] Theodor Adorno 'Commitment', in Theodor Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann (ed.), *Can One Live After Auschwitz? A Philosophical Reader* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 252.
[17] Saul Friedlander, 'Introduction', in Friedlander (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 3.
[18] Friedlander, 'Introduction', p. 3; See Habermas' comments in Friedlander, 'Introduction', p. 3.
[19] Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* edited by J.M. Bernstein (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 106.
[20] Adorno, *The Culture Industry*, p. 93.

Adorno, however, this sameness is formed through a unanimous system, made up of films, radio and magazines where the whole reflects its parts and vice versa. Rather than emphasising how identical meaning is at the core of popular culture as Adorno does, this thesis will focus more on how sameness is distilled in the production and reproduction of images in the American film industry.

While Adorno is adamant about the 'inflexible rhythm' of popular culture, my breakdown of *Schindler's List* will show that sameness is perpetuated not necessarily through inflexibility but by the colonising functions of Hollywood.[21] In other words, Hollywood has a capacity to adapt to and appropriate a fluctuating social consensus, while also staying true to its principles of filmmaking. With this approach I can explain not only the demands struck between Hollywood and the consumer, but how the weight of cultural representation is steered by the reproduction and appropriation of unfamiliar images. In essence, the returning to Spielberg's film enables us to witness the ultimate saturation of the Holocaust in American culture: the point at which foreign images of atrocity are consumed as Americanised markers of the event. I will further identify how Adorno's claims form a direct link to technologies of reproduction. With a focus on the capacity of the camera, this project assesses how Hollywood filmmaking constitutes a specific type of viewing that establishes junctures of familiarity. In other words, this thesis traces how systems of Hollywood incorporate elements of familiarity or repetition by engendering the variation of images, styles and techniques. Over time, this creates a habitual connection between film and viewer. Such as relationship reveals how popular American film presents variation within familiar conventions. These conventions can be illuminated through concepts developed by Walter Benjamin and Gilles Deleuze.

In his essay, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', Benjamin writes that 'evidently a different nature opens itself to the camera than opens to the naked eye – if only because an unconsciously penetrated space is substituted for a space consciously explored by man'.[22] Benjamin details that cinema, through the potential of the camera, frees perception from the constraints and norms of human agency and cognition. What is more crucial here is how the camera and its apparatus 'radically deoriginates' visual images,

[21] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* translated by Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 94.
[22] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* translated by Harry Zorn (London: Pimlico, 1999), pp. 236–237.

leading to what Steven Shaviro labels 'the visceral immediacy of cinematic experience'.[23] Benjamin describes this immediacy as the fundamental reproductive impact of cinema: 'By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence. And in permitting the reproduction to meet the beholder or listener in his own particular situation, it reactivates the object reproduced'.[24] In effect, film as a medium of reproduction is invariably driven towards the reactivation of sounds and images by precisely cutting them off from their source or origin. Benjamin concludes that mechanical reproduction led to the withering of the aura of artworks because it created a 'radical subversion between the hierarchy of original and copy'.[25] In the domain of the visual, film is the mechanism for rearranging, editing and manipulating the meaning of both art and reality, or further blurring the relationship between the two. The camera penetrates a space between the conscious and the unconscious, experience and representation, to insert meaning into the everyday world of social and physical existence.

What Benjamin shows, then, is that visual reproduction can engender movement, perception and time. Deleuze furthers Benjamin's insights, suggesting the camera does not just reflect the world but legitimises its own world by creating a variety of different movements, temporalities and causalities. This is why Deleuze's work provides the framework for each one of my chapters to approach the development of Oskar Schindler's redemptive story arc. Chapter I builds on Deleuze's notion that American cinema demands a strong ethical judgment. Reading the film in this way deconstructs Hollywood's demand for a paternal authority to intervene and reconstitute the order of the narrative. In Chapter II, Schindler's spiritual journey from redemption to saviourhood and salvation employs what Deleuze describes as the 'ultimate individual confrontation' that marks Hollywood's claim for the triumph of good over evil.[26] Finally, Chapter III will conduct a detailed examination of how the necessity of closure to Schindler's story through Deleuze's concept of the movement-image. As we will see below, Deleuze aligns the tendencies of Hollywood filmmaking with the movement-image: types of images that consolidate a narrative around solutions to problems. Fundamentally, this concept encompasses the early history of American filmmaking and the important relationship between framing and editing.

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[23] Steven Shaviro, *The Cinematic Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p. 35.
[24] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, p. 221.
[25] Shaviro, *The Cinematic Body*, p. 35.
[26] Giles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image* translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 171.

More specifically, the elements or properties of the frame are what ultimately determine how images are created for film. It is then techniques of editing that unify a sequence of shots, constituting them as parts in the whole of the narrative. Examples of the many elements that constitute the frame can range from the angle, level and distance of the composition or type of shot, the characters, props and lighting of the mise-en-scéne to the depth of field and the on-screen/off-screen relationship. The relation of each shot to the whole is created by editing: cuts, fades, dissolves and other types of edits that splice two or more shots together. Editing means that shots are placed in a way to create movement and rhythm. Movement is captured between the duration of each shot via editing and the properties of the frame – physical on-screen or camera movement including tracking, panning or craning. Examining the rhythms of editing in detail in this study will show how meaning (as ultimately involving motion) is inserted and shaped by film.

Historiography

My reading of *Schindler's List* begins by observing its relationship to "classical realism" and continuity. By continuity, I refer to a visual style of narrative coherence and storytelling that began with D. W. Griffith and flourished in the "studio era" and beyond. As the most popular mode of visual storytelling in the twentieth century, Hollywood mastered a type of continuity named "classical realism", which perfected a series of conventions and modes of behaviour to present temporal linearity and spatial continuity. Following Paola Marrati, this 'realism is in no way opposed to fiction or dream; it is perfectly able to integrate the extraordinary, the heroic, and the melodramatic, and its nature is not to present a simulacrum of everyday life'.[27] Prompted by this notion of realism, Deleuze makes a clear historical division between two different types of images in tension with one another: the movement-image and the time-image. Movement-images, close to what Marrati describes, are defined by a classical approach to cinema where 'sensory-motor' situations – actions and activities taken up by characters – are performed in order to find solutions.[28] Time-images, in contrast, feature blockages in the sensory-motor formula, and characters are unable to perform actions that will solve the problem posed at the beginning of the narrative. The tension between the two will become the focal point of Chapter III, as I bring my analysis of

[27] Paola Marrati, *Cinema and Philosophy* translated by Alisa Hartz (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 52.
[28] Deleuze, *Cinema 1*, pp. 174.

Schindler's List to a close and open up the possibilities for alternate ways to approach the history of the Holocaust.

Deleuze equates the classical Hollywood method with the movement-image. More specifically, quoting the film critic Noël Burch, he describes it as 'the large form of the action-image', which produced the 'universal triumph of the American cinema'.[29] As the apotheosis of the movement-image, the action-image is based on making the sensationalism of spectacle plausible. It offers a synthetic but unifying image of reality that progresses towards an end goal for the protagonist, one which will ultimately concede to the satisfaction of closure. In the early stages of American cinema, this classical method was made popular all over the world by D. W. Griffith and his use of montage. In essence, he created an editing style that was not subordinate to narration but shaped it. Examples of its origins are found in his historical epics such as *Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916), whereby unity is created through continuity. Known as parallel alternate montage, images succeed one another according to a certain rhythm, with the parts of the narrative being governed by binary relations. These binary relations are structured by concurrent or convergent montage techniques, which alternate between separate scenes of action and will bring the protagonist to a final confrontation and complete the narrative. Griffith, as well as others, refined the distinctive character of montage that later developed into classical realism, which also grew into the most influential model for American narrative film throughout the twentieth century.

Tom Gunning's study of narrative film details how Griffith's method 'prefigured the move from a cinema of attractions to one of narrative integration'.[30] What is important for my analysis of *Schindler's List* is how the legacy of this approach produces 'a coherent geography'. Therefore, I examine how continuity filmmaking 'creates a synthetic space by maintaining a line of action progressing continuously through a series of shots'.[31] Other film historians and theorists such as Jean Mitry, Terry Ramsaye, David Cook and Christian Metz attribute to Griffith an instrumental turning point in how films told stories, providing the foundations for a unified cinematic narrative through a 'coherent "syntax"'.[32] Rather than

[29] Deleuze, *Cinema 1*, p.160-61.
[30] Tom Gunning, *D.W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years at Biograph* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), p. 66.
[31] Gunning, *D.W. Griffith*, p. 66.
[32] For more on the importance of Griffith and the emergence of narrative film see 'Griffith Evolves Screen Syntax' in Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture* (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012 [1926]), pp. 508–519, 'Cinema and Narrativity' in Christian Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema* translated by Michael Taylor (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 93–96. 'Rhythm and Montage' in Jean Mitry, *The Aesthetics and Psychology of the Cinema* translated by

capturing space from a single perspective as popularised by theatre, Hollywood films construct meaning through framing and editing which, unlike the theatre, directs the field of view over a broader continuous and synthetic space. Hollywood realism, then, was geared towards how 'the unity of formal elements, each serving every other element and each serving the whole, go into the creation of a world'.[33]

These formal elements will serve as the means to reassess the cinematic choices that Spielberg made when adapting Schindler's story. In each chapter, I scrutinise how images immerse the viewer in Schindler's journey from Nazi profiteer to saviour. This means paying close attention to the historical relationship between framing and editing that developed out of Griffith's cinema and flourished during the studio-era of Hollywood. By breaking down such elements, it will become clear how Spielberg incorporates and challenges the studio-era paradigm of filmmaking. The "studio era" is defined as the period between the introduction of the "talkies" in the late 1920s to the advent of television in the 1940s and 1950s. In this time frame, a coherent syntax of filmmaking and moviegoing formed, and became the basis for expectations about characters, plots and stories. In this period, organisational principles of Hollywood storytelling matured as conventional narratives were constructed in accordance with their continuity style, affording feelings of familiarity. The legacy of the Hollywood "studio era" mode of production, then, can be said to include the exploration of a variety of worlds, each refracting social, political and economic issues with the reassurance that they attempt to appeal to everyone and embody a consoling outlook. Adorno's writings are set against the backdrop of this period, where genre solidified as a pre-digested purpose of the culture industry. Genre became central in Hollywood marketing campaigns and acted as the cornerstone for attracting and retaining large filmgoing audiences. With genre as a key factor in my study of *Schindler's* List, I will identify how Spielberg challenges and reinterprets the worldbuilding of the historical epic, while adapting a marketing mentality from the biographical genre.

Films produced by major studios during the war employed genre to align viewers with the US war effort. This included the dichotomy between German indifference and American diversity in MGM's drama, *Mortal Storm* (Frank Borzage, 1940) and comedic attacks on Nazism in Ernst Lubitsch's *To Be or Not To Be* (1942). The comedic depiction of Nazi

Christopher King (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 89–104. 'D. W. Griffith and the Development of Narrative Form' in Cook, *A History of Narrative Film*, pp. 45–69.

[33] Drew Casper, *Postwar Hollywood: 1946-1962* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), p. 351.

Germany filtered into independent productions, most notably Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940) at United Artists. Romantic films also became the basis for American intervention in the war, most notably *Casablanca* (Michael Curtiz, 1942). This era of American propaganda filmmaking has been described by Todd Bennett as the 'celluloid war'.[34]

After the war, anti-Semitism and Nazi atrocities against the Jews were for the most part utilised as a backdrop for studio-era productions. Fred Zimmerman's *The Search* (1947) presented a nine-year-old survivor of Auschwitz that had been rendered mute from his experiences, who was given a new lease of life living with an American soldier. Other mainstream Hollywood responses such as Edward Dmytryk's *Crossfire* (1947) and Twentieth Century Fox's *Gentleman's Agreement* (Elia Kazan, 1947) made use of the film noir genre to tackle anti-Semitism on American soil. However, there was no mention of the Nazi atrocities.

Visual narratives of the Nazi atrocities appeared with more of a "shock factor" when newsreels were inserted before feature length films in American theatres. The newsreel as a short documentary film was integral to the American movie theatre experience from as early as the 1910s up to the end of the 1960s when television news broadcasts supplanted the format. Presented before a feature length film, they were a source of current affairs, world news, and entertainment. As investigated throughout this thesis, Spielberg taps into the potency of the newsreel genre to heighten his own approach to realism; a stylistic choice that would lead critics to compare its aesthetic to a lost newsreel.[35]

Post-war newsreels were edited together by "the big five" studios: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Warner Bros., Paramount, Fox and RKO Pictures. The same post-production technicians that were editing and mixing feature length films for these studios were now set the task of splicing together the raw footage captured at concentration camps. Described by Jeffrey Shandler as a threshold visual encounter for Americans, atrocity newsreels after the war became 'a turning point in Western consciousness'.[36] For the first time, the conventions of American cinema were used to edit footage of the Nazi atrocities including piles of corpses, mass graves, victims of abuse and large-scale torture. The emotional, political and ethical

[34] Todd Bennett, 'The Celluloid War: State and Studio in Anglo-American Propaganda Film-Making, 1939-1941', *The International History Review*, 24:1 (March, 2002).
[35] In an interview with the *Rolling Stone*, Spielberg stated that 'movies for me are a heightened realism'. Cited in J. Hoberman, *Make My Day: Movie Culture in the Age of Reagan* (New York: The New Press, 2019), p. 78.
[36] Robert H. Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), p. ix.

investment in the power of this footage illustrated the camera's profound impact on representation. More specifically, its mimetic possibilities transformed how individuals perceived and responded to reports from Europe. While the newsreels were marketed as a moment of witnessing, Benjamin's insight allows us to see how such footage was also 'intimately connected with the contemporary mass movements'.[37]

In late April 1945, segments of newsreels entitled 'Nazi Horrors Shock the World' and 'German Atrocities' began to appear daily in movie theatres across America, with General Eisenhower insisting 'that the footage be shown to every American community – in theatres, factories, high schools, and civic arenas'.[38] These newsreels also saw directors such as Frank Capra, John Houston, George Stevens and Billy Wilder accompany United States Army Signal Corps divisions into concentration camps. The footage would eventually be made into a seven-part documentary series known as *Why We Fight*.

As a direct response to Nazi propaganda films such as *Triumph of the Will* (Leni Riefenstahl, 1935), this series was originally written to help American soldiers understand their involvement in the war. However, when newsreels including atrocity images began to appear in 1945, they contrasted heavily with feature length productions that had used the Nazi regime as a backdrop. Placed as advertisement reels before feature length films, these segments stood as 'replications of actual encounters with the victims of Nazi persecution'. Jeffrey Shandler draws further attention to the post-liberation landscape in America as based on the 'organising principle' of witnessing, with the newsreels serving as a 'virtual witness of mass death'. The principle of witnessing originated in the evidentiary origins of the footage, as filmmakers and photographers went to document the crimes to serve as testimony for the post-war trials. Thus, parallels were drawn between the edited newsreels and the footage that was being used to prosecute war criminals. Studio newsreel producers thus encouraged 'their audiences to analogise its own viewing of liberation footage with the virtuous witnessing by Allied soldiers and to contrast its experience with the culpable witnessing by Germany'.[39]

In what became the first public encounter between the Nazi atrocities and the American public, the liberation footage gained mass viewership through the newsreel

[37] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, p. 221.
[38] "Nazi Horrors Shock the World", Paramount News no. 69, Thomas Schatz, *History of the American Cinema Vol.6: Boom and Bust: American Cinema in the 1940s* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997), p. 413.
[39] Shandler, *While America Watches*, p. 16.

segments controlled by "the big five". Fox Movietone News, MGM News of the Day, Universal Newsreel, Paramount Newsreels, and RKO Pathe News received a wide array of footage shot by Signal Corps photographers and 'government-approved commercial newsreel cameramen' during concentration camp liberations. The images underwent a rigorous selection process, Teams of technicians reviewed these images as part of a rigorous selection process before they were shown in theatres across America. This involved, more precisely, the footage fitting into the 'aesthetic conventions of the newsreel genre'. Analysing the critical acclaim that analogised the aesthetic of *Schindler's List* with that of an unearthed newsreel will bring to the fore the cinematic choices made in the pre-production and production stages of the film's development.[40] To interpret this critical reception, my chapters breakdown the aesthetic of *Schindler's List* to understand its kinship to the historical newsreel and the problems this analogy poses to Holocaust representation. When newsreels arrived from Europe, the raw uncut strips of film were contextualised and presented to the public as part of this genre, one which employed 'heavily punctuated title cards, narration intoned in a sonorous baritone, and a running symphonic score to link discrete segments of film into a narrative continuum'.[41]

While remaining two different forms of visual representation, feature length film and newsreels both used underlying principles of continuity that had solidified in the studio-era. In the post-war period, the two media would often overlap and interact with many feature length fiction films about WWII by inserting newsreel footage at the beginning of the narrative. The two media together constituted the American moviegoing experience in the post-war period. In what seems to be direct footage of Nazi atrocities, perceptions are edited and arranged according to pre-established conventions. The relationship between Hollywood and the viewer is even more calculated when considering Benjamin's concerns for the power of film to "deoriginate" such images. Studying the contextualisation of this footage as part of studio editing procedures reveals that what was presented for the first time as "originary footage" is already altered to fit into an established genre. Raymond Fielding makes it clear how the arrangement of its images according to its genre 'became a newsworthy event itself, above and beyond the events depicted therein'.[42] Major national newspapers reported with titles such as 'Nazi Prison Cruelty Film To Be Shown Tomorrow', 'Camp Horror Films Are

[40] Fred Bruning, 'The Problem with *Schindler's List*'', *Maclean's* (April 1994), 9.
[41] Shandler, *While America Watches*, p. 7-8, 10, 11, 16.
[42] Raymond Fielding, *The American Newsreel: A Complete History, 1911-1967 Second Edition* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2006), p. 147, Shandler, *While America Watches*, p. 10.

Exhibited Here', and 'Nazi Atrocities Films Real Shockers but U.S. Audiences Take It'.[43] These reports noted that 'patrons were determined to see', and that the 'inhuman treatment of concentration camp prisoners is poignantly evident'. *The Film Daily* even announced that the newsreels achieved record-breaking audiences with the caption 'Atrocity Pix Breaking Newsreel House Records'.[44]

The ability to arrange these images into a narrative proved a 'powerful cinematic validation of both the Allies' war and Hollywood's home-front campaign against Nazi Germany'.[45] The possibilities of editing and rearranging these images to validate Hollywood's own campaign uncovered the political potentials of film to produce a "reality" of the events of World War II with a discernible narrative. While emphasising the act of witnessing, these newsreels focused heavily on persuasion, victory and the role of the Allies. The dissemination of the newsreel footage was framed as a transformative moment for American viewers, one that not only made the moral distinction between the Nazi enemy and the Allied victors but offered a privileged virtual moment of witnessing. This perceived authenticity was framed by Hollywood and consolidated by its conventional moral values. The influence of the studios on the post-liberation visual landscape of America was clear in both its feature length films and the newsreels inserted before them. While the newsreel footage proved poignant in Hollywood's exposure campaign, this only lasted a matter of months. The newsreels fed into Hollywood's war campaign by explaining and justifying actions abroad.

In terms of Hollywood features, filmmaking after the war was affected by alterations in the studio-era style, leading to new processes behind the creation of motion pictures. Narrative conventions were tested more and experimented with after the war due to the influence of European film movements. In America, this was also fuelled by the advent of television and the fragmentation of the monopoly of the studio system in the 1950s and 1960s. Though classical rules of Hollywood's golden age did begin to change after the war, continuity always remained pivotal in how films were made. This has led film historians such

[43] 'Nazi Prison Cruelty Film To Be Shown Tomorrow', *New York Times* (25 April 1945), p. 3, 'Camp Horror Films Are Exhibited Here', *New York Times* (2 May 1945), p. 3, 'Nazi Atrocities Films Real Shockers but U.S. Audiences Take It', *Variety* (9 May 1945), pp. 6, 18.
[44] 'Atrocity Pix Breaking Newsreel House Records', *The Film Daily*, 87: 86 (3 May 1945), p. 3: https://archive.org/details/filmdail87wids/mode/2up [accessed 22/04/2020].
[45] Shandler, *While America Watches*, p. 16.

as David Cook to emphasise that the continuity style that began in Hollywood 'discovered, synthesised, and articulated the narrative language of film as it is practised even today'.[46]

It is evident that even though visual and narrative changes took place in Hollywood studios, continuity became a durable mode of storytelling that always remained at the core. Continuity essentially nurtures a certain type of viewing based on coherence and repetition, which means the audience can follow a story by breaking it down into individual acts. Each act is focused on developing the narrative through the perspective of its characters, giving the audience a point of reference for the actions on screen. While there is no single uniform system of continuity filmmaking, it is important to point out that it provides the springboard for twentieth century film narrative to develop, and affects all approaches to the medium. Narrative film is thus created with the goal to construct a clear structure of events so that the viewer can readily understand the flow of information presented before them. This is crucial to my thesis because narrative Holocaust films are constructed from a number of individual camera shots and edited into a perceptually coherent sequence of events. In essence, such films equate to a form of event segmentation, whereby the viewer is able to construct a mental representation of the Holocaust in working memory.

To observe the relationship between continuity editing and memory, we can refer to the tension Deleuze saw between the movement-image and the time-image. When analysed together, it becomes clear how a specific cinematic aesthetic represents and orders historical events. As we have already pointed out, when confronted with a problem movement-image films presuppose that a set of actions can be performed to bring about stable order with a conclusive ending. In contrast, the time-image emerged from the rubble of World War II and was also influenced by images of destruction that spread in the form of newsreels. In the post-war period, Deleuze describes a great increase in 'situations which we no longer know how to react to' and 'in spaces we no longer know how to describe'. In these spaces that were 'deserted yet inhabited', cities 'in the course of demolition and reconstruction', a 'false continuity' emerged.[47] While the movement-image strives for clarity and closure, the time-image is more concerned with a brokenness in narrative, analogous to the situations post-war European countries were left in. Characters are now seen having difficulty finding a solution

[46] David Cook, *A History of Narrative Film* Fifth Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2016), p. 69.
[47] Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* translated by Hugh Tomlinson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. xi.

that will bring about a conclusive end, time is not locked into a linear shape with clarity between past, present and future, and there is no final reassurance aimed at the audience.

The contrast between these two types of filmmaking will be brought together in the conclusion to my thesis. In the final segment of Chapter III, I will argue that films of the time-image can develop a more nuanced depiction of time and survival. Depicting an alternate paradigm of the Holocaust, Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985) explores the burden of the past on individual survivors. The concept of the time-image will be employed to read Lanzmann's eleven-year struggle to create a film that would preserve individual voices as sites of witnessing. As 'two mutually exclusive paradigms of cinematically representing or not-representing the Holocaust', the dichotomy of *Schindler's List and Shoah* will bring to the fore the centrality of closure for memorialisation in 1993.[48] In other words, *Shoah* is one of the most illuminating examples of how film can capture the complexities of Holocaust history and memory. Each chapter shows how the representation of the Holocaust in 1993 was heavily influenced by both films of the movement-image and the time-image. This is because ever since the post-war period, both types of filmmaking posed questions about the writing of history and the construction of the past. Historical events presented in films of the movement-image rely on understanding and fixing the past to ensure stability and closure in the present. Films of the time-image, however, engage with the past as a 'territory of discovery': a constant renewal and struggle with the past that simultaneously rediscovers the situation of the present.[49]

The relationship between film and historical representation was evident when major Hollywood studios tackled the subject of World War II and the Holocaust in the late 1940s through to the early 1960s. In this period, three Hollywood films that engaged with aspects of the Holocaust expressed differing attitudes of popular culture in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. These films detailed the emergence of social anxieties and political tensions across America. Studios such as Universal and Twentieth Century-Fox pursued projects that asserted a "happily ever after" perspective on the past. Shortly after the newsreel footage had been shown to the American public, *The Stranger* (Orson Welles, 1946) aimed to delve back into the sensationalism of such footage as a way to reinforce a 1940s narrative of American social justice. The emphasis on American justice was also beginning to permeate the motion picture

[48] Hansen, '*Schindler's List* Is Not *Shoah*' 294.
[49] Richard Rushton, *Cinema After Deleuze* (New York: Continuum, 2012), p. 62.

industry as the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) began to purge communist affiliations within the studios in 1947.

Differing from Welles' pre-war productions such as *Citizen Kane* (1941), *The Stranger* followed a more conventional linear narrative. In contrast to the pioneering techniques pursued in *Citizen Kane*, *The Stranger* abandoned Welles' reliance on the flashback and returned to an established continuity approach with parallel editing, strict use of the 180-degree rule and a dramatic musical score to establish the mood. In terms of aesthetic, the film adhered to the stylistic traits of the popular genre, film noir. Its detective-based plot and expressionist lighting fitted into the Hollywood crime dramas of the time, reusing many of the prototypical qualities of hardboiled noir fiction. Much of this was influenced by producer Sam Spiegal, with 'simplification in mind', who hired editor Ernest Nims to provide a 'completely pre-planned pattern of editing'.[50]

The Stranger follows a fictional narrative involving a high-raking Nazi fugitive, Franz Kindler (Welles), living in a Connecticut town, and the agent (Edward G. Robinson) tracking him down. The film also showcases the first superimposition of newsreel footage onto a feature length motion picture. It uses Kindler's unknowing wife, Mary (Loretta Young), to replay the act of witnessing that defined the liberation newsreels, combining the power of the past and the aesthetics of film noir. While these reproduced newsreel images appear unchanged, the genre in which they are presented is expressed in terms of individual responsibility. In other words, the images are put in service of the film narrative, which will be explored in more depth in Chapter III. In this sleight of hand, responsibility is taken from the collective realm and placed on a discernible individual, so the audience can identify the newsreel images with the evil of Kindler. Individualising the complex processes of the Holocaust will provide the framework for analysing how Schindler is able to embody universal notions of salvation and heroism.

Productions such as *The Stranger* will be used to show the historical implications of a dichotomous relationship between good and evil, which reinforced the Allied claims of the newsreels. As it will become increasingly evident, *The Stranger* 'instructs the audience on how to engage with the documentation of fascist atrocity', and by extension personifies the

[50] Francois Truffaut *The Films of Orson Welles* translated by Charles Higham (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 100.

crime.[51] This means that as the horrors of newsreels are causally linked to Kindler, whilst Mary symbolises the social justice of America. *The Stranger* teaches the importance of responsibility in the face of adversity, mirroring the investigations of the HUAC. Looking back to these early post-war productions provides substance for Schindler's own redemptive story arc. Therefore, we can map how both *The Stranger* and *Schindler's List* almost fifty years later construct a historical discourse of the wartime period through the perspective of individuals. This is why both films have much in common with the movement-image. Each one searches for a truth in the past that if exposed in the present provides the foundations for a hopeful future.

While *The Stranger* gave rise to ethical questions about the use of newsreel footage to punctuate a fictional story, its plot focused on the American post-war reaction to fascism. It was not until the release of George Stevens' adaptation of *The Diary of Anne Frank* in 1959 that historical events set during the Holocaust would play a major role in a Hollywood motion picture. Twentieth Century Studios aimed at bringing the coming-of-age story of a young teenage girl to mass American audiences, using the success of the book as a platform. Using the genre of the biopic, *The Diary* sat on the boundary between fiction and non-fiction and purported to depict a portion of Anne Frank's (Millie Perkins) life. The film removed Anne's fate in both Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, aligning with what George Custen describes as the 'purposive sample of biopics'.[52] Rather than focusing on death, the film followed a reassuring plot in an ending scene that finds young Anne stating: 'I still believe in spite of everything that people are good at heart'. Stevens' film established the biographical genre as a lens through which to approach the Holocaust. As elaborated in both Chapter I and III, Spielberg adopts a similar lens for his characterisation of Schindler by drawing on selective samples of his life to reconstruct historical events.

The Diary fed into a particular American mentality in the 1950s. It was released amid Dwight Eisenhower's modern republicanism which fuelled the rise in the consumer-orientated sector of the American economy and a boom in suburban living. Eisenhower also represented a post-war symbol of the Allied victory, serving as a Supreme Commander in Europe during the war. This mentality of the 1950s was refracted in the productions of the American film industry. Popular family films like *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (Richard

[51] Jennifer Lynde Barker, *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film: Radical Projection* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 128.
[52] George Custen, *Bio/Pics: How Hollywood Constructed Public History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 240.

Fleischer, 1954) and the rising status of Walt Disney Studios characterised America's cinematic culture when Stevens directed his melodramatic adaptation of Anne Frank's diary. Filming a Holocaust story by synthesising the biographical genre with melodramatic elements meant *The Diary* catered to 'a particular, historically and socially conditioned mode of experience' in America. For Thomas Elsaesser, such films construct narratives around a domestic setting to evoke emotive participation or imaginative projection from viewers. In the 1950s, this acted as the framework for many melodramatic productions, where effects of pacing, rhythm and mise-en-scène act as 'constituents in a system of punctuation' to emphasise the domestic suburban life at 'the neuralgic centre of Eisenhower's America'.[53]

Elsaesser recognises that the qualities of melodrama not only expressed a certain mode of existence in the Eisenhower era, but these films also revealed unconscious anxieties present beneath the façade of Hollywood filmmaking in the 1950s. It is between this veneer of domesticated family life and unconscious social anxieties that Stevens framed Anne's coming of age story. His ability to direct a wartime film was greatly affected by his experiences with the Signal Corps. However, *The Diary* puts forward a view that 'human beings should embrace one another instead of putting each other to death for their differences'. This approach led him to state that 'the movie will not dwell on the depressing aspects of the story either'.[54] Removing Anne's subsequent fate in both Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, Stevens reworked the past to find a conclusive end to her story that did not reside in death. Anne's life instead lets Stevens recapture an innocence that existed before the atrocities of the war, one that sees a more conventional ending that "individuals are good at heart". As will be seen in Chapter III, films of the movement-image recapture the past to strengthen feelings of closure. Applying this to *Schindler's List*, we will breakdown how the film re-connects with Jewish practices before the Holocaust to frame an optimistic future. Therefore, much like the films of the movement-image, both *The Diary* and *Schindler's List* enable American audiences to learn from the indifference of the past and envisage a future separate from the atrocities of the Holocaust, albeit from the distance of the movie theatre.

[53] Thomas Elsaesser, 'Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama', in Christine Gledhill (ed.), *Home Is Where the Heart Is: Studies in Melodrama and the Women's Film* (London: British Film Institute, 1987), pp. 47-49.
[54] Marilyn Ann Moss, *Giant: George Stevens, a Life on Film* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), pp. 269-70, George Stevens cited in Paul Cronin (ed.), *George Stevens: Interviews* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), p. 16.

While *The Stranger* and *The Diary* displayed Hollywood's ability to hold onto a "studio era" mentality when it came to plot and story, certain directors did begin to explore alternative aspects of continuity editing to represent the Holocaust. The social anxieties that lay under the surface of *The Diary* would begin to appear more prominently when Sidney Lumet set out to create the first Hollywood picture that dealt with Holocaust survival. *The Pawnbroker* (1964) follows fictional Holocaust survivor, Sol Nazerman (Rod Steiger), who has lost his wife and children in an unnamed camp. Depicted through intermittent flashbacks, the memory of his experience now intrudes on his everyday reality as he works in a Harlem pawnshop. The modern-day setting led *The New York Times* critic, Bosley Crowther, to understand the film as an attempt to juxtapose the wretchedness of Harlem and the conditions found in the Holocaust.[55]

No longer did a Hollywood film about the Holocaust reflect a façade of domestic life as it did in *The Diary*. *The Pawnbroker* emerged in a period that saw 'the loss of America's innocence followed by years of violence and chaos', including the voiced resistance to inequality in the rise of Martin Luther King Jr. and the assassination of John F. Kennedy. The film was also released at a time when the Holocaust became a reference point for underlying social instability. Doneson describes this era of violence as belonging to 'a legacy of fascism and the Holocaust'. She also points out that language related to the Holocaust was 'often appropriated to describe black suffering in America'. This was evident when 'many in the forefront of black militancy resorted to anti-Semitic rhetoric in their fight for black equality'.[56]

Just as America came to be gradually revealed as containing oppression and inequality at its core in the 1960s, *The Pawnbroker* signalled the emergence of American filmmakers who engaged with social unrest in a different manner. It was a film that gave 'expression to a new mood of "social conscience"', diffusing attitudes of unrest into mainstream American culture, and in turn marked a drastic shift away from films of the "studio era".[57] This was also because Lumet's film arrived at a time when American directors had become increasingly self-conscious of Hollywood clichés, and chose to present more complex narratives that deliberately avoided the coherence and closure central to the movement-image.

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[55] Bosley Crowther, Screen: 'The Pawnbroker Opens at 3 Theaters: Rod Steiger Creates a Tragic Character Camera Seeks Worst Aspects of Harlem', *New York Times* (21 April 1965), p. 51.
[56] Judith Doneson, *The Holocaust in American Film* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), pp. 108-109.
[57] Doneson, *The Holocaust in American Film*, p. 107.

In the case of *The Pawnbroker*, Lumet pays less attention to the intricacies of the Holocaust or the motives of the perpetrators, and instead focuses on the meaning of survival. It touches upon a variety of challenges that faced survivors from the inconsistency of memory to the processing of trauma. The story follows the burden held by the survivor and the way this materialises in his detachment from society. In a strikingly different ending to *The Stranger* and *The Diary*, Sol's actions prove meaningless, unable to find a solution that can bring about a conclusive end. The subject matter also affects the style and editing of the film. With the use of intermittent flashbacks inserted in an almost subliminal manner, *The Pawnbroker* experimented with the false continuity that developed in films of the time-image.

Its editing style materialises the memory of the protagonist as part of the narrative. In such films, traditional principles of framing and editing appear reweighted, explaining how Hollywood storytelling can reach out and cover both conservative efforts and bold experiments. Essentially films such as *The Pawnbroker* show how the evolution of Hollywood in the twentieth century involved co-optation. Filmmaking that appears to pursue an independent perspective that may subvert mainstream Hollywood mentalities is integrated into its very paradigm, allowing studios to tap into niche markets outside the typical moviegoing experience.

By presenting a nuanced engagement with notions of trauma and memory, Lumet's *Pawnbroker* is a crucial juncture in the history of American Holocaust representation. In contrast to *Schindler's List*, Lumet's techniques of crosscutting show how framing and editing can provide a direct statement of the film's subject matter. While the narrative takes place in the present, Lumet uses editing to warn of how the past can suddenly takeover the narrative. As Chapters I and III disclose, this complicates the position of the survivor by unearthing the burden, mass or pressure of the past that it constantly forced on the present. From this perspective, *Pawnbroker* marks a crossroads between film and memoir in the 1960s. Coupled with the release of Elie Wiesel's *Night* (1960), Lumet's film introduced a particular image of the Holocaust survivor in American culture. In 1993, however, *Schindler's List* focused more on individual responsibility to put forward an archetypical image of the Holocaust hero.

Just when *The Pawnbroker* marked a shift in the social conscience of Hollywood in response to a period of instability, the release of films such as Stanley Kramer's *Ship of Fools* (1965) and *The Producers* (Mel Brooks, 1967) presented a growing legacy of WWII without

focusing on the significance of the Holocaust. *Variety* magazine's review of *Ship of Fools* stated that 'this and other forms of racism are rampart today…giving *Ship of Fools* a pertinence that the passing of years and a devastating world war have not outdated'.[58] In addition, *The Producers* tackled Hitler's Nazism by staging it as a Broadway production that reflected a 'Busby Berkeley musical'. [59] Bob Fosse's *Cabaret* (1972) chronicled the rise of the Nazi party from the perspective of a burlesque night club, which was in fact more open about the rise of anti-Semitism during the Weimar Republic. The Holocaust as a subject for Hollywood was thus still being used by a variety of genres that ranged from comedies to musicals, creating an increasing image of exploitation and kitsch. It was not until the release of the miniseries, *Holocaust*, in 1978 that the medium of film would be able to shape the Nazi genocide into a discrete event in modern history. Appealing less to an introspection on survival as *The Pawnbroker*, *Holocaust* set out to produce an historical survey of the events that led up to the Holocaust and the aftermath of the destruction. In what would become a watershed year for raising awareness about the Holocaust in American culture, NBC's *Holocaust* would inaugurate a televised version which included a clear beginning and end, with a variety of historical events re-created in between.

While the miniseries was much longer than a feature Hollywood film – nine-and-a-half-hours split into four separate broadcasts – it effectively captured the popularity of the movement-image. Condensing ten years of the Nazi regime, it familiarised mass audiences with distinctive events that constituted a cause-and-effect narrative in the Holocaust. Although *Holocaust* reconstructed a past that featured death and suffering, it still found a cathartic ending with a positive message of family love and survival. Tailoring this narrative to resonate with the American public, Gerald Green's soap opera was composed of Nazi stereotypes, English speaking dialogue and identifiable victims. The miniseries follows the fictional Weiss family from the implementation of anti-Jewish legislation right up to the entrance of the gas chambers in four separate broadcasts.

Its style of portraying the events captured the public imagination so much so that the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin recorded that those 'four days in April saw greater awareness of the Holocaust, and its significance, than in three decades preceding'.[60] On those

[58] *Variety* (11 May 1965) cited in Doneson, *Holocaust in American Film*, p. 118.
[59] Louis Kaplan, '"It Will Get a Terrific Laugh": On the Problematic Pleasures and Politics of Holocaust Humour', in Henry Jenkins, Tara McPherson and Jane Shattuc (eds.), *Hop on Pop: The Politics and Pleasures of Popular Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 352.
[60] *Anti-Defamation League Bulletin* 35 (June 1978) cited in Shandler, 'Schindler's Discourse', p. 165.

four consecutive evenings, 16 – 19 April 1978, it is estimated that the miniseries was watched by '120 million viewers worldwide', and scholars have often defined it as a turning point in the consciousness of the Holocaust in America.[61] Not only did it signify that 'the Holocaust had fully "arrived" on the American scene', according to Peter Novick, but it simultaneously registered the word itself, Holocaust, 'into virtual "household" use'.[62]

After the landmark success of *Holocaust*, a growing demand for active memorialisation from the government and currents of the American Jewish Community increased in the late 1970s and earlier 1980s. There was a period of widespread concern for the need to publicly remember the Holocaust. With a breakthrough in awareness created by *Holocaust*, the 1970s and 1980s can be described as an attempt to construct a total experience, one that elides the collective history to survey individuals and single families. The timeline presented in *Holocaust* also set a precedent for the planning and execution of national memorials in the 1970s and 1980s. This was evident in the month following the release of *Holocaust* when President Jimmy Carter formed a presidential commission dedicated to the memorialisation of the Holocaust, resulting in the planning, creation and dedication of a museum on the national mall in Washington, D.C.

The 1980s witnessed this continued effort both in major motion pictures and organised memorialisation. It was a decade that further saw the enactment of President Carter's commission which concluded that Americans had 'a distinct responsibility' to remember the Holocaust with an 'appropriate memorial' on American soil.[63] Sustaining this responsibility, Max Kampelman, Ronald Reagan's chief arms negotiator and Holocaust Council member, stated that 'the Europeans probably should have built a museum in their capitals, but they haven't and most probably won't…But our building will demonstrate the tolerance of our culture, its ability to empathise with the suffering of all its people'.[64] Although this surge in responsibility fabricated a direct relationship between Americans and the Holocaust, it also pointed out that this responsibility was effectively rewriting the past to accord with present-day American principles.

With political recognition for memorialisation and the release of productions like *Sophie's Choice* (Alan J. Pakula, 1982) and ABC's thirty-hour miniseries *War and*

[61] Shandler, *While America Watches*, p. 135.
[62] Peter Novick, 'Holocaust Memory in America', in James E. Young (ed.), *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (New York: Jewish Museum, 1994), p. 162
[63] Linenthal, *Preserving* Memory, pp. 20, 37.
[64] Judith Miller, *One By One By One: Facing the Holocaust* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), p. 234.

Remembrance (Dan Curtis, 1988), the 1980s was set against the backdrop of "Americanising the Holocaust". After the national traumas that beset America in the 1960s and 70s – the visual exposure from Vietnam, the Watergate scandal and the hostilities that erupted in the fight for civil rights – Hollywood in the 1980s was dubbed 'a cinema of reassurance, optimism and nostalgia'. Having acted in Hollywood features during the 1950s, President Ronald Reagan represented the idyllic, suburban, Eisenhower America as it 'existed in the popular imagination'.[65] In turn, stories and plots in the 1980s began to reclaim a number of the traditional and conventional values of Hollywood's studio-era. Or, as Robin Wood puts it, mainstream Hollywood films of the 1980s involve the 'restoration of the "good old values" of dominant patriarchal capitalism'.[66] Therefore, it is crucial for my project that engaging with the wide-ranging appeal of *Schindler's List* belongs in an era obsessed with restoration and renewal.

Known for reclaiming sensational and uplifting views of the world, Spielberg's popularity was set in motion in this period. As will be seen in this dissertation, Spielberg's style involves reviving and modifying the classical form that had made Hollywood the hegemonic source of storytelling. As film historians such as Lester D. Friedman point out, this was evident in both the coalescence of the "Blockbuster mentality" with George Lucas that permeated the commercial film industry and the 'infantilisation of contemporary movies'.[67] Spielberg would go on to direct four of the top ten grossing films of the 1980s. Although various counter currents subverted the feel-good American cinema of the 1980s, Spielberg and Lucas, as Robert Alpert puts it, were effectively 'servants of this new world order that they "birthed" into creation'. Spielberg's cinema was not only part of a reinvigoration of Hollywood's universal appeal, but many of his films 'mythologised American cultural concerns'.[68] *Jaws* (1975), *Close Encounters with the Third Kind* (1977) and *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), for example, deal with domestic American life and the challenges faced from an external threat.

Historically, the entirety of Spielberg's filmography has been split by commentators between before and after the release of *Schindler's List*. Before, seeing him as a Hollywood

[65] John Belton, *American Cinema/American Culture* Fourth Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2013), p. 388.
[66] Robin Wood, '80s Hollywood: Dominant Tendencies,' *CineAction!* (Spring, 1985), 2-5.
[67] Lester D. Friedman, *Citizen Spielberg* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 2. For more on Spielberg and the "Blockbuster mentality" see Tom Shone, *How Hollywood Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Summer* (New York: Free Press, 2004).
[68] Robert Alpert, 'Dominant Tendencies of 80s Hollywood Revisited Thirty Years Later', *CineAction*!, 98 (Spring, 2016), 7.

crowd-pleaser and after that witnessed the emergence of a significant artist following his first Academy Award for Best Director. However, this polarisation of Spielberg's canon is not entirely helpful when considering his two historical epics prior to *Schindler's List*, *The Colour Purple* (1986) and *Empire of the Sun* (1987), and his many crowd-pleasing films after such as *Catch Me If You Can* (2002) or *The Terminal* (2004). What it shows is that the release of *Schindler's List* encapsulated the influential power of Spielberg's cinematic worlds. While representing a landmark in his personal career, *Schindler's List* also signified, as *The New York Times* critic A. O. Scott wrote, how Spielberg became 'a synonym for Hollywood itself…an incarnation of Hollywood's large-scale, world-conquering ambitions'.[69]

Scott's claim shows that Spielberg is a filmmaker loyal to the early ambitions of Hollywood. Developing this line of argument, we can implement Deleuze's movement-image to assess the extent to which Spielberg symbolises the world-conquering ambitions of Hollywood. In his analysis of Spielberg's work, Richard Rushton shows that 'if the large form of the action-image had at its core the triumph of the American dream, which was also a triumph of American cinema, then Spielberg gives new life to this cinematic dream'.[70] This is not achieved in directly recycling the grand narratives that structured classical realism, either the dreams of a founding civilisation in John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939) or the dreams of an ethical society in Elia Kazan's *One the Waterfront* (1954). Instead, Spielberg strives to create new individual foundational narratives 'where every man or woman must strive to find his or her own personal dreamland'.[71] Using the work of Rushton and Deleuze, I will investigate how Spielberg's character-driven cinema constructs fantasised and mythic individuals around patriarchal stories of redemption. This means that plot and action are for the most part in service of the protagonist's spiritual or moral transformation. My project will also measure to what extent these individual heroes are reflective of a period when the image of Reagan as a father figure was key to his social, political and cultural identity.

To validate this claim we can examine how Oskar Schindler's characterisation is brought to fruition in this period as his story passes from history to book to film. Schindler's history was first ignited by a chance meeting between Poldek Pfefferberg, a Schindlerjuden (Schindler Jews) survivor, and Thomas Keneally in a leather goods store in California in

[69] A. O. Scott, 'The Studio-Indie, Pop-Prestige, Art-Commerce King', *The New York Times* (9 November 2003), pp. 60–63.
[70] Richard Rushton, *Cinema After Deleuze* (New York: Continuum, 2012), p. 121.
[71] Rushton, *Cinema After Deleuze*, p. 121.

October 1980.[72] The conversation that ensued would lead Pfefferberg and Keneally travelling the world to interview several of the Schindlerjuden, before Keneally returned to Australia to write what would become *Schindler's Ark* in a style he often described as fictitious. In the 1993 edition, the copyright page contained the standard disclaimer: 'This book is a work of fiction. Names, characters, places, and incidents are either products of the author's imagination or are used fictitiously. Any resemblance to actual events or locales or persons, living or dead, is entirely coincidental'.[73] Keneally's choice of genre very much situates Schindler's story as a fictional biographical novel. He even stated that 'the novel's techniques seem suited for a character of such ambiguity and magnitude as Oskar'.[74]

When the president of Universal Studio, Sidney Sheinberg, acquired the rights to Keneally's novel, he reached out to Spielberg to direct the filmic adaptation. After years of disagreement over how Schindler should be portrayed, leading to original screenwriter, Kurt Luedtke, leaving the project, Spielberg lost confidence in the story. However, when Steven Zaillian was hired to rewrite the script, the story became much more focused on Schindler himself, rekindling Spielberg's desire to direct. As Zaillian recalled in an interview with *The New York Times*, 'I wanted to focus on Schindler, and Schindler alone, and imagine events almost entirely through his eyes'.[75] Zallian's influence is pivotal to Chapter I's analysis of the relationship between character-driven cinema and the development of Schindler's paternal duty.

From book to pre-production, it is clear how the characterisation of Schindler develops in tandem with Spielberg's previous protagonists. In films such as *Close Encounters*, *ET* and the Indiana Jones series, the theme is defined by an 'individual's battles with an "evil empire" of one sort or another'.[76] Now Spielberg takes this approach to bring to the screen the figure of Schindler battling against the evil 1000-year Nazi rule. Due to this, the role of the collective is for the most part overshadowed by the extraordinary potential of the individual. Keneally's novel presented a balanced re-telling between Schindler and the

[72] This story is recounted in Poldek Pfeefferberg's, otherwise known as Leopold Page, obituary in *The New York Times*: Douglas Martin, 'Leopold Page, Who Promoted Story of Schindler, Dies at 87', *New York Times* (15 March 2001), p. 8.
[73] This citation is taken from Schribner's 2000 edition following the success of *Schindler's List*. The title of the novel has been changed to *Schindler's List* in this republication. Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's List* (New York: Schribner Paperback Fiction, 2000).
[74] Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's Ark* (London: Sceptre, 1982), p.13.
[75] Steven Zaillian cited in Berbard Weinraub, 'An A-List Writer, Minus the Attitude', *New York Times* (15 November 1998), p. 42.
[76] Rushton, *Cinema After Deleuze*, p. 121.

Jewish presence, influenced predominantly by interpretations of survivor testimony. However, Zaillian's script catered to the selfhood of the biopic genre, overlooking the collective of its Jewish characters by basing the majority of its action through the eyes of Schindler.

Retelling the events of the Holocaust according to this genre demonstrated how Spielberg's film could tap into the 1980s mentality of mainstream Hollywood filmmaking. Like films such as *Back to the Future* (Robert Zemeckis, 1985) and *Stand by Me* (Rob Reiner, 1986), Spielberg's approach is situated in a tragic yet nostalgic return to the past that enables audiences to go back and potentially find some closure on specific historical events. *Schindler's List* is a product of this entertainment as it simultaneously recreates and freezes its history. Suffice to say, refracting the history of the Holocaust through the eyes of Schindler evidently determined its style, how it would be cast, its editing, its musical score, and its overall aesthetic. The analysis of these factors confirms why *Schindler's List* is very much a production tied to its era and the mentality of reassurance. Embellishing this argument, Chapter I explains why the casting of Liam Neeson was made due to his physical paternal presence embodying a Righteous gentile persona. These casting decisions fed into a traditional patriarchal plot, which was also crafted by the film's overall style as a 'coming of age in the past'.[77] In other words, Schindler's heroic journey is punctuated by the retrieval of past genres and styles that processed America's exposure to the Holocaust in the twentieth century. This will include but not be limited to the genre of the newsreel, the use of an improvised camera feel taken from post-war neorealism, editing traits from Griffith's historical epics and the *Holocaust* miniseries, and how even the lighting adapts techniques of film noir.

Taking up this approach means observing how popular American cinema assimilates a range of thematic and stylistic material. Viewing the film in this way involves 'tracing not just its mechanisms of standardisation and hegemony but also the diversity in which this cinema was translated and reconfigured in both local and translocal contexts of reception'.[78] Therefore, my analysis will aim to show that if *Schindler's List* succeeded as an international Holocaust idiom on a mass basis, it did so by taking a presumably universal narrative and making it mean different things to different people and publics, both in America and abroad.

[77] Belton, *American Cinema/American* Culture, p. 390.
[78] Miriam Bratu Hansen, 'The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism', *Modernism/Modernity*, 6:2 (April, 1999), 69.

This led critics to react to its visual style in terms of authenticity, prompting individuals like John Ottenhoff to claim that Spielberg 'transcends Hollywood'.[79] Fred Bruning went even further to assert that 'filmed in black-and-white, the movie looks strikingly authentic in many sequences – a newsreel unearthed after more than a half-century – and encourages viewers to believe they, too, are fleeing the Krakow ghetto, labouring in the Schindler enamelware factory and, at last, languishing in Nazi concentration camps'.[80] Michael Bernstein aptly named this "authenticity" 'the *Schindler's List* effect'. This term refers to how the film employs a form of realism that also belongs to a cultural lens of 'an American urge to find a redemptive meaning in every event'. This highlights Spielberg's eagerness to interpret the Holocaust as a 'parable of universal suffering' rather than a systematic and 'principled denial of even minimal humanity to those it condemned to genocidal extermination'.[81] At the heart of *Schindler's List* lies the redemptive story arc of Schindler himself, and my chapters will trace this arc from redemption to heroism and salvation.

Partly due to the inspiring and redemptive story arc of *Schindler's List*, the film on release sparked an initial "Schindler-mania". This reaction can be read as both a culmination of the "Americanisation of the Holocaust" and as part of a wider nexus in the "Globalisation of the Holocaust". With a domestic box office of $96 million, it went on to earn $322 million worldwide, indicating again the mass-market hegemony of American-produced movies. Critical acclaim poured in across the board, detailing how *Schindler's List* 'will eternally preserve the Holocaust in the world's memory'. As Frank Rich of *The Detroit News* continued, 'once in a very great while, a movie insinuates itself so deeply into your consciousness that it offers not vicarious experience but…direct experience'.[82] Several American endorsements for the film saw President Bill Clinton stating 'I implore every one of you to go see it', and Oprah Winfrey claiming that it made her 'a better person'.[83]

[79] John Ottenhoff, '*Schindler's List*', *The Christian Century* (16 February 1994), p. 172.
[80] Fred Bruning, 'The Problem with *Schindler's List*'', *Maclean's* (25 April 1994), p. 9.
[81] Michael André Bernstein, 'The "Schindler's List" Effect', *The American Scholar*, 63:3 (Summer 1994), 431.
[82] Frank Rich, 'Extras in the Shadows', *New York Times* (2 January 1994), 9.
[83] Sara R. Horowitz, 'But Is It Good for the Jews? Spielberg's Schindler and the Aesthetics of Atrocity', in Yosefa Loshitzky (ed.), *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), p. 119.

As an outcome of its national success, the Shoah Foundation was created to record and archive the testimonies of thousands of Holocaust survivors.[84] Reactions such as this once again prove the film's role in the historicisation of the Holocaust in American culture. Furthermore, the Schindler's story extended onto the global stage, and two months after its release in the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, the film had been 'seen by approximately four million viewers'. A few years later 'it was still one of most-watched videos there'.[85] Even when "Schindler-mania" began to wane, the film continued to play a crucial role in shaping the public and private memory of the Holocaust.

To research into its "reality effect", this thesis treats *Schindler's List* not just as a product of Hollywood's marketing strategies in the 1980s and 1990s that extends a nostalgic national history into the public sphere. Deconstructing its visual impact means delving into what Miriam Bratu Hansen measured as the 'film's ability to engender a public space, a horizon of at once sensory experience and discursive contestation'.[86] It forges a mass market precisely by standardising and co-opting a history of previous cinematic texts. Therefore, the film at once popularised a redemptive interpretation of the Holocaust and traversed histories that could not be reduced to this singular interpretation. If *Schindler's List* remains important to American cinema and history, it is not only for its universal inscription of redemption into the Holocaust. It is just as important for what it shows us about 1993, about the film's role in creating an accessible platform of representation, about the eliding of cultural memory, and the importance of Holocaust film.

Thesis Structure and Chapter Outline

As this thesis engages with the role of popular cinema, each chapter interrogates a separate act of *Schindler's List* and its relationship to previous Holocaust films. Throughout, the core motive driving my analysis is the overarching presence of storytelling. For many, the American film industry thrives on its ability to tell a story. Whatever this story is, it is affected by the way it is told, the genre it is expressed in, and the visual techniques capable of translating it. With storytelling as the backbone of American cinema, it facilitated comprehension, coherence, and immersion for mass audiences. Even screenwriting manuals

[84] USC Shoah Foundation founded by Spielberg in 1994 houses 1,200 individual testimonies conducted in sixty-five countries and in forty-three languages. To read more about the creation and aim of the Shoah Foundation, visit the following website: https://sfi.usc.edu/about.
[85] David Brenner, 'Translation and Transference in the Hollywood Blockbuster and Locally', *Society for Critical Exchange Session on Globalisation and the Uses of Film, Annual Midwest Modern Language Association Conference*, Cleveland (2 November, 2001).
[86] Hansen, '*Schindler's List* is Not *Shoah*', 312.

have overtime arrived at a general consensus about the purpose of storytelling in American cinema. This led to a prevailing three-act paradigm at the core of mass-market filmmaking. In sum, Act I, known as "the setup", introduces the characters' milieu and the problems faced by the hero. Act II as "the development stage" consists of the hero struggling to resolve the problem. Finally, Act III, recognised as "the climax stage", resolves the problem and instils feelings of closure.

My project is divided into three chapters which mirror this structural template to observe the rules that govern Schindler's characterisation and how his story is told. The three-act paradigm has always been an underlying factor that bears on a character's development. Deleuze's theories of American cinema will be central in determining how a three-act paradigm dictates the characters' milieu, modes of behaviour, and the necessity of closure The history of Schindler, then, in Spielberg's film involves traits of a plausible personality that covers flaws, vulnerabilities and the capability for change.[87] Each chapter reads closely individual scenes, deploying techniques from film and cultural studies. I will imbricate and integrate such techniques to express the importance of a presumably universal form of character-based storytelling on Holocaust representation. Each chapter, then, will probe into the rhythm of the film's three-act structure and how it moves from paternal duty to redemption and finally to heroism and saviourhood. I will argue that in 1993 the Holocaust had more than ever been moulded into an accessible story, packaged and available for consumption as a mass-market film.

Chapter I, 'Ghettoisation: Constructing the Victim Ideal by Recycling the Ideal Victim' deconstructs the creation of the characters' milieu, including who the victims are and the space they inhabit. This chapter also defines the main protagonist's purpose (Schindler as a Nazi profiteer) and culminates in the transition from Act I to Act II, where an "inciting incident" sets the course for his redemptive arc. The chapter will map this according to Schindler's adoption of a paternal duty when he witnesses the ghetto liquidation and identifies with the red coat toddler. *Schindler's List* delves into the historical archive of Holocaust imagery, most notably the young Warsaw boy as representative of the ghetto to reproduce a weak and passive Jewish presence.

[87] Nicholas Kazan cited in Jurgen Wolff and Kerry Cox (ed.), *Top Secrets: Screenwriting* (Los Angeles: Lone Eagle Publishing, 1993), pp. 162, 168.

Chapter II, 'The Auschwitz-Birkenau Gatehouse and Thresholds of Memorialisation', investigates how tension is heightened following Schindler's newly found purpose and goal. This segment is punctuated by the notion of redemption, charting Schindler as he struggles to save the Schindlerjuden. The apotheosis of this redemption is the final showdown Schindler faces to save the women's transport when it is re-routed to Auschwitz. This allows *Schindler's List* the opportunity to frame the most reproduced image of the Holocaust, the Birkenau gatehouse. The chapter explores the many reproductions and filmic versions of the gatehouse, exposing its storytelling purpose by dividing the inside and outside of the camp.

Chapter III, 'Finding Closure After the Holocaust: Depicting Survival and Self-Preservation in *Schindler's List*', unravels how the "climax stage" is created, the feelings it attempts to capture, and its achievement of closure. With an epilogue based in modern-day Israel, survival confirms Schindler's move from redemption to heroism, tying up his story by paying respects to his exceptional actions. With reference to the film's impact on national memorialisation at sites such as the USHMM, it will become clear how traditions of upholding cases of individual responsibility and the depiction of survival are central to an American interpretation of finding redemption in the Holocaust. By focusing on the global repercussions of *Schindler's List*'s ending for Holocaust representation, the chapter will also engage with alternate paradigms of representation through Claude Lanzmann's documentary, *Shoah*.

Chapter I

ACT I. Ghettoisation: Constructing the Victim Ideal by Recycling the Ideal Victim

Saviourhood is a narrative trope that runs throughout Spielberg's character-based cinema. Using the example of *E.T.* as comparative to *Schindler's List,* Sara R. Horowitz argues that the alien humanoid follows the same character arc of Oskar Schindler. As she argues, Schindler is comparative to the extra-terrestrial 'who proves himself more-than-human' and 'comes to earth from a "home" beyond the skies (heaven) to redeem humans from bleak, valueless life devoid of loving connections because humans cannot save themselves'.[1] This has also been described as Spielberg's insistence on paternal authority, evident in the actions of Captain Miller embarking on a mission behind enemy lines to save a helpless Private in *Saving Private Ryan* (1998).[2] More prevalently, in *Jurassic Park* (1993) the paternal figure of Alan Grant, a child-hating palaeontologist is transformed into the children's' saviour, displaying warm affection and care towards them. In *Schindler's List*, this manifests in Schindler's gradual adoption of a paternal duty towards the Schindlerjuden. By placing Schindler's spiritual transformation at the centre of the narrative, a marginalisation of the Jewish presence occurs, and this relies on the recycling of stereotypes and Hollywood trends.

Judith Doneson more strikingly describes this in terms of a dichotomy between the strong Christian figure of Schindler and the rather meek image of the Jews. Doneson conceptualises a symbiotic male-female relationship, whereby the image of the Jews is entirely dependent on Schindler. As she argues, 'this takes place in the alliance of the weak, passive, rather feminine Jew being protected by a strong Christian/gentile, the male'.[3] Building on this criticism, Chapter I will identify how Act I of *Schindler's List* creates a milieu that designates the narrative for Schindler's redemptive actions. This chapter focuses

[1] Sara R. Horowitz, 'But Is It Good for the Jews? Spielberg's Schindler and the Aesthetics of Atrocity', in Yosefa Loshitzky (ed.), *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), p. 124.
[2] Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom: Jacques Lacan In Hollywood and Out* (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. xii.
[3] Judith E. Doneson, 'The Image Lingers: The Feminisation of the Jew in *Schindler's List*', in Loshitzy, *Spielberg's Holocaust,* p. 140.

on how the identity of the Schindlerjuden is constructed from the perspective of Schindler. This was influenced by Steven Zaillian's rewriting of Thomas Keneally's novel, and falls more in line with an American interpretation that also influenced the design of national memorials and museums.

The narrative of *Schindler's List* begins with elucidating the identity of the victims. A deeper reading will also reveal that this is correlative to the "set-up" pattern of Hollywood, in which the victims are employed to historically determine the actions and psychological determination of the protagonist. In the remainder of this chapter, I will closely analyse the opening scene and two scenes from the first act that re-create the Kraków ghetto to scrutinise how each were influenced by various traditions and conventions that conflate Jewish identity with victimisation. The first act of *Schindler's List*, then, will appear to have been filtered through three aspects of victimisation in major Hollywood motion pictures: loss, innocence and passivity. Each one creates the stage for Schindler's redemptive arc and ultimately solidifies his place as a Righteous gentile. Throughout, I will map the effects of Spielberg's adaptation of Schindler's story and the repercussions a saviourhood narrative has had on Holocaust representation.

This begins with Spielberg casting Liam Neeson as Schindler. As he recalls, the Northern Irish actor got the part 'not only because of his sheer physicality but also, Spielberg had said, because Neeson shares with Herr Schindler a certain "naïve optimism", as well as "a wonderful cigarettes-and-cognac-voice"'.[4] As with Spielberg's previous films, casting decisions and an individual male-centred plot appear inseparable from an era of filmmaking that identified with '"the resurrection of the father", "the Oedipal trajectory"…"expulsion of the mother [and] the subordination of the wife"'.[5] All this laid the framework for a story that focused on the "coming to manhood" of Schindler as a father figure, and the 'assignment of women to the "only possible roles…[of] Mother and Wife"'.[6] Thus it is evident that Neeson harnessed the physical paternal presence yet Righteous gentile persona that fed into Spielberg's unlikely hero of Schindler. As the chapter will argue, this situates the recreation of Schindler through the characteristics of 1980s gender-focused mainstream Hollywood.

[4] Stephanie Mansfield, 'Liam Neeson Puts the Kettle On', *Vanity Fair* (December 1993) in Thomas Fensch (ed.), *Oskar Schindler & His List: The Man, The Book, The Film, The Holocaust and its Survivors* (N. Chesterfield: Mew Centruy Books, 2015), p. 132.
[5] Robin Wood cited in Robert Alpert, 'Dominant Tendencies of 80s Hollywood Revisited Thirty Years Later', *CineAction*!, 98 (Spring, 2016), 6
[6] Wood cited in Alpert, 'Dominant Tendencies of 80s', 6.

1.1

The initial frames of *Schindler's List* introduce the identity of the victims by constructing a dark and sombre mood. These frames are filled with a less saturated blend of colours that prepares for the change to monochrome – a symbolic return to the past. Many critics and historians have pointed to the importance of the film's use of colour. This includes the influence of sharp lighting contrasts and shadows from film noir or attempts to recreate Allied newsreel footage.[7] It also reproduces an aesthetic trend that uses black and white as a means of establishing the biographical past of a protagonist. This means that colour also contributes to situating Schindler's story. While the opening scene appears to stand out from the black-and-white frames that follow, continuity, as Chapter III will confirm, is re-established when the final scene uses colour in Israel. Remaining at the margins of the film, the use of colour both sets the tone and frames the context of Schindler's story according to the principle of classical symmetry. In narrative terms, then, the cut from colour to monochrome frames the historical milieu.

The scene opens with a black frame that is broken by the lighting of a single match. A close-up of a pair of hands is then captured as they light each candle. As the sequence cuts to a medium shot of a domestic scene, the camera frames an unknown Jewish family during the blessing of the Kiddush, while the sound is dominated by a Rabbi's voice reciting the Jewish sanctification over wine (Figure 1.1). Establishing the film's narrative through the Kiddush "sets-up" the situation as a specifically Jewish one. Looking more closely, however, the visual dominance of burning candles reveals a different meaning. Firstly, the frame achieves a dark and underexposed quality which is constructed by exterior lighting (the frame is lit so the brightness comes from outside onto the interior mise-en-scéne). The use of backlighting, rather than an evenly lit high-key lighting, gives the frame a darker mournful atmosphere contrasted with the festival celebrations of the Kiddush.

[7] Yosefa Loshitzky, 'Introduction', in Loshitzky, *Spielberg's Holocaust,* p. 45.

Figure 1.1: *Schindler's List* (Steven Spielberg, 1994). First full medium-shot of the Sabbath.

Lighting constructed in this way moulds silhouettes around faces to create a chiaroscuro effect. As the Rabbi speaks before the meal on the eve of Shabbat, the scene cuts to a close-up of a young boy's face from a profile view (Figure 1.2), before cutting back to the room which is now completely vacant of life as the credits begin to roll (Figure 1.3). All that is left is the burning candles, and as they melt away the camera enacts a three-part dissolve close-up that merges a trio of shots. These three dissolves represent the passing of time and symbolise the relationship between life and death. First, a medium-shot of the entire room dissolves to a close-up of the candles as they reduce to half in size. The next dissolve brings the view even closer, centralising the two candles side by side as the title appears. A final dissolve takes the camera into the domain of an extreme close-up as a single candle burns away. These close-ups that bring the perspective of the burning flame into focus are described by Horowitz as 'literalising the term Holocaust as an offering to God wholly consumed by flames'. Not only does the scene introduce the Jewish presence, but the candles set the course for 'the extinguishing of European Jewish life and the burning of Jews in the crematoria'.[8]

[8] Horowitz, 'But Is It Good for the Jews?', p. 125.

Figure 1.2: *Schindler's* List. Close-up of a young boy from profile view.

Figure 1.3: *Schindler's List.* Shot appears again this time devoid of life.

Furthering Horowitz's reading, each dissolve marks a temporal ellipsis to omit the time it takes for the candles to burn, creating an atmosphere of death and loss. The similar proportions between Figure 1.1 and 1.3 are created by the repetition of a low-levelled camera position at the height of the children. To complement this, the interior mise-en-scène includes a wide variety of mahogany-filled furniture which is contrasted by the lighter colours of the table cloth and the thin material of the blinds. Between these two shots and the sequence of dissolves that follow, the candle is always present in frame. This emphasis on the imagery of

candles is crucial to introducing Schindler's story. It is employed as a means to foreshadow his attempts to reverse the loss, and when images of candles reappear towards the end of the film it marks the success of Schindler's actions:

> The Jews of Europe are emblematised by the flame of the Sabbath candles, and the extinguishing caused by the Holocaust is later reversed imagistically by the lighting of the Sabbath candles in Schindler's Czechoslovakian factory – reversed by Schindler's act of saving Jewish lives.[9]

Just as the candles' reappearance in Schindler's factory marks the triumph of his actions, the narrative first establishes a situation of loss and the goal of the protagonist, which is to overcome that loss. Opening sequences that contextualise the subsequent actions and behaviours of the protagonist are crucial to Hollywood's three-act paradigm. Deleuze also describes this foreshadowing as part of the success of American cinema, as it is always made clear how 'the hero's place has been prepared long before he comes to occupy it'.[10] Both the loss of colour as the scene cuts to the beginning of Schindler's story in 1939 and the symbolic extinguishing of the candle set the course for Schindler to confront the loss and mitigate its circumstances.

Historically, framing an opening scene in terms of loss was evident in the first Hollywood production that tackled Holocaust survival. While experimenting with the linear framework of feature film narrative, *The Pawnbroker* (Sidney Lumet, 1964) introduced its Jewish protagonist, Sol, by focusing on how the loss of his family invades his everyday life. In stark contrast to Schindler, however, Sol's dispassion for life causes him to ignore the contemporary suffering in and around Harlem. Sol's day-to-day existence is defined by his disregard for humanity and a lack of empathy which stems from how his present-day experiences are affected by the loss he experienced in the past.

Pawnbroker visualises this by inserting flashbacks throughout the film, ranging from sudden bursts that are only noticeable for a second to extended scenes in which Sol regresses back to the past. This is based on scenarios of involuntary memory which trigger the recollection of an event in the past. For example, the barking of dogs reminds Sol of his time in the concentration camp where dogs had chased down a fellow inmate or how the pawning of an engagement ring is interrupted by flashing scenes of dispossession. This involuntary work of memory is created by rejecting traditional editing patterns of continuity, instead

[9] Horowitz, 'But is it Good for the Jews?', p. 124.
[10] Giles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image* translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 171.

employing a style of crosscutting that creates a discontinuity in the rhythm of the narrative. By inserting sharp cuts of single frames into a contemporary New York City setting, the discontinuity allows for a collision between past and present to occur. While creating a discontinuity on-screen, the use of the flashback is also central to the coherence of Sol's story and the development of his character. In other words, the viewer is asked to observe Sol's experiences with him, as each flicker in his memory is externalised on-screen.

The opening scene of *Pawnbroker* uses a flashback to contextualise the loss the protagonist is suffering, setting up his character arc. The sequence opens to a black-and-white frame, with Quincy Jones' orchestral score contributing to the first frames of the film. An initial medium close-up shows a boy attempting to catch a butterfly as a girl can be seen resting in the background (Figure 1.4). The scene cuts from this shot to the two children making their way through a corn field in slow motion. In three more separate cuts the scene progresses from a medium close-up of the young children (Figure 1.4 and 1.5) to a panoramic shot of the idyllic countryside (Figure 1.6). These cuts leave a vast landscape shot of the summer sky that capture the Romantic notion of childhood as natural human innocence. Their presence merges with the landscape as the girl's hair blends with the wheat that grows from the ground (Figure 1.5), and together they become subsumed by the field (Figure 1.6). This Romantic setting establishes a tranquil environment without designating the scene's temporal dimensions or whereabouts.

Figure 1.4: *Pawnbroker* (Sidney Lumet, 1964). First shot as young boy clasps hands together.

Figure 1.5: *Pawnbroker*. First shot as young boy leaves the frame and young girl becomes central.

Figure 1.6: *Pawnbroker*. Panoramic shot of the landscape.

Figure 1.4 juxtaposes the young boy's hands in the foreground with the unblemished face of the girl in the background to capture the innocence of childhood. By utilising a shallow depth of field with natural light, facial characteristics are discernible. This includes both the playfulness of the boy as he attempts to catch the butterfly and the almost bewildered look on the girl's face. The full ambience and context of the opening frames, however, are not created entirely through the visual domain, but through the synthesis of image and sound. The clasping together of the boy's hands and the pan upwards that reveals the girl's face are

tethered to both a slow woodwind melody and a high pitch chime that creates an instrumental lullaby.

Jones employs both wind and string instruments to establish how 'the sound, mood of the music, and instrumentation change to convey a sense of love, hope and family'.[11] Although the score is designed to capture a happy memory for Sol, Clarence Bernard Henry recognises that the interrelation of the strings as they weave together create 'haunting melodic passages'.[12] The more the sequence repeats its weaving of strings and pleasant-sounding chimes, the more the scene prepares the viewer for an abrupt break in the rhythm. As this melody generates a foreboding atmosphere, the images of playfulness begin to take on an uncanny characteristic.

Situations that evoke an uncanny experience are described by Sigmund Freud as an encounter with the 'perpetual recurrence of the same thing'.[13] For him, this is when a familiar and pleasurable memory begins to appear with unsettling connotations. Reading the scene in this way subverts the idyllic atmosphere and brings to the fore Sol's memory as an irretrievable moment in time. The youthful happiness is interrupted when the score does feature a sudden break in its tempo, and the rhythm now exhibits the haste of brass and percussion instruments. Smiles are quickly transformed into fearful expressions as an off-screen threat reveals the precise disposition of the sequence. The scene culminates in a moment of lucidity as Sol awakens in a modern-day New York City suburb, and the audience is left to decipher the dream-like memory.

While *Schindler's List* was being viewed by audiences amidst a visual saturation of Holocaust imagery in the 1990s, *Pawnbroker* was released at the very inception of the Holocaust's inscription into American culture. As Doneson explains, the early 1960s was a time in which 'the Holocaust was becoming part of the vernacular of tragedy', and this was partly due to the influence that Lumet's film provided for future representation.[14] This influence can be noticed in how the opening scene is comparable to the opening of *Schindler's List* and how both frame close-ups of unblemished faces to capture a specific innocence which existed before the Holocaust and that is lost afterwards. In essence, both compositions reflect a prelapsarian image that equates the loss of life with the loss of innocence. Sol and Schindler

[11] Clarence Bernard Henry, *Quincy Jones: His Life in Music* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 2013), p. 95.
[12] Henry, *Quincy Jones*, p. 95.
[13] Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 2015), p. 16.
[14] Judith Doneson, *The Holocaust in American Film* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), p. 63.

may stand in stark contrast to one another, but the opening scenes establish a scenario of loss to situate the actions of the protagonist. As each narrative progresses, it is clear how the two diverge from one another. While Spielberg's cinematic approach is based on reconstituting this loss and finding a means to overcome it, Lumet never creates a tangible solution to Sol's situation. Instead, Lumet frames the futility of Sol's actions that only make his loss more apparent in the present day, thus leaving him in a permanent state of longing.

As the first Hollywood feature film to place a Holocaust victim at the centre of its story, *Pawnbroker's* opening scene is crucial in establishing an image of the survivor in American popular culture. The scene not only foregrounds children as a metaphor for innocence, but it also ties into how 'the figure of the persecuted child turns the Holocaust into a moving and accessible story with religious and mythic associations'.[15] Mark M. Anderson recognises that the rising American interest in the Jewish genocide was facilitated by the role given to children in an attempt to translate the events of the Holocaust to mass-audiences. For Anderson, images of children are employed in this context to create an accessible story. However, this leads to repercussions when images of children stand in for a "prelapsarian innocence" that reproduces connotations of passivity and risks the possibility of infantilisation. Just as the use of children 'appeals to our own memories of childhood, our identities as parents, sisters and brothers', Anderson shows that it 'speaks to us in existential and moral terms, and only secondarily in historical or political ones'.[16]

1.2

The existential and moral role of children can be mapped across several forms of visual media in the twentieth century, including post-war photography. One of the most reproduced images that has been interpreted as an archetype of persecution is the photograph of the young boy with upraised arms in the Warsaw ghetto (Figure 1.7). The history of this photograph begins with its appearance in the seventy-five-page account of the suppression of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in May 1943 known as the Stroop Report. The original title of Jürgen Stroop's report, 'The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw is No More!', detailed the conditions of the ghetto during liquidation. Describing the liquidation process and the subsequent uprising which occurred between 19 April and 16 May, the report included a collection of fifty-two photographs from the ghetto. Many images captured the burnt houses and buildings

[15] Mark M. Anderson, 'The Child Victim as Witness to the Holocaust: An American Story?', *Jewish Social Studies*, 14:1 (2002), 3.
[16] Anderson, 'The Child Victim as Witness to the Holocaust', 3.

reduced to rubble to the lining up of individuals to face a firing squad. However, in the entirety of this photographic album it was the image of the terrified little boy that would become not only the subject of debate but also the object of reproduction. The photograph began to appear throughout a variety of visual media, separate to its use as evidence in the Nuremberg trials.[17] Not only does this lead to its incorporation into popular culture and to questions of the prevalence of this compelling photograph over the others, but also raises the issues of why the focus of the image is directed towards the figure of the young bare-kneed Jewish boy with his hands raised in a surrender gesture.

Figure 1.7: 'Jews captured by SS and SD troops during the suppression of the Warsaw ghetto uprising are forced to leave their shelter and march to the Umschlagplatz for deportation'. *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM).* Photograph Number: 26543.

The photograph was firstly reproduced in Alain Resnais' *Night and Fog* (1956), before appearing in a variety of publications, films and documentaries throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Figure 1.8). This included Gerhard Schoenbener's collection of Holocaust photographs in *The Yellow Star* (1960), Ingmar Bergman's *Persona* (1966), (Figure 1.9), and the BBC miniseries, *The Glittering Prizes* (Waris Hussein and Robert Knights, 1976).[18] This

[17] In American popular culture the significance of this photograph is evident when it appeared in *Time* magazine's one hundred most influential photographs. To see more on this, visit the *Time* website: 'The Most Influential Images of All Time', *Time Magazine*. http://100photos.time.com/photos/jewish-boy-surrenders-warsaw [accessed 04/01/2020].

[18] Gerhard Schoenbener, *The Yellow Star: The Persecution of the Jews in Europe, 1933–1945 (*New York: Fordham University Press, 2004 [1960]).

repetition reveals the significance of the photograph's content and its ability to shape an event through its different reproductions. The figure of this young boy – 'a child's anguish captured by the camera's revealing gaze' – alters how the events of the Warsaw ghetto uprising are historicised and constructed in the present.[19] Marianne Hirsch describes this process in the following way: 'The pervasive role this photograph has come to play is indeed astonishing: it is not an exaggeration to say that, assuming the archetypal role of Jewish victimisation, the boy in the Warsaw ghetto has become the poster-child for the Holocaust'.[20] In essence, the reproductions themselves come to dictate the historical context of the photograph, or, in Hirsch's terms, 'the picture's well-known history…remains invisible in its contemporary representations'.[21] Even its use in Bergman's *Persona* is contextualised by the protagonist's voluntary mutism and the articulation of collective trauma. Whilst the uprising was a series of events that contained Jewish resistance at its core, the dissemination of the young boy has accentuated notions of surrender, obedience and innocence.

Figure 1.8: *Night and Fog* (Alain Resnais, 1956). Scene which explains how Jews were rounded up in Warsaw before being placed on trains for deportation.

[19] Danna Nolan Fewell and Gary A. Phillips, 'Icon of Loss' in Samuel Bak (ed.), *Icon of Loss: Recent Paintings by Samuel Bak* (Boston: Pucker Art Publications, 2008), p. 5.
[20] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p. 129.
[21] Hirsch, 'Nazi Photographs', p. 20.

Figure 1.9: *Persona* (Ingmar Bergman, 1966). A scene which sees Elisabet Volger (Liv Ullmann) contemplate the photograph of the young boy from the Warsaw Ghetto.

In reference to this well-known photograph, *Schindler's List* recreates the physical characteristics of the young boy to capture the first images of the Kraków ghetto. This showcases how a particular photograph can also be representative of events outside its historical context. Around seventeen-minutes into *Schindler's List*, the camera cuts from the black-market transactions taking place in the church to an extreme high-angle wide shot of Jewish individuals crossing the threshold into the Kraków ghetto. While explicitly stating across the frame, "March 20, 1941. Deadline For Entering The Ghetto", text also appears that elucidates the German law of Edict 44/91. As the on-screen text allows the audience to understand what exactly is taking place when thousands of individuals with Jewish armbands walk towards the camera, the film builds the sequence by bringing into focus the imagery of youth. With characters entering the ghetto, the focus is pulled towards the uprooting of the familial unit when the camera cuts to a medium long shot of a well-dressed family (Figure 1.10). In Figure 1.10, the background which encapsulates the flood of individuals is lost in the shallow depth of field. This creates a division between two planes as the focus is now entirely on the four individuals in the foreground, forcing a sense of detachment between this one particular family and the blurred masses behind them. The shallow depth of field

functions to reduce the perceptible on-screen space, allowing the focus to pull away from the background and frame a single family to express the struggles and processes of ghettoisation.

Figure 1.10: *Schindler's List*. Shot before the close-up zoom of the young boy's face that captures his family entering the ghetto together.

As the shot progresses and the family approach the foreground, the camera pans down to create a close-up of the young boy's face (Figure 1.11). The focus shifts from the medium shot of the entire family to a close-up of the young boy, altering the angle of view and the disposition of the frame. More specifically, the focus on the innocence of the boy's face as he enters the ghetto stands in for the dynamics of the family. The proportions of the frame are now constructed around the subject-matter of the young boy. Positioning his presence in the conventional rule of thirds composition, the shot frames his face as the subject (Figure 1.12).[22] By isolating the young boy's face, the rest of the frame gravitates towards its focus. The role of the family is now constituted through an on-screen depiction of protection and care as he clasps his mother's hand. Thus, the relationship between the central focus of the young boy's face and the members of his family in the background are defined by the protection of youth. Juxtaposing this sequence with the popularity of the Warsaw ghetto photograph, the close-up of the young boy points to the ways in which children are often framed as vehicles of memory. While his arms are not raised and instead clutch the hands of his mother, the boy in

[22] The rule of thirds is a conventional ratio found in Western art, architecture and film of dividing up the proportions of an image into approximate focal points. For more on how this has become a visual convention in film: Peter Ward, *Picture Composition for Film and Television* (Oxford: Focal Press, 2003), p. 124.

Schindler's List, who we later learn is Olek Rosner, strikingly resembles the Warsaw boy, noticeable through the similar baker-boy hat and the overcoat.

Figure 1.11: *Schindler's List*. Young boy that resembles the Warsaw ghetto boy follows his family into the Kraków ghetto.

Figure 1.12: *Schindler's List*. Young boy with the rule of thirds grid placed over the top. As we can see the young boy's face lies close to the top left intersection between the vertical and horizontal lines.

While both images are depicting different events, one being the deadline for entering the Kraków ghetto in 1941 and the other being the repercussions of the Warsaw ghetto uprising in 1943, the affinities between the two indicates the dynamics of Jewish innocence at play in *Schindler's List*. This sequence reflects how contemporary trends within cultural imagery have given way to identifiable aspects of the ghetto. Essentially, the repetition of the

young boy's characteristics – the vulnerable look on his face and his submission to the officers in the background – are identifiable in *Schindler's List*'s recreation of the ghettoisation process. Rather than directly reproducing the photograph like in films such as *Night and Fog* and *Persona*, *Schindler's List* only needs to rely on the recognition of the photograph's representative value as an archetype of Jewish victimisation, emphasising the ways in which repetition precipitates familiarity.

The association between the photograph and *Schindler's List* creates what Louis Althusser describes as recognition-as-misrecognition. For Althusser, interpellation is bound to individual recognition within capitalist relations of production (in this case the production of images in Hollywood), and occurs through a fundamental misrecognition that 'it really is true that is so and not otherwise'.[23] Applying this theoretical criticism to the role of cinema, Jean-Louis Baudry attributes interpellation to Hollywood's insistence on continuity and unity. For him, the main aim of Hollywood films is to subdue difference by depending on 'an illusion of continuity', meaning that the cinematographic apparatus is inherently ideological.[24] Read in this way, the scene of the young boy in *Schindler's List* is part of a 'logic of acceding to a prior arrangement'.[25]

Deploying this criticism, the more the Stroop report photograph became an object of reproduction, the more a misrecognition of the Warsaw ghetto occurred. This meant that the image has a tendency to be interpreted as a moment of passivity rather than a site of resistance. In other words, 'the reality which is necessarily ignored…in the very forms of recognition' lies in the repercussions of its reproduction.[26] *Schindler's List* does not need to directly reproduce the young boy as the scene 'accedes to the logic of the familiar'.[27] This was evident to critics like Stanley Kauffman, who identified the affinities between the Warsaw boy and the Kraków boy in *Schindler's List*. As Kauffmann wrote in *The New Republic*, 'the Warsaw boy's face is in the world's memory – in reality. This Krakow boy's face… – Spielberg's attempt to bear witness fifty years later – may join that earlier photo in the world's memory'.[28]

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[23] Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* translated by G. M. Goshgarian (London: Verso, 2014), p. 269.
[24] Jean-Louis Baudry, 'Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus', *Film Quarterly*, 28:2 (1974-1975), 42.
[25] Sue-Im Lee, 'Recognition as a Depleted Source in Lynne Tillman's *Motion Sickness*', in R. M. Berry and Jeffrey R. Di Leo (eds.), *Fiction's Present: Situating Contemporary Narrative Innovation* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2008), p. 198.
[26] Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism*, p. 270.
[27] Lee, 'Recognition as a Depleted Source', p. 198.
[28] Stanley Kauffmann, 'Spielberg Revisited', *The New Republic* (24 January 1994).

This scene reveals the intertextuality of these two images. The status of the Warsaw boy is transformed into a visually detachable feature that can be exchanged between different media. One boy in a photograph that depicts the suppression of the Warsaw ghetto, then, can be substituted instead by another boy, that of Spielberg's Kraków boy.

The separation of the young boy from the particular history of the Stroop report photograph, cropped and reproduced over and over again, accentuates not only the innocence of childhood but denies the historical context of the image's production. As Hirsch emphasises, reproductions of the photograph in film, television and books 'universalise the victim as innocent child and, through a false sense of intimacy fostered by the close-up, reduce the viewer to an identificatory look that disables critical faculties'. As she continues:

> Victim and perpetrator are enclosed in a large frame; the actual street scene is erased, and, outside of the Warsaw context, all that remains is a mythic encounter between innocence and evil that removes the picture from both its greater and its more specific historical specificity.[29]

For Hirsch, it is the role of the victim that establishes the dichotomy between Nazi evil and Jewish innocence in the Stroop report photograph. Stripping the photograph of its particular narrative of the Warsaw ghetto uprising and instead producing a "mythic" narrative of "Jewish experience" is captured in successive attempts to extract and separate the characteristics of the young boy from its historical context. Thus, the focus towards the boy has influenced the victim status to that of the innocent child. Hirsch's argument is that the reproduction of the Warsaw boy has allowed a false sense of intimacy to develop between viewer and image.

The historical context of the image is lost to its conceptual form that has been imposed on it through its re-use in a variety of visual media. Not only have the other photographs of the Stroop report been shelved, but acts of resistance are overshadowed by the emphasis on defenceless individuals. As the context of the photograph points out, this was not entirely the case. Stroop, who coordinated the suppression, repeatedly emphasised in his report, 'every time a bunker is opened, the Jews inside offer resistance by using the weapons at their disposal, be they light machine guns, pistols, or hand grenades'.[30] In light of this, the very act of surrender – the raised arms and the innocent look on the boy's face – is preceded by acts

[29] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, p. 140.
[30] Jürgen Stroop, 'Teletype Message Ref. No.: I ab/ St/Gr. 1607 - Journal No.: 624/ 43 secret', in Stroop (ed.), *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter in Warsaw is No More!* translated by Sybil Milton (New York: Pantheon, 1979).

of resistance that involved men, women and even children. The photograph's reuse, however, in films such as *Night and Fog* and *Persona*, which cropped the composition to focus in on the young boy, inadvertently removed all the efforts of the uprising itself. As Judith Keilbach writes, 'the innocent child incorporating all victims of National Socialism represents a significant reduction of the victims' diversity; in this way the photo does not do justice to the uprising's historical complexity'.[31]

While *Schindler's List* features connotations of the young boy within a different context, NBC's *Holocaust* (Marvin J. Chomsky, 1978) re-created a scene that resembles the photograph. Firstly, as with the displacement of Jewish lives in *Schindler's List*, *Holocaust* depended on its 'appeal to mainstream American families'.[32] As Anderson puts it, *Holocaust* 'adroitly sets up a mirror relationship between subject and audience…Speaking in familiar American accents, Jewish in name only, they are indistinguishable from the characters in any other prime-time American television show'.[33] NBC's miniseries not only made the events more relatable to American audience, but the focus on family dynamics and child victims proved pivotal in its success. From Erik Dorf (Michael Moriarty) claiming after his capture that 'we had to liquidate the children' to the consoling ending that sees Rudi Weiss (Joseph Bottoms) smuggling Greek-Jewish orphans into Palestine, the presence of children creates a moving story.

With a strong focus on family relations, the final episode which aired on 19 April 1978 depicts the efforts of Jewish resistance between April and May 1943. The episode chronicles both the organisation of the uprising and its subsequent suppression. These scenes attempt to re-create what began as an opposition to the final efforts of transporting the ghetto population to Treblinka or Majdanek and transformed into a refusal to surrender. The history of the uprising began with the Jewish Combat Organisation and the Jewish Military Union training individuals and smuggling weapons and explosives into the ghetto which led to the first instance of armed insurgency on 18 January 1943. After this initial revolt that saw both German and Jewish casualties, the two organisations essentially took control of the ghetto, building fighting posts and executing Jewish Ghetto Police officers who were seen as Nazi collaborators.

[31] Judith Keilbach, 'Photographs, Symbolic Images, and the Holocaust: On the (IM)Possibility of Depicting Historical Truth', *History and Theory*, 38:2 (May, 2009), 72.
[32] Anderson, 'The Child Victim as Witness to the Holocaust', p. 7.
[33] Anderson, 'The Child Victim as Witness to the Holocaust', p. 7.

The main revolt began on the eve of Passover on 19 April 1943 in which a three-day plan to completely liquidate the ghetto failed as insurgents ambushed SS auxiliary forces with hand grenades and weapons from alleyways, sewers and windows. The German advance was halted, suffering fifty-nine casualties, leading to the replacing of Ferdinand von Sammern-Frankenegg with Stroop. Stroop attempted to form more organised and reinforced ground attacks which led to the systematic burning of houses block by block. This slowly crumbled the resistance and left many of the insurgents retreating to the sewer systems or dugouts in the ruins of the ghetto referred to as "bunkers". Armed resistance continued from these sewers and bunkers but it was not long until smoke bombs forced people out, leading to the official suppression of the uprising on 16 May 1943.

While presented using parallel editing that cuts between scenes of the fate of Dr. Josef Weiss (Fritz Weaver) and Berta Weiss (Rosemary Harris) in Auschwitz, the final episode of *Holocaust* remakes the Warsaw ghetto uprising through the fictional character of Moses Weiss (Sam Wanamaker). Moses acts as the main instigator of both the organisation and armed resistance of the uprising. His character is fashioned as not only the initiator of what will become the official uprising, but he is also a prevalent figure throughout the final suppression. While a preliminary scene sees Moses and a younger boy resist their own arrest, leading to the death of three German officers, the uprising, as with its history, begins on Passover.

In a series of shots, the breaking of the Passover bread – Matzah – by the rabbi marks the first German artillery strikes on the ghetto buildings. While cutting between close-ups of men, women and children firing upon the German forces from above, the scene also captures the raising of the Jewish Military Union banner that took place on the afternoon of the same day. The blue and white flag with the Star of David was unveiled on the streets of Warsaw and remained visible for four days. The scenes of the uprising do not last long thereafter as the episode begins to capture the slow waning of the insurgency. Scenes of action are replaced by an impending surrender as they retreat to the bunkers. When gas is about to enter the bunkers, Moses realises the necessity of surrender as he leads the rest of the resistance fighters

back to the surface. Re-imagining the original Stroop caption that read "forcibly pulled out of bunkers", Moses Weiss and the young boy emerge to the surface (Figures 1.13 and 1.14).

Figure 1.13: *Holocaust* (Marvin J. Chomsky, 1978). Moses is forced out of bunker by German officers.

Figure 1.14: *Holocaust*. The boy follows Moses out of the bunker.

As Moses and the boy – wearing a baker boy hat that resembles the one from the Stroop report photograph – are forcibly removed from the bunker, they are watched over by SS guards in a similar fashion with their submachine guns half-raised. This is a crucial moment in the climax of *Holocaust*'s narrative as it attempts to represent the surrender; the stage at which the final resistance was crushed and its members marched to the

Umschlagplatz. The camera focuses on Moses and the boy as they proceed with their arms raised towards the firing squad. The camera does not remain stationary to capture the rest of the resistors leaving the bunker. Instead, it cuts to a long shot of Moses and the boy as they lead the rest of the insurgents (Figure 1.15). The composition of this long shot changes to a medium shot as Moses and the young boy approach the foreground (Figure 1.16).

Figure 1.15: *Holocaust*. Long shot of Moses and the boy as they are led to a firing squad.

Figure 1.16: *Holocaust*. Medium shot as they approach the foreground.

As the camera remains stationary, the movement of characters shifts the composition and focus of the shot. Moses moves his body to check whether the resistors are following

him, which effectively places the focus of the frame towards the boy with his arms raised. The direct comparison, however, between this still (Figure 1.16) and the Stroop report photograph reveals a few discrepancies. The main difference is the age between the two boys. The boy that appears in this scene is visibly older than the innocent looking boy from the Stroop report. This said, certain characteristics remain resoundingly similar. Not only is the historical context the same, but a number of visual details resemble the photograph. From the 'dreadfully big cap', as Halla Beloff writes, to the raised hands and the high frequency of women and children who are part of the civilian captives, *Holocaust* attempts to restore the photograph.[34] Even the background of this scene reconstructs similar details, including the submachine guns pointed at those leaving the bunkers, the rubble left from the artillery strikes and the goggles strapped to the helmets of the German officers. Comparing these two separate images, Jan Taubitz also notices that:

> …the miniseries seems to rectify the caption of the photograph and simultaneously intensifies the deliberate analogy between Nazi propaganda movies, like *Der Ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*), and the Stroop Report, which equated Jews with rats who emerge from the underground to infest civilisation.[35]

While Taubitz examines how the miniseries recycles and accelerates the deliberate characteristics given to Jews in Stroop's report, he also hints at *Holocaust* as a 'meditative space', allowing film to not only re-enact and historicise photographic images but to provide them with context and 'become secular icons'.[36] The re-creation of this photograph not only reveals the iconicity behind certain images, but it showcases how the use of the persecuted child once again played a major role in the increasing popularisation of the Holocaust in America.

1.3

Just as *Holocaust* shows the deeper iconicity of the Warsaw ghetto photograph in popular culture, it also allows us to investigate into the image of the child victim in Hollywood. Tracing this trend earlier in the twentieth century, we arrive at the first major Hollywood motion picture presented from the victim's perspective, George Stevens' *The Diary of Anne Frank*. With the book becoming a best-seller and Stevens' adaptation going on to gross $2.3 million at the box office, the film was based on creating a personalised story

[34] Halla Beloff, *Camera Culture* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 120.
[35] Jan Taubitz, 'Making Photographs Historic: The Use of Historical Black-and-White Stills in NBC's Fictional Miniseries *Holocaust*', in Jürgen Martschukat and Silvan Niedermeier (eds.), *Violence and Visibility in Modern History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), pp. 211-12.
[36] Jan Taubitz, 'Making Photographs Historic', p. 212.

that Americans would connect with. As Alan Mintz argues, it was Anne's age that was pivotal in her story being a success with American audiences:

> The power of the diary lay in its ability to do what no political event had done: to create a bridge of empathic connection, even identification, between the fate of European Jewry and ordinary American readers who had no ethnic or religious link to the victims and often no knowledge whatsoever of the event itself.[37]

The success of the Hollywood film, however, came with the playing down of Anne's Jewishness. As Anderson describes, 'Anne's identity as a child muted her Jewishness from the beginning'.[38] Going one step further than Anderson, not only is Anne's Jewishness displaced by her accessibility as a child, it is also subsumed by the categories of innocence and naiveite that were prioritised to engage with American audiences.

Preceding *Pawnbroker* and *Holocaust*, *The Diary* is based around a domestic orientated mise-en-scène, foregrounding the familial environment as central to Anne's experience. Due to this, the cast are represented within a recognisable domestic space, which in effect 'exists alongside the world of atrocity rather than within it'.[39] Stevens' adaptation was faithful to the diary rather than the life of Anne who, after being discovered in August 1944, was unable to finish her writings. The Hollywood film presented the Holocaust indirectly from an internal reality of a Dutch home that removed Anne's ultimate fate in Bergen-Belsen, while also using the perspective of a child to personalise the events. In effect, the audience learns of events outside the Dutch home through the naïve and innocent perspective of Anne. For Stevens and cinematographer, William C. Mellor, this division between the internal and external was crucial in their attempt to reconstruct the cramped dimensions of Anne's immediate environment. However, the then president of Twentieth Century Fox, Spyros Skouras, forced them to shoot in CinemaScope which, due to its new anamorphic format, opened up the frame and dispelled the confined feeling that Stevens and Mellor desired. In response, the crew reduced the staging and action of the characters to the centre of the frame. This meant that Stevens and Mellor were able to fabricate the feeling of intimacy that they desired within this wide-screen format. This accomplishment was noted by *Variety* when they wrote that the camera 'lives with them during those frightful months…it

[37] Alan Mintz, *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 17.
[38] Anderson, 'The Child Victim as Witness to the Holocaust', p. 3.
[39] Mintz, *Popular Culture*, p. 17.

tunes in on the frictions, the personal jealousies, the resentments…it shares the groups celebrations, the touching pathos of the present-giving ceremony at Hanukah time'.[40]

As *Variety* made clear, the camera becomes physically part of the household, simultaneously sharing and depicting the cramped space of the characters. In this way, the frame creates tension due to the looming danger off-screen. In other words, what lies outside the camera's field of view is not excluded but affects the action in frame. Feelings of tension and imminent danger are shaped by what is not seen. Béla Balázs referred to this as indirect vision where a shot would have 'a subtle poetic effect…because they conjure up associations' in what is not seen.[41] As a result, the camera lives with the Frank family to the extent that it also metaphorically acts like a family member. While the family behave according to what is on-screen, their moods and actions are driven by what is outside the field perceptible to the audience. The success of Stevens' camerawork, then, is to register the importance of what is off-screen through the limits of the field of view itself, as the external world is only represented through indirect associations of the internal mise-en-scène. This relationship between the on-screen and off-screen, or perceptible and imperceptible, is what drives the audience to identify with Anne's innocence. One particular scene demonstrates the extent of this.

The scene follows Anne's dream of what looks like a row of individuals in striped clothing in a concentration camp – images that reflect those of the newsreels Stevens had recorded fourteen years prior – with an ambient hum that repeats the words, 'Sieg heil' (Figure 1.17). However, the images that are edited in a dissolve with Anne's face originate from Wanda Jakubowska's post-liberation film, *The Last Stage* (1948). It is necessary here to point out that this reproduction is never directly acknowledged by the film. This accentuates Hollywood's colonising motives of creating continuity between discontinuous images, and masking the origins and production of those images. Utilising a long dissolve between Anne's face and the individuals in striped clothing as they sway, the camera cuts to a long shot of the street outside the apartment as a man is fired upon by German officers. Whilst the firing continues, the scene, with its use of parallel editing, cuts back and forth

[40] 'Diary of Anne Frank', *Variety* (18 March 1959), in R.R Bowker (ed.), *Variety's Film Reviews 1959 – 1963 Volume 10* (New York: Reed Publishing, 1983).
[41] Béla Balázs, *Theory of The Film: Character And Growth Of A New Growth* translated by Edith Bone (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970), p. 65.

between the street and Anne's face as she slowly regains lucidity. Finally, there is a distinct sound effect of a man's body falling into water which is followed by Anne's scream.

Figure 1.17: *The Diary of Anne Frank* (George Stevens, 1959). The dissolve that blends Anne's face with the footage from *The Last Stage* (Wanda Jakubowska, 1947).

Anne wakes the entire apartment as her mother rushes to her side in an attempt to comfort her. However, due to their early argument Anne refuses to discuss her dream with her, becoming very upset and eventually implying that she does not want her around at all. Instead, when her mother asks her if 'there's nothing that you want?' she replies 'will you please ask father to come?' As her father now enters her bedroom, Anne's mother breaks down, stating 'she wants nothing of me'. What follows is a moment of adolescent confusion as she states to her father that 'I think I'm really grown up…and then something happens and I run to you like a baby'. Anne continues by complaining about her mother that 'we have nothing in common…she doesn't understand me', while simultaneously admitting that 'I was horrible, wasn't I?'

When Anne looks for solace in the figure of her father, the viewer is again reminded of the relationship between the domestic mise-en-scène and what lies outside the frame. This is captured in both the reply of Anne's father and the use of a shot/reverse shot. As Anne continues to question her father – 'what's the matter with me? Tell me. Don't say it's just a phase. Help me' – he is framed as though he is the bearer of a paternal knowledge. However, his reply is quite contradictory, revealing his struggle with being the father of a young woman: 'There's so little we parents can do to help our children, Annie…we can only try to set a good example…point the way…the rest you must do yourself'. Between these two lines of

dialogue, the camera constructs a space for this paternal relationship by cutting between a demanding, teary-eyed Anne (Figure 1.18) and her father's almost expressionless face (Figure 1.19).

Figure 1.18: *The Diary of Anne Frank*. First part of shot/reverse shot with a close-up of Anne's face.

Figure 1.19: *The Diary of Anne Frank*. Second part of shot/reverse shot with a close-up of Anne's father.

Reading this scene closer, the cut between Figure 1.18 and 1.19 contains a moment of misinterpretation between Anne and the paternal knowledge of her father. While Anne is asking her father for help with her own problem (the 'phase' she is going through), his reply, especially the anxious breath he takes before saying 'the rest you must do yourself', implies

that his words are reflective of his knowledge of what is occurring outside the apartment. As her father's words are affected by his understanding of what is taking place outside, Anne interprets them as directly relating to her own actions in the apartment. This notion of Anne's innocent inability to grasp the full meaning of her father's words is captured in her reply that 'every night I think back over all the things I did that day that were wrong, like putting the wet mop in Mrs. Van Daan's bed'. She now giggles as the camera cuts back to a close-up of her face. The conversation between the two ends with her own confusion dividing herself into two selves. As she puts it, 'so the mean Anne comes to the outside…and the good honest Anne stays in the inside'.

While the paternal figure of Anne's father is clouded by his knowledge from outside the apartment, Anne's innocent adolescent questions repress its reality. The scene is an indication of Thomas Elsaesser's interpretations of melodrama in the 1950s. Such scenes present a façade of stability that covers social anxieties.[42] Elsaesser and others such as Christine Gledhill associate Hollywood melodrama with both an exposure and working through of the cultural contradictions of Eisenhower's America. Stevens' adaptation, then, is simultaneously a working through of his own experience with the Signal Corps and a means of displacement that disguises any horrors through the façade of family drama. What is more important here is the family narratives that remain at the core of melodrama, and in turn how this became the first genre used to tackle the Holocaust within Hollywood. This is why the relationship between father and daughter in this particular scene is central in understanding the significance of *The Diary*. The conversation between the two of them signifies the contradiction that the film never fully confronts: the horror outside the apartment that is repressed in Anne's own words when she states 'I still believe in spite of everything that people are good at heart'. Her identity, and with it her Jewishness is simplified into an innocent teen who sees the world as a clear division between good and evil (evident in her own psychological division between the good Anne on the inside and the mean Anne on the outside).

Following Elsaesser, Anne's moral dilemma is a necessary precondition of melodrama: a symbolic process of substitution that avoids ambiguity through acts of repression. This is reflected throughout *The Diary* and its 'melodramatic mise-en-scène may

[42] Thomas Elsaesser, 'Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama', in Christine Gledhill (ed.), *Home is Where the Heart is – Studies in Melodrama and the Woman's Film* (London: British Film Institute, 1987).

be taken as the representation of displaced or repressed material'.[43] The internal field of view that intermittently leaves the apartment 'somatises its own excess': that which is external to the apartment's mise-en-scène is only ever indirectly presented to the viewer.[44] The figure of Anne, then, acts as a means of working-through the past without actually confronting the complexity of that past. In other words, her image domesticates the horror through a young teen's own innocent coming to terms with adolescence.

1.4

Be it the photograph of an innocent young boy as representative of the victim or the morally unambiguous figure of Anne that domesticates any contradiction in the events, these images deflect the complexity of Jewish identity with narratives of innocence and passivity. *Schindler's List* follows a similar pattern by presenting images of passivity to initiate the redemptive arc of Schindler's story. The enaction of his arc converges in the violent re-creation of the Kraków ghetto liquidation. It is here that *Schindler's List*, with reference to Deleuze, creates a narrative where the passivity of Jewish deaths will 'permeate the character', Schindler, 'deeply and continuously', triggering him to 'burst into action' and change the current situation.[45] However, it is not the extended scenes of murder that drive Schindler into action, but his gaze towards the innocent red-coat toddler. This crucial scene is preceded by an introduction to Schindler's main antagonist, Amon Goeth, the first images of the Płaszów forced labour camp, and Goeth's speech that prepares for the liquidation.

Before Schindler's mission can be fully initiated, Act I must introduce the main antagonist who he will battle against and the arena in which this will take place. That is why we are presented with a scene depicting a convertible car as a Nazi officer turns around and describes directly to the camera the divisions of the ghetto. The camera now cuts to his perspective and reveals that he was speaking to Untersturmführer Goeth. The frame then cuts to a long shot of an under-construction Płaszów. To introduce the erratic and sinister qualities of Goeth that will stand in stark contrast to Schindler's Righteous gentile persona the camera captures him picking his personal house maid, Helen Hirsch (Embeth Davidtz). Simultaneously, this introduction also allows the audience to come to terms with the space in which Schindler will challenge Goeth and eventually overcome his sadistic qualities. Once the frame cuts from the harsh weather of Płaszów back to Schindler who is beginning to

[43] John Fletcher, 'Melodrama', *Screen*, 29:3 (1988), 7.
[44] Elsaesser, 'Tales of Sound and Fury', p. 74.
[45] Deleuze, *Cinema 1*, p. 174.

shave, Goeth's role in the liquidation of the Krakow ghetto is fully revealed to the viewer. As Goeth describes in his speech, 'today is history…today will be remembered'. Goeth continues to explain that the six centuries of Jewish life in Kraków are about to come to an end, while the camera cuts between several ghetto inhabitants. Bringing Goeth's speech to a close, the sequence juxtaposes the movement of Schindler on horseback with the German trucks entering the ghetto. It is at this moment that the words of Goeth are elucidated with the on-screen text, 'Liquidation of the Ghetto March 13, 1943'.

Now that the purpose of the main antagonist has been revealed to the viewer, the tension begins to heighten as the re-creation of the liquidation begins. The history of the liquidation is represented in the fashion of hand-held camera and quick cuts. A flurry of action passes the frame as SS-Section leaders (SS-Scharführer) disembark the trucks and begin to shout orders at the squad members. Spielberg opts to leave the spoken German untranslated, establishing a foreignness to the commands. In this instance, the viewer is confronted with a moment of discomfort as they are left to decipher the SS orders. This linguistic choice also distances "us", the English-speaking audiences, from "them", and from the "evil" they represent.

As the German orders continue, fast cutting is used to intensify the rhythm. The sequence establishes the viewpoint of Schindler during the liquidation, and thus the perspective the viewer will occupy, watching through his eyes. To achieve this, the scene is combined of the incessant rushing of the SS making their way towards the ghetto, the close-ups of Schindler looking over the events from a vantage point on horseback, and the close-ups of the terrified Jews awaiting the fate of the liquidation. To accentuate Spielberg's "reality effect", the crew used a hand-held Arriflex 35 III camera on the Kraków streets. Known for creating an immersive reality with its versatility, this allowed Spielberg to follow characters around the streets. What initially begins as a sequence of tension and anxiousness soon descends into terror when the first fatalities occur with the shooting of a young boy and his father attempting to flee the capture. This shot triggers the events that occurred at the liquidation with the sequence now attempting to re-imagine the two thousand Jews that were killed when SS transferred the inhabitants of the ghetto to Płaszów. The perspective of the liquidation, however, is dominated by Schindler's gaze towards the young toddler who stands out as a red blotch on the monochrome of the film's colour palette. This toddler, who is the only noticeably colourised aspect of Schindler's story in the past, also initiates Schindler's redemptive arc.

The first sighting of the toddler appears in the midst of the chaos of the liquidation from a high angle wide-shot as part of Schindler's perspective on the events in the ghetto. In contrast to the hand-held shots on the ground, Schindler is captured with more steadiness as the camera remains stationary. The perspective is achieved by point-of-view editing. In technical terms, the camera introduces a medium close-up of Schindler looking off-screen (Figure 1.20), a point-of-view shot of what Schindler sees (Figure 1.21), and a reaction shot that returns to confirm what Schindler is looking at (Figure 1.22). This point-of-view editing duplicates what Schindler sees, and establishes the perspective as that of Schindler's. The camera is also placed lower and tilted up towards Schindler's face with his shoulder accentuated to emphasise both his position of power and his compassionate reaction (Figure 1.20 and 1.22). The toddler enters from the building on the right side of the frame, disturbing and directing Schindler's view of the events. As the point-of-view shot captures the chaos and disorder of the liquidation with individuals being pulled from buildings, the toddler moves towards the centre of the frame. The irony of her movement is defined by the sense of tranquillity she brings to the roundup and bloodshed.

Figure 1.20: *Schindler's List*. Medium close-up of Schindler looking off-screen.

Figure 1.21: *Schindler's List*. Point-of-view shot of what Schindler is looking at.

Figure 1.22: *Schindler's List*. Reaction shot that confirms he is looking at the red toddler.

The toddler is not solely the product of Spielberg's vision or the creative team behind *Schindler's List*. The historical context of a child in red during the Holocaust relates back to both Keneally's novel and Dr. Martin Foeldi's testimony given at the Eichmann trial. On 25 May 1961, Foeldi appeared in Session 53 to describe his arrival at Auschwitz. This testimony was also featured on the PBS and ABC News Productions of *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann* documentary that premiered four years after *Schindler's List*. In one particular section of the two-hour long programme, Assistant Prosecutor, Gabriel Bach, recounts Foeldi's emotional testimony as one of the moments of the trial that affected him most. Bach questions Foeldi about his experience of the selection process at Auschwitz. Foeldi goes on to describe the separation from his family as his wife and daughter were forced to the left while himself and his son went to the right. The most striking mental image from this testimony came when Foeldi discusses the red coat that his daughter was wearing. He states that he was struck by pure panic when an SS officer sent his son to join his wife and daughter among the thousands of people, but he also explains a moment of composure when he realised that the red coat would act as a beacon, allowing his son to find his mother and sister. Bach then recounts how Foeldi finished his testimony with the words 'I never saw them again'. In Keneally's novel the connotations of a beacon return, but Schindler is far from the collected powerful figure we see in Spielberg's film:

> At last Schindler slipped from his horse, tripped, and found himself on his knees hugging the trunk of a pine tree. The urge to throw up his excellent breakfast was, he sensed, to be supressed, for he suspected it meant that all his cunning body was doing was making room to digest the horrors of Krakusa Street…Later in the day, after he

> had absorbed a ration of brandy, Oskar understood the proposition in its clearest terms. They permitted witnesses, such witnesses as the red toddler, because they believed witnesses all would perish too.[46]

The filmic re-creation of the horrors of Krakusa Street are captured through the perspective of a more level-headed Oskar without him slipping from his horse or resisting the urge to throw up. This means that Neeson's Schindler is much more contemplative of the events unfolding in front of him and the actions he must take. The scene animates the toddler and renders her into a moving image through several ground level and high-angle tracking shots. Once the focus of the scene is shifted towards the toddler, its musical score resonates with the fate of children during the Holocaust. The scene superimposes the Yiddish song, Oyfn Pripetshik (On the Hearth), onto the tracking sequence. As the toddler enters the frame, the faint singing of children can be heard, and as the camera cuts between Schindler's reactions and her movement the volume slowly rises.

To add more context to the scene, Oyfn Pripetshik was a nursery rhyme written by M. M. Warshawsky, and, by the end of the nineteenth century, it had become one of the most popular Jewish songs in Central and Eastern Europe. The rhyme features a rabbi teaching young children the Hebrew alphabet. By utilising a Jewish nursey rhyme, the scene allows the sound to maintain fidelity with the images.[47] The sound is faithful to its source, playing on the viewer's expectation and presenting the horrors of the liquidation through the vulnerability of a child. As the toddler makes her way down the street, the Yiddish lyrics, 'On the hearth, a fire burns, and in the house it is warm. And the rabbi is teaching little children the alphabet', are intoned. The Yiddish continues throughout the scene, describing the aging process of young children from learning the alphabet to understanding the Torah and growing older until they gain a sense of independence.

While the lyrics are left untranslated, the rhythm follows a recognisable tempo. In coordination with the majority of nursery rhymes, On the Hearth emphasises repetition, not only with words but with selected stressed and unstressed syllables in order to create a melodic rhythm. Not only does the lullaby match the walking of the toddler with its rhythm but the significance of its use in this scene is made clear as a historical representation of loss. As James Loeffler shows, 'songs such as "Ofyn pripetshik" functioned as mediating devices between past and present, conjuring up musical reveries in which a lost place (the traditional

[46] Thomas Keneally, *Schindler's List* (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1982), p. 130.
[47] The term fidelity refers to the harmony between sound and image. See for full definition: David Bordwell and Kristen Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004) p. 365.

shtetl) was conflated with a lost time (the early years of childhood)'. With its use in *Schindler's List*, Loeffer concludes that it evokes 'the entire vanished world of Jewish eastern Europe'.[48]

The song contributes to the scene as both a representation of loss and passivity. The young toddler stands as a symbol of the entire liquidation and, as an extension, the destruction of the European Jewry. This was, in effect, Spielberg's own intention when re-creating the red toddler in post-production. The significance of her colour red firstly relates to Spielberg and his cinematographer's (Janusz Kaminski) motivation to utilise a monochrome that could 'remain true to the spirit of documentaries and stills from the period'.[49] The red of her coat is the result of Spielberg's and his colourist's (Michael Hatzer) manipulation of the monochrome in post-production. Spielberg recalls that they chose the primary colour of red to symbolise a blood stain on the conscience of the Allies. He further went on to state that 'my interpretation of that was that America, Russia and England all knew about the Holocaust but did nothing about it…It was a large blood stain, a primary red colour on everyone's radar but no one did anything about it'.[50] For Spielberg, the colour red not only physically resembles blood, but stands in for those that were ignored by the Allies. While his black-and-white approach presents a pastiche of newsreel-type documentary, the re-creation of the liquidation allowed Spielberg a chance to inwardly reflect on America's own position in relation to the Holocaust. The toddler is thus a colourised focal point for the American viewer, a stain not only on the monochrome but on America's connection to the genocide.

It is this symbolic meaning of the toddler that also establishes the protagonist's "turning-point" in Hollywood's three-act template. The point-of-view editing functions in narrative terms as what Deleuze calls 'the ultimate individual confrontation', instigating the 'modifying reaction' that follows.[51] Roland Barthes offers a similar description in narratology terms known as the cardinal function or nuclei.[52] Reading the toddler as a confrontation or nuclei illuminates her position as a trigger for Schindler's redemptive arc. In effect, the scene creates a point of identification with Schindler's own epiphany, allowing for the emergence of his paternal duty through his gaze at the red toddler. As Mira Schor also recognises, the

[48] James Loeffler, *The Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 165.
[49] Spielberg and Kaminski cited in Jeffrey Shandler, 'Schindler's Discourse: America Discusses the Holocaust and Its Mediation, from NBC's Miniseries to Spielberg's Film', in Loshitzky, *Spielberg's Holocaust,* p. 155.
[50] Interview with Steven Spielberg quoted from the documentary, *Imaginary Witness* (Daniel Anker, 2004).
[51] Deleuze, *Cinema 1*, p. 171.
[52] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* translated by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), p. 193.

purpose of the red is in the reappearance of the toddler in a pile of corpses later in the film and it 'crystallises Schindler's otherwise nearly inexplicable effort to save "his" Jews'.[53]

The toddler as the point at which Schindler's paternal duty crystallises can be further clarified by employing Jacques Lacan's notion of the gaze. In Lacan's understanding, the gaze is not defined by the act of looking but represents an object which the subject identifies with:

> The gaze is not the look of the subject at the object, but the point at which the object looks back. The gaze thus involves the spectator in the image…The gaze exists in the way that the spectator's perspective distorts the field of the visible, thereby indicating the spectator's involvement in a scene from which she/he seems excluded.[54]

With Schindler as the spectator of the liquidation, it is a scene in which the safe distance between his life and the lives of the Schindlerjuden is broken down. The toddler represents the gaze in the very fact she is what protrudes from the picture and registers Schindler's attention. Before this point Schindler is ignorant to his surroundings and his relationship to the Schindlerjuden is for his own financial gain. However, the toddler inscribes his role in the narrative.

The gaze is not "a look" but an object that the subject identifies with and the toddler acts similarly to this object, in an unsettling moment that forces Schindler to realise his own presence in relation to the Jewish suffering. The toddler as the object of Schindler's gaze challenges his apparent "objective position" which is detached from the suffering of the Jews (while also challenging the objectivity of the camera), allowing him to realise his paternal duty. The significance of the toddler as the object of Schindler's redemption, however, reinforces the image of the innocent, defenceless and passive Jew.

Rex Butler also deploys Lacan's gaze to read this scene, and shows that Schindler's identification with the toddler structures a fantastical image of saviourhood.[55] In order for this fantasy to materialise though, the Jews must firstly be incapable of saving themselves. In other words, the toddler 'represents the vanishing gaze of the innocent Jew, the Jew who does not yet know Holocaust; what vanishes in Holocaust before the Jews themselves is the

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[53] Mira Schor, *A Decade of Negative Thinking: Essays on Art, Politics, and Daily Life* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2009), p. 260.
[54] Todd McGowan, 'Looking for the Gaze: Lacanian Film Theory and Its Vicissitudes', *Cinema Journal* 42:3 (2003), 28-29.
[55] Rex Butler, 'Allegories of Animation: *Schindler's List, E.T.* and *The Lion King*', in Alan Cholodenko (ed.), *The Illusion of Life 2: More Essays on Animation* (Sydney: Power Publications of University of Sydney, 2007), pp. 314-37.

innocent look'.[56] Thus, for the toddler to trigger the fantasy of Schindler's redemption, the Jews must firstly be in a position of helplessness. Reading the scene in this way shows how the moment between Schindler and the toddler is a Spielbergian effect that confuses reality and fantasy. The scene, then, is staged to confront the Allied guilt that Spielberg spoke of. More specifically, the historical reality of the liquidation is re-created as a point at which the Allied failure to save the Jews can be redeemed through the figure of Schindler. As Butler puts it, the film's strategy 'is not to exhort us directly to identify with the persecuted but with Schindler's fantasy of rescuing them (as we could ourselves)'.[57]

In essence, the guilt that is symbolised by the blood-stained toddler is restaged for it to be atoned by the actions of Schindler. In Deleuze's theory of American cinema, this is known as 'the structural character of organic representations', where the hero intervenes to redeem the past.[58] As Deleuze explains:

> The ancient or recent past must submit to trial, go to court, in order to disclose what it is that produced decadence and what is it that produces new life…A strong ethical judgement must condemn the injustice of "things", bring compassion, herald the new civilisation on the march, in short, constantly rediscover America.[59]

Reading the scene from this perspective, Allied shortcomings can be assessed at a distance and gazed at in a new light. According to this interpretation, while the past cannot be changed, the guilt can be reversed. However, it comes at the price of reinstating the passivity of the victims through their very marginalisation. As critics such as Philip Strick observed, 'her [red toddler] iconic fate becomes almost demeaning to the many other victims we have seen'.[60] Not only are the majority of the victims depersonalised, but Spielberg chooses the feminine figure of the toddler as the symbol of the European Jewry ignored by the Allies. This also points to the selective history which the narrative chooses to re-tell, and the images of passivity and innocence become more evident when we realise that *Schindler's List* chose to exclude any scenes detailing the resistance in the Kraków ghetto, from Zionist-orientated Bnei Akiva to the Socialist Ha-Shomer ha-Za'ir groups.

The liquidation scene overshadows the history of the Kraków ghetto by both violently re-creating various on-screen deaths and foregrounding the toddler as a symbol of all

[56] Lilian Munk Rösing, *Pixar with Lacan: The Hysteric's Guide to Animation* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Inc., 2016), p. 32.
[57] Butler, 'Allegories of Animation', p. 319.
[58] Deleuze, *Cinema 1*, p. 171.
[59] Deleuze, *Cinema 1*, p. 170.
[60] Philip Strick, '*Schindler's List*', *Sight and Sound,* (March 1994), p. 48.

murdered Jews. Just as the toddler acts as the gaze that questions Schindler's objective position to the Jewish suffering, it is also a moment that challenges the viewer's own conscience. Rather than fully addressing the guilt of the American viewer, the scene substitutes this with a fantasy of rescue, posing the following dilemma to its audience: 'what would I do in similar circumstances?'[61] Instead of confronting the blood stain 'on everyone's radar', as Spielberg's puts it, the film offers the viewer the opportunity to traverse the guilt and follow the redemptive story of Schindler. This is the Spielbergian confusion of fantasy and reality: when the viewer suspends their disbelief with regard to historical reality and becomes absorbed by the question of "why Schindler did what he did". Such a conflation is central to what Tim Cole describes as 'American tellings of the Holocaust'. In these representations, it is either 'the liberating American Army who are the heroes – the portrayal favoured in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum – or Righteous gentiles – the portrayal favoured by Spielberg'.[62] These American "tellings" transfer the weight of history into private heroic stories to reaffirm Hollywood's conventional battle between good and evil.

This suspension of historical reality in favour of a redemptive narrative inevitably leads back to the recycled gender roles embedded in Hollywood representations of the Holocaust. Viewers are asked not to identify with the passive infantile victims (in the case of the toddler), but instead with the strong masculinity of Schindler. These American retellings ultimately reinstate a central motif in the construction of the victim: the 'feminisation of the Jew'.[63] By establishing their feminine passivity, which also simultaneously allows for a reversal of American guilt, the film recycles the male-female symbiotic relationship as part of a patriarchal saviour narrative.

The on-screen male-female dynamic shaped various Hollywood images of the Jews as powerless and passive characters, made evident throughout the chapter. I mapped this in *The Diary* where Anne's innocent façade of the good masks the complexities and ambiguities of the Holocaust. As the comparative study of opening scenes in *Pawnbroker* and *Schindler's List* revealed, Jewish innocence is often referred to through a representation of loss, be it the burning candles or youthful imagery. In the case of *Schindler's List*, the toddler initiates Schindler's paternal duty towards "his" Jews and signals the end of Act I, setting the narrative on a new course as Act II follows Schindler's struggles to achieve his newly found purpose

[61] Butler, 'Allegories of Animation', p. 315.
[62] Tim Cole, *Selling The Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler How History is Bought, Packaged, and Sold* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 82.
[63] This phrase comes from the title of Doneson's chapter in Doneson, 'The Image Lingers', p. 140.

and goal. Overall, the chapter has qualified many of the arguments that scrutinise the film's representation of Jewish passivity, and what critics saw as the recycling of generic Jewish characters. As Frank Rich writes, 'the others, who have the generic feel of composites, are as forgettable as the chorus in a touring company of "Fiddler on the Roof", or, for that matter, the human dino-fodder of "Jurassic Park". They blur into abstraction, becoming another depersonalised statistic of mass death'.[64] In essence, Rich's criticism brings to the fore what is ultimately at stake in Act I: the marginalisation of the Jewish presence. As he concludes, '"Schindler's List" is good news for everyone, it seems, except its shadowy and often nameless extras, the six million dead'.[65]

[64] Frank Rich, 'Extras in the Shadows', *New York Times* (2 January 1994), p. 9.
[65] Rich, 'Extras in the Shadows', p. 9.

Chapter II

ACT II. The Auschwitz-Birkenau Gatehouse and Thresholds of Representation

The silhouette of the Auschwitz-Birkenau gatehouse has become a backdrop for a number of Holocaust exhibitions, films, attractions and textbooks. From the international exhibition, 'Auschwitz: Not Long Ago. Not Far Away', to the permanent Holocaust exhibitions at the Imperial War Museum, the gatehouse has emerged as one of the most popular images of the Holocaust. Captured by photography and film, it has become a physical structure that stands as a monolith of the Nazi system; a metonym for both the ultimate horror of the Holocaust and the extermination process.

In this chapter, I will investigate how the Birkenau gatehouse has become synonymous with the Holocaust journey and why this is central to Schindler's redemptive story arc. The chapter focuses on Spielberg's engagement with the site of Auschwitz as representative of "the destination" of the Final Solution in popular culture. This means that the grounds are framed in reference to its history and connotations of death, whilst also providing the final arena for Schindler's spiritual journey. The way in which Spielberg and his crew frame the gatehouse in *Schindler's List* will allow this chapter to reflect on its iconographic presence in twentieth century visual culture. While tracing its appearance in various Hollywood and European feature films will reveal a geometric dividing line between the train journey and the space of extermination, it is framed in *Schindler's List* to prelude Schindler's passage to saviourhood.

This chapter will analyse how Spielberg enters into conversation with these past representations by adopting their tropes and simultaneously challenging them. This will be done by mapping the history of the camp through the iconography of the gatehouse in post-liberation photography and feature films, all of which will prove pivotal for the construction of Spielberg's Auschwitz. Deploying Deleuze's thoughts, the scenes at Auschwitz will prove central to *Schindler's List*'s narrative conventions of American cinema. The gatehouse will be read as a point of convergence between popular culture, past representations, and the role of saviourhood in Hollywood films. This will illustrate Deleuze's thoughts that American

cinematic narratives 'tend towards a single end, reaching the site of the duel to reverse its outcome, to save innocence or reconstitute the comprised unity'.[1] Building on his work, it will become evident how Spielberg adds to the visual commemoration of Auschwitz.

2.1

Juxtaposing photography with film, Dirk Rupnow describes the way in which the Birkenau gatehouse is entangled between visibility and invisibility. For him, the gatehouse stands as a clear dividing line which represents how 'the location of the Holocaust is a place seemingly not of this world – far away and totally different'.[2] Rupnow details this recreation in *Schindler's List* as follows:

> The gatehouse and with it "Auschwitz" function as a coulisse with nothing behind it. Therefore, it makes no difference from which side it is seen. (Interestingly enough, the same "ambiguity" and blankness were used in the making of Steven Spielberg's motion picture *Schindler's List*. Since he was not allowed to shoot inside Birkenau but wanted to use the authentic site as background scenery, he filmed the disembarkation of a transport outside, in front of the gatehouse, simulating what it would be like inside).[3]

In the geometric division Rupnow observes, the gatehouse stands as the threshold that divides two separate spaces. These have often been referred to as the journey up to the entrance and the 'Concentration Camp Universe'. This term – which was popularised on a plaque in the USHMM as visitors walk under the Arbeit Macht Frei gateway – creates a clear division between that which remains outside and that which lies inside. To supplement my reading of the gatehouse in *Schindler's List*, this chapter will utilise what Gaston Bachelard describes as a fascination with the 'simple geometrical opposition' between inside and outside.[4]

According to Bachelard, there is an obsession in the modern era with 'geometrism': the constant need to divide the physical world around us.[5] This translates to how aspects of modernity, from nation states to architecture, demarcate, portion or cut-up space and create partitions. As Bachelard explains, this derives from a myth of inside and outside. In this formal binary logic, 'simple geometrical opposition becomes tinged with hostility', and both

[1] Giles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image* translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 35.
[2] Dirk Rupnow, 'The Invisible Crime: Nazi Politics of Memory and Postwar Representation of the Holocaust', in Dan Stone, *The Holocaust and Historical Methodology* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), p. 70.
[3] Rupnow, 'The Invisible Crime', p. 70.
[4] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), p. 212.
[5] Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, p. 215.

inside and outside are radically divided.[6] He recalls how this myth is fundamentally associated with the psychic differentiation of unity as part of the post-Oedipal state. The unity of the subject comes to pass and a clear division between inside and outside, between subject and world, forms. For Bachelard, modernity's obsession with geometric division is a projection of this psychic division, and this reading allows the chapter to observe the visual status of the Birkenau gatehouse in twentieth century popular culture.

The gatehouse has often been referred to as the "gate of hell": a moral departure point from the reality outside, passing into the horror inside.[7] As Marianne Hirsch describes, 'those who read about and study the Holocaust encounter this image obsessively, in every book, on every poster. Like the gate at Auschwitz I, it is the threshold of remembrance, an invitation to enter and, at the same time, a foreclosure'.[8] The gatehouse is both a physical and metaphorical threshold that creates a hostility between inside and outside. In a variety of memoirs, the gatehouse stands at the fringes of experience. For Primo Levi, Elie Wiesel, Rudolf Vrba and Yehiel Dinur, passing under the gatehouse involved a psychic crossing between two irreconcilable spaces. The reproduction of the gatehouse in a number of exhibitions, films and memoirs can be read according to this difficult moment of crossing over. In a variety of museums, from the USHMM to the Imperial War Museum, it represents a canonical crossing-over into the virtual tour of the camp. In cinema, its presence has been constructed to stand as the façade of Auschwitz (not just Birkenau but it has become synonymous with the entirety of the complex itself), allowing its contours to act as a 'screen memory' of the camp.[9]

When Spielberg and his crew arrived to shoot the sequence in which the women's transport passes under the gatehouse, they were only able to capture the train entering from outside the camp. Spielberg acquired initial approval to shoot inside the camp from the World Jewish Congress. Vice President Kalman Sultanik and the International Council of the State Museum at Auschwitz fought against the proposal. In response, Spielberg and his crew built a replica of the interior outside the Birkenau gatehouse. With support from producer, Gerald

[6] Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, p. 212.
[7] The term 'gate of hell' has been mentioned in a variety of scholarship, films and exhibition guides from Marianne Hirsch's work on memory to Alicja Białecka, Krystyna Oleksy, Fabienne Regard and Piotr Trojanski (eds.), *European pack for visiting Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum: Guidelines for teachers and Educators* (Polish Ministry of Education, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and Council of Europe, 2010).
[8] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. 117-118.
[9] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, p. 117.

R. Molen, the crew re-created the barracks on the left-side of the exterior with the train backing into the inside of Birkenau, and then with the help of editor, Michael Kahn, the shot was reversed in post-production. With the artificial décor of the mise-en-scéne and the convincing editing the locomotive appears to be passing under the gatehouse and arriving inside the camp.

This re-construction poses many questions as to the ethical treatment of the site. In narrative terms, it also allows the physical and metaphorical image of the gatehouse to stand as the pertinent "first moment" of Auschwitz. It is what Hirsch describes as 'a point of access' for the viewer, a difficult departure point into the world of dehumanisation and extermination. In a similar fashion, Hirsch illustrates the use of the Arbeit Macht Frei gateway in Art Spiegelman's *Maus* as a shared generational image of the arrival into the camp.[10] As she puts it, 'the artist needs it not only to make the narrative immediate and "authentic": he needs it as a point of access (a gate) for himself and for his postmemorial readers'.[11] To understand how this generational image became a defining aspect of Holocaust memory in the twentieth century, I will map its visual history from post-liberation photography through European and Hollywood film.

2.2

The liberation of Auschwitz on the 27 January 1945 involved the first attempts to document the aftermath of what had taken place inside the camp. In the days that followed, a glimpse into Auschwitz was captured by a Soviet camera crew that accompanied the Red Army during the liberation. Led by cameraman Alexander Voronstov, the crew photographed the moment of liberation that was later edited into a one-hour documentary entitled, *The Chronicle of the Liberation of Auschwitz* (1945). Much of the footage depicted survivors, mounds of personal belongings, barbed wire fences and the barracks that held inmates. Not long after this, Polish photographers under the orders of the Polish Red Cross began to arrive at the camp, producing still-images that would later be reproduced in a number of Western films, exhibitions and textbooks. The two most reproduced photographs were taken by Henryk Makarewicz and Stanislaw Mucha, who depicted the gatehouse from both inside and outside the camp.

[10] Art Spiegelman, *The Complete Maus* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).
[11] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, p. 117.

Figure 2.1: 'A group of Frenchwomen on their way to freedom. They have already shed their prison uniforms and put on clothes taken from burning magazines. Main gate is on the right'. Henryk Makarewicz *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)*, Photograph Number: 58416. (January 1945).

The first-ever photograph of the gatehouse was taken by Makarewicz in January 1945 (Figure 2.1). While not including the entirety of the gatehouse, this photograph still managed to capture its dominating presence. Due to the juxtaposition of the female survivors walking towards the foreground with the snow-covered gatehouse in the background, the image contributes to the Soviet archive of liberation. The caption provided by curators of the USHMM years after its development denotes the gatehouse as a backdrop to the survivors' departure: 'A group of female survivors of Auschwitz-Birkenau trudge through the snow as they depart from the camp through the main gate'. The original caption also references the main gate but underlines their path to freedom: 'A group of Frenchwomen on their way to freedom…Main gate is on the right'.[12] With these five women fixed in a moment of departure and freedom, the image instils into the gatehouse its position as a threshold. In the very notion of freedom, of leaving the camp, the gatehouse stands as a façade that conceals the inside they experienced.

[12] To see more on the difference between these two captions visit the USHMM Collections: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1144241 [accessed 03/01/2021].

In contrast to Makarewicz's image, Mucha's photograph captures the gatehouse from the now well-known central position (Figure 2.2). Excluding any sign of victims and perpetrators, the image presents the desolate post-liberation landscape of the camp. Due to the omission of any sense of life, the vanishing point is directly focused on the central entrance. The foreground of the image is littered with equipment left behind which is partially submerged in the snow that now dominates the terrain. The outline of the railway tracks remains visible as they intersect and slowly disappear into the mouth of the gatehouse. It is this particular photograph that Hirsch is referring to when discussing how the gatehouse is obsessively encountered in every book or on every poster, an image that she refers to as the "Gate of Death". For her, the gatehouse in this photograph is defined by how it is framed as a borderline: 'The electric fences, the towers and lights, the forbidding warning signs-all repeat cultural defences against recollection, and, especially, against looking beyond the fence, inside the gate of death, at death itself'.[13] The image captures an opposition between the camera and that which lies beyond the gatehouse.

Figure 2.2: 'Auschwitz Concentration Camp entrance after liberation, equipment left in the foreground by the guards' Stanislaw Mucha *German Federal Archives* B 285 Bild-04413. 1945.

Further scrutiny, however, reveals the photograph to have been taken from inside the camp rather than the outside. Instead of photographing the single railway track that leads up

[13] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, p. 118.

to the camp, the image presents the point at which the tracks actually diverge once inside. As Rupnow emphasises, the paradigmatic status of the gatehouse is defined by the fact that there is no difference from which side it is seen. No matter whether captured from inside or outside, the structure appears as a coulisse with nothing behind it. This reveals that even though captured from the inside, the gatehouse has gained a certain predisposition towards the status as an exterior façade, concealing that which lies within. In Mucha's photograph, this is in part created by the significance of its symmetry.

Occupying the top third of the frame, the gatehouse stretches almost to the edge of the frame, while creating balanced proportions in the composition. This creates a sense of uniformity in the frame as clear straight lines can be drawn across the gatehouse. The main difference between this photograph and Makarewicz's is the way in which Mucha brings into focus the full architectural properties of the gatehouse. However, the symmetrical connotations that Mucha captured were not part of Sturmbannführer Karl Bischoff's initial architectural plan for a second camp to be built in the vicinity of Auschwitz I. In fact, it was a Polish inmate (whose name still remains unknown) who devised an initial plan for a gatehouse that would guide the tracks into the camp. These plans included the central tower directly above the railway line and the southern half of the structure (right side of Mucha's image) with a gateway for vehicles to enter. The basic symmetrical structure was completed when the north half was finished in early 1944 just in time for the arrival of the first transports of Jewish Hungarians.[14] Joshua Hagen and Robert C. Ostergren argue that it was actually the steeper roof pitch and three-story watchtower which gave the gatehouse an imposing presence, rather than the reddish brick exterior and long rectangular layout that matched the barracks and crematoria.[15] It was from this point in early 1944 after the Hungarian transports that Birkenau would go on to see between 1.1 and 1.3 million people killed, with around 80 percent of these deaths taking place on arrival.

With this in mind, the symmetrical architecture present in Mucha's image has no direct correlation to the SS plan for Birkenau. However, the composition of the photograph underscores a uniformity in the gatehouse. Symmetry, as a photographic technique in Mucha's image, implies an orderly arrangement of space and geometry to draw balance in the composition, whereby geometrical order conveys moral rectitude. Elements of this

[14] Joshua Hagen and Robert C. Ostergren, *Building Nazi Germany: Place, Space, Architecture, and Ideology* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), p. 380.
[15] Hagen and Ostergren, *Building Nazi Germany*, p. 380.

bilateral symmetry – a mirror-like reflection between left and right – directs attention to the organised unity of the composition. As the image of the gatehouse recedes towards one point in the distance (the central railway entrance), it is organisation that takes prevalence over any fragmental division in the image. Both images also represent the status of the camp before its dedication as a memorial site in 1947. From its liberation in early 1945 up until the dedication of the camp as a space of memorialisation on 2 July 1947, the grounds lacked any significance in both the Polish political sphere and the post-war atmosphere in Europe, and were consequently left in a state of decay. This is captured by Mucha in the littered foreground that contains an assortment of abandoned objects. Through the inauguration of the grounds as a memorial museum under the act of the Sejm ('the law for the protection of Monuments of Martyrdom of the Polish Nation and Other Nations') the site was endowed with a meaning.

The first ever film crew to capture the site of Auschwitz as part of a narrative feature was led by Polish director, Wanda Jakubowska. Jakubowska, an Auschwitz survivor herself, was adamant that *The Last Stage* (1947) would be filmed entirely within the original grounds. The cast was primarily assembled of Auschwitz survivors, a small selection of German prisoners as extras and Red Army workers. When the film was shot between 7 July and 28 September 1947, the camp had been dedicated as a memorial but it was still in operation as an internment centre under the control of the Polish authorities for POWs awaiting transfer to labour camps or separate gulags under Soviet control. Jakubowska's plan to incorporate fellow inmates into her project was possible because many former inmates were being employed at Auschwitz to disassemble and strip the camp from the factory complex at Monowitz and wooden barracks in Birkenau in preparation for the opening of the Auschwitz State Museum.

As Marek Haltof explains, Jakubowska had 'carefully preserved in her memory' the images of the camp she wanted to portray which had very little to do with the post-war appearance that the film crew encountered. This included 'heavy smoke over the crematorium, ever-present mud, and shabby barracks surrounded by barbed wire'.[16] Haltof reminds us that while these images are bound to the selective memory of Jakubowska, they became central to an emerging iconography of the camp. The shots that Jakubowska captured in those four months 'introduced images of camp life that are now archetypal and notable in

[16] Marek Haltof, *Screening Auschwitz Wanda Jakubowska's The Last Stage and The Politics of Commemoration* (Evaston: Northwestern University Press, 2018), p. 57.

numerous films about the Holocaust and the "concentrationary universe"'.[17] Haltof also stresses the image of the Birkenau gatehouse within this iconography. Jakubowska and her cinematographer, Bentsion Monastyrsky, framed the 'steam locomotive slowly moving, in a thick fog, through the "death gate" toward the armed SS guards' that, as will become evident, is reproduced in subsequential representations of the camp. The very presence of this "death gate" defines the opening scene of *The Last Stage*.

The film opens with a scene that fades from the rounding up of individuals on a Warsaw Street corner to an extreme wide shot of the Birkenau gatehouse, simulating the deportation process. Throughout this sequence, the images are edited to Roman Palester's score. Opening with a pleasant but ambivalent feel as the "Film Polski" credits fade, the score matches the smiling faces of the public turning to panic as the tempo increases. The score is created through the increasing tempo of the agitato violins and the heavy percussion of the kettledrums, forming a crescendo as the scene fades from a restrictive frame on a Warsaw Street corner (Figure 2.3) to the stationary wide shot of the loading ramp. As the Nazi officers begin to round up individuals and load them onto the back of a truck, the juxtaposition of Monastyrsky's cinematography and Palester's score create an atmosphere of entrapment and anxiety. When the shot fades from individuals being forced onto the truck by Nazi officers to the establishing shot of the Birkenau gatehouse, Palester's score intensifies to mark the arrival of the locomotive. The gatehouse is introduced through a raised wide shot as the camera is fixed in a stationary position for the rolling of the credits (Figure 2.4). By placing the camera on an aerial platform above the guards as they await the arrival, the gatehouse now comes into focus. Therefore, the composition of the frame focuses the eye-trace – the audience's focus of interest – towards the shape and outline of the gatehouse that fills the top third of the frame. Analysing the rest of the frame also reveals straight and parallel lines, most significantly the symmetry created between the guards as they stand in line on the right side of the frame and the train tracks to the left. Resounding with Mucha's photography, Jakubowska and Monastyrsky once again choose to accentuate the symmetrical qualities of the gatehouse.

[17] Haltof, *Screening Auschwitz*, p. 57.

Figure 2.3: *The Last Stage* (Wanda Jakubowska, 1947). Individuals are rounded up on a street corner.

Figure 2.4: *The Last Stage*. SS Guards await the train entrance into Birkenau.

The geometric lines that dictate the composition construct the moment of arrival. At the centre of the frame, a single guard marches into the background awaiting the incoming transport. Figure 2.4 captures the tracks up to the loading ramp that ran from the gatehouse to the gas chamber and crematoria II and III. Historically, this ramp was a procedural space within the camp. Families were divided, lined up into two columns (men in one and women and children in the other), and led to a doctor where a cursory examination of health would occur. The judgement was done solely on sight deciding there and then whether they would live or die. After a few seconds, the film title fades into the shot, and a more concrete meaning is placed on the mise-en-scéne.

As the words 'Ostanti Etap' (The Last Stage) begin to appear (Figure 2.5), the grounds of Auschwitz are denoted as a last or final destination. The white text that now appears superimposed on the frame alongside a darkening of the background which conceals the guards but allows the central watchtower and the outline of the gatehouse to remain in focus. Creating continuity with Figure 2.4, the title credits intensify the geometry of the frame. The font, Ostatni Etap, consists of vertical and horizontal lines that never cross, repeating the structure of the straight tracks that lead from the gatehouse to the foreground, and these lines figuratively represent a visual illustration of the railway system. Furthermore, the formation of the words, Ostatni and Etap appear to provoke an unsettling boundary between a fixed geometry and a form that is only fragmentally merged. While reflecting the uniformity and straightness of the railway tracks, the letters also appear to embed a discontinuity with the excess use of gaps. The lines form a type of fractured semblance whereby the words themselves never fully actualise as integral forms (except only for the single 'I').

Figure 2.5: *The Last Stage*. Title credits appear with locomotive smoke in the background.

The gatehouse as captured in *The Last Stage* marks its inauguration into narrative film. While Mucha's photograph recorded the liberation of the camp, Jakubowska's quasi-documentary mode of storytelling embedded the gatehouse in the first feature film based on camp experiences. In comparison to other European works produced just after World War II such as *Germany, Year Zero* (Roberto Rossellini, 1948) and *Ulica Graniczna* (Aleksander Ford, 1948), *The Last Stage* predominantly centres on the suffering of individual countries by Nazi German policies rather than the extermination of European Jewry. However, as Stuart Liebman comments, *The Last Stage* is an illuminating document of the "concentrationary

universe" in a 'period when artists' needs to render the horror were constrained by political exigences'.[18] This is what reveals affinities between Jakubowska's approach and Mucha's photography. Both presented a perspective or 'ideologically correct version' of the camp that underlined the role of the Soviet army in the liberation.[19] Both Mucha and Makarewicz were part of a Soviet commission and their photographs belonged to a wider Soviet rendition of the camp as an example of the horrors of fascism. Similarly, *The Last Stage* stressed the role of communist resistance in Auschwitz, which is embodied in characters such as the brave female Russian doctor, Eugenia (Tatjana Górecka). Also, the echo of Stalin is prevalent throughout, with female prisoners mentioning his name with reverence. Due to this, Haltof asserts that 'several scenes were carefully constructed to depict an ideologically correct situation full of pro-Soviet sympathies', including a scene where Helena (Wanda Bartówna) reads from Stalin's own manifesto that is circulating the camp about 'the liberation of Europe from Hitler's tyranny'. Between these two visual mediums, a strong ideological image of Auschwitz-Birkenau was beginning to emerge, one which was fundamentally elevated in Eastern Europe but side-lined in both the British and American press even though regular reports were received throughout the war and after its liberation. In Poland, the liberation photographs were central in exposing the wider public to the horrors of the camp and as an investigation into the fascist crimes at Auschwitz. A striking example of this came in April 1945 when an illustrated article appeared in the weekly Polish newsmagazine, *Przekrój*, that reprinted the Soviet commissioned photographs of the barracks, barbed-wire fences, human hair and the inscribed 'Arbiet Macht Frei' gateway (Figure 2.6). While this report did not include Mucha's photograph of the Birkenau gatehouse, it is crucial to underscore its significance in Jakubowska's re-creation of camp experiences. During her time in Auschwitz, Jakubowska stressed the need to record her experiences, and it was the presence of the gatehouse that reminded her of this:

> "This grinding sound needs to be recorded separately." I remember that I said it loudly to my friend from the Pawiak prison, Danusia Markowska, when the gate at the Birkenau (Auschwitz) camp closed behind our transport. I said it without thinking, and at the same time I realized that I made a decision to make a film about Auschwitz at the very moment of arriving there.[20]

[18] Stuart Liebman, 'Pages from the Past: Wanda Jakubowska's The Last Stop (Ostatni etap)', *Slavic and East European Performance*, 16:3 (1996), 62.
[19] Marek Haltof, *Polish Film and the Holocaust: Politics and Memory* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), p. 37.
[20] Jakubowska cited in Haltof, *Screening Auschwitz*, p. 4.

Figure 2.6: *Przekrój*, Issue 2 (22 April 1945), p. 3.

The opening scene in *The Last Stage* re-enacts this moment of Jakubowska's transport passing under the gatehouse and it symbolically closing behind her. As Haltof emphasises, 'it is also important to remember that in historical accounts of Polish filmmaking, *The Last Stage* marks the birth of post-1945 Polish cinema'. This is why in the post-political European landscape '*The Last Stage* is often referred to as 'a model for other numerous, ideologically-oriented representations of victimhood and heroism under Nazi rule'.[21] It is a film that reflects on the national debates about Auschwitz after the war and the ways in which the camp should be memorialised. In essence, it is both a testimony to the director's socialist commitments in the face of fascism and the post-war political climate in Poland. This is why it established a visual landscape in conjunction with the war crime trials taking place in Eastern Europe.[22] As part of a re-birth in Polish cinema after the war, it falls in line with the socialist realism that emerged in 1947 in Poland that aimed to represent World War II centred less on forming a narrative of the extermination of the European Jewry, and instead emphasised 'the tragedy of nation-states subjected to Nazi German exterminatory policies'.[23] Therefore, *The Last Stage* is reflective of Stanisław Albrecht's words in 1947 – the head of Film Polski – when he stated after the war that 'Polish films should be made in the style of socialist realism. We have to

[21] Omer Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema: From Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), p. 169.
[22] Haltof, *Screening Auschwitz*, p. 6.
[23] Haltof, *Screening Auschwitz*, p. 5.

separate ourselves from naturalism as well as from the formalist "exercises" and pseudo-psychological inquiries that are fashionable in the West'.[24] In terms of the socialist media in post-war Poland, both the photographs that were circulated in the Polish press and the images exposed by *The Last Stage* helped in disclosing a variety of indicators of the Nazi horrors at a time when Auschwitz was becoming central in a number of these trials. This resulted in the consolidation of such footage into a selection of handpicked images of the camp which not only played a central role in the prosecution of perpetrators in Eastern Europe but would also make an impression on future filmmakers, artists and producers.

Throughout the 1950s and early 60s the gatehouse did not appear in the majority of Holocaust productions both in Europe and America. Rather, it was the role of women as both protagonists and victims of the Nazi era that was carried from *The Last Stage* into the next decade of Holocaust film. The two most viewed and well-received of these were George Stevens' *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959) and Gilo Pontecorvo's *Kapo* (1960). In both, the plot centres around female protagonists: the teenager portrayed by Millie Perkins in *The Diary* and the kapo played by Susan Strasberg in Pontecorvo's film. In the case of *The Diary*, the imagery of the camp is mostly avoided in order to give attention to Anne's own experiences of living under Nazi occupation in Amsterdam. This is emphasised through the omission of the events following the Frank family's capture and subsequent deportation to Bergen-Belsen. It was not only the role of women as protagonists, however, that resurfaced from *The Last Stage*. Stevens directly reproduced a segment from Jakubowska's opening scene which included women at Appellplatz and reframed it as the imagery from Anne's nightmares. Even though this repetition was ever so slight in *The Diary*, it presents the only moment in the narrative in which re-created footage of the camp appears (Figure 2.7). In essence, Stevens' re-insertion instils the images with a different meaning. Now they appear as part of a dissolve with Anne's face in the context of a nightmare. This repetition also implies a coherence between Jakubowska's vision of camp life and Stevens' adaptation of Anne's memoir (Stevens being one of the first to document liberation footage at Bergen-Belsen).

[24] Stanisław Albrecht cited in Haltof, *Screening Auschwitz*, p. 38.

Figure 2.7: *The Diary of Anne Frank* (George Stevens, 1959). Anne's face dissolves into the footage from *The Last Stage*.

Kapo also based its plot around the experiences of women in a concentration camp. On a visual and narrative level, *Kapo* owes much to Jakubowska's film, including its images of division and incarceration and its undertones of commitment to the communist cause prevalent in Edith's sacrifice. Portrayed by Susan Strasberg, Edith plays the role of the main kapo from the title of the film. The majority of scenes take place in the women's section of the camp both inside the barracks and outside during Appellplatz. Whereas Jakubowska denotes the location of the setting in the opening scene, the specificity of Pontecorvo's mise-en-scéne is left unclear. The scenes of arrival (which almost directly resemble Jakubowska's opening scene) continue to foreground the forbidding warning signs that Hirsch describes from Mucha's photograph. The watchtower, the electric barbed wire fencing and the bright spotlights all create a sense of division as the transport rolls into the unnamed camp (Figure 2.8). For Hirsch, the repetition of these divisions has influenced the creation of a 'postmemorial generation', which are limited to a set number of images that replay the 'oscillation between opening and closing the door'.[25] Although it is not specifically the structure of the gatehouse that is repeated in *Kapo*, its connotations can still be discerned in Pontecorvo's depiction of the camp. Visually, this is captured in its demarcation of boundaries and divisions created by a variety of images that relate to incarceration.

[25] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, p. 118.

Figure 2.8: *Kapò* (Gilo Pontecorvo, 1959). Arrival into unnamed camp.

Figure 2.9: *Night and Fog*, Reproduction from Jakubowska's film.

While feature productions in the 1950s and 60s focused more on protagonist-led narratives, documentaries emerged that shed more light on the surroundings and purposes of death camps. One of the most important documentaries was Alain Resnais' *Night and Fog* (1956) that suffered much from censorship due to its inclusion of a French police officer. This was due to the fact that The French Board of Film Censors 'were afraid of insulting the authorities of the day, apparently unable to distinguish between the Vichy regime and the

democratic police force of the post-war state'.[26] In spite of this, it still 'helped to activate the process of memorialising the Second World War'.[27] Its impact in America did not stretch to the extent it did in France and Germany when it became a topic of public debate after the film was banned from the Cannes Films Festival in 1956. While its first commercial screening took place in April 1962, narratives about the Holocaust in America were being shaped by both the major landmark of Stevens' *The Diary* and television produced programs that introduced audiences to stories from the Holocaust, most notably Hanna Bloch Kohner's appearance on NBC's *This is Your Life* on 27 May 1953. In stark contrast from both of these, *Night and Fog* edited present-day images of Auschwitz and Majdanek with both perpetrator and liberator stock footage in order to deal with the chronological chain of deportation, organisation and destruction. However, on a closer inspection Resnais, like Stevens, reinserted a shot from Jakubowska's film and incorporated it into the stock footage of the arrival into the camp. In a scene that precedes the extreme wide establishing shot of Auschwitz, *Night and Fog* splices various perpetrator footage of deportation with a single shot from *The Last Stage* (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.10: *Night and Fog*. Stock footage of the train that precedes Jakubowska's images.

After describing the rise of Nazism and the construction of concentration camps throughout Europe, including a segment that discusses the architecture of the gates with the

[26] Ewout Van Der Knaap, 'Transmitting the Memory of the Holocaust', in Ewout Van Der Knaap (ed.), *Uncovering The Holocaust: The international Reception of Night and Fog* (London: Wallflower Press, 2006), p. 8.
[27] Ewout Van Der Knaap, 'Transmitting the Memory of the Holocaust', p. 1.

narrator emphasising 'no one will enter more than once', the documentary initiates its thematic approach. Beginning with the ghettos, the narrator's voice-over explains how individuals were rounded up in Warsaw, Łódź, Prague or Brussels and placed on 'anonymous trains, their doors well-locked'. In this sequence, which includes a variety of exterior footage of the freight carriages, locomotives and train tracks, the camera cuts from several frames of the train to a grainy high-level shot of carriages passing a line of guards (Figure 2.9). The splicing of these two separate mediums is almost indistinguishable in Resnais' scene as the stock footage of the train in transit (Figure 2.10) merges with Jakubowska's shot (Figure 2.9). Unlike *The Last Stage* which was set almost entirely within the limits of Auschwitz, Resnais did not include any actors, nor did he attempt to re-enact their imprisonment. Instead, as the narrator makes it abundantly clear throughout, the aim of the documentary film is to both 'stimulate the recollection of the actualities and prevent new cruelties'.[28]

More specifically, it is the narrator who establishes the continuity between the archival documents and Jakubowka's footage. As the train in the archival material passes the frame into the distance the narrator states, 'a message flutters to the ground. Will it be found? Death makes its first cut'. With these words, the frame cuts directly to the images from *The Last Stage* as the descriptions of deportation continue: 'its second is made on arrival in the night and fog'. It is evident, then, that irrespective of the origins of the visual material, the coherence of the narrator's voiceover creates semitransparency between the two. Aaron Kerner, who also notices the function of this editing, states that 'the poetics of movement (of the trains) and the voiceover establish continuity between the two shots'. What is at stake here in Resnais' film, for Kerner, is the way in which he 'renders non-contiguous space as contiguous', which leads the images of *The Last Stage* to be seen as part of the archival footage.[29] The train moves from right to left in the archival footage which integrates with Jakubowska's shot of the train's ominous arrival into Auschwitz-Birkenau as it begins to slow down. At this point, the visual continuity persists when the sequence cuts to the modern-day footage of Auschwitz, shot in collaboration with cinematographers, Ghislain Cloquet and Sacha Vierny. As the camera pans from the train tracks to the architectural structure, the point of arrival in the narrative of deportation is revealed as the Birkenau gatehouse (Figure 2.11).

[28] Van Der Knaap, 'Transmitting the Memory of the Holocaust', p. 8.
[29] Aaron Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust: new Perspectives on Dramas, Documentaries, and Experimental Films* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), p. 237.

Figure 2.11: *Night and Fog*. Modern day footage of the Birkenau gatehouse.

With the camera lingering on the exterior of the gatehouse – noticeable by the single train track and the vehicle entrance on the left side – the narrator questions the present-day significance of the site:

> Today, on the same track, the sun shines. Go slowly along it…looking for what? Traces of the bodies that fell to the ground? Or the lootmarks of those first arrivals gun-bullied to the camp, while the dogs barked and the searchlights wheeled…And the incinerator flamed in the lurid décor so dear to the Nazis?

Similar to *The Diary*, *Night and Fog* splices images without any acknowledgment of their historical context. Their reappearance, however, does not affect the chronological chain that Resnais creates between the rounding up, deportation and arrival at camps. In other words, editing the archival footage of trains in transit (Figure 2.10), filmic images from inside the camp (Figure 2.9) and modern-day footage of the camp (Figure 2.11) posits the gatehouse at Auschwitz as the ultimate destination in this chronological chain. Replacing the original audio track from *The Last Stage* with Michel Bouquet's narration and Hanns Eisler's score only complements rather than transforms the meaning of the imagery. The only change in its signification is that Jakubowska's images of arrival become more of a generic substitute for transports rather than the particular transport that brought Marta Weiss (Barbara Drapinska) to Auschwitz. Consequently, it is this shot of the gatehouse that acts as a dividing line between outside and the descriptions inside the camp. After the shot of the gatehouse, the sequence cuts to a tracking shot of the Arbeit Macht Frei gateway as the piano sharply registers the sinister atmosphere. Bouquet's words further accentuate the divisions created by these

gatehouses and gateways as he states, 'the first sight of the camp. It's another planet'. This term can be read as correlative to the writings of Holocaust survivor, Yehiel De-Nur, who during his testimony at the Eichmann trial regarded his literary work, *House of Dolls* (1953), as 'a chronicle of the planet of Auschwitz'.[30] During his testimony, De-Nur, who used his camp identity number Ka-Tsetnik 135633 as his pen name, emphasised the otherworldliness of Auschwitz. For him, 'the time there [Auschwitz] is not a concept as it is here in our planet…and the inhabitants of that planet had no names…they had no parents and they had no children'.[31] The notion of Auschwitz as another planet or the "Other Planet" was derived from his first book, *Sunrise Over Hell* (1946), and began to enter popular culture with the broadcasting of Eichmann's trial.[32] De-Nur belonged to a rising number of survivors speaking about the Holocaust and laying bare the radical otherness inside the camp. This would extend to different laws of nature within the camps that overlapped with the memoirs of Levi and Wiesel.

The Eichmann trial and the 1960s proved invaluable in not only shifting the focus towards the spoken words of survivors, but also revealing Auschwitz as the epicentre of Holocaust suffering at a moment when the internationalisation of the site was developing. The trial has been described by various scholars as a turning point of Holocaust memory in America, and as Peter Novick emphasises, the 'Eichmann trial, along with its controversies over [Hannah] Arendt's book…effectively broke fifteen years of near silence on the Holocaust in American public discourse'. In response, 'there emerged in American culture a distinct thing called "the Holocaust" – an event in its own right, not simply a subdivision of general Nazi barbarism', one which would fully solidify in the release of the miniseries, *Holocaust* (Marvin J. Chomsky, 1978).[33]

Between April and December 1961, when 111 different survivors began to describe their experiences, it became evident that a number of forced labourer inmates had survived Auschwitz. Additionally, in contrast to other extermination camps like Chelmno, Belzec or Treblinka, the liberated Auschwitz was largely intact. Viewers not only had remains to look at but testimonies to match the physical site. Among them, Yehuda Bacon revealed the humiliation and suffering that occurred at Auschwitz, up to the bluff of the gas chamber in

[30] Eichmann Trial: Sessions 68 and 69 (Testimonies of Y. Dinur, Y. Bakon, A. Oppenheimer, A. Beilin). *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, Accession Number: 1999.A.0087.
[31] Eichmann Trial: Sessions 68 and 69, *USHMM*.
[32] Ka-Tsetnik 135633, *Sunrise Over Hell* translated by Nina Dinur (London: Virgin Books, 1977).
[33] Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), p. 144.

disguise as a shower room. This exposure was mainly prevalent in the accompanying television broadcasts both from the weekly CBS reports on the trial, *Eyewitnesses to History* and ABC's *Bell and Howell Close-Up*. One particular week, aired on 14 April 1961, the *Bell and Howell Close-Up* presented a documentary titled, *I Remember*, in which survivor Simon Gutter guides a film crew into the eight different camps he was imprisoned in during the war.

Figure 2.12: *Kitty: Return to Auschwitz* (Peter Morley, 1979). Symmetrical shot of the gatehouse before Hart enters the camp.

Documentaries such as these allowed viewers to correlate the physical site of Auschwitz with a specific Holocaust remembrance being staged at the Eichmann trial in order to inform the public about the uniqueness of the Nazi genocide. These culminated in the 1981 documentary, *Kitty: Return to Auschwitz* (Peter Morley, 1979), released on both PBS and CBS, in which a camera crew accompanied survivor Kitty Hart as she returned to the Auschwitz complex. As Jeffrey Shandler points out, however, in contrast to survivor interviews that sometimes exclusively focus on the voice and face of the survivor, *Kitty* 'presents the survivor's encounter with the environment of her wartime persecution as the touchstone of memory'.[34] As she arrives in a car that pulls up in front of the camp it is the threshold of the gatehouse that marks her attempts at gathering her bearings. Prior to this, the symmetrical composition of the gatehouse is evident again as a low angle wide shot pre-empts her re-arrival at the camp (Figure 2.12).

[34] Shandler, *While America Watches*, pp. 193-4.

Released to American audiences after NBC's "Big Event" (the *Holocaust* miniseries) *Kitty* showed images of Auschwitz during a time when the Holocaust had 'fully "arrived" on the American scene'.[35] This was a juncture in which its saturation had initiated extensive discussion of the Nazi persecution of the European Jewry. The years between the Eichmann trial and the *Holocaust* miniseries – 1960s and 1970s – constitute an upheaval in televised presentations of the Holocaust, when television gained its status as the most preeminent form of mass media in America. It is described by Shandler as a period in which the Holocaust became 'routinised' by television, repeating themes of the nature of evil, the consequences of intolerance and the limits of justice that influenced its development as a moral paradigm.[36] While Auschwitz would become the final destination in the story of the Weiss family in *Holocaust*, the Birkenau gatehouse did not feature in this landmark event. Instead, the camp was only re-created through its name and interior shots of barracks and passage ways into the gas chambers. The gatehouse, shot in a way to accentuate its symmetrical geometry, returned in the 1980s through two important yet contrasting forms of film. The first, Claude Lanzmann's nine-and-a-half-hour documentary film, *Shoah* (1985), the second, Dan Curtis' twenty-seven-hour miniseries, *War and Remembrance* (1988).

Ninety minutes into the film, Lanzmann's *Shoah* cuts to a low angle tilted shot of the New York City highway, capturing the grandiose structure of the Brooklyn Bridge with Rudolf Vrba's voice edited alongside. Introducing this shot before cutting to Birkenau amplifies feelings of locomotion and travel by rendering the excessive automobile noises of the highway with Vrba recounting the routine arrival of transports. The editing creates continuity between the highway and the grounds of Birkenau by dubbing Vrba's voice between each shot (Figures 2.13 and 2.14). Furthermore, visual continuities also appear, for example the upper structure of the Brooklyn Bridge acts as a vertical mirror, reflecting the train tracks that lead up to the gatehouse. Finally, the continuity is complete in the constant motion of each shot, demonstrating how the impressions of the camp and its memory interrupt and flow into aspects of present-day life. As the camera – which is mounted to the roof of the car – angles upwards to capture the railway-like structure (Figure 2.13), Vrba explains 'I had seen it so many times that it became a routine…constantly people from the heart of Europe were disappearing and they were arriving to the same place with the same ignorance of the fate of the previous transport'. While the camera remains on the Brooklyn Bridge it is a

[35] Peter Novick, 'Holocaust Memory in America', in James E. Young (ed.), *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (New York: The Jewish Museum, 1994), p. 162.
[36] Shandler, *While America Watches*, p. 133.

Figure 2.13: *Shoah* (Claude Lanzmann, 1985). Still of the Brooklyn Bridge from camera attached to car roof.

Figure 2.14: *Shoah*. Symmetrical-like image captured from a dolly cam attached to the train track.

procedural atmosphere that Vrba's words capture: a regular modern-day journey or commute in New York is rendered with connotations of deportation. With each steel podium that passes, Lanzmann's camera recounts the disappearing and arriving of people all over Europe to the exact same place.

These two shots (Figure 2.13 and 2.14) are spliced together via a medium close-up of a well-dressed and well-groomed Vrba surrounded by the vegetation of Central Park. Although remarking that 'it was difficult to comprehend that people could disappear in this way and nothing is going to happen', Vrba articulates the routine of arrival without any

stoppages. After he explains this difficulty in comprehending the disappearances, the camera zooms from a medium close-up, presenting Vrba's attire, to an extreme close-up of his facial expressions as he finishes with 'this is going on for months and months, on and on'. This scene appears to intrude into Vrba's personal space (Figure 2.15), but he never physically reveals his own emotion to this routine arrival at Birkenau. After this zoom, the sequence cuts to the almost symmetrical low-levelled shot of the gatehouse, created via a camera dolly attached to the tracks. The camera is stationed low to the ground, with the railway tracks and the gatehouse dominating two thirds of the frame. The excruciatingly slow tracking shot physically replicates the motion of the train. This type of shot originates in the late nineteenth-century genre of the "phantom ride" popular in Britain and the United States. In these short non-narrative productions, the camera would be strapped to the front of a locomotive with its presence remaining hidden. The feeling it created was that of movement being driven by an invisible force; a trope which was often reproduced in various twentieth century films. In a similar re-creation, Lanzmann never produces a shot/reverse shot that would reveal the force driving the camera. Instead, the extended one shot take rolls towards the entrance with Vrba's words providing the context for the scene.

Figure 2.15: *Shoah*. Close-up of Vrba face as he explains the routine arrival into Auschwitz.

Remaining silent for a few seconds, Vrba's testimony begins again, explaining diligently the methodical process behind arriving at the loading ramp. Vrba explains the designated time that the transport of Jews was planned, announcing to all the workers to proceed to the loading ramp, to 'the very slow fashion' of the transport rolling in. As his words linger, the camera

continues to creep towards the mouth-like entrance of the gatehouse. In this ninety second take the one third of the sky that was noticeable at the beginning of the shot disappears off-screen, and the frame is made up of the railway tracks, the brick of the gatehouse and the grass alongside. In his memoir, Vrba emphasised the central role of the loading ramp at Birkenau. Working there for around eight months, he describes 'the system behind the Great Swindle'.[37] As he explains, the ramp remains a 'symbol of Auschwitz for millions because they saw little else except the gas chamber'.[38] It represents both a prima facie and final image for Vrba; a point of arrival and departure for those that stepped out of the freight trains. Vrba's memory of the gatehouse, then, is clearly implied in the duration of Lanzmann's tracking shot. While constantly approaching the gatehouse, it remains as an exterior façade, a moment of contemplating the figure that stuck in the minds of those seeing it for the first time. This is even more evident in the final part of the shot.

At the beginning of the shot, the synthesis of the railway tracks that begin in the bottom corners of the frame and the silhouette of the main opening where the tracks converge reproduces the central entrance as the vanishing point of the frame (Figure 2.14). Due to the distance of the camera from the entrance whatever lies beyond remains blurred and unfocused. The depth of field is not deep enough to bring into focus what lies inside, adding to the exterior façade of the gatehouse. Led up to the main entrance by the camera, the viewer must patiently wait for the revelation of what awaits on the other side. The camera's movement from Figure 2.14 to Figure 2.16 features Vrba's explanation: how first the 'announcement came to the SS' of the approaching transport, followed by 'an escort in the night' for the workers, as they 'were waiting, waiting for the train…waiting for the next order'. With a cut away from the gatehouse, Vrba smiles uncomfortably in New York as he states 'now the train stopped'. When the frame returns to the gatehouse instead of the camera passing through, Lanzmann enacts a long zoom which brings the interior of the camp into focus (Figure 2.17). As Fred Camper describes, the zoom is Lanzmann's 'acknowledgment that neither he nor we can truly pass through the gates of Auschwitz as inmates did; that no one can recover lost time: we have only our mind's eye, which too must finally fail'.[39] The inclusion of the gatehouse in *Shoah*, then, reinstates one of the major propositions of the film:

[37] Rudolf Vrba, *I Escaped from Auschwitz: The Shocking True Story of the World War II Hero Who Escaped the Nazis and Helped Save Over 200,000 Jews* (New York: Barricade Books, Inc., 2002), p. 152.
[38] Vrba, *I Escaped from Auschwitz*, p. 152.
[39] Fred Camper, '*Shoah*'s Absence', in Stuart Liebman (ed.), *Claude Lanzmann's Shoah: Key Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 106.

the failure of representation. Throughout the nine-and-a-half hours, Lanzmann battles with both the need to bear witness and the clear limits to testimony, thus the event is presented even if it is not possible to bear witness to it. This is what the gatehouse becomes representative of: a sharp division between rolling up to the camp and passing under its borderline. The imagination of the viewer must take over by reminding the viewer of the failure of their imagination.

Figure 2.16: *Shoah*. The tracking shot now approaches the gate entrance.

Figure 2.17: *Shoah*. The camera is stationary outside the gatehouse and a zoom takes the frame closer inside.

This is the ultimate reminder that the zoom symbolises in this sequence: by keeping the camera stationary, the perspective does not physically shift but is altered by a non-physical movement. As Camper observes, 'camera movement tends to suggest movement through space, as of a human body, the zoom tends to represent the movement of the mind, a shift in human perception'.[40] So, while the frame does alter – magnifying new details of what lies beyond the gatehouse – the camera never physically moves into that space beyond. In a seminar conducted with Lanzmann in 1990, he reflected on his obsession with this sequence and how far the camera should have been taken:

> It was very difficult to film this. I remember I was walking without the camera, asking myself: "At which moment did it start to be too late?" Of course, when the gates of the camp are passed it is already too late. It is too late when the gates of the crematorium are . . ., but here it was already too late. When they were on the train it was already too late. When they boarded the train in Drancy or in Salonika it was already too late. When was it not too late? How will this story be helped? I know that I was obsessed with these questions. I was asking myself: "How to transmit these questions? How to transmit these feelings to the spectators, to the viewers of the film?"[41]

No matter at which point the camera was situated, Lanzmann knew it would be capturing a point which was "too late" or that he would be always-already crossing a line that should not be. He knew it would be 'very difficult because you cannot make a "travelling shot" of [the] two kilometres' between the main railroads and the gate of Auschwitz.[42] There is, then, an internal battle between representation and imagination. Lanzmann wants to ask the question of at what point does the imagination fill in for the on-screen image. When a survivor such as Vrba narrates an element of the past an image is presented, but this image is depicting an absence. The purpose of the image is a presence of an absence located outside 'the spatiotemporal continuum of the image'.[43] For Getrud Koch, this is precisely the objective of the film. Lanzmann 'remains strictly within the limits of what can be imagined: for that which cannot be imagined, the concrete slaughter of millions, he suspends the concrete pictorial representation'.[44] His elision of any direct images of annihilation – stock footage or documentary photographs – is what creates this composition: the boundary between what is humanly imaginable and that unimaginable aspect of the annihilation. This problem is then projected onto the present-day spatial dimensions of annihilation by filming at the locations

[40] Camper, '*Shoah*'s Absence', p. 106.
[41] Claude Lanzmann, Ruth Larson and David Rodwick, 'Seminar With Claude Lanzmann 11 April 1990', *Yale French Studies*, 79 (1991), 89.
[42] Lanzmann, Larson, Rodwick, 'Seminar With Claude Lanzmann', 89.
[43] Getrud Koch, 'The Aesthetic Transformation of the Image of the Unimaginable: Notes on Claude Lanzmann's "Shoah"', *October*, 48 (1989), 21.
[44] Koch, 'The Aesthetic Transformation of the Image of the Unimaginable', 21.

in which these events took place. By doing this, the unimaginable dimension of the annihilation is temporally removed and replaced by the present-day absence captured in the images of these spaces.

When Lanzmann's camera begins to zoom into Birkenau, its desolate landscape distinguishes imagination from perception. The zoom adds to the film's relationship with 'imaginary participation'.[45] This is achieved in the use of discontinuous editing, whereby an off-screen voice – in this case Vrba – is audible alongside a represented location, but the voice of the witness is removed in space and time from that location. This type of editing attempts to remove passive spectatorship, demanding the viewer to construct meaning and fill in the gaps using their own imagination. When the frame appears to present the inside of Birkenau, Vrba explains the pressure of getting out of the freight trains and how sticks and clubs were used by those on the loading ramp. The image that accompanies this, however, is devoid of any correlating depiction. The viewer sees only an empty loading ramp with diverging tracks, but it is the imagination that attempts to connect the spatiotemporal disparity between image and voice. However, this zoom, rather than physical camera movement, is the reminder that the imagination will fail to connect the words spoken by Vrba with the present-day images of Birkenau. The camera stops at the foot of the gatehouse to present its threshold as a limit to one's imagination of the annihilation.

The alternate way film can capture this is when the image overpowers the imagination, in the case of *War and Remembrance*, thus altering the participation in the film. As an adaptation of Herman Wouk's novel of the same title, *War and Remembrance* was converted into an epic chronological miniseries totalling twenty-seven hours in a time when television was dominated by the three major broadcasting networks, ABC, NBC and CBS. The miniseries followed Curtis' adaptation of Wouk's *The Winds of War* which broadcasted during 1983 and chronicled the early years of World War II up to Pearl Harbour. In the sequel to *The Winds of War*, Curtis produced an overarching narrative from The Battle of Midway and Babi Yar to the Allied Invasion of Normandy and Stalingrad. In spite of this, Jeff Thompson explains that 'while viewers found the naval battle sequences thrilling, the submarine sequences impressive, and the characters' romantic entanglements satisfying, the defining segments of

[45] Michael D'Arcy, 'Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* & The Intentionality of the Image', in David Bathrick, Brad Prager and Michael D. Richardson (eds.), *Visualising the Holocaust: Documents, Aesthetics, Memory* (Rochester: Camden House, 2008), p. 141.

War and Remembrance were the devastating recreations of the Holocaust'.[46] This was underscored by Curtis' choice to film on-site at places in which the genocide occurred, most importantly its first and final two segments of its twelve parts, that presented re-created events within Auschwitz. Unlike Spielberg, Curtis lobbied with the Polish Communist government for over two years and was finally given permission to take cameras inside the camp between January and May 1988.

While both *Shoah* and *War and Remembrance* return to the actual sites of annihilation, their approaches impose two radically different types of filmmaking. Lanzmann uses the image to stage a confrontation between perception and the imagination, whereas Curtis was planning to commit entirely to re-creation. When explaining his approach to filming at the actual sites from *The Making of War and Remembrance* (Dan Curtis, 2004), he stated that:

> I would not be edited in terms of pulling punches because I felt that to show the Holocaust in anything but its most brutal form would be a crime – and I didn't want to be part of that – so what I needed to know was there wasn't going to be anybody who was going to be censoring me or anybody who was going to stop me from doing what I had to do.[47]

True to his word, Curtis re-constructed scenes that were described as 'horrifying' due to their nudity, violence and brutality.[48] It was clear Curtis was striving for a lasting impact, most memorable in his re-creation of the extermination of 30,000 Jews at Babi Yar, and later stating to the *Los Angeles Times* that 'you'll never see anything like it in your life'.[49] His commitment did not stop with just these reproductions but extended to the cast itself. As Thompson details, 'many of the extras who played doomed Jews herded naked into the gas chambers were also survivors of the camps'.[50] Evidently, Curtis' first protocol was to approach the subject in order to shock viewers. His opinion was that the more that is directly re-created, the more faithful the medium was to the horrors of the Holocaust. This attitude culminates in the miniseries remaining one of the only visual mediums to re-create inside the gas chambers, depicting the Zyklon B cannisters dropping and the subsequent death that followed. In a struggle for his own view of how the Holocaust should be represented, 'the

[46] Jeff Thompson, *The Television Horrors of Dan Curtis Dark Shadows, The Night Stalker and Other Productions, 1966–2006* (Jefferson: Macfarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2009), p. 35.
[47] Dan Curtis cited in Thompson, *The Television Horrors*, p. 35.
[48] Peter J. Boyer, 'D-Day For ABC: 'War and Remembrance,' the longest and, at $104 million, most expensive miniseries ever, marks the end of a programming era', *New York Times* (11 September 1988).
[49] Morgan Gendel, 'ABC at War Again with Miniseries, Maxi-Sequel,' *Los Angeles Times* (6 September 1986), p. 10.
[50] Thompson, *The Television Horrors*, p. 35.

crew built a crematorium a few hundred feet from where the Nazi crematorium had stood'.[51] The miniseries marked a transgressive production that not only displayed a myriad of ethical issues in terms of representation and his use of actors but defined its scenes in relation to the Holocaust as bound up with a deep sense of terror, made all the more potent by the advisory parental discretion before every episode.

As many critics attempted to bring to light, *War and Remembrance* marked a shift towards a style of realism in 1980s American culture that 'other fictionalised television treatments had not', and in turn prompted a few of those critics to pose the question to Curtis whether 'the film might not be too much for a broad, prime-time audience'. His response corresponds to his own personal dedication that any censoring of violence would not do the Holocaust justice: 'to clean it up for television "would be the biggest crime that could be perpetrated"'.[52] Both *Shoah* and *War and Remembrance*, then, deal with the "image of the unimaginable" in radically different ways: *Shoah* realising the limits of pictorial representation and *War and Remembrance* attempting to register the unimaginable imaginable. By offering what Curtis sees as an "authentic" reconstruction of the events, the film promotes an immediate and unmediated access to the past by emphasising its closeness to the events. By taking the cameras not only into Auschwitz but re-creating images of death in the gas chamber, the series both sensationalises and trivialises the unimaginable of the Holocaust. While Lanzmann seeks to question the representational or the iconic power of images, *War and Remembrance* relies fully on them.

The prime example of this dedication to re-created horror is most poignant when Curtis stages the arrival into Birkenau. The penultimate episode of the miniseries – Part XI – opens with a number of shots of the train journey towards the camp. This includes low angle wide shots of the locomotive and medium close-up pans of inside the freight carriages. The episode follows the deportation of Aaron Jastrow (John Gielgud) and Natalie Henry (Jane Seymour), who had been interned at Theresienstadt in the previous two episodes. With the series beginning to round off its overarching narrative of the war – Allies advancing closer to Germany and the Nazi retreat from Czechoslovakia – Aaron and Natalie are seemingly approaching a terminus. The train marches on through various extreme wide shots of the changing landscape as interior shots attempt to depict the cramped conditions of deportation.

[51] Aljean Harmetzlos Angeles, 'Waging Wouk's 'War and Remembrance', *New York Times* (6 November 1988).
[52] Boyer, 'D-Day For ABC'.

While the side-lighting from the carriage window reveals a dark and somewhat cramped mise-en-scéne – made more noticeable by one elderly woman claiming 'I can't…there is no privacy' – individuals are still able to sit and walk around its interior. During the cuts from the wide exterior shots, the train arrives at an intermittent stop which is revealed to be Görlitz where a Nazi officer refuses to provide any water to the carriages. The length of this journey is made clear by the accompanying on-screen text when the frame dissolves from night to day, with 'Day Two' appearing across the screen. On this second day, the train pulls into the town, Leignitz, as the snowy conditions appear, and at this point the same woman adamantly declares, 'towards Auschwitz'. Throughout these intermittent stops, interior close-ups and exterior sequences contrast the deportees' journey with the accompanying Nazi officers who drink, sing and smoke in a separate seated carriage. This carriage is central in the arrival into Auschwitz as the crosscutting overlays the joyous German chants with the camera dolly shot of the Birkenau gatehouse (Figure 2.18).

Figure 2.18: *War and Remembrance* (Dan Curtis, 1988). The dolly cam shot as the train enters Birkenau.

Almost parallel to Lanzmann's "phantom ride", this shot continues from Figure 2.18 all the way under the gatehouse and into the re-created loading ramp. Cut alongside close-ups of Natalie peering out the barbed-wire window, the camera captures the re-created menacing nightscape that includes all the hallmarks of previous representations of Auschwitz: spotlights, guards standing linear with the tracks and watchtowers looming above. All this is framed from the low angle wide shot with the camera acting as the front of the locomotive. Curtis sets up the exterior façade of the gatehouse by using the same dolly technique as Lanzmann. While they may appear visually similar, both scenes impose radically different

perspectives on the notion of representation. First, recreating the sonic world of the camp, *War and Remembrance* edits the rolling sound of the locomotive alongside the images, allowing the frame to take on the motion and feel of the train. In line with Curtis' demand for re-created realism, the camera must completely take the audience into the camp. By contrast, in *Shoah* the shot of Birkenau gatehouse has no diegetic sound apart from Vrba's words as they describe the arrival. Secondly, *Shoah* acknowledges the boundary to the intransmissible horror beyond the gatehouse by halting the camera before its entrance, whereas *War and Remembrance* passing through is an acknowledgment that the immediate visual image will shock the viewer more than the potentials of the imagination.

These scenes try to leave nothing to the imagination, meaning that there are no mental images for the viewer to construct. In other words, the viewer is shown and told what the re-created horror is without having to reflect on their own failure to imagine that horror. While the gatehouse remains a façade in *Shoah*, a point which "the beyond" cannot be fully rendered, its presence in *War and Remembrance* becomes only a preliminary stage in the re-creation of the selection, gassing and cremation. Curtis does not stop at the loading ramp, nor the selection – showing Natalie entering the barracks while Aaron is sent for "disinfection" – but takes the camera all the way into the gas chambers, as a flurry of frenzied cuts and close-ups captures a pile of naked bodies slowly dying.

2.3

A similar approach is taken up by Spielberg and his crew on *Schindler's List*. However, Spielberg opts to represent a physical space that while conjuring up the horrors of the selection process never goes to the same lengths that Curtis did. *Schindler's List* instead engages with the popular memory of Auschwitz by staging it as a site of Schindler's redemptive character arc. Chapter I outlined the film's choice to use a heightened realism with the violence of the Kraków liquidation, thus drawing some comparison to the violence in Curtis' miniseries. In this sense, both try to create an unmediated access to the past by presenting a variety of "realistic" recreations. As seen from the liquidation scenes, it is evident that Spielberg's approach relies on visual violence and horror in order to put forward a "realistic" representation of the events. For Haim Bresheeth, 'realism is the wrong generic

mode for relating to this subject', and it is this aspect of filmmaking that can be investigated when the women's transport rolls into the re-created Birkenau.[53]

Firstly, it is crucial to remember that while *War and Remembrance* is filmed inside Birkenau, the crew on *Schindler's List* were refused this possibility, resorting to a variety of other re-creations. As this chapter has already pointed out, Spielberg and his crew rebuilt the barracks on the exterior side of the gatehouse, and reversed a shot of the train passing under to make it appear as though the camera is capturing the interior of the camp. With this in mind, the sequence does not include what would appear as an exterior shot of the gatehouse with the train moving towards its structure, as we have seen in *War and Remembrance*. Instead, the first glimpse of Auschwitz is from Mila's and Helen's perspective from inside the freight carriage as the train passes under the gatehouse (Figure 2.19). Drawing influence from film noir, this composition uses a low-key lighting that fills in the women's profiles. This intensification of selective lighting is increased even more in the next frame when the side key light becomes harder, revealing the details of their facial expressions (Figure 2.20). The ratio created between light and dark (foreground and background) has a chiaroscuro look in Figure 2.19 and a high amount of fill light in Figure 2.20 to bring the reactions into focus.

Figure 2.19: *Schindler's List*. The perspective of Mila and Helen from inside the boxcar.

[53] Haim Bresheeth, 'The Great Taboo Broken: Reflections on the Israeli Reception of *Schindler's List* in Loshitzky (ed.), *Spielberg's Holocaust*, p. 201.

Figure 2.20: *Schindler's List*. The next frame that reveals more of their facial expressions.

Figure 2.21: *Schindler's List*. Establishing shot of Auschwitz.

Figure 2.22: *Schindler's List*. The locomotive appears to enter the camp.

Lighting constructed in this way illuminates character faces and pre-empts the shot/reverse shot of Auschwitz, rather than using an establishing shot preceding the reaction shot as in *War and Remembrance*. When the camera does cut to an establishing shot there is a noticeable spatial discontinuity in the editing. Between Figure 2.19 and 2.20, the freight carriage carrying the women has already passed under the gatehouse and into the camp, whereas in the next cut the locomotive is yet to pull the carriages through (Figure 2.21). This technique of crosscutting is a prevalent tool for directing the viewer's attention, whereby separate shots are not temporally determined simultaneously. Greater emphasis, then, is placed on creating a composition in which the structure of the gatehouse, the front of the locomotive and the smoke as it begins to fill the top third of the frame all converge.

Figure 2.21 demonstrates how *Schindler's List* incorporates the iconic image of the gatehouse into Schindler's redemptive narrative. Similar to *The Last Stage*, *Kapo*, and *War and Remembrance*, this sequence is again constructed around boundaries of division and undertones of incarceration. Not only does the hard lighting reflect a shadow of the barbed-wire on the women's faces (Figure 2.20), but the spotlight, watchtower, guard dogs and inmates in a straight line set the scene for the transport's arrival. In contrast to previous films, the angle, height and distance of framing creates a slightly alternate composition. The position of the camera is to the left side of the gatehouse rather than centralising its presence, with the angle remaining lower at the eyesight match of the inmates and guards. The distance of the shot also renders a portion of its structure off-screen, giving way for the side of the locomotive

and the accompanying freight cars to remain perceptible as they appear to enter the camp (Figure 2.22). By capturing the front of the locomotive rather than from the point-of-view perspective of the train as in *War and Remembrance*, the smoke from the engine begins to mix into the greyscale palette of the composition as seen in *The Last Stage*. *Schindler's List* also captures individuals from close-up, which contrasts with the collective protagonist of *The Last Stage*. In essence, the gatehouse is framed as part of Spielberg's narrative about saviour and saved. Therefore, when Schindler is informed about the women's transport and the narrative returns to the camp, the gatehouse becomes the backdrop of his attempts to rescue them. In American museums such as USHMM visitors in a similar way progress on a journey with a re-enactment of this crossover into the camp. In this case, the casting of the 'Arbeit Macht Frei' gateway acts as a physical remnant that recreates the act of entering the camp in order to 'make the Holocaust "real" through physical contact' (Figure 2.23).[54]

Figure 2.23: 'View of a casting taken of the gate to the main camp at Auschwitz with the sign "Arbeit Macht Frei" [Work Makes One Free] that is displayed on the third floor of the permanent exhibition in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum', *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)*. Photograph Number: N02441. (1993-1995).

[54] Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*, p.164.

While the gatehouse and the gateway act as the threshold into the 'Concentration Camp Universe', Spielberg also utilises the space for the sake of Schindler's saviourhood narrative. Before physically appearing to confront the guards at Auschwitz and confirm the rescue of the women's and children's transport, Schindler bribes a member of the SS to release them. Following this scene, the camera is back in the re-created grounds of Birkenau, but this time the women and children prepare to reboard the carriages that brought them in (Figure 2.24). In the midst of the pushing and shoving to back on the carriages, two children are separated from their mothers by a guard and pulled to one side. As if from nowhere, the tall, dominating presence of Schindler appears in defence of the children. The children hide behind Schindler as he persuades the guard that they are essential skilled munitions workers. While this confrontation takes place, the gatehouse fills out the background of the frame (Figure 2.25).

Figure 2.24: *Schindler's List*. The women enter the carriages preparing to leave Auschwitz.

Figure 2.25: *Schindler's List*. Schindler convinces the guard that the children should also be put on the carriages.

Fundamentally, Spielberg and his crew frame the gatehouse as a backdrop for saviour and saved. In Figure 2.25, the camera is placed at the height of the children, matching their eyesight as Schindler convinces the guard of their essential place in his factory. This puts the viewer in the position of the children and under the protection of Schindler. By placing the camera at such an eye-level, the audience is immersed in the act of saviourhood. This means the viewer is also in the position of witnessing Schindler's actions. To fully capture the paradigm of saviour and saved the scene cuts to a medium close-up of a relieved Schindler and an exterior shot of the women as they peer out of the barbed-wire window (Figure 2.26). Spielberg creates a sense of continuity between arriving and departing, as the women's faces now appear hopeful. Once the camera leaves the grounds of Auschwitz (Figure 2.27), Schindler is framed as almost Shepard-like, leading the women and children to salvation at his factory in Brünnlitz (Figure 2.28).

Figure 2.26: *Schindler's List*. Juxtaposition of the barbed-wire with the reassured faces of the women as they prepare to leave Birkenau.

Figure 2.27: *Schindler's List*. Transport leaving Auschwitz.

Figure 2.28: *Schindler's List*. Cut to Schindler leading the women into his factory at Brünnlitz.

While *Schindler's List* recycles the visual and auditory tropes from *Kapo*, *The Last Stage*, and *War and Remembrance*, it quickly establishes Auschwitz as the penultimate site of Schindler's spiritual journey from Nazi profiteer to saviour. In Deleuze's terms, Auschwitz becomes the site of Schindler's final "duel", the arena for an 'ultimate individual confrontation' that will allow good to triumph over evil.[55] The film enters Auschwitz at night, accentuating boundaries of division and aspects of incarceration, from the barking guard dogs to the menacing watchtowers. However, those that are saved leave the site in daylight as a new day signals a new life for the women and children. No longer is there a chiaroscuro effect that emphasises divisions. Lighting appears more natural and the sky is clear to mark the arrival of Schindler. In essence, this equates to a representation of the camp that privileges the exception of survival among the 1.1 million who died there, which in turn marks a shift in the visual commemoration of the site. After *Schindler's List*, Auschwitz is not presented as an inaccessible fact of death as Lanzmann tried to capture, but a chance for survival. While Lanzmann showed the Birkenau gatehouse was an uncrossable boundary, Spielberg creates an image that privileges the possibility of passing through and returning back from the inside. In essence, this privileged opportunity for the viewer shapes a space of memorialisation that is intimately tied to saviourhood and an individual state of heroism.

[55] Deleuze, *Cinema 1*, p. 171.

Chapter III

ACT III. Finding Closure After the Holocaust: Depicting Survival and Self-Preservation in *Schindler's List*

This final chapter is focused on how closure emerges from individual actions constituting the redemptive triumph of good over evil in *Schindler's List*. This allows the redemptive arc analysed in Chapter II to progress towards heroism and lays bare the potential repercussions on Holocaust representation in 1993. I will read how closure is created through the film's underlying message of individual responsibility in the face of adversity. During this development, the hero's ending is sustained by a principle or ethic that has acted as the basis of their redemptive journey. This ethic, which Gillian Rose points to as the defining moment of the film's sentimentality, is best captured in the guiding principle, 'he who saves one life, saves the world entire'.[1] The narrative of *Schindler's List*, then, is given a sense of closure through the sublimation of survival as not only the ultimate goal but as the motivation which individual actions are measured against. This means that the exception of the Schindlerjuden stand in for the universal claim of individual responsibility, in turn providing the lasting message of Spielberg's film.

I will scrutinise the outcome of this closure by building on my analysis of Schindler's redemptive arc in Chapters I and II, while breaking down the way in which his morality is linked to the connotations of the freight train both as a vessel towards some 'murderous destination' and as embodying survival.[2] I will do this by comparing the final act of *Schindler's List* with four specific examples of how closure foregrounds the actions of individual protagonists in post-war European film, popular Hollywood cinema and American television: *The Last Stage* (Wanda Jakubowksa, 1947), *The Stranger* (Orson Welles, 1946), *Kapo* (Gilo Pontecorvo, 1960) and *Holocaust* (Marvin J. Chomsky, 1978).

[1] Gillian Rose, *Mourning Becomes the Law: Philosophy and Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 89.
[2] Simone Gigliotti, *The Train Journey: Transit, Captivity, and Witnessing in the Holocaust* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), p. 12.

After detailing how closure and survival encapsulate the thematic point of departure of *Schindler's List*, I will question whether filmmakers can dissociate themselves from these conventions. To achieve this, I will contrast Spielberg's fictional retelling with the separate genre of documentary, most notably Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985). The historical dichotomous relationship between documentary and fictional film carries with it various implications for the representation of the Holocaust, but it also more specifically brings to light the implications of closure. The notion of fictional film as a mimetic art form and the view of documentary as creating transparency that more directly reflects reality has accorded these separate genres with a differing license in dealing with the Holocaust. However, as will be seen below, the two are still connected by a latent thread of narrative.

I will contrast the meaning of individual responsibility unearthed in *Schindler's List* with Lanzmann's attempts to complicate the experience of survival. By employing Deleuze's concept of the time-image, I will compare the ethic that governs the necessity of closure in *Schindler's List* – the exception of survival – with the multiplicity of subjective testimony that lies at the heart of *Shoah*'s openness. Employing the openness of the time-image will allow for a detailed engagement with *Shoah*'s place within the conventions of documentary: its lack of archival footage and its reliance on present-day cinematography to capture contemporary sites of murder.[3] With this analysis, I will be able to examine how Hollywood filmmakers have also questioned the mass appeal of closure by observing how *Pawnbroker* (Sidney Lumet, 1964) depicts the involuntary memory of its protagonist. This will allow me to conclude my observations of the dialectical tension between the movement-image and the time-image, and how each privileges either closure or unsolvable problems.

3.1

The various ways in which closure has been captured though the actions of protagonists. can be traced back to both post-war European attempts to re-create separate instances of camp experiences and the first visual depictions of Nazi crimes in a Hollywood production. Both Wanda Jakubowska's *The Last Stage* (1948) and Orson Welles' *The Stranger* (1946) can be read as models of overcoming, by creating a dichotomy between individual acts of good and the Nazi crimes as representative of a realm of absolute evil. In each case, parallels can be drawn between the dichotomy of this good and evil and Schindler's

[3] "fiction du réel" (My Translation): Claude Lanzmann, 'Le Lieu et la parle', in Bernard Cuau (ed.), *Au Sujet de Shoah: Le Film de Claude Lanzmann* (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 1990), p. 301.

spiritual journey. In *The Last Stage*, this is encapsulated by staging almost the entirety of the events within the domain of Auschwitz, beginning with the use of a temporal ellipsis that indicates omissions will occur in order to concentrate solely on the experiences within the camp. A temporal ellipsis equates to a technique that conceals events outside the narrative 'to eliminate unwanted bits of time, with the plot presenting in seconds a process that might have taken an hour in the story'.[4] This is how the opening scene elides the unknown and indefinite duration of deportation, in effect presenting the non-omitted scenes of the camp as the focal point of the narrative where a clear chronology of the women inside is discernible.

As Chapter II has already detailed, the film opens to Roman Palester's score accompanied by a sudden break, as what seems a normal street corner in Warsaw descends into chaos. It is made clear from the outset that the duration of the story will be extended or reduced in order to focus more intently on the experiences within the camp. This opening sequence elides the duration of deportation by utilising a gradual fade-out from the individuals being forced onto trucks (Figure 3.1) to a fade-in as the dark screen brightens to reveal the Auschwitz-Birkenau gatehouse (Figure 3.2). This method of editing showcases how the unseen story time of deportation outweighs the depicted plotted time that the camera captures. In this instance, the ellipsis is aided by the connotations of the train in Figure 3.2. By approaching the foreground rather than departing, and by revealing a heavy dark smoke that leads upwards off-screen, there is the implication that causally connects this freight train to the prior images of individuals being forced onto trucks. In other words, it is the logic of the train – its temporal and spatial impression – that discloses and triggers a further action. In essence, the effect of the train arriving is made continuous with its preceding cause (individuals loaded onto trucks).

[4] David Bordwell and Kristen Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004), p. 332.

Figure 3.1 – *The Last Stage*. Opening scene that depicts the round-up of Jews on a Warsaw Street corner.

Figure 3.2: *The Last Stage*. Camera cuts directly in interior shot of Auschwitz-Birkenau with the gatehouse in the background.

Although *The Last Stage* presents a variety of different female experiences inside Auschwitz, including the torturing and death of prison doctor Eugenia (Tatjana Gorecka), the loss of Helena's new-born baby, and the cruelty of *Applellplatz* on a collective of prisoners, the narrative finds its principle or ethic through the development of Marta Weiss' (Barbara Drapinska) heroism. This character is based on the memory of prisoner Mala Zimetbaum. Marek Haltof identifies this principle as central to the film's narrative. The film, as he writes, is not independent from 'Hollywood conventions', and that by upholding the heroism of Marta *The Last Stage* is fundamentally dependent on 'mainstream narrative patterns, and the

use of inspiring endings'.[5] Much like the convention of Schindler's redemptive story arc that presents him as the Schindlerjuden's hero, Marta embodies the collective forms of resistance that took place in the camp. This also prompts historians like Haltof to emphasise that not only did the narrative of *The Last Stage* provide an influential framework for subsequent Holocaust films, but it also introduced one of the most iconic images of the gatehouse that would be 'referred to in several subsequent films, including…*Kapo*, *Sophie's Choice*, and *Schindler's List*'.[6]

Marta's embodiment of collective resistance is chronicled through her temporary escape that results in her smuggling information out the camp to a resistance broadcaster, and her subsequent return where she is tortured and sentenced to death by hanging. In essence, it becomes clear that the collective needs Marta to achieve liberation, thus making her the exception that stands as the universal. Just as Marta is about to be put to death for her escape attempt, the camera cuts to several frames of presumably Soviet planes passing over Auschwitz, signifying the inevitable liberation. By juxtaposing this with both a low-angle close-up shot of a well-lit Marta (Figure 3.3) and another medium shot of her final words in the arms of Helena, 'you must not let Auschwitz be repeated', her heroic actions are made correlative to the camp's liberation. Not only does the smuggling of information out of the camp now seem to be instrumental in the arrival of Soviet planes, bringing an end to the camp itself, but her final act of resisting her own "death sentence" in this scene – 'Don't be afraid…They are not able to do us harm…You won't hang me' – in order to die in the arms of fellow resistor, Helena, sublimates her actions into a realm of martyrology. The low-angle close-up of Marta compares visually to the final shots of Schindler's face as he breaks down claiming he could have saved more (Figure 3.4). In both of these final shots, the face is framed in a close-up not only to capture facial expression but also to emphasise how each protagonist has brought about change.

[5] Marek Haltof, 'Return to Auschwitz: Wanda Jakubowska's "*The Last Stage*" (1948), *The Polish Review*, 55:1 (2010), 14.
[6] Marek Haltof, *Screening Auschwitz: Wanda Jakubowska's The Last Stage and the Politics of Commemoration* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2018), p. 76.

Figure 3.3: *The Last Stage*. Extreme close-up of Marta as she looks up to the Soviet planes.

Figure 3.4: *Schindler's List*. Low-angle close-up of Schindler.

Effectively, this sequence in *The Last Stage* is the culmination of what both Jakubowska, and her chief scriptwriter, Tadeusz Hołuj, saw as their version of Auschwitz. This would eventually influence her subsequent depiction of the Polish resistance through the heroic acts of one individual, Henryk (Lech Skolimowski), in *The End of Our World* (1964). Hanno Loewy states that this equated to 'turning the history of the camp's resistance upside down'. [7] This was most evident in *The End of the Our World* when Polish leaders of the

[7] Hanno Loewy, 'The mother of all holocaust films?: Wanda Jakubowska's Auschwitz trilogy', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 24:2 (2004), 189.

resistance teach the Jewish Sonderkommandos how to fight which leads to the Auschwitz uprising of 1944. However, as Loewy emphasises it was in fact the Sonderkommandos who urged this uprising. Auschwitz, then, in both films becomes the site of resistance where the heroism of individuals serves the purpose of the collective. Films such as these were also in part a reaction to the emerging "memory wars" in both Poland and Europe. Filmed during Summer 1947, *The Last Stage* came to fruition at a time when The Polish People's Republic was establishing, as wartime leader Władysław Gomułka stated, a "Polish road to socialism". Thus, created in a period of transition, Jakubowska's film was caught between the ideological and political pressures of both a national communist consensus and one of the most oppressive phases of the Stalinist period. The film's place in the post-war national and European political situation was even more evident as Jakubowska was 'one of the highest profile filmmakers to join the Polish communist party…representing the "party line" among her fellow filmmakers, and lobbying the party on behalf of the cinema industry'.[8]

In *The Last Stage*, her communist vision culminates in the way collective solidarity and resistance is personified in the individual acts of Marta. She is thus Jakubowska's martyrological symbol that presents both a guiding principle for the narrative and a point of closure. Other individual acts of resistance throughout the film – ranging from Eugenia and Anna (Antonina Gordon-Górecka) outsmarting the *Raportführerin* and protecting women in the *Revier* from the gas chamber to Bronek (Stefan Sródka) supplying medications, clothing, and political pamphlets to the camp hospital – find meaning in their analogous relation to her final self-sacrifice. Together, this transform the camp into the site of resistance. In other words, all these struggles and actions are given a sense of direction: no longer seen as individual acts, they are essentially all part of the same whole which becomes unified through Marta and the achievement of liberation.

Between Marta's arrival into the camp from the freight train to her final act of resistance, it is evident that she represents the unifying factor that brings about the liberation of Auschwitz. She enters the camp with a sense of ignorance for her surroundings when disembarking the freight train. However, her subsequent transformation and martyr's death pave the way for a hopeful future for the collective. In this sense, she is both integral to the liberation and transcendent from it, symbolising an individual state of being that can overcome the suffering and provide meaning for all other failed attempts throughout the

[8] Ewa Mazierska, 'Wanda Jakubowska's Cinema of Commitment', *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, 8:2 (2001), p. 221.

narrative. Just like the determination of Schindler, both individuals are upheld as bearers of extraordinary actions that can stand in for a collective purpose or meaning. While Marta becomes the symbol of collective resistance, Schindler is presented as an incarnation of the ethic that 'he who saves one life, saves the world entire'.

Another example of how closure is captured through individual actions standing in for a collective meaning is found in Welles' *The Stranger*, but this time a national context is more apparent. In contrast to *The Last Stage*, it is the sublimation of an absolute evil that prompts the call of individual responsibility in *The Stranger*. It features documentation of the atrocities via the psychological dilemma of Mary's (Loretta Young) "will to truth" which, as Jennifer L. Barker recognises, 'posits a need for social justice within American borders and even a model for how to embrace responsibility.[9] Rather than self-sacrifice as observed in *The Last Stage*, *The Stranger* captures a moment of overcoming in the successful "bringing to justice" of Kindler, a Nazi fugitive who is hiding under the alias of Charles Rankin. This overcoming, however, is not embodied in the character of Mr. Wilson, but in the responsibility placed on the shoulders of the unknowing wife of Rankin, Mary. The witch-hunt theme that threads thorough the film was in essence symbolic of paranoia present in the American studios in the 1940s. The HUAC's attempt to purge communist affiliations within the studios and a sense of McCarthyism thus acts as a backdrop for Welles' narrative.

In what becomes an inward-looking moral story, Mary who at first rejects all notions that her husband is potentially a Nazi fugitive, is slowly forced to question her entire life and come to terms with this truth. During a pivotal scene in this realisation, Mary is shown a variety of Allied liberation footage, including piles of corpses, gas chambers and lime pits (Figure 3.5). For Barker, there is an injunction on how to engage with this documentation, made all the more lucid by its correlating perpetrator, Kindler. In essence, this creates a moment in the narrative in which Mary will eventually achieve her "will to truth", allowing for her to take the place of the "absolute good" and redistribute the need for social justice. Taking the place of the "absolute good" is what fundamentally constitutes the symbolic meaning when Schindler creates his list. The message is made clear when Stern tells Schindler that 'the list is an absolute good. The list…is life. All around its margins lies the gulf'. Much like Mary's will to accept the reality of her husband, the names that are branded on the list from Stern's typewriter sublimate its presence into a categorical imperative that embodies the

[9] Jennifer L. Barker, 'Documenting the Holocaust in Orson Welles's *The Stranger*', in Kristi M. Wilson and Tomás F. Crowder-Taraborrelli (eds.), *Film and Genocide* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 2012), p. 64.

triumph over evil. *The Stranger* and *The Last Stage* both capture closure through the individual, whereby wider collective or social motives, responsibilities and resistance – be it Polish solidarity and martyrology or America's relation to justice – are told through a psychological will to overcome.

Figure 3.5: *The Stranger* (Orson Welles, 1946). The 8mm film that Mary is shown. A frame that depicts dead bodies.

This representation of guilt and justice can be traced all the way up to *Schindler's List* as we will observe later in this chapter, but it also influenced many other subsequent Hollywood films, most notably Stanley Kramer's *Judgement at Nuremberg* (1961). While focusing on shades of guilt, the injunction of Kramer's court-room drama is perceived through American intervention into the Nazi crimes and how a sense of justice can allow individuals to overcome indifference in society. Repeating the way in which *The Stranger* assimilated Allied liberation footage into fictional film, *Judgement* again presented the graphic imagery of the camps, reprised and contextualised to depict the collective responsibility of the German people in the crimes of Nazism. More specifically, a seven-minute scene showcases a variety of Allied liberation images, ranging from piles of corpses and mass graves to even heaps of personal belongings. *The Stranger*, then, presents an influential step in the crossover between these two mediums, the power of certain images to induce a sense of authenticity within a fictional framework, and how they become representative of the moral paradigm between German guilt and American judgment.

Holocaust representations of responsibility and overcoming continued in European cinema through the efforts of Gilo Pontecorvo in the 1960s. Over a decade after *The Last Stage* and *The Stranger*, Pontecorvo attempted to, in a similar vein to Jakubowska, focus on the relationship between the experiences within the camp and moments of self-sacrifice. In *Kapo*, the narrative follows fourteen-year-old Edith (Susan Strasberg) as she is deported to an unknown concentration camp, subsequently choosing to lose her Jewish identity in order to save herself from death and instead become a kapo in charge of other prisoners. As with Jakubowska, Pontecorvo opens the film with a temporal ellipsis, drawing the focus of the narrative towards the inside of the camp rather than what remains exterior to it. What begins as Edith's everyday piano lesson turns into a nightmare when both her and her mother are forced onto the back of a truck and driven away from their hometown (Figure 3.6). The scene features a crosscutting of low tilted medium shots that capture the speed of the train as it passes the frame (Figures 3.7 and 3.8). To emphasise a sense of panic and anxiousness, Carlo Rustichelli's score contributes to the pace and volume of the freight train, before cutting to a high angle establishing shot of an unnamed concentration camp (Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.6: *Kapo*. Edith and her mother are forced onto the back of a truck before the title credits roll.

Figure 3.7: *Kapo*. A dissolve leaves the frame capturing the fast-moving freight train from a low angle shot.

Figure 3.8: *Kapo*. The second shot of the fast-moving train now progressing from left to right.

Figure 3.9: *Kapo*. Arrival into unnamed camp.

After Edith arrives at the camp, her mother is killed leaving her as the only surviving Jew in the film. Pontecorvo, then, presents her story through the opportunistic and unsavoury rise to the position of Kapo beginning with the renouncement of her Jewish identity under the new name, Nicole. Differences between prisoners in the camp are presented via national origin, driving the focus towards the role of the political prisoner. The characters around Edith belong to various European nations, each experiencing their individual aspects of suffering under the Nazi regime. This is also facilitated by the attempts of certain political prisoners to resist, sabotage and plot escapes, reflecting Pontecorvo's own experience of his 'anti-Nazi/Fascist resistance in World War II'. This approach by Pontecorvo stood in stark contrast to the political and economic situation of Italy in the 1960s. The film was released at a time when Italy was completing a post-war transition from a relatively poor and agrarian country into a more economically advanced society. We can therefore describe this approach as taking the contemporary viewer back in time to Pontecorvo's creation of a camp world system separate to codes that dictate modern day life. As Carlo Celli puts it, 'by lying to Teresa and denying her Jewish identity, Edith/Nicole shows that she has begun to understand that codes of civilised behaviour no longer apply in the camp, a first step in her rise to the position of Kapo'.[10] The film presents Edith as an innocent girl who, by learning the codes of the camp

[10] Carlo Celli, *Gillo Pontecorvo: From Resistance to Terrorism* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2005), p. 39.

through certain negative characteristics of ruthlessness and cynicism, is able to attain the status of Kapo.

Just as Mary's "will to truth" is triggered by her confrontation with the Allied liberation footage in *The Stranger*, Edith experiences a moral turning point both through the suicide of fellow prisoner, Teresa (Emmanuelle Riva), and her affection for Sasha (Laurent Terzieff), a Russian prisoner of war. The first of these, Teresa's suicide, is one which has become distinguished from the rest of the film due to Jacques Rivette's criticism of its depiction, claiming Pontecorvo's tracking shot of her dead body on an electric barbed-wire fence is akin to a 'traditional approach to "spectacle"' (Figure 3.10).[11] The character of Teresa represents the 'archetypal idealistic political prisoner' who gives Edith a speech when she first arrives about the need to keep a semblance of human dignity by washing oneself.[12] When Teresa is disciplined for not being able to translate the camp commander's speech, she is punished with three months half rations and fifteen days in solitary confinement. She then resorts to stealing food from a fellow prisoner, and the now cynical and newly transformed Edith as Kapo (Nicole) reminds her of the previous advice of retaining human dignity, pushing her over the edge into suicide. The second, her love for Sasha, is presented not as a single moment but as part of Edith's growing realisation of what she has become in the camp. The two together mark a juncture in which she feels that she is ready to sacrifice herself for the prisoners who she had previously treated with cruelty and cynicism such as Teresa.

[11] Jacques Rivette, 'De l'abjection', *Cahiers du Cinema*, 120 (June 1961), pp. 54-55.
[12] Celli, *Gillo Pontecorvo*, p. 39.

Figure 3.10: *Kapo*. Tracking shot that depicts Teresa recently deceased body.

This self-sacrifice is captured in the final sequences of the film when Edith is shot by Karl (Gianni Garko), an SS officer she previously befriended, when turning off the power to the electric fence and allowing for the mass escape attempt of the other prisoners. This means that the film does not necessary lead to the triumphant feelings of liberation as seen in *The Last* Stage, most evident with the final juxtaposition of a distraught Sasha walking among bodies of those that did not escape. However, the sacrificial act committed by Edith that allows her to reacquire her Jewish identity in the form of a death prayer instils a sense of personal closure. As a flurry of cuts captures the escape attempt, the camera enacts a slow zoom towards Edith's face as she is held by Karl (Figure 3.12). When the camera zooms towards her face and her eyes reopen, she asks Karl to remove the Kapo insignia, before reciting a prayer that is akin to the Shema Yisrael, an affirmation of one's Judaism. The camera continues its zoom to create an extreme close-up as she recites, 'the land of Israel is enlightened…God is Israel…God is the light. Lord, my Lord…you who break the chains of slaves.'

Figure 3.11: *Kapo*. Opening frame of Edith playing the piano in her hometown.

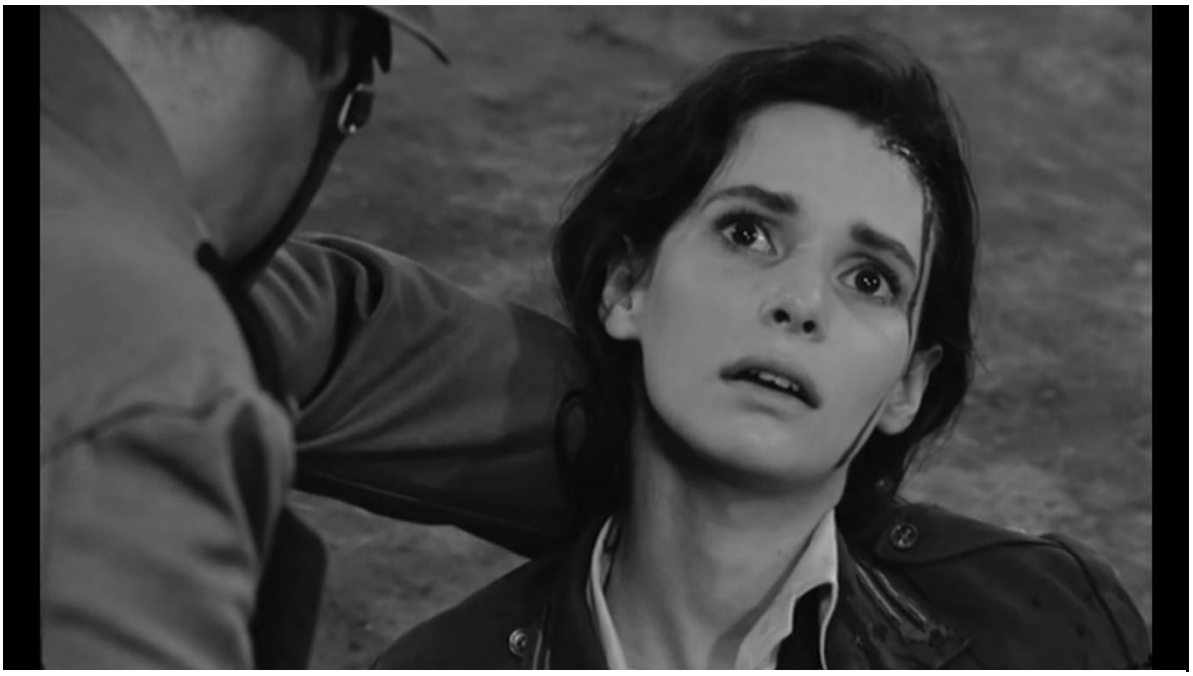

Figure 3.12: *Kapo*. Final frame of Edith before cutting to Sasha's reaction.

This ending is what separates the closure in both *The Last Stage* and *Kapo*: while Marta is an embodiment of liberation through martyrology, Edith is an expression of redemption through self-sacrifice. The film's closure, then, is focused inwardly towards Edith's own psychological and theological catharsis by allowing others to escape instead of her, and in turn redeeming her previous cynical actions in becoming a Kapo. The concept of redemption is made even more apparent when comparing the first and last shot of Edith's face (Figure 3.11 and 3.12).

Between Figures 3.11 and 3.12 – the beginning and closing of Edith's story and her experience in the camp – there is a loss of innocence captured in the transformation of her face. This comparison shows the dual face of Edith/Nicole both as a fourteen-year-old Jewish girl and as camp Kapo, and how that innocent identity reaffirms itself on the other. Furthermore, the Edith prior to Nicole unearths herself in order to redeem what she has become in the camp. This is even more potent when we consider that Pontecorvo suggested an ending in which Edith survives the escape attempt, only to remain in 'a state of solitude and despair over her collaboration with the side that murdered her parents and forced her to reject her identity'.[13] Instead, Pontecorvo protects the domain of individual responsibility by presenting death as a point of closure. This allows for the separation between her act and the other individuals who attempt to escape, which is fundamentally confirmed in the analogy made between God's transcendence and her own through the prayer she recites. It is the redemptive reacquiring of her Jewish identity that is inextricably tied to her act that leads to the mass escape, analogous to the transcendence of God who can, through the final guiding principle of the film, 'break the chain of slaves'.

The Last Stage, *The Stranger* and *Kapo* all deploy female protagonist who essentially uses her will and determination to alter the current situation of the narrative. This involves an inward-looking moment in which each character must confront the evil before them and take action in order to change it. It is this conventional plot of breaking the cycle and initiating change to bring about closure that also defined the success of Hollywood in the post-war era. All three films utilised this type of narrative to create early representations of the Nazi atrocities and its repercussions upon certain victims. Replicating this convention, *Schindler's List* sets up a situation for Schindler to change.

While both *The Last Stage* and *Kapo* present narrative closure via individual sacrifice – death captures the realm of the transcendent – American television explored ways in which these individual experiences could be translated to wider American audiences. Above all this was achieved by shifting the emphasis towards stories of survival rather than death, although *Pawnbroker*, as will be seen below, crafted a complex and nuanced image of the weight placed on Holocaust survivors. For American television, which in the 1970s represented the dominant medium of mass communication, there emerged a more one-dimensional image of

[13] Celli, *Gillo Pontecorvo*, p. 45.

survival as self-preservation due to NBC's four-part miniseries, *Holocaust* (Marvin J. Chomsky, 1978).

The wide-ranging success of *Holocaust* lay in its ability to tell a story about the destruction of the European Jewry that was tailored to an American audience. As Judith Doneson points out, 'the viewer had to be given the impression that the Holocaust pertained to him'.[14] This was ultimately achieved by presenting a chronological narrative of the events as seen through the eyes of the fictional Weiss family as Jews living in Germany prior to the outbreak of World War II.

The principle of family relations as seen through individual moments of love, disagreement, separation and death became the basis for a growing relationship between American audiences and an event far removed from their everyday lives. This also remained one of the most criticised aspects of the miniseries in which notions of "Americanisation", "Hollywoodisation" and "trivialisation" became directly linked with its depictions of the Holocaust. Elie Wiesel led the charge in this criticism, writing in *The New York Times* that its trivialisation of the Holocaust is 'an insult to those who perished and to those who survived'.[15] Examples of this Americanisation lay in the use of American accents, the miniseries' Christianisation of Judaism like Rudy Weiss' (Joseph Bottoms) use of the phrase 'Go to Hell', and historically inaccurate recreations that analogised everyday American life with events that took place throughout Germany. This is most noticeable in Eric Dorf's (Michael Moriarty) job interview when he states that 'I haven't worn a uniform since I was in Boy Scouts'. Since Hitler had abolished all other scouting groups in 1933, two years prior to Dorf's interview, the phrase would seemingly 'not have endeared him to the Hitler Reich'.[16] Furthermore, the event is trivialised by the simplification of the Nazi regime, replacing the complex network which coordinated and perpetrated the extermination of the European Jewry with a single evil antagonist for blame, Eric Dorf. With comments such as 'Jews have always been fair game' and 'we're not monsters', Dorf is the distinct face of the Nazi regime.

[14] Judith Doneson, *The Holocaust in American Film* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), p. 150.
[15] Elie Wiesel, 'Trivialising the Holocaust: Semi-Fact and Semi-Fiction', *New York Times* (16 April 1978), p. 75.
[16] Fianna Raven McGregor, 'The Responsibilities and Limitations of Holocaust Storytelling: Understanding the Structure and Usage of the Master Narrative in Holocaust Film' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Portland State University, 2011), p. 34.

While Dorf remains the discernible figure of evil, the Jewish Weiss family act as the lens in which to view a separate number of events that lead to the experiences within different concentration camps. These events include the implementation and repercussions of anti-Semitic legislation in Kristallnacht, the formation and subsequent uprising of the Warsaw ghetto, the Babi Yar massacre, partisan resistance, and deportations to Buchenwald, Sobibór, Theresienstadt and Auschwitz. In essence, this miniseries provides a clear survey of the events through individual fictional characters as causal agents. Most notably, the processes behind the Final Solution are told through the psychological desires of Dorf, ghetto life and resistance in Warsaw as in seen in Chapter I are presented in the image of "freedom fighter", Moses Weiss (Sam Wanamaker), the experience of Jewish partisans is seen through the romantic relationship of Rudi Weiss and Helena Slomova (Tovah Feldshuh), and the experiences of Theresienstadt is told via Karl Weiss' (James Woods) creations in an art studio.

Though presenting a broad geographical story of the Holocaust as experienced by individuals, and at the same time foregrounding the demise of the majority of its characters, *Holocaust* still insisted on the importance of closure. In the final episodes, Josef and Berta Weiss are killed in Auschwitz, Moses and the resistance forces are shot in the suppression of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, Karl is found dead in the barracks at Auschwitz, and Helena dies with the Jewish partisans in Ukraine. Rudi and Inga Helms-Weiss (Meryl Streep), Karl's wife, are the sole survivors of the family. In the closing episode of the miniseries, titled 'The Saving Remnant', both Rudi and Inga find separate ways in which to come-to-terms with their experiences: Rudi is commissioned with smuggling Jewish orphans into Palestine and Inga decides to name her and Karl's unborn baby after her father-in-law who died at Auschwitz, Josef. These final actions, then, become a means in which to perceive survival as the incarnation of family through self-preservation. To see how this emerges a little more clearly, we can refer back to an important guiding principle of the film, delivered by Berta before she is deported to Auschwitz.

In the final scene of deportation out of Warsaw, a variety of shots of the freight train, both stationary and in motion, capture Josef and Berta's journey to Auschwitz. In this sequence, Berta and Josef Weiss are placed on one of the transports after being discovered rescuing Jews from deportation through Josef's position in the ghetto hospital. As they both prepare to board the freight carriages, informed that they are destined for a family camp in Russia, a voice over the tannoy system announces, 'begin entering the car…move quickly

and stay in line…fill the cars, no shoving' (Figure 3.13). Unknowingly to Berta who states that 'as long as we are together, they can't destroy us', the camera cuts to the locomotive as an SS officer informs the driver that there has been a 'change of routing…Treblinka is full you are going to Auschwitz'. Not only are the Weiss couple duped into believing they are heading to a family camp in Russia, but they have faith in their protection when they are together as a family. The couple now willingly enter (Figure 3.14) as the camera cuts to an extreme close-up of the train's axle beginning to move (Figure 3.15) and then to a longer wide shot of the wooden freight carriages with individuals waving from the barbed-wire windows as the locomotive slowly recedes into the background of the frame. (Figure 3.16).

Figure 3.13: *Holocaust*. Warsaw ghetto residents begin to calmly board the carriages.

Figure 3.14: *Holocaust*. Josef and Berta Weiss slowly enter the carriage.

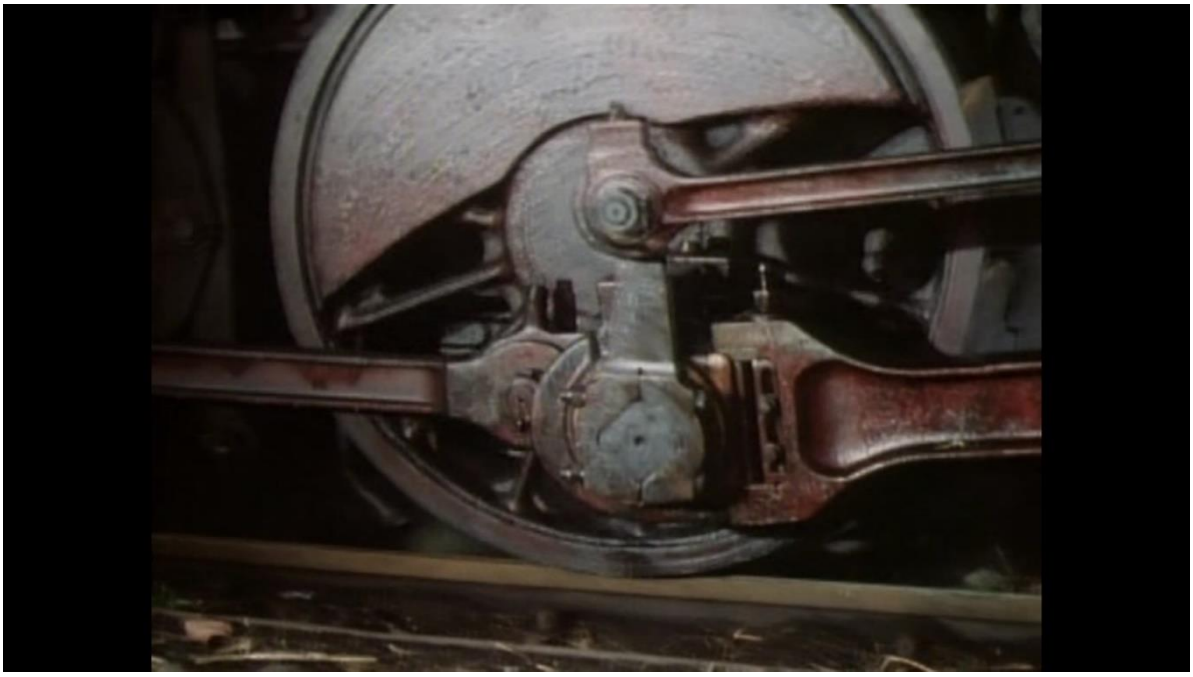

Figure 3.15: *Holocaust*. The train's axle begins to slowly rotate.

Figure 3.16: *Holocaust*. Final shot the sequence as the train departs for its destination and individuals wave out the barbed-wire windows.

Figure 3.17: *Holocaust*. The next time we see Josef and Berta they are inside the barracks.

The next time the camera returns to Josef and Berta Weiss again they are already established as camp inmates, dressed in the striped clothing and surrounded by wooden barracks, yet without the shaved heads (Figure 3.17). They also appear together in Auschwitz where men and women rarely met. As with *The Last Stage* and *Kapo*, the freight train is presented in order to edit together two vastly separated moments in the story time both chronologically and logically. While deportation is read here through reluctance and

passivity, a greater focus on Berta's claim reveals not only a moment of resistance but its foreshadowing of the series' closure. By analysing this dialogue in light of Rudi's and Inga's survival, it is evident that family is incarnated and sublimated in the actions of Rudi smuggling orphans into Palestine but even more so in the symbolic survival of Inga's unborn child. Seen in this way, the unborn baby is that which the Nazis could not destroy, that which transcends the evil in its purity and personifies Berta's words. Therefore, the final message of the miniseries is that the exception of resistance can overcome the processes of destruction. When Inga informs Karl of their unborn baby before his death, Karl asks her to 'end its life before it ever sees this wretched place'. She replies that 'the rabbis say that every life is a sanctification, a holy spark'. For Omer Bartov, this holy spark in *Holocaust* 'is the essence of heroism'.[17] In other words, the spark between Karl and Inga represented in the unborn baby shows that the ultimate resistance against death is life itself.

Gerald Green's soap-opera, then, presented as 'The Big Event', succeeded in raising the awareness of the Holocaust as a specifically Jewish event to popular American audiences, but simultaneously offered a means to find closure in the celebration of survival. This reduction of the weight of survival – evident in Wiesel's stark criticism – ultimately manifests in *Schindler's List*. More specifically, Zygmunt Bauman isolates the value of self-preservation in Spielberg's film as the decisive principle catered to American audiences. As he puts it, the film appeals to 'the American hierarchy of values, which puts at the very top, as perhaps the only value, self-preservation, survival'. For Bauman, *Schindler's* List, and previously *Holocaust*, are created with a hierarchy of values in mind that promotes an 'amoral survivalism'.[18] This means that survival is reduced to a one-dimensional image of self-preservation by correlating it to the character of individual exceptional cases.

3.2

The films analysed in this chapter offer a prism through which to examine how *Schindler's List* is influenced by a tradition of presenting the "special cases" of individual heroes alongside the necessity of survival. Gillian Rose defines this as the sentimental or sanctimonious approach to genocide in *Schindler's List* that equates to a representation based on 'Holocaust piety' after 1993. This term relates to the interrelationship between religion and redemption that underpins the film's narrative.[19] Building on Rose's argument, we can

[17] Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema*, p. 223.
[18] Zygmunt Bauman cited in Max Farrar, 'Facing up to the Holocaust', *Red Pepper*, 2 (July 1994), pp. 38-39.
[19] Rose, *Mourning Becomes the Law*, p. 43.

scrutinise why his characterisation is compelled by the redemptive impulse of Hollywood narratives. From this perspective, retold segments of family separation and processes of mass murder serve the purpose of upholding good triumphing over evil. A symbolic moment that captures this appears is the "water not gas" scene at Auschwitz which 'hangs rather tawdrily on our knowledge (apparently shared by the fearful, naked, screaming female prisoners) that the showers were part of a hoax that was designed to expedite mass murder'.[20]

In this scene, which reflects a moment of voyeurism established through Spielberg's extreme close-up zoom towards the glass peephole, the viewer becomes the spectator of the gas chambers, and the perspective is edged towards that of the perpetrator. This is exemplified in the lack of a shot/reverse shot, recreating a gaze from the outside. Once the voyeuristic gaze intrudes the visual field, it is the anticipation of the viewer's knowledge (female nudity, fear and screams) substantiated by John Williams' ominous score and the presence of Itzhak Perlman's violin that creates a moment of relief when water emerges from the shower heads.

This is even more potent when we consider how the 'gaze' enters a realm of domestication, vulnerability and innocence; a sphere that echoes Laura Mulvey's scopophilic 'pleasure in looking' through the prior scene's exposed lighting and central positioning of Helen Hirsch's naked figure.[21] Her "vulnerability" under the fixed shower heads, through the voyeuristic perspective, portrays a passive image that is juxtaposed with shaky camera movement and quick cuts. By claiming that this is the moment when 'the film degenerates into myth and sentimentally', Rose points out how Spielberg manipulates "supposed knowledge" of the Holocaust by refusing its depiction on-screen, which leaves the viewer questioning that very perspective. Instead, the low-angled pre-emption of the sacrificially lit shower heads (Figure 3.18) juxtaposed with the close-up high-angled expression of expectation (Figure 3.19), much like Inga's unborn baby, is transformed into a moment that resists death. The water is accepted as an ordinance of Schindler's redemptive actions and uncovers a moment of optimism that is influenced by a redemptory lens interpreting the Holocaust.

[20] Matthew Boswell, *Holocaust Impiety in Literature, Popular Music and Film* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 1.
[21] Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative', in Mulvey (ed.), *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Hampshire, Palgrave, 1989), p. 16.

Figure 3.18: *Schindler's List*. Low-angle shot that depicts the shower heads above the female prisoners.

Figure 3.19: *Schindler's List*. Extreme close-up of Rosalina Nussbaum looking up to the shower heads.

The redemptory lens that Spielberg employs is influenced by both a rhetoric of individual responsibility found in *The Last Stage*, *Kapo* and *The Stranger* and a celebratory image of survival from *Holocaust*. More specifically, this relates to how the actions of Schindler throughout the narrative strive to capture the exception of survival. The most prominent examples of how his redemptive transformation unfolds is found in visual motifs in his interaction with the freight train, both its representation of suffering and as the vessel towards salvation. In the first scene that follows the deportations out of Płaszów on 7 May

1944, connotations of the freight train's cramped conditions are utilised to test the morality of Schindler. As the prisoners are forced into the carriages, Schindler appears in a distinct white suit that separates his presence from the dark greys of Goeth and his officers (Figure 3.20). Goeth informs Schindler that 'they're running a little late…it's taking longer than I thought', and with this the camera frames a close-up of Schindler's face as he covers himself from the pulsating heat and scans the freight carriages (Figure 3.21). The camera then cuts to an extreme close-up of inside the freight carriages (Figure 3.22). The frame now presents the suffering of the interior in which the noise of those breathing is clearly audible. In three quick cuts, the camera captures the tone of the frame as the physical restriction of the composition – the lack of natural or artificial light reaching the camera from inside the freight carriages – presenting a claustrophobic framework.

Figure 3.20: *Schindler's List*. Schindler arrives in a white suit that stands out against Goeth and his men.

Figure 3.21: *Schindler's List*. Close-up of Schindler as he protects himself from the heat.

Figure 3.22: *Schindler's List*. Extreme close-up of inside the carriage.

The editing between Figures 3 .20 and 3.23 establishes Schindler's individual responsibility to those that are suffering by testing his morality. This includes a re-reading of the third-person perspective inside the carriage (Figure 3.22) in accordance with the continuity of the editing to reveal Schindler's relationship to the suffering. Schindler contemplates the sight of the carriage and is distanced from Goeth who appears bored and exhuasted (Figure 3.21). In this contemplation, the cuts link both settings, suggesting that he is imagining what the inside of the carriage would look and feel like, connecting its reality to the prisoners' plea for water (Figure 3.22). Finally, the camera cuts back to Schindler with

his eyesight fixed on a dripping tap in the foreground (Figure 3.23). What is created in this sequence is then confirmed in the next shot when Schindler asks Goeth whether they should hose down the carriages. The next sequence of editing combines shots of Schindler helping Jewish workers (Figure 3.24), the laughter from the SS officers as they watch, and the interior of the carriages as the water soaks through the wood and reaches the prisoners (Figure 3.25).

Figure 3.23: *Schindler's List*. Schindler notices the hose after seeing the individuals in the boxcars.

Figure 3.24: *Schindler's List*. Schindler begins to hose down the carriages.

Figure 3.25: *Schindler's List*. Water begins to enter the carriages.

While the officers look on, two distinct visual motifs highlight Schindler's individuality. Firstly, not only is Schindler separated from the rest of the characters on screen due to his height, but his antagonistic white suit disrupts the otherwise grey colour palette of the composition (Figure 2.24). His figure produces what is known as a blot in the frame, which 'involves at once the isolation of a privileged object (or person)'.[22] In colour design, blots or 'strong visual magnets' are used to suddenly 'lay bare and magnify a facet of the subject matter', much like the function of the red-coat toddler studied in Chapter I.[23] It is Schindler's blot-type figure, the powerful purity of his white suit, accentuated by the flowing of water, that lays bare his own individual responsibility. This is ultimately captured in the juxtaposition of his white figure with the second visual motif, flowing water as a sign of purification, creating an act akin to salvation and foreshadowing the shower scene at Auschwitz. Conjuring up Christian notions of baptismal regeneration and the importance of water as a redemptive object, Schindler's actions become analogous to a sacramental moment in which the water acts as an extension of his goodness. These visual motifs are crucial to the development of his redemption and relate directly to the acts carried out at Auschwitz that were analysed in Chapter II. Scenes which contain the germination of Schindler's spiritual and redemptive transformation pave the way for his transition from redemption to heroism.

[22] Richard Allen, *Hitchcock's Romantic Irony* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 206.
[23] Edward Branigan, *Tracking Colour in Cinema and Art: Philosophy and Aesthetics* (New York: Routledge, 2018), p.148.

Symbolically, these scenes do this by presenting how 'Schindler proves his manhood through the enactment of Christian virtue'.[24]

We can thus pose the question whether Schindler's actions on-screen unfold according to a certain ethic above and beyond each individual action, and instead are guided by the notion of Christian virtue. In the enactment of this virtue, Horowitz also points out the how his actions occur in reference to a transcendental principle. As one of the first scenes which captures a marked change in Schindler's character – doing good towards the Jews not just according to his self-interest – it is crucial to notice its importance in aligning the chronology of his story with his moral transformation in order to achieve the film's tagline. Following this scene, it is Schindler's reencounter with the now deceased red toddler during the Nazi atrocities at Hujowa Górka that acts as the final trigger – reminiscent of Edith reaction to Teresa's suicide in *Kapo* – for him to fully assume the role of saviour. This reencounter is what triggers the creation of the list.

A third and perhaps the most important motif in Schindler's story is the creation of his list. It is essentially a physical embodiment of his good will towards the Schindlerjuden, and more symbolically questions the historical role of lists during the Holocaust. In other words, his "life-giving list" is that which subverts the meaning of a "life-taking list". This "life-taking list" refers to the systematic production of lists and statistics that not only allowed the Nazis to enforce the complicity of the *Judenräte* in their own deportation. As Raul Hilberg explains, 'the preparations of deportation included several stages: the procurement and dispatch of a train, scheduling, collection and assembly, stick supply, financial payment, staffing, and the compilation of deportation lists'.[25] For Hilberg, the organisational procedures implied by the list created the possibilities for systematic destruction. This was central to ghetto roundups and deportation: 'at first, long lists were submitted by the Jewish Communities, from which the Gestapo could make its selection', to 'filling the quotas for the projected deportations'.[26]

The subversion that Schindler's actions produce, then, transforms the meaning of such lists, aligning their function with that of the "absolute good". In the scene in which

[24] Sara R. Horowitz, 'But Is It Good for the Jews? Spielberg's Schindler and the Aesthetics of Atrocity', in Yosefa Loshitzky (ed.), *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), pp. 132-33.
[25] Gigliotti, *The Train Journey*, p. 40.
[26] Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* Vol. 2 *(*New York: Homes & Meier, 1985), pp. 473, 480, 780.

"Schindler's List" is created, each name that is branded on the paper from Stern's typewriter is an act of resistance against the Nazis' bureaucratic condemnation of the Jews. The actions of Schindler as a Righteous gentile are laid bare as he repeats the words 'more, more' to Stern reeling off the numbers.

Once the list is complete and after Schindler negotiating the life of Helen Hirsch from Goeth, the scene cuts to a train platform with a sense of hope and salvation. Characters placed on Schindler's list now populate the frame. Those that are brought into focus are mainly the characters that have been followed throughout the narrative. Poldek (Jonathan Sagall) and Mila Pfefferberg (Adi Nitzan), the young Olek (the boy that reflected the Warsaw ghetto photograph), a close-up of Menasha Lewartow (Ezra Dagan), who survived Goeth's gun, Helen, who was beaten up by Goeth, and the Dresner family are just some of the faces that enter the frame.

As the train appears in view the message is clear from Rosalina Nussbaum (Aldona Grochal), 'the worst is over' (Figure 3.26). In three separate shots (Figures 3.26, 3.27 and 3.28), the camera takes up a high-angle position that captures the extent of those Jews that Schindler has saved by placing them on his "life-giving list". Figures 3.26 and 3.27 embody this as people are crammed together loading into the carriages. Repeating the use of a temporal ellipsis as seen in the examples explored in this chapter, the camera cuts to a panoramic shot of the train as it travels through the snowy landscape of Poland (Figure 3.29), simulating the transit towards salvation. A sequence of significations takes place between this platform and Brünnlitz to capture this ellipsis. Firstly, the wave from Wilhelm Nussbaum to his wife at the platform and the figure of Stern as he helps people board the carriages (Figure 3.28). Secondly, the whistle of the locomotive which reverberates in the exterior shots of the freight train (Figures 3.29 and 3.31), the smoke from the engine, and the dark cramped interior (Figure 3.30). Finally, the signified destination of Brünnlitz which is denoted as the place of Schindler's factory (Figure 3.32 and 3.33).

Figure 3.26: *Schindler's List*. Mr. and Mrs. Join the rest of Schindler's Jews getting ready to board the train.

Figure 3.27: *Schindler's List*. High-angled shot of the train platform.

Figure 3.28: *Schindler's List*. Mr. Nussbaum waves to his wife as he enters the boxcar.

Figure 3.29: *Schindler's List*. Panoramic shot of the train on its way to Schindler's factory.

Figure 3.30: *Schindler's List*. Stern making water from an icicle with a young boy inside the boxcar.

Figure 3.31: *Schindler's List*. Exterior shot of the boxcar in transit.

Figure 3.32: *Schindler's List*. First shot of Brünnlitz station.

Figure 3.33: *Schindler's List*. On-screen text denotes that the train has arrived at Schindler's factory.

Figure 3.34: *Schindler's List*. Shot from the inside of the train that reveals a smiling Schindler.

When the male transport rolls into Brünnlitz their first sight is of the tall smiling, God-like, figure of Schindler (Figure 3.34). Taken from the perspective of the inside, this shot presents a point of identification between Stern and Schindler, which in turn signifies their rescue. While the camera is fixed to a stationary position inside the freight carriage, Schindler's facial expressions follow its movement. This still (Figure 3.34), as a depiction of saviour and saved, enfolds the greatest depths of suffering into heart-warming aspects of human decency.

These two scenes, then, present corresponding points on Schindler's redemptive arc. As Chapter II has observed, this is also potent when the accidental rerouting of the women's transport does not end in death but more scenes of survival, as though the "life-giving list" has provided the ultimate protective covering for Schindler's Jews. It is between these two scenes and the final epilogue that we notice how the influential history of on-screen individual responsibility as depicted in film focuses on the advocation of "exceptional cases" of survival. This is what ultimately causes critics like Rose to question the 'Talmudic irony' of *Schindler's List* as charting the 'pragmatics of good and evil' according to the exception of 1,200 survivors.[27] It is criticism like this that points out how each of Schindler's acts, according to a paradigm of good and evil, are assimilated into the overarching cause of survival as self-preservation.

[27] Rose, *Mourning Becomes the Law*, p. 46.

In the final epilogue, this outcome is revealed not only as the survival of Schindler's Jews, but how their procreation has allowed for more than 6,000 Jews to be alive today. As the final scene transitions into present-day through its colourisation, losing the black-and-white backdrop that belongs to the events that charted Schindler's story, the now older Jews that were saved (alongside the actors and actresses that played them) place stones on Schindler's tomb in the Christian cemetery on Mount Zion. The long dissolve that the scene enacts transforms the Schindlerjuden cast into their present-day selves (Figures 3.35 and 3.36), appearing like a conventional Hollywood transition to announce the end of the flashback of Schindler's story. Rather than returning to the less saturated colour design of the opening scene that was analysed in Chapter I, the tone is bright. This colour palette is warm and reflects the period in which it was filmed, embodying a tonality of 1970s and 80s technicolour filmmaking. This creates a "documentary" feel as each actor takes a turn placing a stone on Schindler's grave alongside the real-life survivor they portrayed (Figure 3.37). To ensure that the mitzvah is adhered to, small rocks and stones are left to commemorate Schindler in one final act of remembrance.

Figure 3.35: *Schindler's List*. The Schindlerjuden depart from Brünnlitz and the dissolve into the present-day begins.

Figure 3.36: *Schindler's List*. The Schindlerjuden now in the present day as the dissolve finishes.

Figure 3.37: *Schindler's List*. Actor, Jonathan Sagall, places a stone on Schindler's grave alongside Leopold Pfefferberg who he depicts in the film.

Figure 3.38: *Schindler's List*. Schindler's grave with all the stones placed by the Schindlerjuden. Liam Nesson places a rose over Schindler's name.

Figure 3.39: *Schindler's List*. Final shot of Schindler's List with Liam Neeson now standing over Schindler's grave.

Essentially, this scene was designed by scripwriter Steven Zallian and Spielberg, and contrasts heavily with the epilogue in Thomas Keneally's original novel. In the novel, Keneally recounts Schindler's life after the war and how he stayed in touch with many of the Schindlerjuden. Keneally also details his life in Buenos Aires as a farmer, his return to Germany in 1957, and how the Schindlerjuden had supported him during times of bankruptcy in his later life. It is around this time that the Board of Trustees at Yad Vashem began to consider an official tribute to Schindler while receiving a mass of testimonies concerning his actions. Before Schindler and his wife, Emilie, were named Righteous Among the Nations by the state of Israel in 1993, it was the munincipality of Tel Aviv that first honoured his actions by unveiling a plaque in the Park of Heroes on his fifty-third birthday. Keneally brings his novel to a close with a final statement about Schindler's death in October 1974, and how he had expressed before his death to a number of the Schindlerjuden that he wanted to be buried in Jerusalem. The last lines finish with details about his burial at the Catholic cemetary that overlooks the Valley of Hinnmon, the one captured by Spielberg and his crew as the Schindlerjuden return to his grave.

Spielberg's adaptation instead decides to end without any context of his life after the war. *Schindler's List* omits much of Keneally's epilogue to focus on how Schindler's actions should be remembered in terms of finding closure in the celebration of survival. The scene is also substantiated by Naomi Shemer's 'Jerusalem of Gold', a song that commemorates the re-unification after the Six Day War in 1967. Analysed as a whole, Horowitz observes in the

final scene that 'the only place for the Jew after the Holocaust is Israel and the rebirth of the Zion redeems the catastrophe', reminiscent of Edith's last words in *Kapo* that 'the land of Israel is enlightened'.[28]

The closing sequence of the film, then, acts to both incarnate each individual act of Schindler that allowed for these survivors to place their individual stones on his grave and fundamentally redeem or overcome the severity of the catastrophe. It is the exception of the 1,200 that is now the exception of the 6,000, the creation of life in the face of death, that constitutes the universal message of *Schindler's List*. The on-screen text makes this abundantly clear, when stating these 'six thousand descendants' outweigh the 'four thousand Jews left alive in Poland today'. In this final message it is not only the triumphant feelings of survival and procreation that stand out, but the laying to rest of Schindler's memory and the possibility of audiences to find closure in Schindler's death. In essence, Spielberg preserves his actions during the war to provide one last moment of self-reflection upon individual responsibility. This is embodied in the final shot of the film as actor Liam Neeson places a rose on Schindler's grave (Figure 3.38) and stands over the tomb (Figure 3.39).

In *Schindler's List* it is the images of Israel as seen through the prism of individual responsibility that strengthens the feelings of closure. The film concludes with Israel as an attempt to re-connect with the practices of a time before the Holocaust, but it is essentially a newly formed stability not a return to the old. In *Schindler's List* closure does not simply imply bringing the narrative full circle. Instead, it is created in acts of restoration through progression and a hopeful future. The closure that is created by the images of Israel is an embodiment of individual actions that transcended the ordinary, allowing for previous religious and social elements (symbolised in the opening Sabbath scene) to be reclaimed and celebrated in this new constitution (mitzvah tradition of commemorating the deceased with visitation stones on Schindler's grave).

3.3

This chapter has thus far argued that *Schindler's List* follows a tradition of isolating cases of individual responsibility and consolidating this perspective as a space of memorialisation. While this version of a journey through the Holocaust as a framework for representation in 1993, other filmmakers have attempted to break away from this view. Therefore, by understanding alternate perspectives to films and museums that focus on

[28] Horowitz, 'But is it Good for the Jews?', p. 134.

individual actions and the necessity of closure we can observe why this interpretation grows from an Americanisation of the events. These nuances are stressed in Holocaust documentaries. In contrast to fiction, 'a documentary film purports to present factual information about the world outside the film'.[29] It deals with separate questions of definition, content, form and ethics by directly addressing, according to Bill Nichols, 'the world in which we live rather than a world imagined by the filmmaker'.[30] While Spielberg is engaging with the world in which we live by depicting events in the past, he is in essence using film to re-create, re-imagine and restore those events for an audience. Likewise, documentary is not completely free from this, just as Bordwell and Thompson point to ways in which viewers suspect that documentary at times 'manipulates the events that are filmed', but the medium is part of a contrasting relationship between film and historical events.[31] However, these two approaches can often take up different positions in relation to individual responsibility and closure. Most importantly for my conclusion, the two mediums deal with the construction of a subject-matter (individuals or protagonists) in relation to the historical events.

Testing the boundaries between fiction and documentary, Claude Lanzmann set out to create a nine-and-a-half-hour unique project that would avoid representing or showing the reality of the Holocaust. In contrast to Hollywood's reliance on continuity, Lanzmann produces a non-chronological variation of testimony as a means of displacing feelings of closure. He also rejects both the voice-of-God narration style and fly-on-the-wall observational techniques central to documentary films. In doing this, the film provokes a feeling of interminability to complicate the notion of survival. To understand why Lanzmann's representation of interminability is important when approaching the subject of the Holocaust, we can refer back to Deleuze's concept of the time-image. As my introduction explained, time-images are those that strive for open-ended narratives, without falling back on the necessity of closure. If this is to be reflected in the technicalities of Lanzmann's filmmaking, time-images should be understood according to what Deleuze describes as a plane of immanence. This means that a film or documentary expresses meaning through the immanent conditions of the image, without any explicit reference to a particular meaning or ethic. Deleuze describes this in the following way: 'with the cinema, it is the world which

[29] Bordwell and Thompson, *Film Art*, p. 128.
[30] Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. xi.
[31] Bordwell and Thompson, *Film Art*, p. 128.

becomes its own image, and not an image which becomes world'.[32] Time-images, then, try to subtract a monolithic interpretation from the film or documentary.

Lanzmann presents varying testimonies in all their disruptions, contradictions and blockages to exemplify his ultimate claim about representations of the Holocaust. As he states, the Holocaust is 'unique in that it erects a ring of fire around itself, a borderline that cannot be crossed because there is a certain ultimate degree of horror that cannot be transmitted. To claim it is possible to do so is to be guilty of the most serious transgression'.[33] What is key to this statement is that Lanzmann is arguing that the Holocaust may always remain ungraspable outside of experience and representation. To add to this claim, he wants to show how the effects of the Holocaust are still unfolding today, and are present in every testimony and spoken word. By reading *Shoah* according to its ability to create time-images, it becomes apparent that it is the very effects and repercussions of the Holocaust which are still unfolding that makes it impossible to grasp.

What relates *Shoah* to *Schindler's List* is the contrasting means by which the subject-matter is developed and constructed. Both films present the complex processes in the cultivation of an individual's past on-screen. In *Shoah*, it is Lanzmann's focus on testimony which allows him to develop individuals as "characters" (survivors, perpetrators, bystanders) through the narrative of their own past. Lanzmann himself would often refer to the survivors he interviewed as 'protagonists' when speaking about the reception of his documentary on French television news broadcasts such as *Antenne 2 Midi*. These individual narratives, however, border between construction, which involves Lanzmann taking the survivors back, placing them there and scripting the questions, and the capacity of the survivor to tell their own story. In addition, Lanzmann would often use the enigmatic quote that *Shoah* is 'a fiction of the real'.[34] This controversial and somewhat contradicting assessment of his own approach which blurs the lines between documentary and fiction can be better understood in reference to Jacques Lacan's psychoanalytic concept 'that truth has the structure of fiction'.[35] According to this reading, Lanzmann creates various situations that appear like everyday scenarios in the present before bringing each individual face-to-face with their past.

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[32] Giles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image* translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), p. 64
[33] Hansen, '"*Schindler's List*" Is Not "*Shoah*", 301.
[34] "fiction du réel" (My Translation): Claude Lanzmann, 'Le Lieu et la parle', in Bernard Cuau (ed.), *Au Sujet de Shoah: Le Film de Claude Lanzmann* (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 1990), p. 301.
[35] Jacques Lacan, 'The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, 1959-1960', in Jacques Lacan and Jacques-Alain Miller (eds.), *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book VII* (London: Routledge, 1986), p. 12.

Figure 3.40: Shoah. Medium shot of Bomba re-enacting his actions seen through the reflection of the barbershop mirror.

In the most discussed and dissected scenes, Lanzmann places Abraham Bomba, a survivor of Treblinka who was forced to cut the hair of those prisoners to be gassed, in a present-day Tel Aviv barbershop making him re-enact the actions thirty years prior. The scene at first seems to show that Bomba is still a barber himself, until we realise that Lanzmann has orchestrated the whole scenario to pose questions about Bomba's past. Here, then, we can see how the 'fiction of the real' applies to Lanzmann approach to dealing with the impossibility of understanding the Holocaust. Through a highly saturated use of colour and the professionally deceiving character blocking of fellow barbers (Figure 3.40), the scene turns out to be a construction that is dependent upon Bomba's repression. Lanzmann, then, stages an acting-out in the fictional setting to indirectly access Bomba's traumatic past. This method of filmmaking allows him to show the impossibility of approaching past directly, and thus portraying how Bomba's trauma appears only through the 'very inaccessibility of its occurrence'.[36]

What allows *Shoah* to capture what Deleuze describes as time-images is the way in which Lanzmann aims at an indirect reference to the past by staying completely in the present. In essence, *Shoah* is bound to a perspectival present. It rejects both the presence of an overarching narrator by dispersing the singular voice into different testimonies, and at no point in its entire nine-and-a-half hours does it exhibit any "direct" or "raw" images from the past. Instead, it replaces the visual archive of mass graves and piles of bodies, or any direct

[36] Cathy Caruth, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 6.

image of murder for that matter, with present-day testimonies accompanied by endless travelling shots of the contemporary landscapes of murder. Any overarching narrative that suggests stability, unity or order dissolves through each subjective testimony. Lanzmann lays down this precedent within the first eighteen minutes of the documentary. It begins with Szymon Srebnik's experience of Chełmno shot on-site in Poland, cuts directly to Mordechaï Podchlebnik, the only other survivor of Chełmno, now in Israel, then to Motke Zaïdel, survivor of Vilna, next to Jan Piwonski, previously of Sobibor, all with no accompanying narrator. With only eighteen minutes of screen-time elapsed, Srebnik talks about the peacefulness of the landscape, Zaïdel describes the forests around Vilna and the trees of Sobibor that hid the secret of the death camp are recounted by Piwonski.

Using similar techniques as with Bomba's testimony, the opening scene with Srebnik also indicates how Lanzmann is able to create time-images. As the first survivor to feature on the documentary, Lanzmann takes Srebnik back to what is left of the now present-day Chełmno extermination camp. As a young boy of thirteen years of age, he was forced to entertain the Nazi SS guards by singing Prussian military songs that they had taught him. From this starting point, Lanzmann's opening sequence is enmeshed in an eloquent "silence" where the camera follows the footsteps of Srebnik who struggles to find the words to explain the landscape. The entirety of the sequence captures a procedural return, presented in the form of an eight-minute wait for Srebnik's testimony to begin.

Figure 3.41: *Shoah*. Side on medium close-up of Srebnik approaching the site.

Figure 3.42: *Shoah*. Camera now tracks to a head-on shot of Srebnik.

By remaining strictly in the present and only indirectly referencing the past by bringing Srebnik back to the scene, the sequence instils a complex relationship between time and notions of survival. The camera cuts to Srebnik captured walking towards the off-screen space (Figure 3.41). It camera maintains a medium shot of Srebnik's figure, while moving from a side on view of the trees towering over Srebnik to an eye level shot which reveals the seemingly long walk that he has embarked on in the distance (Figure 3.42). The repetition of the same song he sang as a young boy in the camp and his re-enaction of the walk he did thirty years prior, question how the present moment carries with it and actualises what is seemingly in the past. From this perspective, survival as depicted purely in the present moment is not a snapshot in time but a complex realm where past and present collide and interact. The point of this sequence is to pose the question of whether survival itself is structured by a temporal breakdown whereby a continuous past is bound up in the present-day memory of that same boy that sang his way down the river all that time ago.

Due to the opening title sequence that precedes Srebnik's testimony, the audience are made aware of the horror that occurred at Chełmno between 1941 and 1945. Therefore, the journey itself, the anxious wait that Lanzmann puts the audience through, matches Srebnik's own nervous wait as he returns to the site of extermination for the first time. When the camera finally enacts a shot/reverse shot, and reveals the site in the present-day, the frame captures a juxtaposition of beauty and horror (Figure 3.43). The camera cuts from Srebnik's face to a panoramic shot that establishes the topography of the site. The editing together of the medium

close-up of Srebnik with the panoramic landscape is caught between the visible beauty of Chełmno and the infringing sense of dread from its past. As Figure 3.43 displays, the verdant essence becomes even more vibrant when the site of extermination is exposed, and the panoramic shot is shared with Srebnik's revelatory moment of the past revealing itself in the present.

Figure 3.43: *Shoah*. Panning panoramic shot of present day Chełmno concentration camp.

During this sequence, Srebnik emphasises over and over an impossibility to imagine, recreate or understand what took place at Chełmno. Aside from his own encounter with an overwhelming unspeakable part of his experience, what sticks out and returns is the uncanny characteristic of "peacefulness". As he eloquently articulates, 'it was always this peaceful here. Always. When they burned two thousand people—Jews every day, it was just as peaceful. No one shouted. Everyone went about his work. It was silent. Peaceful. Just as it is now'. Due to the fact that there is no memorial site that remains, it is this peacefulness that symbolises a bridge in time, one which indirectly carries the past into the present. Deleuze's concept of the time-image becomes even more poignant here when referring to what he terms, strata or sheets. As Deleuze writes:

> Between the past as pre-existence in general and the present as infinitely contracted past there are, therefore, all the circles of the past constituting so many stretched or shrunk regions, strata, and sheets; each region with its own characteristics, its "tones", its "aspects", its "singularities", its "shining points" and its "dominant" themes.[37]

[37] Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image* translated by Hugh Tomlinson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 99.

By reading Srebnik's fixation on the characteristic of peacefulness via an infinitely contracted past, the meaning of survival points to a more complex realm in which every present-day moment is weighed down by the past. It is as though this peacefulness, for Srebnik, coexists between past and present. While the explanation of the past remains unspeakable for him, it is not entirely lost. This scene highlights an attempt to register the past not in depicting its presence, but instead indirectly unearthing its burden, mass or pressure that it constantly forced on the present.

In stark contrast to the interpretation in *Schindler's List*, *Shoah* does not rely on simplifying the meaning of survival as self-preservation. Instead, what is captured in this opening scene with Srebnik correlates to Bauman's ultimate question posed to the survivor, 'how to retain one's human dignity: "is life worth living under any circumstances, at any cost?"'[38] Placed in the centre of this collision is the consistency of Srebnik's memory and its struggle with time that poses a precedent on pinning down any definition of survival. This scene offers a view of Srebnik's experience not as something ungraspable in the past that is tangential and subordinate to space. Instead, it is presented in order to highlight its effective presence in the present, or in Deleuzian terms, a becoming-past in the actual present.

This relationship between the time-image and the difficulties of memory has affected other filmmakers in their attempt to produce films about the Holocaust. These productions are not limited to those outside Hollywood, and a crucial example of this comes from a director working inside the Hollywood film industry. Sidney Lumet's *Pawnbroker* remains an important juncture in the exposure of the Holocaust to American audiences, as it was the first American production to focus solely on a survivor. Lumet introduces the Holocaust survivor to American audiences through the ambivalence of Sol Nazerman's (Rod Steiger) relation to the present, reflected in a variety of paroxysmal cuts and edits that expresses the weight of the past on his psyche. Throughout Lumet's film, the priority of the present is displaced in favour of the past as though both realms are simultaneously playing out in Sol's relation to reality. Much like the direction took by Lanzmann in *Shoah*, it is as though the past is not only weighing down the present, but in fact at any moment the past can force itself into the present through triggers or reminders of that past. With comparisons made to the Proustian object that acts as a recall, Lumet foregrounds the involuntary memory of Sol by using cross-cutting. In many examples such as a dog's bark or a women's wedding ring in

[38] Bauman cited in Max Farrar, 'Facing up to the Holocaust', pp. 38-39.

the present, these triggers contain an "essence of the past" that then throws the narrative back to that particular memory of Sol's. In one of the most important uses of this cross-cutting, Lumet juxtaposes the relationship between the New York City subway and the freight train carriages, comparative to Lanzmann's visual association of the Brooklyn Bridge and the gatehouse observed in Chapter II.

As Sol makes his way to the centre of the subway carriage, a point of view shot moves three hundred and sixty degrees capturing the entirety of the interior space of the subway. This shot is simultaneously edited alongside a secondary mirrored rotation, but this time it is a flashback to Sol's memory of the freight carriage (Figures 3.44, 3.45, 3.46, 3.47 and 3.48). In essence, this cross-cutting stages a collision between each shot of past and present to synthesise the feelings of involuntary memory and how it is triggered. It is the motion of the subway carriage – captured by the irregularities of the hand-held camera – the placement of the individuals around him, and the noise made by the friction between the carriage and the tracks that act as a trigger for the past to emerge. No longer bound by a clear temporal chronology, the film's narrative forces past and present to collide without completely resting the camera in either one. The editing, then, becomes symbolic of the weight of survival on Sol.

Figure 3.44: *Pawnbroker*. Point of view shot of Sol's perspective on the subway.

Figure 3.45: *Pawnbroker*. First cut to Sol's memory of the freight carriage.

Figure 3.45: *Pawnbroker*. Cut back to Sol's perspective in present-day.

Figure 3.47: *Pawnbroker*. Second cut to Sol's memory.

Figure 3.48 – *Pawnbroker*. Final cut back to present-day and the full three hundred and sixty rotation is complete.

By linking Lumet's depiction of survival with *Shoah,* it becomes clear how endings that are closer to the time-image can be used to question notions of closure. As with Srebnik's testimony, Lumet also stages an expression of survival by confronting the intimacy of past and present. Similar to the quality of peacefulness, it is the motion of the subway/freight carriage that coexists between past and present, as though the memory remains preserved in this unfolding. In other words, Lumet effectively shows not that Sol's survival depends upon a celebration, but that his survival is a burden he must carry. This is made even more potent

by the character of Sol being an individual who lost his entire family in this past, so that the memories of his family are always contemporaneous with their deaths.

Lumet presents a fracturing of the survivor. What is more interesting through this use of editing is how Lumet stages this past to the viewer in a way that appears as though it has not yet taken place. This is achieved by excluding any prior context to Sol's life or his survival, so the viewer can only understand his past through Sol's own re-experiencing of it. At the end of the film, this confrontation is expressed in the futility and ambivalence of his actions. As the first production that focused on a Holocaust survivor it is crucial to point out that its ending did not attempt to offer closure. Instead, the film follows the path of the time-image when the death of Sol's shop assistant, Jesus Ortiz (Jaime Sánchez), during an attempted robbery of Sol's pawnshop leaves him unable to solve the problem posed by the narrative. This leaves Sol walking down a New York City Street questioning his inability to intervene, symbolised in his attempt to force his hand through a metal spike file in order to feel something. Lumet captures the ultimate weight of survival in this final scene. Sol remains bound to his past that he cannot change, and this is then projected onto the inequalities and horrors of modern-day Harlem which he also cannot change.

Creating similar feelings, Lanzmann's ending does not focus on celebrating the survival of each individual he has interviewed, but instead creates an atmosphere of endlessness or interminability. *Shoah*'s dialogue closes with the words of Simcha Rotem, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto who now lives in Israel: 'I'm the last Jew. I'll wait for the morning, and for the Germans'. As the camera retracts its zoom, the extreme close-up of the frame widens, leaving a silent Rotem staring into the distance at a model of the ghetto. With these final words, the camera cuts from Israel to a low angle shot of a freight train approaching the frame (Figure 3.49). The shot continues for over a minute until the frame cuts to the ending credits. As Michael D'Arcy explains, this shot reconsiders the meaning of closure through the resistance of interpretation:

> In the final extended shot of *Shoah*, Lanzmann's camera remains stationary at the side of the railway track, filming a freight train as it passes. The shot, and the train, like Lanzmann's film, create a sense interminability…The viewer is confronted with the continuity of the train/cinematic image, without supplementary resources that would assist in the interpretation of the final image.[39]

[39] Michael D'Arcy, 'Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* and the Intentionality of the Image', in David Bathrick, Brad Prager and Michel D. Richardson (ed.), *Visualizing the Holocaust: Documents, Aesthetics, Memory* (Rochester: Camden House, 2008), p. 156.

This ending provides no final confirmation of how each testimony constitutes a corresponding meaning to create a feeling of closure. From first shot to last, *Shoah* aims to resist providing a meaning for the images it presents. Instead, the film abstracts the need for a clear explanation to create a crisis of interpretation. This is what Lanzmann was aiming towards when describing his film 'not as a movie about survival…not a movie about survivors', but that '*Shoah* is a film about death'.[40] *Shoah* does this by confronting the interminable quality of death. In other words, death cannot be correlated to a meaning as this would imply a possibility for closure. Thus, it is left like the never-ending sound of the train as the incessant wound.

Figure 3.49 – *Shoah*. Final shot of the freight train passing the camera.

Contrasting *Shoah* and *Pawnbroker* with *Schindler's List* has allowed this chapter to conclude that the medium of film can approach the notion of survival in a more nuanced manner without falling back on the necessity of closure. This was firstly exposed by tracing how certain European and Hollywood films that preceded *Schindler's List* maintain the importance of individual responsibility to create feelings of closure. In *The Stranger* and *Kapo*, cases of which individual sacrifice and redemption resolve the events represented in the narrative. In these climaxes, the films are based on upholding an act that gives reason or meaning to the narrative as a whole. Alongside this, the release of *Holocaust* and its wide-ranging success of connecting popular audiences with an overarching chronological narrative of the Holocaust represented survival as a celebratory ending. All four portrayals analysed in

[40] Claude Lanzmann cited in *Claude Lanzmann: Spectres of Shoah* dir. by Adam Benzine (HBO, 2015).

this chapter have shown how Schindler's redemptive arc follows in the tradition of finding redemption in the aftermath of the Holocaust. Thus, *Schindler's List*, pursues the outcome of upholding a privileged act that caters to a point of closure for its protagonist. Whether it is Marta's act of resistance that precedes the liberation, Edith's self-sacrifice that allows for the mass escape, or Mary's will to "see" her husband for what he truly is, each of their influence can be drawn to Schindler's creation of the "life-giving" list that ultimately allows for the exception of survival.

This is why the lasting legacy of *Schindler's List* crystallises the exception as the universal. In other words, in the face of the extermination of six million Jews, it is the exception of survival as the effect of Schindler's individual actions that is instilled as the long-lasting meaning of *Schindler's List*. By tracing the development of redemption to heroism, this chapter has shown that Hollywood demands a hero, and in 1993 Schindler is held up as this figure. Described by Bauman as relating to a rationality of self-preservation, the Holocaust in 1993 is not presented as a seamless, but instead gazed at through an American prism. As this chapter and thesis has revealed, this prism is essentiality structured around the necessity of closure. Aptly put by Bryan Cheyette in the title to his article, this is the 'uncertain certainty of *Schindler's List*', in which its content of narrative conflict – scenes of struggle, death and loss – may appear independently depicting the horrors of the Holocaust, but the form in which they are presented through closure and responsibility implants the inevitability of certainty within uncertainty.[41] As Hollywood would strive for, the exception of Schindler's Jews – now captured as themselves alongside their actors and actresses in the present-day – are given the impossible task of resolving the death of six million Jews.

[41] Cheyette, 'The Uncertain Certainty of *Schindler's List*', in Yosefa Loshitzky (ed.), *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), p. 226.

Conclusion

American Nostalgia and Hollywood in 1993

The release of *Schindler's List* not only brought to attention a collective a meditation on genocide, but also a sense that one's engagement with the Holocaust in popular culture is intimately tied to the productivity of Hollywood.[1] As Leon Wieseltier pointed out when describing Spielberg's film on the *ABC News Nightline*, 'something doesn't have reality in this culture until Hollywood says it does', and this thesis has reassessed why this is part and parcel of the very debate as to why the history of the Holocaust was more popular than ever in 1993.

Just as Wieseltier takes aims at the industry, this investigation has mapped out the place *Schindler's List* held in 1993. From the outset, I have illustrated the major questions linking productivity and popularity. Among these, the focus has been towards the technical and creative tenets of the Hollywood industry that underwrote the popular success of *Schindler's List*. My work has touched upon and levelled the key discussions that concern the unrivalled hegemony of Hollywood. I demonstrated how there is an implicit value placed on making spectacle plausible, one which is ingrained in a universal historical grasp that attempts to totalise experience. This thesis also recognised the rich and intricate cinematic language propping up that spectacle. The approach I undertook showcased the reciprocity of these two levels. A saturated three-act paradigm for storytelling synthesised within a pastiche of style set the platform for mass consumption and popular success. In delving back into this discourse, my analysis of *Schindler's List* has revealed the potential of reification and trivialisation. All this demonstrates how and why the Holocaust emerged as a currency for mass-media in the second half of the twentieth century.

Prying open these debates has allowed me to situate my project within the scholarship on the "Americanisation of the Holocaust". What has now become a central thread in various fields of Holocaust study, the American influence on representation has dominated the efforts of world-wide memorialisation. My analysis has addressed two interpretations of this American influence on representation. Firstly, what has come to be known as the more

[1] Michael Rothberg, *Traumatic Realism: The Demands of Holocaust Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), p. 181.

dominating negative standpoint (trivialising and reifying), and, secondly, the potential positive aspects (popularity and awareness). While both exist simultaneously and constantly affect one another, these two aspects always imply the looming shadow of Hollywood that absorbs and mutates over time to both accommodate and inform the social consensus. Building on the works of Jeffrey Shandler and Michael Rothberg this project asked how the persistent demand of Hollywood has ultimately shaped national and global Holocaust representation. It has then charted how these historians hinted at the underlying authority of *Schindler's List*, and how its production values and quasi-documentary mode have made it an "authentic" reference point. In this realisation, my work complements the filmic analyses of *Schindler's List* put forward by Yosefa Loshitzky, Barbie Zelizer and Sara R. Horowitz. By rigorously dissecting its cinematic techniques, narrative patterns and genre tropes, my thesis cross-referenced their research to assess the plasticity of Hollywood.

This plasticity refers to how previous analyses of *Schindler's List* scrutinise the film's indebtedness to previous narratives, styles and techniques. Its adaptable quality encompassed non-professional casts of neo-realism, lighting and shadows from German expressionism, and newsreel-esque shaky camera movements of the documentary form. This work has shown that a Hollywood film can stretch its stylistic tolerance while still remaining very successful with a worldwide audience. An understanding of Hollywood as a system which has built its success on familiarity that showcases a flexible capacity when attracting an international audience was made clear by André Bazin in 1957. As he writes, 'the American cinema is a classical art, but why not then admire in it what is most admirable, i.e. not only the talent of this or that filmmaker, but the genius of the system, the richness of its ever-vigorous tradition, and its fertility when it comes into contact with new elements'.[2]

The careful plasticity of Hollywood, or its 'capacity for flexible but bounded variation' as David Bordwell puts it, has provided the framework for my project to engage with film scholarship both in the classical and postclassical tradition.[3] Incorporating theoretical viewpoints from thinkers such as Béla Balázs, Jean-Louis Baudry, Thomas Elsaesser and Christian Metz, I have analysed cultural practices of narrative, plotting and

[2] André Bazin, 'On the politique des auteurs', in Jim Hillier (ed.), *Cahiers du Cinema: The 1950s: Neo-Realism, Hollywood, New Wave* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 258.
[3] David Bordwell, *The Way Hollywood Tells It: Story and Style in Modern Movies (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p.14.

visual style that all sustain the achievements of *Schindler's List*.[4] Advocating for a more tightly woven relationship between popular film and historical change, my project has traced the lineage of classical Hollywood storytelling via the demise of the studio system and the emergence of new distribution methods. Despite the loosening of Hollywood's grip on conglomerate control, I have illuminated how the immediate success and long-term impact of *Schindler's List* points to a structural three-act template that is indebted to narrative strategies of the continuity style. By unearthing the legacy of classical realism, refined and reignited as a crucial staple of American storytelling in the 1970s and 1980s, my work has engaged with the industrial role of cinema that systemises the product and its consumer. American cinema is tied to a global economic reach, remaining a social and cultural commodity that attempts to remove all evidence of its production. For example, invisible editing appears seamless to not draw the attention away from the plot.

Utilising visual, distributional, and stylistic parallels between *Schindler's List* and the development of cinema as a mode of production, my project builds on previous understandings of how Spielberg's film resembled an institution of its own in 1993. Following the global success of *Schindler's List*, James E. Young observed that 'there are a couple of gigantic institutions now, Spielberg being one and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum being another, which are defining a kind of public consciousness of the Holocaust'.[5] Much like the cinema itself became an 'integral feature of American identity in the twentieth century', *Schindler's List* emitted an aura that had repercussions on the struggle for representation.[6] Marking a tectonic shift for both Hollywood success and Holocaust representation, *Schindler's List* not only provided mass appeal for the USHMM and the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum but it birthed its own industry. Shortly after its release, the Holocaust tourist trail in Kraków added a *Schindler's List* tour, visiting locations used during the film's production. In conjunction with a rise in tourism, the ramifications of *Schindler's List* led to the creation of its own archival battle for securing a testimonial database. As a result, the film was in contact with the visual and aural archives that preceded it such as Yad Vashem in Israel and Fortunoff in Connecticut. The USC Shoah Foundation,

[4] Béla Balázs, *Theory of The Film: Character And Growth Of A New Growth* translated by Edith Bone (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970), Jean-Louis Baudry, 'Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus', *Film Quarterly*, 23:2 (1974-1975), Thomas Elsaesser, 'Tales of Sound and Fury', Metz, *Film Language*. This project also engaged with a variety of film historians: Tom Gunning, *D.W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative* Film, Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights*, Cook, *A History of Narrative Film*.

[5] James E. Young in 'Schindler's List: Myth, Movie, and Memory' *Village Voice* (29 March 1994).

[6] John Belton, *American Cinema/American Culture* Fourth Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2013), p. 4.

established by Spielberg himself in 1994, was dedicated to using the global success of *Schindler's List* as a platform to record, organise and document audio-visual survivor testimony. This foundation now holds over 1,200 individual testimonies with an indexed vocabulary for detailed search results.

The global reverberations of *Schindler's List* showcase the universal appeal of Hollywood. The film became a mirror for the triumph of American cinema, taking heterogeneous historical accounts, testimonies and events and representing them in accordance with American experience, identity and culture. In comparison, the institutionalisation of American cinema in the early twentieth century was fundamentally based on a global reach. The system absorbed immigrant filmmakers into a dynamic framework that allowed technicians and studios to further their directional skills. While defined as a national cinema, at its core Hollywood has always strived for an international consumer grasp. Grossing figures for *Schindler's List* embody this, indicating again the monopolistic outreach Hollywood possesses: *Schindler's List* may remain the epitome of the "Americanisation" process, but this American re-working extends its national quality into the worldwide arena of Holocaust memory. It is not only financial figures that reveal its cosmopolitan quality, but what makes *Schindler's List* a paradigm of Hollywood success is also its ability to elide national identities and project an American perspective onto the global stage.

As the world's most popular mode of visual storytelling since the 1910s, American cinema was based on the fabrication of a collective cultural heritage, that was as national as it was "universal". Born in the midst of a 'crisis in American identity' when the country was evolving from a nineteenth century agrarian-based society into a modern industrialised urban community, cinema eased such crises by producing narratives that spoke of diversity, inclusion and universalism.[7] In other words, the triumph of American cinema created universal and local appeal by telling foundational stories of American life. Therefore, storytelling and the progress of American culture have always been intimately connected by its cinematic productions. Its framework for cinematic expression reconfirms how a culture produces stories of its past; foundational moments based on presumptions of perspective. In essence, these stories reveal ongoing changes within American society itself. From mythical screen memories of Western development and Manifest Destiny to domestic narratives of

[7] Belton, *American Cinema/American Culture*, p. xxii.

homelife in the perfecting of melodrama, struggles for the soul of American identity were fought in the production process and won in the space of the movie theatres.

My examination of *Schindler's List* has scrutinised how American culture produces foundational narratives through the medium of film. The link between culture and production embodies the debates on the *Nightline* program, where the guests spoke of Holocaust memory through Hollywood culture. These conversations uncover the accessibility of *Schindler's List,* and how it is largely created through stereotypes, conventions, tropes, and archetypes. By breaking down these notions, my thesis has illustrated that its success blends the classical premises of narrative and style with historically rich imagery. Additionally, these influences are moulded by the individual and technical craft of Spielberg. Each chapter pointed out *Schindler's List*'s use of a cross-cultural memory. The example from Chapter I of the Warsaw ghetto boy and its pervasive role as an archetype of Jewish suffering showcased the film's subtle engagement with and allusion to the photograph's well-known history. Allusions such as this one point to the potential repercussions of reification, where the form of the image takes priority over its content. When reviewing the film, Stanley Kauffmann of *The New Republic* directly acknowledged how the film itself "bears witness" to an archive of Holocaust imagery, and simultaneously produces its own "Kraków boy" that will live on in world memory. This is a clear example of the film's use of archetypes in making the Holocaust accessible to as many people as possible.

Chapter II mapped the reproductions of what remains the most iconic visual representation of the concentration camp: the Auschwitz-Birkenau gatehouse. Questioning the role of the gatehouse as a reference point, I exemplified why it remains a threshold of remembrance for a "postmemory" generation. While the connotations of its exterior structure resound with an obsession between inside and outside, its visual proliferation added to the sense of 'an iconographic code' for a generation brought up on film and television.[8] This engagement with the rich historical imagery of *Schindler's List* also shows traces of classical Hollywood tools of contextualisation. *Schindler's List* bears on both familiarity and innovation via the centrality of a character arc, showing the film's deep reliance on the hero's journey. Steven Zallian's script and Spielberg's own "spiritual" idolisation of Oskar Schindler resound with Joseph Campbell's formal narrative template of the mythic journey.[9]

[8] Noël Carroll, 'The Future of Allusion: Hollywood in the Seventies (And beyond)', *October*, 20 (1982), 55.
[9] For more on the hero's journey see Joseph Campbell, *The Hero's Journey: Joseph Campbell on His Life and Work* (Novato: New World Library, 1990).

The emphasis placed on the mythic journey brought to attention the general Hollywood ethics of redemption and closure. At its core, screenwriter Nicholas Kazan, writes, 'Hollywood is sustained on the illusion that human beings are capable of change'.[10] The three-act narrative of personal growth that *Schindler's List* refashioned to bring Schindler's story to the screen reveals the gratifying quality central to Hollywood storytelling. In this case, the reification of survival gives way to a sentimental universalism that is the staple of the biopic genre. In narrative terms, signs of personal or spiritual growth – the reconciliation of internal and external conflicts – gratify audience expectations. Just as Schindler reveals his flaws as a Nazi-profiteer in order to become a saviour, protagonists fulfil the familiar struggle of confronting inner conflicts to solve outer problems. Mythic journeys, redemption, resolution and the capability of change all punctuate the potency of foundational stories.

By peeling away at the seamless artifice of *Schindler's List* – each layer containing codes and conventions – my project has illustrated Adorno's insights into the pedagogical role of the culture industry. For Adorno, the culture industry represents a mass filtration process, whereby everyday reality is becoming the sifted by-product of the movie theatre experience. As Adorno summarises, 'the familiar experience of the moviegoer…who perceives the street outside as a continuation of the film he has just left because the film seeks strictly to reproduce the world of everyday perception, has become the guideline of production'.[11] My argument confirms how *Schindler's List* filters through the past in an attempt to project an American interpretation of the Holocaust. At a technical level, the visual language of *Schindler's List* is an expression of the 'montage character of the culture industry'.[12] I have demonstrated how the film appears as a collage of past times and previous films, pasted together into a pastiche of memory. It has become apparent how the film is assembled and controlled in a way to both engage with an emerging cross-cultural memory of the Holocaust and accommodate mass-audience expectation. Referring to this characteristic of the culture industry that standardises expectations, Gertrud Koch asserts that it is the aesthetic power of familiarity that confirms the authority of films produced by Hollywood. As she writes, 'I think he [Spielberg] recycled every little slip of film that was made before to produce this film. It presents what we seem to know – because we have seen

[10] Nicholas Kazan cited in Jurgen Wolff and Kerry Cox (ed.), *Top Secrets: Screenwriting* (Los Angeles: Lone Eagle Publishing, 1993), p. 134.
[11] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* translated by Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 99.
[12] Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic*, p. 132.

so many of the images – as a higher depiction of reality. And, therefore, the whole film has a kind of authoritarian quality to it'.[13]

As I have argued throughout, familiarity and authority are intimately bound to the national and global success of *Schindler's List*. Historians like Koch and Tim Cole have reflected on why *Schindler's List* 'not simply recycled a number of existing images' but seared those images onto a public consciousness.[14] This is due to how the film engages us in and reinforces a visual history that caters to patterns of habit and self-understanding. The culture industry, as Adorno emphasises, promotes self-understanding as a source of both pleasure and as a type of training. This predictability of pleasure is present when he writes that 'in a film, the outcome can invariably be predicted at the start – who will be rewarded, punished, forgotten'.[15] For Adorno, pleasure is gained not from the unique experience the film offers but from the fact that our expectations are rarely disappointed. Instead of viewing films as individual artworks, one partakes in checking, organising and filling in moments in accordance with genre, style and plot. Therefore, viewing becomes a means of classification: verifying that images fit within a pre-existing framework. The more this process proliferates, the more film language as universal language materialises. As Adorno concludes, even though one can predict the narrative or the final outcome only minutes into the film, audiences are nonetheless 'gratified when it actually occurs'.[16] This results in a reality where gratification is based on expectation and predictability.

For a film that relies so much on previous visual history for its success on the global stage, *Schindler's List* is a product of how gratification is achieved in reassurance and familiarity. As the application of Walter Benjamin's and Gilles Deleuze's ideas have proven for my project, this familiarity is closely linked to how visual images cater to a reproduction of reality. The crux of Hollywood's success remains in breaking down the opposition between a simulacrum of everyday life and the melodramatic, the heroic, or the extraordinary. These syntheses give form to a reality effect specific to Hollywood, one that is deeply influenced by reassurance and gratification. A repeated familiar experience is central to Hollywood's creation of cinematic worlds. As a result, these worlds form habitual patterns that express their own reality effect. In other words, the great success of popular Hollywood cinema is

[13] Getrud Koch in 'Schindler's List: Myth, Movie, and Memory' *Village Voice* (29 March 1994).
[14] Tim Cole, *Selling The Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler How History is Bought, Packaged, and Sold* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 74.
[15] Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic*, p. 98-99.
[16] Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic*, p. 99.

making reality appear simultaneously real and incredible, plausible and sensational. These opposites are weaved in such harmony within a cinematic language that they seem indistinguishable. The power of these films, then, is their appearance both as fabricated spectacles and as convincing realities.

In the case of *Schindler's List*, the reassurance one gains from leaving the movie theatre after the survival of 1,200 rescued Jews is linked to instilling the extraordinary into reality. By remaining, as Loshitzky, Zelizer and Cole imply, "a foundational Holocaust film", *Schindler's List* narrates the history according to the perspective of the exception. Hollywood's reality effect is driven by this universalisation of the singular. The extraordinary occurrence of the exception provides the basis for the reality of *Schindler's List* and, as a result, the neglection of histories that do not fit into its spectacle. The past, then, is treated as innocent, as a nostalgic imagination that can be renewed in the present for the sake of traditional values. *Schindler's List* is a by-product of its particular time, of American mainstream filmmaking in the 1980s and 1990s, and of Spielberg's creativity within that framework which he had developed over his career. It moulds a reality that hides other realities, in the same way that "Reaganite filmmaking" does.[17] In these films, history is subsumed by myth and nostalgia. Their realities hide over the cracks of the past that do not align with traditional American values, personifying how Reagan encouraged the country to forget the Watergate scandal and to remember Vietnam not as a national defeat which divided the country but a failure in the American determination to win. Likewise, *Schindler's List* asks audiences to remember those few that were lucky enough to survive and the individual efforts that played a role in this survival, not the six million dead. Reimagining the past in this era rested on notions of reassurance, optimism, and above all, nostalgia.

Therefore, *Schindler's List* belongs to a specific historical moment of nostalgia, where Hollywood filmmaking was seen to have a dependence on late-capitalism. Economics, politics, and Hollywood film folded into each other in such a way that recreating the past became more about emphasising a singular experience, rather than exploring histories in the plural. As this dissertation has suggested, Spielberg's film encapsulated a moment in which Holocaust representation was both nostalgic in style and reassuring in subject matter. This moment in time can be understood through popular culture's reference to the past. In other words, *Schindler's List* was produced following a period in which, as Fredric Jameson argues,

[17] See Belton chapter on 1990s American cinema in *American Culture*, pp. 322-344.

history was intertwined with nostalgia. By reimagining the past according to "generational moments", the film masks the contradictions and ambiguities of history. Instead, *Schindler's* List, as a by-product of this nostalgic era, assimilates images and styles of the past to its own 'culture of the image', unable to differentiate the present from the past.[18]

Just as American identity has always been shaped by and reflected in cinema, *Schindler's List* stands as a defining generational moment. Confining itself to a three-act tale of saviourhood means it also fits into a trend of 'aesthetic colonisation' which is central to Hollywood's cross-generational success. In the end, *Schindler's List* seems less concerned with opening up the past and revealing perspectives that may not accord with an American retelling. Instead, it is more engrossed in restructuring a sensational past. Spielberg's film, then, should be seen as not so much a simple leap forward in Holocaust representation for American culture, or as a time of embracing the past, but as a construction influenced by a nostalgic present and set out to recapture traditional images.

[18] Fredrick Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 58.

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