UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

The Forgotten Holocaust?
Post-War Representations of the Non-Jewish Victims in the United States of America and the United Kingdom

by

Hazel Fiona Starmes

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 2007

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Doctor of Philosophy

THE FORGOTTEN HOLOCAUST? POST-WAR REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NON-JEWISH VICTIMS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

by Hazel Fiona Starmes

This thesis argues that the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust are regarded as the 'other' victims, on the periphery of a contemporary Holocaust narrative that is essentially Jewish. This is achieved by comparing how, and the extent to which, the non-Jewish victim groups are portrayed in two genres of post-1945 representation - the museum installation and the memorial - in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. The study draws upon a variety of primary and secondary sources, including archival material, site observations, oral interviews and newspaper reports.

Through the case studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum and six Holocaust memorials in America and Britain, this thesis seeks to establish whether non-Jewish victims are represented differently in the two genres and in each country. It examines how sense of place, in two nations removed geographically and experientially from the events of the Holocaust, has impacted upon the representation of the Holocaust in Britain and America and the effect that this has had on the memorialisation of the non-Jewish victim groups. This study questions whether the role of ethnic politics in each country has influenced the representation of the non-Jewish victims. It discusses the debates within each mode of representation regarding the unique and universal interpretations of the Holocaust and the resulting hierarchy of victims. It shows that one non-Jewish victim group in particular achieves more prominence than the others and suggests why this might be the case. This thesis adds to a small canon of works that have the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust as their subject and a smaller still body that focus on the post-war representation of these largely 'forgotten' groups.

Contents

List of Illustrations Page 1
Author's Declaration Page 2
Acknowledgements Page 3
Abbreviations Page 4

Introduction: Page 5

i. The Comparative Approach Page 6
ii. Issues of Holocaust Memory and Representation Page 10
iii. The Non-Jewish Victims of the Holocaust Page 17
iv. The Chapters Page 28

Chapter One: The Museum Setting

Section One: Museology: Page 32

i. Museological Issues: Voices, Objects and Role Page 33
ii. The Representation of Disturbing Subjects in a Museum Display: War, Slavery and the Holocaust Page 41

Section Two: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Page 47

i. The Beginnings of Commemoration: Politics, Topography and the 'Numbers Game' Page 48
ii. The Planning of the *Permanent Exhibition*: Inclusion or Exclusion? Page 65
iii. The Representation of Non-Jewish Victims in Form, Space and Context in the *Permanent Exhibition* Page 72
iv. The Representation of Non-Jewish Victims Outside of the *Permanent Exhibition* Space Page 86
v. Conclusions: An American and a Jewish Tale Page 90

Section Three: The *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum: Page 92

i. The Beginnings of Commemoration: The Building, the Institution and Precedents of Memory Page 92
ii. The Planning of the *Holocaust Exhibition*: Inclusion or Exclusion? Page 103
iii. The Representation of Non-Jewish Victims in Form, Space and Context in the *Holocaust Exhibition* Page 108

iv. The *Crimes Against Humanity* Exhibition Page 121
v. Conclusions: A Jewish Affair Page 125

Section Four: Comparisons and Contrasts: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum Page 127

Chapter Two: The Memorial Landscape

Section One: Memorialisation: Page 133

i. Issues of Memorialisation: Public and Private Memory and Forgetting Page 134
ii. Holocaust Memorials: Development, Memory and Tourism Page 142
iii. The Memorial Case Studies Page 149

Section Two: Holocaust Memorials in the United States of America: Page 151

i. Memorialisation: Slow Beginnings Page 151
ii. Baltimore: A Reinvented Memorial Page 154
iii. San Francisco: Art and Memorial Page 163
iv. New Jersey: In the Shadow of Liberty Page 173
v. Conclusions: Non-Jewish Absence and Markers of Contemporary America Page 179

Section Three: Holocaust Memorials in the United Kingdom: Page 182

i. Memorialisation: A Fledgling Start Page 182
ii. Gladstone Park: Too Inclusive a Memorial Page 183
iii. Hyde Park: An inconspicuous National Monument Page 191
iv. Chatsworth Park: An Almost Exclusive Memorial? Page 205
v. Conclusions: Markers of Britain's Wartime Role Page 211

Section Four: Similarities and Differences: Holocaust Memorials in the United States of America and the United Kingdom Page 214

Conclusion Page 220

Appendix Page 226
Glossary Page 227
Bibliography Page 230

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: The blending façade of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum — Page 59

Figure 2: The exterior of the Imperial War Museum, complete with 15-inch guns from *HMS* Resolution and *HMS* Ramillies — Page 101

Figure 3: Joseph Sheppard's Holocaust statue — Page 157

Figure 4: The Memorial Plaza — Page 159

Figure 5: George Segal's 'The Holocaust' overlooking the Pacific Ocean — Page 167

Figure 6: The positioning of the memorial's figures suggest biblical allusions — Page 169

Figure 7: The clothed survivor figure looks out beyond the barbed wire — Page 171

Figure 8: Nathan Rapoport's 'Liberation' sculpture with the Statue of Liberty clearly visible in the distance — Page 177

Figure 9: The Prisoners of War Memorial in front of the grassy slope — Page 186

Figure 10: Fritz Kormis' five Prisoners of War sculptures — Page 187

Figure 11: The Wellington memorial, featuring a statue of Achilles — Page 192

Figure 12: The triumphant Cavalry Memorial — Page 194

Figure 13: The inconspicuous Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park — Page 198

Figure 14: The central memorial stone with its fading inscription — Page 201

Figure 15: The Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree (in the foreground) in Chatsworth Park — Page 208

Figure 16: The obscured plaque and inscription on the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree — Page 209

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, HAZEL FIONA STARMES,

declare that the thesis entitled

THE FORGOTTEN HOLOCAUST? POST-WAR REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NON-JEWISH VICTIMS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission.

Signed: [redacted].....

Date: 18/10/07.....

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank Professor Tony Kushner for his time, guidance, enthusiasm and most importantly, belief in me and my research. Many thanks to all of the following people who made willing interviewees: Ramee Gentry, Steve Luckert, Jacek Nowakowski, Radu Ioanid, Raye Farr, Dr Mark Levene, James Barker, Suzanne Bardgett and Steve Slack. Special thanks to Martin Smith for not only being subjected to interview twice, but also for allowing me access to his personal files on the Imperial War Museum, which were invaluable. Thank you to Jeffrey Carter, the archivist at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, whose assistance helped me to make the most of my limited time during my research trip. I am grateful to Dr Kendrick Oliver, Dr Tom Lawson, Dr Gavin Schaffer and Dr Mark Levene who have provided valuable comments on various elements of the thesis. Thanks also to Dr James Jordan for allowing me to use his personal files relating to the Gladstone Park memorial. Many thanks to Chana Kotzin for the loan of material relating to the Baltimore Holocaust memorial. Thank you to David Spencer and Siobahn Spencer in their assistance with a most allusive Romani memorial. Special thanks to Pete and Orlanda for their time and energy in undertaking the laborious task of proof-reading.

On a personal note, a big thank you to my parents for everything. Finally, thank you to Ralph, without whose love and support this would not have been possible.

Abbreviations

ANCCS	Association of Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors
BCE	Before Common Era
DP	Displaced Person
IWM	Imperial War Museum
NKVD	*Narodny Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del*
RSHA	*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*
SA	*Sturmabteilung*
SS	*Schutzstaffel*
UPA	*Ukrayins'ka Povstans'ka Armiya*
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Introduction

Analysis of the memory of the Holocaust is a relatively recent development within Holocaust historiography, having burgeoned over the last fifteen years or so. Yet, it has already become a significant area of study. The subject has highlighted that there is no fixed or singular interpretation of the Holocaust. Holocaust memory has exposed, moreover, that representations of the event are ultimately subjective. The way in which the Holocaust is portrayed is dependent upon many factors, such as the political, religious or cultural views and/or personal circumstances, of the individual, group or government initiating the commemoration. These elements impinge upon any representation of the Holocaust and lead to certain details or victim groups being emphasised, while others are understated or omitted completely. The influences surrounding Holocaust memory need to be examined in order to ascertain why the event is depicted in a particular fashion in any given method of memorialisation. Today, more than sixty years after the liberation of the European concentration camps, the study of Holocaust memory is becoming even more important due to the diminishing number of survivors. As a result, representation will be relied on more heavily as a means of learning about the event. The growing proliferation of Holocaust representations in popular culture, such as museum exhibitions and films, indicates that it is crucial to be aware of the limitations and implications of Holocaust memory. Indeed, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi has recognised the changing nature of the way in which knowledge of the Holocaust is being acquired, that 'the Holocaust has already engendered more historical research than any single event in Jewish history, but [he] ha[s] no doubt whatever that its image is being shaped, not at the historian's anvil, but in the novelist's crucible'.[1]

Memory has become such a pervasive area of Holocaust studies that the manner in which the event has come to be remembered and memorialised since 1945 has been examined in works devoted entirely to the subject. The publication in 1994 of Geoffrey H. Hartman's edited volume *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory* in particular marked the 'coming of age' of Holocaust memory

---

[1] Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory,* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1996 [originally published by Schocken Books, 1989]), p.98.

studies.[2] It revealed the range and evolution of genres of Holocaust representation in its analysis of both more traditional forms, such as survivor testimony and those of popular culture, for example Claude Lanzmann's documentary film *Shoah*.[3] James E. Young compared variations of Holocaust remembrance in memorials (both at the former sites of destruction and post-1945 purpose-built structures), museums and commemorative days in countries both with, and without, a direct geographical link to wartime events in his extensive account *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*.[4] Only a few years later, the subject matter of Isabel Wollaston's *A War Against Memory? The Future of Holocaust Remembrance*, demonstrated how fast the discipline was developing.[5] *A War Against Memory* went beyond scrutinising the ways in which the Holocaust is memorialised and investigated the very reasons why the event is remembered, the difficulties inherent in doing so and the politics of Holocaust memory, such as the Christian/Jewish contestation over the 'ownership' of memory at Auschwitz.[6] The area of Holocaust memory has thus become recognised as a valuable means of analysing the event and its representation. Within the field of Holocaust memory, however, there is a particular lacuna, one that this thesis addresses. Holocaust memory often excludes or relegates to the periphery the non-Jewish victim groups. This thesis investigates the extent to which the memory of the Holocaust and its subsequent representation has 'forgotten' the non-Jewish victims.

i. The Comparative Approach

This thesis adopts a dual comparative approach. The representation of Jews and non-Jews in post-1945 culture is examined and this is achieved by comparing the representational methods of two countries, the United States of America and the United Kingdom. A comparative study of the Anglo-American memory of the Holocaust is the focus of this thesis. America and Britain were selected partly due to their practicality as case studies: they were accessible both in terms of travel in

---

[2] Geoffrey H. Hartman, et al., *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).
[3] Ibid.
[4] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).
[5] Isabel Wollaston, *A War Against Memory? The Future of Holocaust Remembrance*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1996).
[6] Ibid, pp.6-17, 21-31, 39-42.

order to conduct research and they also provided sources which were readily available as they were free from language constraints. The United States and the United Kingdom reflect a particular experience and memory of the Holocaust which are comparable to each other. Due to the equivalencies between America and Britain, general comments and conclusions are raised in the course of this thesis which apply to both countries, unless it is specifically stated otherwise. There is little comparative work to date on the representation of the Holocaust in America and Britain.[7] Yet, these two countries are obvious parallel case studies in two senses. Firstly, the United States and the United Kingdom shared the same position during the Holocaust - they were the major Western Allies. Secondly, they were 'classic' liberal democracies before, during and after the war. The two countries differ in the roles of their ethnic politics and the success of their Jewish communities and non-Jewish victim groups in lobbying for memorialisation, providing a strong basis for comparison and contrast of the social and political climate surrounding Holocaust representation in each nation. Furthermore, Holocaust remembrance could be viewed as having a contemporary political motive in each country. For both America and Britain, representing the Holocaust in a public way could provide a means of avoiding confrontation and official remembrance of traumatic issues that are closer to home, such as slavery and/or imperialism.[8] Concentrating on Holocaust memorialisation, namely atrocities committed by other countries during a time of war, could be seen as a way of averting addressing war crimes committed by the United States and the United Kingdom, such as America's involvement in the My Lai massacre in Vietnam.[9] As well as the lack of comparative work on these two countries, there is a disparity between the amount of research that has been carried out in the field of Holocaust representation in America and Britain. Although there are separate studies examining the increasing pervasiveness and representation of the Holocaust in the United States, there are few similar works devoted solely to the United Kingdom.[10] Some reviews of Holocaust representation in general do incorporate specific

---

[7] This comparative approach has, however, been utilised by Tony Kushner in *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1994).

[8] Dr Kendrick Oliver's comments in relation to this matter have been valuable.

[9] Ibid.

[10] On the representation of the Holocaust in the United States see for example, Alan Mintz, *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America,* (Seattle and London: Washington University Press, 2001) and Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000).

sections on British representation.[11] The advantages of a comparative study are reciprocal, new discoveries can be made about the United Kingdom's relationship to the Holocaust and its subsequent representation by examining it in conjunction with the United States and inversely for the United States.

In contrast to the Jewish case, memory work related to the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust is still in its infancy. The persecution and fate of the non-Jewish victim groups is under-represented in the existing Holocaust historiography. This omission is due partly to a lack of political organisation and group-specific issues, for example, the fact that many homosexual victims remained socially stigmatised until long after the war and consequently did not want to publicly relate their experiences. As a result, first-hand accounts of homosexual persecution are extremely rare. *The Men With the Pink Triangle* is one work that details the wartime abuse of a gay man during his time in prison and various concentration camps but due to continued prejudice, his anonymity is preserved in the book.[12] It is only in the past ten years or so that further material narrating the experiences of non-Jewish victims has been published, particularly relating to the Roma, popularly known as 'Gypsies'.[13] In comparison to the plethora of accounts written by Jewish Holocaust survivors, there is very little testimony written by non-Jewish survivors.[14] Whereas there are works that compare the persecution and fate of Jews and non-Jews during the Holocaust, although few in number, there is currently a paucity of comparative studies of the representation of Jews and non-Jews.[15] This thesis is important because if there is little historiography on the Nazi mistreatment of non-Jewish victims, there is even less material on the post-war representation of these groups. A large gap in the overall portrayal of the non-

---

[11] On the representation of the Holocaust in Britain in general studies of Holocaust representation see for example, Tony Kushner, 'The Holocaust and the Museum World in Britain: A Study of Ethnography', in Sue Vice (ed.), *Representing the Holocaust,* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003) and Donald Bloxham, 'Britain's Holocaust Memorial Days: Reshaping the Past in the Service of the Present', in Sue Vice (ed.), *Representing the Holocaust.*

[12] Heinz Heger [David Fernbach, trans.], *The Men with the Pink Triangle*, (New York: Alyson Books, 1980).

[13] For accounts of the Roma see the following works: Louise Doughty, *Fires in the Dark,* (London: Simon and Schuster UK Ltd., 2003), Isabel Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and their Journey,* (London: Vintage, 1996), Moris Fahri, *Children of the Rainbow,* (London: Saqi Books, 2002).

[14] For a Sinti survivor account see Walter Winter [Struan Robertson, trans.], *Winter Time: Memoirs of a German Sinto who survived Auschwitz,* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2004). For an account of black persecution see Hans J. Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness: Growing up Black in Nazi Germany,* (London: Fusion Press, 2001).

[15] See for example, Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Jewish victim groups has thus been created, both in terms of their fate during the Holocaust and their representation in forms of popular culture after the war.

Comparative studies of genocides, particularly those involving the Holocaust, have begun to emerge in the last decade. In contrast, very little has been written on comparative Holocaust memory work, an oversight that this thesis attempts to address. Comparative studies of genocide demonstrate the benefits and disadvantages of such an analytical approach to history. The Holocaust, the murder of millions of Jews and non-Jews, is not the only incidence of mass murder in history and in this sense it is not unique. The definition of the term 'Holocaust' that I will use throughout this thesis is dealt with shortly, in the next section of this introduction. The Holocaust's specific meaning as the Nazi massacre of 6 million Jews in particular, has come to be compared with other genocides in historiography, including the 1915 Armenian genocide and the genocidal settler colonies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, studies of which draw attention to the similarities and differences in each instance.[16] In most cases of genocidal comparison, however, there is a bias towards the Holocaust. The Holocaust has become *the* referent of genocide, 'the standard against which all other genocides, and purported genocides, are measured'.[17] Other genocides are repeatedly discussed in the context of a Holocaust-based concept of genocide, only having merit in the extent to which they are similar to the Holocaust.[18] An alternative approach to genocide studies is being forged by Mark Levene in a four-volume history of genocide which 'seeks to understand the processes and patterns that link genocides from the early modern centuries to the modern day'.[19] In his ground-breaking work, Levene proposes a change in focus for the field of comparative genocide, that the discipline should not be Holocaust-centric, not 'all the highways and byways relating to the phenomenon must lead inexorably forwards or backwards toward this single event'.[20] The dominance of the Holocaust in the field of genocide studies has led to those who advocate its

---

[16] See for example, Hrair R. Dekmejian, 'Determinants of genocide: Armenians and Jews as case studies', in Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Armenian genocide in perspective*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1997) and Richard L. Rubenstein, 'Modernisation and the Politics of Extermination' in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).
[17] David Moshman, 'Conceptual constraints on thinking about genocide', *Journal of Genocidal Research*, 3 (3) (2001), p.433.
[18] Ibid, p.435.
[19] Mark Levene, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State, Volume 1: The Meaning of Genocide,* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2005), p.4.
[20] Ibid, pp.3-4.

uniqueness claiming that it is a prototypical genocide and that its extraordinary nature resists comparison with other genocides.[21] As Levene has stated, such claims lose their veracity when confronted with the evidence of post-1945 group exterminations that have occurred approximately once a year.[22] Levene views genocide alternatively as 'a relatively common [...] feature of the modern world' and maintains that the Holocaust is a part, but not the total sum of, genocide studies.[23] At times, comparative history has been misemployed in order to gain precedence for one genocide over another. In the instance of the Armenian genocide, some historians identified it with the Holocaust in order to gain validity for the earlier tragedy.[24] Other historians are opposed to comparing the Holocaust with different genocides, such as Israel Gutman, who has stated that to do so 'constitutes reshaping a historical phenomenon by hindsight. Any such attempt to change the precise meaning of the Holocaust is either a deliberate distortion or is based on misinformation.'[25] Despite such concerns, comparative genocide studies have introduced new ways to examine the Holocaust and other genocidal events.

ii. Issues of Holocaust Memory and Representation

Similar to comparative genocide studies; Holocaust memory and its popular manifestation in the form of representation have become divisive issues. At the heart of this controversy is whether the Holocaust is viewed uniquely or universally. For some, the Holocaust is interpreted as a uniquely Jewish catastrophe and therefore representations constructed according to this viewpoint omit all reference (or make only token reference) to the non-Jewish victims. To others, the Holocaust is universally perceived to incorporate the Nazi persecution of the Jews and the non-Jewish victim groups, which in turn leads to representations that are intended to be all-encompassing.

The issue of which particular Holocaust memory is to be commemorated begins with the meaning and application of terminology associated with the event.

---

[21] Ibid, p.40.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid, p.41.
[24] Donald Bloxham, 'On the memory of the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust', *Journal of Holocaust Education*, 4 (1) (1995), p.83.
[25] Israel Gutman, 'The Victimization of the Poles' in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), p.100.

The connotation of the term 'Holocaust' itself presents a challenge to any study of the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The word 'Holocaust' was employed retrospectively from the late 1950s, and it was used to describe the Nazis' attempted total annihilation of European Jewry during the Second World War.[26] It remains a widely held viewpoint that 'Holocaust' can only be used to define the Jewish tragedy. Nonetheless, this usage is problematic as it suggests a sacrifice of burnt offerings to a God, implying that the event was God-willed and thus imbuing the Holocaust with religious meaning and significance.[27] Additionally, the Jews were persecuted on racial, as opposed to religious, grounds and the religiously resonant word 'Holocaust' can obfuscate this core Nazi rationale. The Holocaust has been designated in Hebrew as the 'Shoah' and in Yiddish as the 'Churban', both words serving to further reinforce the Jewish nature of the event.[28] Although 'Holocaust' is popularly used to describe the murder of 6 million Jews under the Nazi regime, this meaning is not the sole one associated with it. 'Holocaust' can be, and has been, applied to other groups murdered during this period.[29]

The term 'Holocaust' has also been employed and, at its worst, has become trivialised, by being over-used in connection with other tragedies. In the process it has been argued that 'the word "Holocaust", shorn of its particular reference along with its article, threatens to become a symbolic word connoting mass murder and destruction whatever the magnitude'.[30] The word 'Holocaust' has been used to describe other non-World War II instances of genocide that have occurred both before and after the Holocaust. Such usage develops the original meaning of the word (the murder of 6 million Jews) in order to project its magnitude and horrific impact upon other events or victims. Lucy S. Dawidowicz has raised the concern that in the use of Holocaust metaphors and imagery, 'the necessary and essential distinction between the murder of the 6 million Jews and the accelerating violence and terror of our time is blurred, sometimes erased, whether mindlessly or with political intent'.[31] This phenomenon has been particularly evident in American political organisations. Extremist black groups have employed words such as

---

[26] Yehuda Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), p.31.
[27] Michael Berenbaum, *After Tragedy and Triumph: Modern Jewish Thought and the American Experience,* (Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.23.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Yehuda Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective*, pp.30-31.
[30] Michael Berenbaum, *After Tragedy and Triumph,* p.17.
[31] Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1981), p.16.

'Auschwitz' to describe conditions in urban slums and some 'American antiabortionists, [...] have compared advocates of population control to Nazis who murdered Jews'.[32] Similarities between the United States and the Nazis have also been levied against America for the dropping of the atomic bombs in August 1945 in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the 1968 My Lai massacre in Vietnam.[33]

Instead of utilising the word 'Holocaust', normally associated with the Jewish victims, some non-Jewish victim groups have created their own terminology for the event. The Roma have given the Nazi extermination of their people its own appellation in their Romani language, *Porrajmos*, meaning 'the devouring'. Representatives of the homosexual victims too have coined their own phraseology to describe the persecution of the group. The word 'Homocaust', an amalgamation of this specific non-Jewish victim group and the popular and very Jewish term for the event, is not intended to belittle the original meaning of the word.[34] This play on words and the creation of the Romani word for the 'Romani Holocaust' demonstrate that there are some non-Jewish victim groups who feel that they too were the target of the Nazis' murderous policies akin to the Jews and that they have the right to attach a name to that persecution. The creation of these group-specific terms is evidence of a debate concerning the most suitable name to describe Nazi persecution of various groups. This discussion largely hinges on who the victims of the Holocaust are perceived to be, whether the Jews alone were subject to particular treatment by the Nazi Regime. This matter has become the focus of a debate concerning the uniqueness or universality of the Holocaust.

The question of uniqueness, as Gavriel D. Rosenfeld has observed, is a relatively new phenomenon in Holocaust historiography.[35] The particularistic nature of the Holocaust 'had long been an article of faith for many Jews, but it had never been subjected to rigorous scholarly analysis'.[36] During the late 1950s and in the 1960s, when the term 'Holocaust' became widely used, the perceived uniqueness of the Holocaust was viewed through its incomprehensibility.[37] The

---

[32] Ibid, p.17.
[33] Ibid, pp.17-18.
[34] Rüdiger Lautmann, 'The Pink Triangle: Homosexuals as "Enemies of the State", in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck (eds.), *The Holocaust and History: the Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined,* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), p.345.
[35] Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, 'The Politics of Uniqueness: Reflections on the Recent Polemical Turn in Holocaust and Genocide Scholarship', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 13 (1) (1999), p.29.
[36] Ibid, pp.29-30.
[37] Ibid, p.30.

proximity to the event heightened its magnitude.[38] The Holocaust was viewed as an event that could not be explained, that seemed to stand outside of history.[39] Rosenfeld noted two developments that altered the perception of the Holocaust. Firstly, there was a tendency to *historicise* the Holocaust, to turn it into a comprehensible event, subject to rational historical analysis employing generalising theories.[40] Secondly, in the late 1960s there was a tendency to *politicise* the Holocaust for 'partisan advantage'.[41] In turn, it was these two trends that awoke scholarly interest in the concept of uniqueness in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but the defence of uniqueness has not failed to halt the historicisation or politicisation of the Holocaust.[42]

Those who advocate the uniqueness of the Holocaust believe that it was unique in its intent, namely that the Nazis planned to annihilate every Jew, whereas genocides that have occurred before and since World War II were not intended to wholly destroy the targeted victim group. Yehuda Bauer, for instance, has asserted that it was the Nazis' aim to eliminate the Jews in their entirety and on a global scale that makes the Holocaust unique.[43] Moreover, Bauer has perceived 'Nazi racial anti-Semitic ideology [as] the central factor in the development towards the Holocaust', that although this racism was built upon a long tradition of Christian anti-Semitism and Social Darwinism, 'without a guiding ideological motivation and justification, mass murder generally, and the intent to annihilate the Jewish people in particular, would have been unthinkable'.[44] Other historians, such as Dawidowicz, have claimed that the Holocaust was unique in intent and effect. The Nazis were determined to kill every Jew and the result was unique, not only in terms of the number of Jews murdered, but also the effect that these murders had on following generations: 'the immensity of the Jewish losses destroyed the biological basis for the continued communal existence of Jews in Europe' and 'the thousand-year-old culture and civilization of Ashkenazic Jewry, destroying the continuity of Jewish history' was brought to an end.[45] To refer to the murder of 6 million Jews as unique is not, Dawidowicz has stressed, 'an

---

[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid, pp.30, 36.
[43] Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp.48-49.
[44] Ibid, pp.42-44.
[45] Lucy S. Dawidowicz, p.14.

attempt to magnify the catastrophe that befell them, nor to beg tears and pity for them', nor is it 'intended to minimize the deaths of millions of non-Jews that the Germans brought about'.[46] Zygmunt Bauman is an advocate of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, but unlike the other historians already mentioned, Bauman argues his case from a non-Judeo-centric perspective. Bauman has maintained that it was not the fact that the Jews were the victims that made the Holocaust unique, in fact he downplays the role of anti-Semitism.[47] Rather, the uniqueness of the event lies in its status as a product of modernity and the nature of the modern bureaucratic society in which it was perpetrated, that it too, 'like everything else done in the modern [way was] rational, planned, scientifically informed, expert, efficiently managed, co-ordinated'.[48] The majority of historians who have argued that the Holocaust was unique have done so from a Judeo-centric viewpoint, they believe that the main victims of the event were European Jewry.

The question of the uniqueness or universality of the Holocaust additionally involves a debate concerning whether the persecution of non-Jewish victims during the Second World War can be classed as a part of the Holocaust, or whether it should be categorised separately as 'genocide'. 'Genocide', as defined by the United Nations in Article II of the 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide', adopted on 9 December 1948, is 'any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole, or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such':

> (a) Killing members of the group;
> (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.[49]

Given these definitions of acts that constitute genocide, all of the non-Jewish victim groups, akin to the Jews, could be defined as victims of genocide. Some members of all non-Jewish groups were killed, either directly by shooting or gassing, or indirectly, as the result of medical experiments, forced labour,

---

[46] Ibid, p.13.
[47] Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, (Oxford: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, 1989), pp.1-2.
[48] Ibid, p.89.
[49] 'United Nations-Treaty Series', <http://157.150.195.3/LibertyX::SyPecFtT9HqEN8N981XPf4vOry6>, January 2006.

starvation or disease. Individuals from non-Jewish victim groups suffered serious bodily or mental harm as well. The Roma, black people and the physically and mentally handicapped were sterilised in an effort to prevent reproduction. The offspring of Jehovah's Witnesses and Polish children were removed from their families and placed in Nazi reform schools or German families in an effort to 'Aryanise' them. The Holocaust too, in its meaning of the murder of 6 million Jews, can be termed a 'genocide'. Nevertheless, it was only the Jews who the Nazis planned and demonstrated an 'intent to destroy in whole', rather than 'in part', as was the Nazis' policy towards non-Jewish victim groups. In light of this distinction, historians such as Bauer have advocated the use of an essential difference in nomenclature between the murder of 6 million Jews, the 'Holocaust' and the Nazi persecution of non-Jewish victim groups, 'genocide'.[50]

I will argue that the Jewish uniqueness approach can co-exist with a universal conception of the Holocaust. As has been demonstrated, the persecution of the Jews was unique in intent and effect, but this does not necessarily mean that the non-Jewish victims must be relegated to a position outside of the event, as victims of 'genocide', but not '*the* Holocaust'. The persecution and murder of non-Jewish victim groups was a part of the Nazis' murderous wartime process to achieve a new, larger, racially superior, German society. The actions of this aim have come to be known as 'the Holocaust'.

In conjunction with debates concerning Holocaust memory, the way in which such memory is to be perpetuated, its representation, is contested. The majority of those who hold a conventional viewpoint - that the Holocaust is a specifically Jewish tragedy - believe that it is a 'sacred' event, that it is 'unapproachable' and therefore transcends history.[51] Some proponents of this conviction hold that understanding of the Holocaust is reserved for the dead and that the current re-examination of the event in search of meaning or explanation, for example why Jews did not resist the Nazis to a greater extent, is an insult to the victims.[52] They maintain that it is only the survivors who can relate the experiences of the Holocaust, yet paradoxically in some cases, 'those who know do not speak; those who speak do not know'.[53] A hierarchy in the nature of Holocaust representation

---

[50] Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust*, p.56.
[51] Antony Lerman, 'The Art of Holocaust Remembering', *The Jewish Quarterly*, 36 (3) 1989, p.24.
[52] Elie Wiesel, 'A Plea for the Dead', in Lawrence L. Langer (ed.), *Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.144, 146, 150-152.
[53] Ibid, p.152.

has emerged, with survivor testimony merited as the authoritative source, closely followed by historical works and documentaries.[54] These forms of representation are perceived to adhere to the facts and 'possess legitimacy, authenticity and reliability'.[55] Despite this, scholarly examination of the Holocaust has been criticised, 'the careful qualification and guarded language that one associates with academic writing is sometimes held to be singularly inappropriate to describe the Holocaust'.[56] Other methods of representation, in particular fictionalised accounts such as poetry and films, 'are seen as distortions of Holocaust reality'.[57] Some genres of representation, for example the fictional novel, are considered 'scandalous: that is, they invariably provoke controversy by inspiring repulsion and acclaim in equal measure. To judge by what many critics have to say, to write Holocaust fictions is tantamount to making a fiction of the Holocaust.'[58] Those who condemn Holocaust representation fear that through artistic interpretations the event will become trivialised.[59] Ironically, it is only by rendering the Holocaust accessible to the public by popularising it through representation, that the Holocaust is likely to be remembered.[60]

Most people have not experienced the Holocaust directly, they were not subject to Nazi oppression or witnesses to the persecution of others. Rather, the majority of society will have experienced the Holocaust vicariously through mass medium, such as newspapers or television. They will have learnt about the Holocaust through representation. The early twenty first century is the last period in which the survivors of the event will be able to share their eyewitness experiences. Representation of the Holocaust will therefore only become more pervasive and salient as a means of transmitting the events of the Holocaust and learning about the tragedy. Studying representation is an important part of the historiography of the Holocaust.

---

[54] Antony Lerman, p.24.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History,* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1993 [first published in Canada by Lester Orpen Dennys Ltd., 1987]), p.3.
[57] Antony Lerman, p.24.
[58] Sue Vice, *Holocaust Fiction,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p.1.
[59] Antony Lerman, p.32.
[60] Ibid.

iii. The Non-Jewish Victims of the Holocaust

The non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust and their representation are the focus of this thesis. The following categories of victim groups who were targeted, persecuted and murdered by the Nazis during the period 1939 to 1945, many of whom were also the subject of Nazi discrimination from 1933 onwards, are included under the term 'non-Jewish': the clergy; Jehovah's Witnesses; 'political' prisoners; homosexuals; black people; the Roma; the physically and mentally handicapped; non-Jewish Poles; Soviet prisoners of war and peoples of other Eastern European nationalities labelled as 'Slavs'. It is recognised that the term 'non-Jewish' is not a flawless designation, as it references the victim group most associated with the Holocaust, rather than providing a separate terminology for the further victim groups. Nevertheless, there was felt to be no straightforward alternative. It is necessary to outline who these non-Jewish victims were, why and how they were persecuted by the Nazis and, where possible, to provide estimates of the number of victims murdered. The challenge of dealing with the non-Jewish victims, whose stories are neglected histories, is evident in some categories of victim groups at the most basic of levels, such as attaining figures for those murdered.

When the Nazis came to power they initially promised to protect Christianity and in 1933 a Concordat between the Pope and the German Reich was signed to this effect.[61] All German clergy were to swear allegiance to Hitler and the Nazis formed the German Christian Faith Movement in an effort to overtake the Protestant Church, which 3,000 Protestant ministers joined.[62] Some Protestants protested at the introduction of Nazi anti-Jewish measures in April 1933 and the Pastors' Emergency League was founded in the summer of the same year in order to 'combat the imposition of Nazi practices in the church, particularly the demand for the removal of pastors of Jewish descent'.[63] In 1934 ministers organised the Confessing Church 'which strongly defended church interests against anti-Christian tendencies, especially the deliberate inculcation of antisemitism with its

---

[61] John S. Conway, 'Catholic Church', in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.111.
[62] Ina R. Friedman, *The Other Victims: First-Person Stories of Non-Jews Persecuted by the Nazis*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), pp.32, 33.
[63] John S. Conway, 'Protestant Churches', in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.496.

idolatrous claim to German racial superiority'.[64] The rest of Germany's 17,000 clergymen upheld silence.[65] The Nazis imprisoned 'priests, pastors and nuns in Germany and the occupied countries who opposed the Nazis or tried to rescue or hide Jews or converts' in concentration camps.[66] These clergymen and women were members of various branches of the Christian faith, including Catholicism, Protestantism and Greek Orthodoxy and of a variety of nationalities. Due to their support of Polish nationalism, Polish Catholic priests were especially singled out and were 'arrested as potential leaders' as the entire Polish intelligentsia were to be eliminated and sent to concentration camps.[67] Dachau had the largest concentration of clerical prisoners, a total of 2,270, from nineteen occupied countries, who were interned together in their own barracks known as 'Barracks 26'.[68] In Dachau, clergymen were forced to wear a red triangle, categorising them as 'political' prisoners, presumably due to their opposition to the Nazi regime.[69] The evidence for this victim group is inconclusive and the number of clergymen that died is unknown.

Akin to the clergy, Jehovah's Witnesses were targeted by the Nazis due to their religious beliefs. As Christians who believed in the Bible and the second coming of Christ, Jehovah's Witnesses refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the Nazis or any secular authority.[70] Witnesses declined to salute the Nazi flag or 'Heil Hitler' because to have done so would have meant acknowledging that salvation would come through Hitler, whereas the Bible preached that salvation would come through Jesus Christ.[71] Although Jehovah's Witnesses did not class themselves as pacifists, they refused to serve in the earthly army as they saw 'themselves as citizens of another state' and the 'only battle they would fight was on Judgement Day in the war between good and evil'.[72] The Nazis levelled many charges at the Witnesses based on political allegiances that the party considered anathema, including that they were traitors, Zionists, Communists and that they

---

[64] Ibid.
[65] Ina R. Friedman, p.33.
[66] Ibid.
[67] The *Holocaust Exhibition*, interactive computer programme, section entitled 'Who Were the Victims? Christian Clergy', the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ, United Kingdom, viewed on 30-31 March 2004 and 3 October 2005 and Ina R. Friedman, p.33.
[68] Ina R. Friedman, pp.33, 38.
[69] Ibid, p.38.
[70] Ibid, p.47.
[71] *Purple Triangles*, Martin Smith, dir., UK, 1991.
[72] Christine King, 'Jehovah's Witnesses under Nazism', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), p.188 and Ina R. Friedman, p.47.

had freemasonic tendencies.[73] When the Nazis gained power, the Jehovah's Witnesses were put on a list of groups considered 'dangerous' to the regime and the Witnesses were banned from meeting in public or private, studying, proselytizing or distributing their 'Watchtower' magazine.[74] Witnesses lost their jobs, pensions and all civil rights and the Nazis began to arrest and imprison anyone found in possession of so-called 'subversive literature'.[75] Initially, only one Jehovah's Witness parent was imprisoned so that the children would not become a burden on the German State, but by 1936 both parents were being arrested and 800 children were sent to state homes to be raised as Nazis.[76] Throughout their ordeal, the Witnesses were steadfast in their faith. Jehovah's Witnesses were the only victim group who could assure their release by signing a document renouncing their faith, yet very few did so.[77] Figures for the number of Jehovah's Witnesses persecuted by the Nazis vary. Some sources state that the number of Witnesses imprisoned was 6,019 and others detail that 5,000, a quarter of the pre-war total of 20,000, perished.[78]

The Nazis persecuted those groups they considered to be 'political' opponents of the regime, including Communists, Socialists, Trade Unionists, prisoners of war and captured resistance fighters. In the Ukraine, the Nazis faced opposition to their plan to annihilate the Jews in the form of Communist partisans and an armed national resistance movement.[79] The two main groups of partisans consisted of the Soviets, who were directed from Moscow and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), 'which was a nationalist fighting force for the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state'.[80] It was not only partisans that the Nazis targeted, but also those (civilians) who were suspected of dealing with them, who were killed and whose villages were destroyed as a result.[81]

In addition to victimisation on religious and political grounds, the Nazis targeted certain groups of people for social reasons. Hitler 'considered homosexuality a predisposition that could not be changed' and as such, no

---

[73] Christine King, p.89.
[74] Ina R. Friedman, p.48.
[75] Christine King, p.190 and Ina R. Friedman, p.48.
[76] Ina R. Friedman, p.48.
[77] *Purple Triangles*.
[78] Ina R. Friedman, p.49 and Christine King, p.190.
[79] Taras Hunczak, 'The Ukrainian Losses during World War II', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), p.118.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

credence was placed in homosexuals altering their sexual orientation.[82] The Nazis' persecution of homosexuals began in 1934 when they were rounded up and sterilised or imprisoned.[83] According to official German court records, there were 120,000 convictions for homosexuality in the 1933-1945 period, but only a small proportion of those convicted were sent to concentration camps or death camps, usually repeat offenders.[84] Homosexual prisoners were treated particularly harshly by the Nazis in the concentration camps and, consequently, the majority of homosexual prisoners only lived for a short time.[85] The death rate for homosexual inmates (60%) was higher than that for other non-Jewish victims, such as political prisoners (41%) and Jehovah's Witnesses (35%).[86] Of the estimated 10,000 homosexuals imprisoned (some sources quote as few as 5,000 and some as many as 15,000) 6,000 died.[87] The Nazis treated gay men and women differently. Although some lesbians were sent to concentration camps, 'there were no laws against lesbianism' because 'the Nazis could not believe that German women could be interested in anything other than the production of children'.[88]

Before the Nazis' rise to power, Germans were already colour-conscious and the visible manifestation of a black minority, the African colonial troops who occupied the Rhineland after the First World War, 'stimulated racist sentiment'.[89] Propaganda depicting these African soldiers as rapists of German women and carriers of venereal diseases was backed by the German State.[90] At first, the Nazis targeted a specific group of German black people, the so-called 'Rhineland Bastards', also known as 'mulattoes', the children of the black troops and German mothers. These children were considered a threat to racial purity and thus the Nazis set up 'Commission Number 3', a secret group whose task was to arrange for their sterilisation.[91] In 1937 local authorities submitted information on persons

---

[82] Ruediger Lautman, 'Gay Prisoners in Concentration Camps as Compared with Jehovah's Witnesses and Political Prisoners', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), pp.201-202.
[83] Ina R. Friedman, p.26.
[84] Steven T. Katz, 'Genocide in the 20th Century. Essay: Quantity and Interpretation-Issues in the Comparative Historical Analysis of the Holocaust', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 4 (2) (1989), pp.145-146.
[85] Ruediger Lautman, 'Gay Prisoners in Concentration Camps', p.202.
[86] Ibid, p.203.
[87] Steven T. Katz, p.146.
[88] Ina R. Friedman, p.28.
[89] Robert Kesting, 'The Black Experience during the Holocaust', in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck (eds.), *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), p.359.
[90] Ina R. Friedman, p.91 and Robert Kesting, p.359.
[91] Ina R. Friedman, p.92.

in this category and those children identified were forcibly removed from schools, homes and off the street and placed unrepresented before a three-member commission who would certify that they were a 'Rhineland Bastard'.[92] As a result of this process, approximately 400 children were sterilised under the 1933 'Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Defects'.[93] Racial discrimination prohibited these children from seeking employment, welfare, housing, or gaining a place in higher education.[94] The Nazis' persecution of black people was not just limited to these German children. Black civilians and prisoners of war were incarcerated in Gestapo prisons and concentration camps, where they were segregated from their fellow white inmates and were brutally treated in comparison.[95] Captured black troops were used as slave labour during the war, constructing military fortifications and repairing roads.[96] Many died as a result of malnutrition and disease.[97] As they were not interned in the German prisoner of war system, the treatment of these black troops violated the Geneva Convention.[98] Robert Kesting has estimated that the pre-Holocaust black population of Germany was relatively small, between 1,000 and 1,500.[99] It is not known how many of these black people died as a result of Nazi tyranny.

The Nazis persecuted the Roma on racial and social grounds. Although popularly known as 'Gypsies' and often categorised as 'Roma and Sinti' in post-war representations, the term 'Roma' has been favoured in this thesis. The Roma consist of four main tribes: the Kalderash, the Machavaya, the Lovari and the Churari as well as other groups including the Sinti.[100] The majority of the Roma 'have always referred to themselves by their tribal names, or as Rom or Roma, meaning "Man" or "People"' and they feel that by using this self-appellation, derogatory names such as 'Gypsies' will become obsolete.[101] Although the geographical origins of the different tribes of Roma are distinct, all Roma share the spoken Romani language.[102] The Romani language is subject to dialectal

---

[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Robert Kesting, p.360.
[95] Ibid, p.362.
[96] Ibid, p.363.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid, p.360 and note 10, p.364.
[100] 'The Patrin Web Journal-A Brief History of the Roma (Gypsies)', <http://www.geocities.com/~patrin/history.htm>, May 2007.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Gilad Margalit, *Germany and Its Gypsies: A Post-Auschwitz Ordeal,* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), p.3 and 'The Patrin Web Journal-A Brief History of the Roma (Gypsies)'.

differences, 'but all dialects contain some common words in use by all Roma'.[103] There is no universal written Romani language.[104] The Nazis believed that the Roma were 'asocial' and 'workshy' and that they were criminal elements of society. From 1933, the Nazis attempted to socially control itinerant Roma by imprisoning them in internment camps which were set up in German cities.[105] The Nazis then began to persecute the Roma on racial grounds, in compliance with so-called 'science' which 'proved' the group's inherent criminality. Some members of the Roma were accordingly sterilised under the 1934 'Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring'.[106] Nazi measures towards the Roma became increasingly persecutory and some discriminatory actions that were initially intended for Jews were later applied to Roma as well, such as the 1935 'Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour', which forbade marriages between Jews and 'racially pure' Germans, in an effort to avoid *artfremdes Blut.*[107] On 16 December 1942 Heinrich Himmler signed the infamous 'Auschwitz Decree', which ordered the deportation of Roma in Germany to Auschwitz and later decrees commanded the deportation of Roma from some occupied countries in the west.[108] In Auschwitz, the Roma were categorised as 'antisocial', rather than racial inmates, indicated by the black triangular patches that they were forced to wear. They were a distinct group among the prisoner population, segregated from other categories of internees and held together in the so-called 'Gypsy Family Camp'. Dr Josef Mengele, Auschwitz's notorious 'Angel of Death', subjected Romani twins to horrendous medical experiments, infecting them with diseases such as typhoid, resulting in their deaths.[109]

Although Nazi policies towards the Roma were at times ambiguous and they did not state an intention to annihilate every member of the group, many historians have recognised that the fate of the Roma most closely parallels that of the Jews, as they were targeted across Europe, persecuted in part for racial reasons and gassed in large numbers. Furthermore, Roma were shot in considerable numbers

---

[103] 'The Patrin Web Journal-A Brief History of the Roma (Gypsies)'.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Guenter Lewy, *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.20-22.
[106] Ibid, p.39.
[107] Ibid, p.42.
[108] Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *Gypsies under the Swastika,* (Hertfordshire: Gypsy Research Centre and University of Hertfordshire Press, 1995), p.41.
[109] Benno Müller-Hill, *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies and Others in Germany, 1933-1945,* (Cold Spring Harbor: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 1998), pp.76-80.

by the various divisions of the *Einsatzgruppen*, the Nazis' mobile killing squads.[110] This is true of the Jews as well, but popular conception holds that it was in the camps that the highest number of Jews died. It is not only the fate of the Jews and the Roma that most corresponds, but also the enduring stereotypes concerning their persecution in post-Holocaust representations. Estimates for the number of Roma that were murdered by the Nazis vary tremendously, from a quarter of a million to half a million and more.[111] Such a large discrepancy between casualty figures demonstrates that not only was the persecution and fate of this non-Jewish victim group not documented as meticulously as that of the Jews, but also that the wartime suffering of the Roma has been under-researched in the post-war period. In stark contrast, as soon as the end of 1945 at the Nuremberg Trials, an accurate figure had been calculated for the number of Jewish dead, the group that have since become considered as the primary victims of the Holocaust.[112]

Based on the theory of Darwinism and the developing scientific field of eugenics, the Nazis believed that physical and mental conditions were hereditary. Society held (and as Hugh Gregory Gallagher, a historian and a polio quadriplegic, has highlighted, still holds today) the widespread belief that the handicapped were of less value than the able-bodied.[113] The Nazis branded the physically and mentally handicapped as 'useless eaters', with 'lives not worth living'.[114] In 1933 the 'Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Defects' decreed that persons who were hereditarily blind, deaf, physically or mentally handicapped, or alcoholic, should be sterilised.[115] As a result of this ruling, between 350,000 and 400,000 people were sterilised in the period 1934 to 1939.[116] The outbreak of the war brought new economic considerations concerning the treatment of the handicapped: they had to be fed and housed and medical supplies were limited, and as a result it was deemed that such resources could be better used on the able-

---

[110] For an account of the *Einsatzgruppen* murder of the Roma see Guenter Lewy, pp.117-132.
[111] Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), p.269.
[112] Donald Bloxham, *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.105.
[113] Hugh Gregory Gallagher, '"Slapping Up Spastics"', in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck (eds.), *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp.332-336.
[114] Ibid, p.327. For further details on the Nazis' euthanasia programme and policies towards the physically and mentally handicapped see for example, Michael Burleigh, *Ethics and Extermination: Reflections on Nazi Genocide*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
[115] Ina R. Friedman, p.64.
[116] Ibid.

bodied population.[117] 'Operation T4', also known euphemistically as the 'euthanasia programme', was established by the Nazis in 1939 with the aim of murdering physically and mentally handicapped adults under the guise of 'mercy killings'. In techniques that would later be employed to kill Jews, such as the carbon monoxide shower, the handicapped were murdered in their masses.[118] Towards the end of the war, mentally ill patients were shot by the SS and security forces and 'euthanasia' gave way to 'additional, widespread, unorganized, and indiscriminate killing'.[119] There are no reliable figures for the numbers of physically and mentally handicapped killed during 'Operation T4'. The official statistics, taken from those murdered at the killing centres at Grafeneck, Brandenburg, Bernburg, Hartheim (also known as Linz), Sonnenstein and Hadamar, state a total of 70,273.[120] Estimates by historians range from 120,000 to 275,000.[121] One historian has calculated that Germany's physically and mentally handicapped population was practically eliminated as a result of the Nazis' persecution: out of 300,000 mental patients in Germany in 1939, 40,000 remained by 1946.[122]

Non-Jewish Poles, Russians (including Soviet prisoners of war), Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Czechs were among those the Nazis classed as 'Slavs'. The Nazis held that all Slavs were racially inferior. Despite this, the Nazis believed that Slavs could be useful and some prisoners of war identified as 'Ukrainian' were released.[123] Poland had a history of being the target of German political expansion and Hitler personally disliked the Poles, 'he could not forgive them for refusing to submit to his conditions and for imposing a great war upon him three or four years ahead of his original plans'.[124] Hitler intended to destroy Poland in order to achieve the *Lebensraum* he envisaged for his new German state.[125] The Nazis' plans towards the non-Jewish Poles were racially, as well as pragmatically, motivated. As Slavs, non-Jewish Poles were considered

---

[117] Ina R. Friedman, p.64 and Hugh Gregory Gallagher, p.332.
[118] Hugh Gregory Gallagher, p.328.
[119] Ibid, p.329.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid, p.330.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Karel C. Berkhoff, 'The "Russian" Prisoners of War in Nazi-ruled Ukraine as Victims of Genocidal Massacre', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 15 (1) (2001), p.3.
[124] Israel Gutman, p.97.
[125] Richard C. Lukas, 'The Polish Experience during the Holocaust', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), p.88.

Untermenschen. The Nazis intended to destroy the Polish intelligentsia in order to prevent Poland from having a leadership and to use the majority of the Poles as 'a reservoir of cheap slave labour'.[126] In an effort to achieve these aims, the Nazis shattered Polish culture, higher education was forbidden, the intelligentsia, teachers and the clergy were targeted and 'more than two million Poles were sent to Germany as slave labour'.[127] Non-Jewish Poles were imprisoned in concentration camps and along with Soviet prisoners of war, were among the victims in the Nazis' first experiment with Zyklon B in September 1941 at Auschwitz, the method that would later kill nearly one million Jews.[128] Approximately 3 million non-Jewish Poles, 10% of the non-Jewish population, were murdered by the Nazis.[129] Although this figure is high, it is relatively low in terms of the percentage of the non-Jewish population affected. Moreover, it is small in comparison to the fate of Polish Jewry, of whom 3 million were killed, 90% of Poland's total Jewish population.[130]

Soviet prisoners of war were treated particularly harshly by the *Wehrmacht.* The callousness of the German army resulted from 'racist orders by German policy-makers who thought of the multiethnic Soviet prisoners as 'Russians".[131] Soviet prisoners of war were regarded racially as 'subhuman' and 'Bolsheviks'. They were considered to be 'irreversibly 'infected' with Bolshevism, the vicious ideology and political party created by 'Jewry" and they were therefore 'superfluous or positively dangerous'.[132] Soviet prisoners of war were killed by deliberate starvation, a lack of shelter, appalling transport conditions and their general (mis)treatment.[133] Their handling was 'the result of the most basic *Wehrmacht* directives issued for warfare in the East', among these orders were the 13 May 1941 Barbarossa Directive and the 6 June 1941 Commissar Order.[134] The Barbossa Directive commanded that troops 'deal[t] ruthlessly with any "criminal attacks" committed by Soviet civilians. Crimes that Wehrmacht soldiers

---

[126] Israel Gutman, p.97.
[127] Ibid, pp.97-98.
[128] Sybille Steinbacher [Shaun Whiteside, trans.], *Auschwitz: A History,* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), p.88.
[129] Israel Gutman, p.98.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Karel C. Berkhoff, p.1.
[132] Ibid, p.3.
[133] Christian Streit, 'The Fate of the Soviet Prisoners of War', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis,* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), pp.143-145.
[134] Ibid, p.145.

committed were to go unpunished if the perpetrator claimed political motives for his actions.'[135] The Commissar Order 'charged the troops to shoot all political commissars of the Red Army upon capture'.[136] Akin to non-Jewish Poles, Soviet prisoners of war were among the first prisoners to be gassed at Auschwitz, when 900 were murdered, along with other categories of sick and weak prisoners.[137] The Soviet prisoners of war suffered severely numerically during the Second World War. Approximately 5.7 million Red Army soldiers were captured between 1941 and 1945.[138] Of these, 3.3 million (57%) had died by the end of the war.[139] This number does not include those Soviet prisoners of war who died outside of captivity and as a result, may be too low to be a complete figure for Soviet casualties.[140] Indeed, some sources have estimated Soviet losses in the region of 20 million, including military and civilian casualties.[141] Similar to the Roma, the wide range of estimated casualties for the Soviet prisoners of war indicates that as a victim group their story has been relatively forgotten.

The Nazis' treatment of the Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians was founded on racial grounds. The Nazis' policy towards the Ukrainians, for example, was one of 'economic exploitation and ruthless oppression'.[142] The Ukrainian elite were to be exterminated and the remainder of the population was to either be dispersed into Asia or to be enslaved as part of the *Drang nach Osten* in the quest for the acquisition of *Lebensraum*.[143] In the process of this racist policy, 'millions of Ukrainian civilians were deliberately burned, shot, starved and worked to death' and some were murdered in concentration camps in Germany and Poland.[144] Approximately 2.4 million Ukrainians were sent to Germany as slave labour.[145] Thousands of Ukrainian children and juveniles were also targeted by the Nazis: they were kidnapped or rounded up and sent, accompanied by their mothers, to prisoner of war camps, or they were interned in special camps 'where they were expected to learn to work

---

[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid, p.146.
[137] Sybille Steinbacher, pp.87-89.
[138] Christian Streit, p.142.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Lucy S. Dawidowicz, p.6.
[142] Taras Hunczak, pp.116-117.
[143] Bohdan Vitvitsky, 'Slavs and Jews: Consistent and Inconsistent Perspectives on the Holocaust', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), pp.103-104.
[144] Ibid, p.104.
[145] Ibid, p.106.

and obey the command of the master race'.[146] An estimated 3,898,457 Ukrainian civilians perished during the Second World War and 1,366,588 Ukrainian military personnel were killed or died as prisoners of war.[147] In Byelorussia, between 1 million and 1.4 million (13.5%) non-Jewish civilians were killed.[148]

When the approximate preceding figures are accumulated (taking the lowest figures provided), the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust alone total an estimated 12.7 million. If the 6 million Jewish victims are then incorporated, the total number of victims of the Nazis' regime reaches an approximate 18.7 million. With this figure in mind, the widespread use of the phrase '11 million' to refer to the Jewish *and* non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust appears to be a misinterpretation. An etymology of the terms '6 million' and '11 million', including when and where they were first applied and by whom, has proved extremely difficult to piece together. As Donald Bloxham has highlighted, the phrase '6 million' was cited initially at the first set of hearings of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in late 1945.[149] During the proceedings, an affidavit of Reich Security Head Office (RSHA) official Wilhelm Höttl that reported a conversation he had had with SS *Obersturmbannführer* Adolf Eichmann, was referred to.[150] In the document Höttl revealed that Eichmann 'had estimated that the Nazis had murdered 6 million Jews in total, 'approximately four million…in the various concentration camps' and 2 million 'in other ways".[151] War crimes and crimes against humanity were the focus of the proceedings at Nuremberg, not the Jewish victims and thus although 'the total of 6 million Jewish dead was promoted at Nuremberg' it was 'in an atmosphere where statistics were hurled around with abandon and where false equivalencies were regularly drawn - both unconsciously and wilfully - between victim groups. The press coverage of the trials served only to magnify the distortions of the courtroom.'[152] Nonetheless, the Nuremberg Trials left behind the legacy of the figure '6 million', as it was the first estimate of Jewish casualties offered by a non-Jewish body.[153] Since 1945 the phase '6 million' has become synonymous with the Jewish Holocaust and the number 6 is used symbolically in Holocaust commemoration.

---

[146] Ibid; p.120.
[147] Ibid, p.122.
[148] Steven T. Katz, p.148.
[149] Donald Bloxham, *Genocide on Trial*, p.105.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid, p.124.
[153] Ibid, p.218.

The figure '11 million' is a more recent designation, yet its roots are not documented in a substantial manner. In his memoirs, Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel cites that in the early 1980s Simon Wiesenthal, a fellow survivor and a so-called Nazi-hunter, preached the universality of the Holocaust due to the 11 million victims that were murdered by the Nazis, including 'Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, and others'.[154] Wiesel questioned Wiesenthal's use of the number, as he was unaware of it being employed by any historian.[155] Wiesel had only heard the figure employed in Eichmann's report on the Wannsee Conference, but it was in reference to the 11 million Jews that were to be targeted.[156] The figure '11 million' probably derives from a distortion of the number of camp deaths, which has become orthodoxy at a popular level and it has therefore remained unquestioned. Whatever its origins, and despite its inaccuracy, the phrase '11 million' has become tantamount with a universal interpretation of the Holocaust: it is used to include all of the Nazis' victims, Jewish and non-Jewish alike.

iv. The Chapters

Due to the variety of genres of Holocaust representation, ranging from commemorative ceremonies to literature (including survivor testimony and fictional and non-fictional accounts) to film, two modes have been focused upon in the course of this thesis, the museum installation and the memorial. Both the museum exhibition and the memorial are physical portrayals of the Holocaust, dependent upon their visual power. They are genres of representation that are easily accessible to the public, situated in open parkland, or on streets, or in buildings with free admittance. Some have become tourist attractions in their own right. In the course of the examination of these two genres, other means of representation will by necessity be investigated. The museum installation has been given more attention than memorials in terms of the length of text devoted to it. Both the museum exhibitions featured are permanent, concentrated and extensive forms of representation raising numerous issues regarding the portrayal of non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust to the public. The museum exhibitions concerned

---

[154] Elie Wiesel [Marion Wiesel, trans.], *And the Sea Is Never Full: Memoirs, 1969-*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1999), p.129.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.

are larger in size than the memorials considered and as such demand a greater depth of analysis. The museum installations are multi-layered in nature: it is not only the exhibitions themselves and the various media that are employed within the displays that must be examined, but also the politics involved in the planning of the installations and the relationship of the exhibitions to the buildings in which they are housed and the surrounding topography.

Chapter One begins with an overview of the issues of representation that inform museology in general, such as the subjectivity of objects and the meaning that they construct. Current debates in the field, for example, the conflict between the educative and entertainment function of the museum and the place of technology, are additionally examined. The specific issues that affect the portrayal in a museum setting of subjects that are not deemed to be traditionally aesthetic such as slavery, war and the Holocaust, are then set out. The chapter is divided into two main case studies: the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, D.C., and its *Permanent Exhibition* and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum (IWM) in London. In each instance, the political, social and cultural conditions in which the exhibitions were conceived are reviewed, as well as the specific reasons for their creation given by the institutions. How the nature of the institution, the building itself, the surrounding topography and the country in which they are located affected the narrative of the installations is determined. Full use was made of the archival holdings of the respective institutions relating to the drafting of the exhibitions. Drawing on the minutes of meetings held by the planning bodies and newsletters published by the museums, the representation of non-Jewish victims on the organisational committees and the extent to which non-Jewish groups would be portrayed in the display narrative, are explored. A series of interviews with leading figures in the planning and implementation of the exhibitions enhance the American and British case studies. In the instance of both the USHMM and the IWM, I sought to mainly interview key members of staff that had helped to establish the *Permanent Exhibition* and the *Holocaust Exhibition*, in order to achieve a sense of the ethos behind the displays and the discussions concerning who and what would be included in the exhibition narratives and how. Due to the pragmatic constraints of my limited time at the USHMM corresponding to the availability of members of staff, I also spoke to some figures who have worked on the Exhibition since it

opened.[157] The interviews add to the thesis a range of perspectives on the development of the exhibitions and provide some invaluable personal insights. Close analysis of both display narratives was carried out during research visits in order to identify how, and the extent to which, non-Jewish victims are represented in the form of text, artefacts, photographs, audiovisual testimony, physical space, context, employment of terminology and in relation to the persecution of the Jews. The *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition is drawn upon to further examine the IWM's treatment of genocide. The place of non-Jewish victims outside of the installation space is established in the study of accompanying literature, special exhibitions, conferences and the respective institutions' websites. The chapter concludes with a comparative and contrasting segment, illuminating the overwhelming, if not surprising, similarities between the representation of non-Jewish victim groups in both exhibitions.

The way in which the Holocaust and its victims, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have been commemorated in memorials is examined in Chapter Two. The chapter opens with an investigation of the relationship between memorialisation and memory, including the conflict between private and public forms of memory and the inherent problem of forgetting. Shifts in commemorative trends, through specific examples of memorial projects, are also discussed. Two main sections form the core of the chapter. The first section concentrates on three selected memorials in the United States of America: the rebuilt and resituated Baltimore memorial, George Segal's 'The Holocaust' in San Francisco's Lincoln Park and Nathan Rapoport's 'Liberation' memorial in Liberty State Park, New Jersey. The other section focuses on three memorials in the United Kingdom, two of which are situated in London: the Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park and Fritz Kormis' Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial in Gladstone Park, Dollis Hill. The third, the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree, is located in rural Derbyshire. The six memorial case studies were selected partly due to pragmatic reasons. In the example of the United States memorials, I was unable to visit them in situ and it was therefore important that the memorials chosen had an availability of both primary and secondary sources revealing substantial details about the evolution and reception of the memorials.

---

[157] I sought to interview the following key figures in the establishment of both the *Permanent Exhibition* at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum but was unable to do: Michael Berenbaum, Martin Gilbert, David Cesarani, Ben Helfgott and Antony Lerman.

Not being able to visit the American memorials brought limitations upon the quality of the photographs, depth of close analysis, achieving a sense of place and on-site person observation, all of which were invaluable in the British instances. I also selected the six particular memorials due to the fact that they were all very different from each other and as a result, would provide contrasting case studies. Although the variations in the choice of memorials have demonstrated the difficulty of providing generalisations, they have also shown the importance of the specific local contexts of each memorial.

Both sections frame the analysis of the chosen case studies in a brief history of Holocaust memorialisation in their respective countries, before examining the specific political and cultural conditions in which the memorials were conceived. In addition, the personal and career background of the sculptor and the debates surrounding the memorials' installation are considered utilising, among other sources, contemporary newspaper reports. Close analysis of the memorials is carried out, in which their physical composition, inscriptions, maintenance (or lack of) and surrounding topography are scrutinised, accompanied by photographs. In the case of the British memorials, observational visits were conducted and public interaction with the memorials noted. All of these elements are brought together to establish the precise nature of Holocaust memory that the memorials convey and commemorate, whether it is the Jewish victims alone or the Jewish and non-Jewish victim groups that are to be remembered. The parallels and contrasts between the two sets of memorials are discussed in a concluding section, which highlights the impact of divergent ethnic politics and the way in which each country's varying relationship with the event has affected its representation in memorial form.

How and where the non-Jewish victim groups of the Holocaust have figured, or been forgotten, in the subsequent representations of the event is the focus of this thesis. The museum exhibition has become a ubiquitous method of Holocaust memory. In both the United States of America and the United Kingdom, national installations have been established to function simultaneously as commemorative markers and didactic tools. What then, and more precisely, how, do these important exhibitions tell a contemporary visitor about the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust? The answer to this question begins with an exploration of the genre of museology.

Chapter One: The Museum Setting

Section One: Museology

At present there are thousands of museums in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. These institutions cover a wide variety of subjects, from natural history to vintage cars. Even topics that have a disturbing subject matter, such as the Holocaust, are now the focus of museum exhibitions and even entire museums. Despite the diverging nature of topics, all museums have a connection; they are subject to, and concerned with, issues of representation. Such matters converge around features that can be seen, whether explicitly or implicitly, in the display, for example, the multiple voices involved in any presentation and the exhibited artefacts. External factors entailed in the composition of a museum display are also implicated in issues of representation, for instance, the relationship between the museum and its audience and the museum's place within the tourist industry. All of these concerns have become increasingly debated in the last twenty-five years, particularly with the introduction of museology.

Museology, simply defined, is 'the study of museums, their history and underlying philosophy, the various ways in which they have [...] been established and developed, their avowed or unspoken aims and policies, their educative or political or social rôle'.[1] Museology is a relatively new critical discipline that evolved in the 1980s, particularly in the Anglo-American world.[2] Although museums were first established hundreds of years ago, it is only of late that they have been regarded as a topic worthy of contemplation and it is even more recently that museology has been recognised as a field of study in its own right.[3] Moreover, there is now a distinction between an 'old' and a 'new' museology. A 'new' museology was born out of a dissatisfaction, both within and outside the museum profession, with the 'old' museology which concentrated primarily on museum approach, such as their administration, their methods and techniques of conservation, their financial well-being and their success or neglect in the eyes of the public.[4] The 'new' museology focused alternatively on the purpose of

---

[1] Peter Vergo, 'Introduction', in Peter Vergo (ed.), *The New Museology,* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1989), p.1.
[2] Mark Suggitt, 'Museums for the Millennium', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), p.4.
[3] Peter Vergo, p.3.
[4] Ibid.

museums and the complicated subtexts involved in the creation of a museum exhibition, such as 'the intellectual or political or social or educational aspirations and preconceptions of the museum director, the curator, the scholar, the designer, the sponsor - to say nothing of the society, the political or social or educational system which nurtured all these people and in so doing left its stamp upon them'.[5] The establishment of the critical discipline of museology has led to academic studies of various genres of museum exhibitions, which have involved the examination of the multiple influences and issues inherent in museum representation.

i. Museological Issues: Voices, Objects and Role

Whether the subject of a museum exhibition is that of the Holocaust or an ethnographic depiction of a particular tribal people in South America, the representation of the topic involved is both highly subjective and has become contested to a greater extent. Museum exhibitions are exposed to the idiosyncratic opinions and influences of numerous agencies including the exhibitor, the genre of the museum itself, the museum hierarchy, such as its board of directors and various funding bodies. These multiple voices shape what the exhibition displays and more importantly, the meaning that is conveyed. These viewpoints often have difficulty reconciling themselves and within a single museum there may be a challenge 'developing an internal consensus and clearly defined objectives' as the nature of museums necessitates that 'they are organisations composed of diverse personnel with different interests'.[6] When representatives of the theme, group or nation depicted in the museum exhibition voice their opinion, another influence is added to the discussion about the manner in which to represent the subject matter. Indeed, 'it is only recently that peoples or groups, nations, and even cities have felt that to be represented in a museum was to be given recognition as a culture, therefore giving rise [...] to questions about how to do it right'.[7] Curators of museums face difficulties in answering the concerns of the groups featured in the

---

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ivan Karp, 'Culture and Representation', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p.11.

[7] Svetlana Alpers, 'The Museum as a Way of Seeing', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p.30.

exhibition, as well as responding to the cross-section of parties and interests involved in the museum.[8] As will be demonstrated in the course of the chapter, this dual struggle for agreement among the various museum bodies and between these internal forces and the external voices of the groups that were to be represented in the museum display, was clearly evident and became extremely divisive in the planning stages of the USHMM in Washington D.C (and to a lesser extent, in the *Holocaust Exhibition* at London's IWM). How these debates affected the way in which the narrative of the Holocaust was told in the exhibitions and, consequently, the meanings that were set forth, will be investigated.

Steven D. Lavine and Ivan Karp have suggested that, in future, museums should actively involve groups in contributing to the manner in which they are represented in museums and, furthermore, that exhibitions should allow for multiple perspectives.[9] Yet, the offering of multiple perspectives and the admittance of 'the highly contingent nature of the interpretations offered', is viewed as problematic by some in the museum profession as it may lead visitors to call the authority of museums into question.[10] Museums are invested with an assumed authority, an authority that stems from the objects they display. As Mark Suggitt, Director of St Albans Museum has stated, 'the unique selling point of museums is that they present and interpret "the real thing." Whether they are presented as icons, as relics or as illustrations, there is often the unquestioned assumption that the real thing has an integrity and therefore an assumed authority, be it artistic or historical.'[11] As Suggitt has also outlined, this assumption of authority carries an inherent danger because any museum exhibition is the construction of its maker.[12] Museum installations are subject to the personal opinions and the political, social, educational and cultural influences of the multiple voices involved in the composition of the display. It is therefore not necessarily detrimental that visitors question the authority of museums, as they must be aware that what is represented to them in a museum exhibition is exactly that, a subjective *re*-presentation.

---

[8] Steven D. Lavine and Ivan Karp, 'Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p.2.
[9] Ibid, p.6.
[10] Ibid, p.7.
[11] Mark Suggitt, pp.1-2.
[12] Ibid, p.2.

Museums and their displays have, until relatively recently, been object-led. Objects are the central element of the traditional museum exhibition and are typically 'presented in vitrines, on stands, or on walls and are accompanied by labels, leaflets, or a catalogue. There may be additional elements - video displays or films, theatrical or musical performances, perhaps even cuisine - but the centre of the exhibition consists of objects offered for inspection and to some extent expounded.'[13] It is important for the museum visitor to bear in mind that 'artefacts do not 'spirit' themselves into museum collections: they are collected, interpreted and exhibited - all purposeful and motivated activities'.[14] In addition, the objects of any museum exhibition, regardless of the genre of the display, have been carefully and purposefully selected by museum curators precisely because they are judged to be aesthetically attractive and of visual interest.[15] The task of museum representation involves the construction of an event, culture or particular aspect of a culture that has been systematically organised by the exhibitor. There are numerous elements that affect how a visitor looks at an object in a museum setting and what the visitor sees:

> The way a picture or object is hung or placed - its frame or support, its position relative to the viewer (is it high, low, or on a level? Can it be walked around or not? Can it be touched? Can one sit and view it or must one stand?), the light on it (does one want constant light? Focused or diffuse? Should one let natural light and dark play on it and let the light change throughout the day and with the seasons?), and the other objects it is placed with and so compared to.[16]

All objects are displayed in a manner that a particular museum believes to be the best representation of that material. In order for this to be achieved, the display of artefacts is determined by the museum's particular agenda, the way in which the museum wishes the subject to be presented. The lighting, accompanying text and positioning of the object all affect the significance that it holds for the visitor. These elements are controlled by the exhibitor who in turn shapes the connotations of an artefact.

---

[13] Michael Baxandall, 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p.33.
[14] Henrietta Lidchi, 'The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures', in Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, (London, Thousandoaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd in association with The Open University, 1997), p.163.
[15] Svetlana Alpers, p.25.
[16] Ibid, p.31.

In an examination of the ethnographic display, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has maintained that it is not whether an object is of visual interest that is the crucial concern, but how that interest is created in a museum display.[17] The ethnographic object, although lacking visual interest in itself, has artefactual autonomy which allows it to be displayed in and of itself.[18] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has proposed that there are two ways in which the ethnographic object is presented that invests the object with interest to a viewer. The first mode of display she has called 'in situ', where 'the object is a part that stands in a contiguous relation to an absent whole that may or may not be recreated'.[19] The object is placed in a mimetic setting such as a re-created environment. The 'in situ' approach is not a neutral one, objects 'are not a slice of life lifted from the everyday world and inserted into the museum gallery'.[20] The second style of display Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has named 'in context', where the object is set in context by a series of explanatory devices, such as labels, as well as by the arrangement of other objects.[21] The benefits of the 'in context' approach 'to installation [are to] establish a theoretical framework of reference for the viewer, offer explanations, provide historical background, make comparisons, pose questions, and sometimes even extend to the circumstances of excavation, collection, and conservation of the objects on display'.[22] Both the 'in situ' and the 'in context' methods of presenting artefacts are followed by exhibition designers in order to invest the objects with visual interest that will draw and hold the attention of the visiting public. These two approaches demonstrate that the placing of objects in a museum exhibition is not a random, objective activity; artefacts are arranged according to aesthetic values that have the viewer, not the subject of the display, in mind. It is inherent in the work of creating a museum representation of any nature that items are chosen subjectively, in order to specifically demonstrate one part of the narrative that the museum has decided to display, overstating or understating certain elements, including or excluding others. Within this section of the thesis, this process will be discussed in the analysis of the representation of the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust in the displays at the USHMM and the IWM. Problems

---

[17] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Objects of Ethnography', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p.434.
[18] Ibid, p.386.
[19] Ibid, p.388.
[20] Ibid, p.389.
[21] Ibid, p.390.
[22] Ibid.

of acquisition, as well as the condition of the artefacts, also demand which items are displayed and which are not.

The positioning of the object is not the only issue surrounding the artefacts in a museum exhibition. Henrietta Lidchi has demonstrated the complex situation artefacts occupy, they are perceived by the visitor to be 'objective data' and 'are frequently described as documents or evidence from the past, and are regarded as pristine, material embodiments of cultural essences which transcend the vicissitudes of time, place and historical contingency'.[23] The way in which objects are displayed affects the meaning that they convey to the museum visitor. Artefacts rely upon an audience as well as upon the creators of the installation to invest them with meaning:

> Objects have meaning, but meaning can only come from the mind. Meanings require communication, and it is people, not goods, who are the active agents in communication. [...] what really happens when we let objects speak for themselves is that viewers attach their own meanings; and, as meanings constantly change, can we expect a contemporary audience to understand them in the way their original users did [...].[24]

Meanings are fluid and the way in which a contemporary audience interprets an artefact will almost certainly differ from the significance the object held originally. Furthermore, the meaning that is invested in the artefact by the viewer will vary from one visitor to the next, as it is dependent on what they bring to the exhibition, their preconceived stereotypes, as well as their knowledge, educational, social, cultural and political influences. Thus, there is no single fixed meaning of an object and, in turn, the meaning of an entire museum display will alter from one visitor to another.

This museological primacy of the object brought with it a limitation, namely that 'the ideas and the socio-economic climate which formed them were ignored'.[25] In the 1980s 'the primacy of objects as a means of communicating and educating' was questioned due to 'the competition from other media such as film, TV, photography, video and computers, not to mention the vast amount of written material'.[26] As a result, there was a diminution in the role of artefacts in museums and a change took place in the methods involved in museum displays, with a new

---

[23] Henrietta Lidchi, p.162.
[24] Mark Suggitt, p.6.
[25] Ibid, p.4.
[26] Ibid.

emphasis placed on 'the importance of an organizational scheme for arranging objects and labels to explain them, and the willing acceptance of copies, casts, impressions, photographs, diagrams, and other surrogates for primary artefacts'.[27] Although the dominance of the artefact over the text became reversed during this period, the text used to accompany an object is also subject to the influences of the museum and an exhibitor. Using ethnographic displays as an example, Lidchi has explained that the text decodes the object for the viewer, rendering something unfamiliar comprehensible.[28] What the text decodes, however, is non-objective; the text can 'direct the reader to a preferred reading since they must navigate the reader on a directed route through potentially complex and unfamiliar terrain'.[29] In addition, akin to artefacts, text can highlight certain elements of a narrative or obfuscate others, a problem that will be examined in the representation of the non-Jewish victim groups in Washington's *Permanent Exhibition* and London's *Holocaust Exhibition*. Artefacts and text are not the only methods of representation that the contemporary museum display employs.

We are currently in a period of technological revolution, where computers, email and the worldwide web are a part of our every day lives. In order for museums to continue to be perceived as an important aspect of contemporary culture, G. Ellis Burcaw has warned that they must progress with this electronic age, they 'must join it, not fight it'.[30] Museums are thus at present involved in a debate concerning the use of contemporary devices that are designed to enhance the experience and understanding of the museum visitor. Museums are wary of the use of such equipment that deviates from the traditional format of exhibitions, namely the displaying of artefacts accompanied by text. The use and appropriateness of such technology was considered, as we shall see, in the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM. There are many in the museum field who fear that technological advances will be the death of the museum. Yet, as Suggitt has illustrated, museums like any other institution, already rely heavily on computers to carry out essential tasks, 'to word-process, to store data, to number crunch'.[31] Today, computers are increasingly utilised in museum displays themselves, 'as

---

[27] Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, p.395.
[28] Henrietta Lidchi, p.166.
[29] Ibid.
[30] G. Ellis Burcaw, *Introduction to Museum Work: Third Edition,* (Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York and Oxford: AltaMira Press, a Division of Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997), pp.216-217.
[31] Mark Suggitt, p.9.

aids to interpretation, as colourful, multi-layered labels'.[32] Many museums offer comprehensive websites detailing much of the information that is to be found in their in-house displays and some allow the electronic visitor to view the museum exhibition through the means of an online tour. This latest technological advance has created the worry among some museum professionals that if their collections can be viewed on the Internet in the comfort of the viewer's own home, then the public will no longer want to visit museums in person. Suggitt has stated that this concern merely 'stems from the usual fear of the new' and that people are 'social animals', they want to go out and explore a museum display firsthand with others.[33] Both the American and British Holocaust exhibitions that will be discussed in the chapter are marked by the multimedia age in which they were conceived. The future of museums will no doubt involve an increased reliance on electronic technology in order to provide more varied and sophisticated interpretation techniques and will consequently appeal to a wider audience.[34] The introduction of interactive multimedia is seen as a way of making the museum 'less elitist and more democratic'.[35]

In contemporary society museums are a part of the tourist industry, they have become more and more popular and attract a high number of visitors. In order to entice the public, museums employ the latest marketing strategies, such as advertising campaigns. Furthermore, museums have had to make the 'visitor experience' complete, museums can no longer simply display artefacts. This has led to the necessity for museums to provide public services such as a restaurant. The ultimate sign that museums have become integrated into the tourist service is the inclusion of a gift shop, where pictures and replicas of artefacts on display can be purchased. Tourism can be 'seen as a central rationale for the existence of museums', which in turn raises a debate concerning the purpose of museums, in which there are perceived to be two opposing forces, those of education and entertainment.[36] There are two schools of thought among museum professionals, those who are traditionalist, who believe that the museum should adhere to long-standing methods and those who believe museums must change in accordance with

---

[32] Ibid, p.8.
[33] Ibid, p.9
[34] G. Ellis Burcaw, p.216.
[35] Andrea Whitcomb, *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p.4.
[36] Ibid.

contemporary culture.[37] Within these two contrasting views tourism is seen as either 'the death of the museum or its liberation'.[38] Kenneth Hudson has voiced the fear that a key feature of the tourist industry, its desire to give its customers what it wants, is dangerous for ethnographic displays that represent an unfamiliar culture, 'the tourist industry demands that the past shall be kept alive because it is what its customers expect to see, and the result is the perpetuation of bogus culture throughout the world' and people do not realise that it is bogus.[39]

This emphasis on museums as part of present-day society's leisure industry is seen to be at odds with the primary purpose of museums: to educate. Museums play a vital role in the education of any nation, in Britain they are 'linked to the National Curriculum, higher education and lifelong learning'.[40] Indeed, the didactic role of the contemporary museum is listed in the Museums Association's definition of a museum in the following terms: 'Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society.'[41] With the development of museology, in the last 'fifteen years museums have realised that they need to know who comes through their doors and why. In a multi-cultural pluralistic society it is essential. Museums have to know what people need.'[42] The relationship between a museum and its audience has changed recently due to the alteration of a traditional attitude in the museum towards visitors; museums no longer regard their public as a 'citizenry' and as a result museums now view their primary role to be that of educator.[43]

All museums invite the visitor to take an active role in their exhibitions and museums want their exhibitions to fulfil an educational function. Visitors assume that exhibitions have a didactic role to play, as well as that of preserver of treasured items from the past.[44] In what Michael Baxandall has called 'the space between the label and object', in other words, the relationship between the viewer, the maker of the exhibit and the exhibitor, Baxandall believes there is greater

---

[37] Ibid, pp.1-2.
[38] Ibid, p.18.
[39] Kenneth Hudson, 'How Misleading Does an Ethnographic Museum Have to Be?', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp.463-464.
[40] Mark Suggit, p.8.
[41] 'The Code of Ethics: key elements' in 'Museums Association', <http://www.museumsassociation.org>, March 2005.
[42] Mark Suggit, p.11.
[43] Andrea Whitcomb, p.4.
[44] Michael Baxandall, p.33.

opportunity for the viewer to learn.[45] Baxandall has recommended that the exhibitor can involve the viewer to a larger extent:

> less by seeking to control or direct the viewer's mind in this space than by, as it were, enlarging the space. There are many ways in which he can do this. The one [Baxandall] would mention [...] is the offering of a cultural fact relevant to the object that demands that the viewer work to make the connection. He need not work very hard.[46]

Svetlana Alpers has maintained that the educational function of some museum displays is sometimes subsumed under an information overload, that 'perhaps more attention could be paid to the educational possibilities of installing objects rather than communicating ideas about them. Free viewers, in other words, and make them less intimidated about looking.'[47] In order for the viewer to be unrestricted to look at what is being presented to them in the exhibition, Alpers has suggested including detailed documentation in a separate catalogue which the visitor can digest and reflect upon at their leisure.[48] Karp views the visitor's reorganisation of knowledge as one of the central functions of a museum, as 'audiences do not bring to exhibitions the full range of cultural resources necessary for comprehending them; otherwise there would be no point to exhibiting'.[49] Karp believes that it is the museum's role to make the visitor reorganise their knowledge, rather than to 'define their experience of the exhibition to fit with their existing categories of knowledge'.[50] Museums have a reciprocal relationship with their visitors: museums require input from the viewing public, rather than the public merely requiring information from them.

ii. The Representation of Disturbing Subjects in a Museum Display: War, Slavery and the Holocaust

Today, museums are aware of the educational requirements of an audience to such an extent that they know they can present the difficult and the disturbing.[51] The Holocaust as a topic for museum display certainly adheres to this challenge.

---

[45] Ibid, p.37.
[46] Ibid, p.40.
[47] Svetlana Alpers, p.31.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ivan Karp, p.22.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Mark Suggitt, p.7.

Holocaust museums raise the question of the relationship between art and the Holocaust.[52] In the last twenty years 'the question no longer is *whether* to represent the Holocaust [...] in the visual arts but *how* to do so'.[53] As noted by Andreas Huyssen, claims that the Holocaust is unrepresentable have lost their veracity for later generations who have only experienced the Holocaust vicariously, through visual representations.[54] The visual representation of the Holocaust has become central to contemporary society's understanding of the Holocaust due to the nature of our relationship to the catastrophe, namely that we did not experience it firsthand. Holocaust museums must therefore face the aesthetic challenges that the type of material they are displaying forces them to confront. As has already been highlighted, the objects that are on display in a museum have been specifically chosen, they have been judged to be of visual interest to a viewer.[55] The notion of an object that is aesthetically pleasing is somewhat complicated when the subject matter of the exhibition is that of the Holocaust. Nevertheless, the artefacts that are on display in a Holocaust museum have been selected because the visitor will want to look at them, perceiving them to be evidence of the catastrophe that is being related. The selected objects, although possibly gruesome in nature, are displayed in such a way that as previously noted by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, they create visual interest and encourage the viewer to pause, examine them and reflect upon their purpose and effect. James E. Young has questioned the use of artefacts relating to the Holocaust, such as the piles of shoes and combs on display in the museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau: 'What precisely does the sight of concentration-camp artefacts awaken in viewers? Historical knowledge? A sense of evidence? Revulsion, grief, fear?'[56] Ironically, as Young has demonstrated, these objects serve as a triumph for the Nazi perpetrators, for it is through these artefacts, the remnants of a destroyed people, that the memory of the victims of the Holocaust is perpetuated to a contemporary audience.[57] The types of artefacts and the way in which they are displayed in the exhibitions at the USHMM and the IWM will be

---

[52] Suzanne Bardgett, 'The Genesis and Development of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition Project', *The Journal of Holocaust Education,* 7 (3) (1998), p.34.
[53] Andreas Huyssen, 'Of Mice and Mimesis: Reading Spiegelman with Adorno', in Barbie Zelizer (ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust,* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), p.28.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Svetlana Alpers, p.25.
[56] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.132.
[57] Ibid.

examined in order to ascertain how, and the extent to which, non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust are represented or un-represented.

It is not only artefacts in a Holocaust museum that present a paradox between aesthetics and a disturbing subject matter. Objects featured in museum exhibitions focusing on war are arranged in such a manner that they will be palatable to an audience, even though the subject matter is seemingly incongruous with this wish, 'conquest and subjugation, massacre and destruction, suffering and pain, are all neatly reordered in glass cases'.[58] In relation to the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery in the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside in Liverpool, Marcus Wood has illustrated how artefacts that held a grotesque purpose in the era in which they were utilised alter the feelings they arouse in a contemporary viewer when they are placed in a museum setting. Using traditional conventions of museum exhibition, objects associated with the torture of slaves become sanitised:

> Despite their horrible functions the branding irons and slave collars on display in cases are almost reassuring. Their patina of age, their elegant forms, the clean stands they are placed upon, the neat labels with their dates and the matter of fact descriptions place them comfortably within an aesthetics of museum display which can cover any old subject from any culture.[59]

Rather than allowing a dialogue between contemporary audiences and the experiences of slaves, Wood believes that the power of such artefacts of the slave trade is to emphasise our inability to make contact with the past.[60]

Museums that exhibit war and Holocaust displays have become a part of the tourist industry and they are popular with the public. This brings up questions of taste and palatability. Why do visitors want to view displays depicting violence and mass death? Is it an unhealthy interest in the morbid? Or is it perceived as an opportunity to learn about an event in the history of humankind, no matter how awful? Whatever the impetus, war museums 'often implicate the viewer in a fascination with (their inevitably aestheticised representations of) violence'.[61] Omer Bartov has maintained that 'this may partly be avoided [...] by concentrating on the effects, rather than the events, of war', but this approach in

---

[58] Omer Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.154.
[59] Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.299.
[60] Ibid, pp.300-301.
[61] Omer Bartov, p.8.

turn presents another difficulty, soldiers are presented as victims rather than the perpetrators of violence.[62] In fact, the fear has been voiced that in considering the construction of a Holocaust museum, the horror of the event will likely be underplayed so as not to 'feed the diseased fantasies of the sadistic'.[63] On the other hand, if a Holocaust display was too visually horrific the public may be dissuaded from visiting and ultimately, from learning about an important event.

In his study of the representation of slavery, Wood has broached the problems of museum display that arise out of the museum's dual role as both educator and entertainer. Wood has discussed the use of re-created slave decks in museums and in particular a tape that is played in Wilberforce House museum in Hull purporting to play the moans of slaves aboard a slave ship.[64] Wood questioned the motives of those who made the tape: were they attempting to re-create the suffering of slaves on board slave ships or were they claiming that such noises were the equivalent to the sound aboard such ships?[65] Is this the only way for a museum visitor to get close to the memory of slavery?[66] It is hard to imagine a museum display of the Holocaust that would re-create the sound of victims inside a concentration camp. It would be deemed too unsavoury, even though such a re-creation was not considered so in an exhibition focusing on slavery. The creators of the exhibition in Hull naively believed that the only way for visitors to understand the experience of slaves would be to attempt to re-create that experience, rather than represent it. This desire was in line with current debate concerning the seeming incongruity between two of the purposes of the contemporary museum, that it must simultaneously entertain and educate:

> The mock-ups of the conditions in a slave ship [...] attempt to concretise, to simulate, the memory of the middle passage. They do this with an emphasis on entertaining the public, on providing an educational experience, which is at the same time intended to be historically accurate. The models and installations have been evolved out of curatorial theory emphasising 'consumer involvement' and 'client participation' and the 'decentring' of both curator and imprisoned object within the 'totalising institution'.[67]

---

[62] Ibid.
[63] Marcus Braybrooke, 'The Holocaust and British Museums: A Christian Response', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), p.68.
[64] Marcus Wood, p.295.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid, p.300.

Nonetheless, Wood maintained that there are some subjects and objects, such as that of slavery, that cannot fit neatly 'within the educational framework of current museum culture'.[68] Steven Cooke has outlined a similar opposition in Holocaust museums, that 'the sacred and the profane are very difficult to separate. Holocaust memorial centres operate within market forces and need to attract paying visitors or donations. In order to attract this revenue are we beginning to see the start of Holocaust centres offering more artefacts, bigger artefacts, a more 'emotional' experience?'[69] The notion that visitors to a Holocaust museum must be entertained as well as educated is one that sits very uncomfortably with the nature of the subject matter. Present-day museum displays on the Holocaust therefore tend to place a strong emphasis on the didactic element of the display above other current issues of representation. Unlike other genres of museum, those that have the Holocaust as their focus need to fulfil not only an educational role, but they also function as commemorative spaces. Holocaust museums are built with the intention of being a place of remembrance, or they contain a commemorative element that allows the visitor to reflect upon what they are viewing, should they wish to do so, such as a quiet space with seating or a book in which they can write comments.

The very nature of the catastrophe that Holocaust exhibitions represent necessitate that such displays face concerns that are markedly distinct from other displays and museums. As Bartov has outlined, the Holocaust was an unprecedented event and consequently it lacks any precedents of what Bartov has termed 'plastic representation', in other words, museum displays.[70] Unlike museum exhibitions on war that can refer to past conflicts that were similar in nature and scope, the makers of a museum installation on the Holocaust have no such previous referent that matches the scale of the Holocaust to consult. One consequence of the unparalleled nature of Holocaust exhibitions is that they tend to reflect this innovation in their narratives and in the United States, a race-based rather then class-based society, this manifests itself as a reluctance to explicitly cite racism as the cause of the Holocaust.[71] Moreover, Western representations of the Holocaust 'fail to recognise that this extreme instance of industrial killing was

---

[68] Ibid.

[69] Steven Cooke, 'Beth Shalom: Re-thinking History and Memory', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 8 (1) (1999), p.30.

[70] Omer Bartov, p.9.

[71] Ibid.

generated by a society, economic system, and civilisation of which our contemporary society is a direct continuation', it is not seen as being a part of modernity.[72] This lack of a precedent can lead to a museum representation of the Holocaust that is somewhat distorted.

There are issues of representation that are similar to museum displays regardless of their topic, such as the multiple voices to which they are subject and the assumed objectivity of the display. With the relatively recent introduction of a critical museology, museums today are aware that they need to consider their relationship with the visiting public and in turn they have questioned their dual role as both an entertainer and an educator. The conflict between the didactic purpose of a museum and its place as a part of the tourist industry becomes further complicated when the subject matter is of a more sensitive nature, such as that of the Holocaust. Holocaust museums, however, are unique in the sense that they cannot follow previous methods of museum display, such as the re-creation of certain events. Holocaust exhibitions and museums are in their infancy and as a result, their representation of the catastrophe will reflect the innovative nature of contemporary museum techniques. Many of the general issues of museology and the more specific concerns relating to subjects that are considered disturbing which have been discussed, are evident in the Holocaust exhibitions at the USHMM and the IWM.

---

[72] Ibid.

Section Two: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The USHMM is located in America's capital, Washington, D.C. The Museum opened in 1993 after fifteen years of meticulous planning and intense controversy. The debate that ensued and continued for many years (and to a certain extent, as Michael Berenbaum, the former Project Director, has acknowledged, still persists today) focused on the issue of who constituted the victims of the Holocaust.[73] Were 6 million Jews the only victims of the Holocaust? Or, were millions of non-Jews, including the Roma, homosexuals, the mentally and physically handicapped, black people, Jehovah's Witnesses, non-Jewish Poles, Soviet prisoners of war and other political dissidents, to be included among the Nazis' victims? In turn, this question concerning victim groups related to the wider debate about 'which' Holocaust was to be remembered in America's national memorial to the catastrophe, whether the boundaries of memory were to be universalistic or particularistic. Was the Holocaust to be regarded as a uniquely Jewish event and therefore the Museum dedicated solely to the 6 million Jewish victims? Or, was the narrative of the Holocaust to be told in America's national memorial to the event to be all-inclusive, encompassing all of the Nazi regime's targets, Jews and non-Jews alike? The issue of how far to extend the memorialisation of genocide and whether to include other, non-World War II genocides, such as the 1915 Armenian massacre, was also contentious. This problem concerning which victim groups were to be included or excluded, was and remains a highly sensitive one on political, national, religious and emotional grounds. Disagreement began from the very germ of the idea on 1 May 1978, when President Jimmy Carter announced his decision to create a commission that would propose a national memorial to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust.

---

[73] Michael Berenbaum, *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, (Boston, New York, Toronto and London: Little, Brown and Company, 1993), p.2.

i. The Beginnings of Commemoration: Politics, Topography and the 'Numbers Game'

President Carter's motivations for his pledge of memorialisation of the Holocaust were not entirely altruistic or apolitical. Carter claimed that he had been profoundly affected by the Holocaust through 'a 1963 trip to Israel, by his reading of Arthur Morse's *While Six Million Died*, which he described as "the tragic account of the ultimate in man's inhumanity to man, the Holocaust", and by the awareness that the state of Israel had been born "out of the ashes" of the Holocaust'.[74] Regardless of these personal reasons, as President, Carter was undoubtedly politically motivated to memorialise the Holocaust. Indeed, the White House recognised that Carter's announcement 'looked like politics at its best *and* at its most convenient. Carter would use the power of government to do something many would perceive as "good" and, at the same time, reach out to an increasingly alienated ethnic constituency.'[75] In the late 1970s there was a perceived political need to placate the American Jewish community that the government believed 'had become profoundly mistrustful of the president over [among other reasons] the Saudi arms deal and his desire to recognise the Palestine Liberation Organization'.[76] Yet the Jewish population of the United States was not homogenous and therefore the extent to which such matters concerned them is debatable. Much of the American Jewish community viewed Carter as too pro-Palestinian and Carter feared that if he did not act to heal the growing rift between his government and the Jewish population, his prospects of re-election could be damaged, in part because he would lose Jewish votes and Jewish financial support for his campaign.[77] Aware of the growing dissent, in spring 1977 Carter appointed Deputy Assistant to the President, Mark Siegel, as the President's liaison to the Jewish community.[78] In fact, it was Siegel with whom the idea of a Holocaust memorial originated and it quickly took hold within the Carter administration.[79]

The choice of date on which the President would make his public announcement of

---

[74] Alan Mintz, *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America,* (Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 2001), p.26.
[75] Edward T. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p.17.
[76] Alan Mintz, p.26.
[77] Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life,* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), p.216.
[78] Edward T. Linenthal, p.17.
[79] Ibid.

America's pledge to memorialise the Holocaust was, in itself, seen as a political move. In a ceremony at the White House held on the anniversary of Israel's thirtieth birthday, the decision was declared in front of Israeli Prime Minister Begin and one thousand rabbis, demonstrating that 'the motivation to build a Holocaust memorial was linked to the administration's support for the State of Israel'.[80] So began a lengthy political process.

Carter's announcement was made at a time when American Jewry identified with the Holocaust more strongly than it had ever done before. By the late 1970s the Holocaust had come to pervade not only American Jewish consciousness, but American society as a whole and there are several accounts charting this process.[81] Each narrative acknowledges that this development was accelerated by key incidents and they highlight the transition in America's attitude toward the event that, by the late 1970s, had created fertile soil for the memorialisation of the Holocaust by the American government and the American public as an entirety. American Jewish engagement with the Holocaust was an evolutionary process that took place over several decades. Immediately after the war, Holocaust survivors who moved to the United States were told to forget their experiences. Benjamin Meed, a Jewish survivor who disguised himself as a Christian during the war in Warsaw, recalled attitudes towards Holocaust survivors held by both the American Jewish community and non-Jewish American society: 'For years we were alone. Our fellow Jews regarded us as green - the newest immigrants. Americans treated us as refugees. 'Forget the past' we were told, 'it can only hurt you.' So we reached out to each other and remembered alone.'[82] Survivors who wrote and spoke about their wartime experiences during this time mainly did so amongst the survivor community. A fresh threat appeared in the immediate post-war period, that of the Cold War and Communist totalitarianism. Hatred of Germany and its (albeit recent) Nazi past were subsumed under the necessity of the United States gaining Germany as an ally and deflected toward the new Soviet enemy.[83] At this time Holocaust survivors were not an influential force, not even amongst American Jewry, who wanted to appear to correspond with United States thinking

---

[80] Ibid, p.19.
[81] See for example, Peter Novick, pp.207-213, Alan Mintz, pp.9-26, Edward T. Linenthal, pp.8-15 and James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp.287-309.
[82] Edward T. Linenthal, p.6.
[83] Peter Novick, pp.85-86.

on the Cold War and attitudes towards Germany.[84] American Jewish leaders feared that if they grounded their objection towards the rehabilitation of Germany in the Holocaust, traditional negative stereotypes and the widely held association of Jews with Communism would be confirmed.[85] A gap therefore emerged 'between private and public discourse of Jews on issues relating to Germany and the Holocaust, a gap between the spontaneous - personal and the considered - official'.[86] In the immediate post-war period the Holocaust remained a secular, rather than a public, event in the United States.

The capture and trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1960-1961, coupled with the mass media attention it received, propelled the Holocaust into the public domain and simultaneously forced some American Jews to confront their experiences of the event that they had chosen to suppress until this time.[87] Even in the 1960s there was a lack of public support for Holocaust commemoration. America's first major memorial intended to be dedicated to the 'Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto Battle' and the 'six million Jews of Europe martyred in the cause of human liberty', was proposed in 1946 for a space in Riverside Park, New York but, as will be discussed in the memorial chapter of this thesis, was never built.[88] American society was not yet ready to memorialise the Holocaust publicly at this stage. In the mid to late 1960s, 'ethnic particularism became an accepted form of cultural expression' and many American Jews began to publicly assert their religious identity.[89] A conflict during this period utilised the Holocaust as a referent, causing the event to be brought further into the public arena. The Six Day War in 1967, which threatened Israel's existence, was also perceived as a warning to American Jews, who, with thoughts of passivity during the Holocaust foremost in their minds, mobilised themselves politically and financially.[90] The events of the Six Day War gave rise to comparisons to the Holocaust to be drawn, 'the actuality of the Holocaust became the standard of horror against which the alarm of the present hour was to be measured'.[91] American Jewry began to identify with their wartime past.

---

[84] Ibid, p.91.
[85] Ibid, pp.91-92.
[86] Ibid, p.98.
[87] Alan Mintz, pp.11-14 and Edward T. Linenthal, pp.8-9.
[88] James E. Young, pp.288-289.
[89] Edward T. Linenthal, p.9.
[90] Alan Mintz, pp.14-15.
[91] Ibid, p.16.

After the Vietnam War, in the early 1970s, the Holocaust emerged as a moral metaphor, it became the ultimate example of "man's inhumanity to man" and was the incident to which every other catastrophe was compared.[92] Perhaps the growth in interest in the Holocaust at this time provided a means for American society to avoid confronting its more recent and problematic past, namely the memory of the Vietnam War.[93] Alternatively, America could discuss the Holocaust - an atrocity committed by someone else - and use it as a benchmark to distance themselves from such behaviour. A simultaneous transformation in the moral status of Holocaust survivors also took place; 'the survivor [not exclusively the Holocaust survivor] became one of the most vivid heroic ideals of the age'.[94] With widened public knowledge of the event and their new-found standing, Holocaust survivors had a receptive audience to which to tell their stories and were encouraged to do so.[95] In spite of their initial reluctance to speak out, some survivors realised that if they chose to bury the memory of their experiences, future generations would not learn about the event from firsthand witnesses and consequently the Holocaust could become a forgotten part of history.[96] In order to counter this, they began to become actively involved in the politics of commemoration and many Holocaust memorial projects were motivated by 'the immediacy and moral authority of the survivors' voices'.[97] The demand for the Holocaust to be publicly remembered and memorialised was growing.

In 1978, awareness of the Holocaust among the ordinary American public reached an unprecedented level with the broadcast of the American television network NBC's nine and a half hour mini-series entitled *Holocaust.*[98] The programme told the story of a fictional Jewish family during the Holocaust and was watched by '120 million viewers, 50 percent of the American population'.[99] *Holocaust* disseminated knowledge of the event to the American nation on an unparalleled scale. Alongside the success of *Holocaust,* new concerns about the aesthetic representation of the Holocaust were raised. The Holocaust was viewed as a sacred event that resisted representation and therefore, if it were to be

---

[92] Alan Mintz, p.10.
[93] Dr Kendrick Oliver's comments in relation to this matter have been valuable.
[94] Alan Mintz, p.22.
[95] Ibid.
[96] James E. Young, p.302.
[97] Alan Mintz, p.23.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

represented, it 'mandated some sort of special rules'.[100] Yet, the success of the programme was evidence that such a portrayal by the mass media was key to wide remembrance of the Holocaust. Indeed, in 1977, Alex Haley's *Roots* had achieved a similar success in the black American community, allowing them to identity with past suffering.[101] *Roots* 'had been television's first multipart drama on a serious social theme' and prepared the American public for engagement with the topic of the Holocaust.[102] Through a variety of key events and social shifts, the Holocaust had become more rooted in American national consciousness by the time that President Carter announced his Commission in 1978. Most significantly for the President's proposed national Holocaust memorial, 'in the political arena, the Holocaust became a rarity in American life: a point of moral consensus', to such an extent that if someone wished to commemorate the event they would almost certainly be publicly applauded.[103]

Carter's 1 May 1978 announcement of the President's Commission on the Holocaust immediately sparked the debate concerning who the memorial would remember: which groups the President and his Commission considered to be victims of the Holocaust. When Carter initially declared the Commission, he broadcasted that it would investigate building a national memorial to '"the six million who were killed in the Holocaust"'.[104] The President clearly envisaged that America's national memorial to the Holocaust would concentrate solely on the plight of the 6 million Jewish victims and, moreover, that the Holocaust was to be regarded as an exclusively Jewish event. Carter did not, however, explicitly say that the Holocaust's 6 million victims were *Jewish*. The President may have assumed that due to the heightened level of publicity that the Holocaust had received during the previous year, American society would recognise the figure 6 million as synonymous with the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, which certainly became the case in the years that followed. Alternatively, Carter may have chosen not to name the ethnicity of the victims that the memorial would remember due to the political danger involved with making the Jewish link too clear, such a move may have discouraged non-Jewish voters. Whatever the rationale for Carter's choice of language, it proposed the idea that the memorial would commemorate

---

[100] Peter Novick, p.212.
[101] Alan Mintz, p.23.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid, p.26.
[104] '*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1978* (Washington, D.C., 1979), 813', in Peter Novick, p.216.

the Jewish victims and only the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Peter Novick has asserted that this conventional interpretation of the Holocaust was the only one that the President could have made at that time, as he was trying to placate the Jewish community.[105] This very specific focus of memorialisation was to shift only a few months later.

On 24 April 1979, during the National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony held at the Capitol Rotunda as part of the first 'Days of Remembrance', President Carter talked about the Holocaust that was to be remembered in the national memorial employing markedly different language. On this occasion, he spoke of 'the awesomeness of the suffering involved; the sheer weight of its numbers 11 million innocent victims exterminated 6 million of them Jews'.[106] Carter had thus broadened out the national definition of the Holocaust to include all of those that the Nazis' persecuted, encompassing the millions of non-Jewish victims as well as the 6 million Jewish victims. In his new inclusive approach, Carter utilised the figure '11 million' to include *all* of the victims of the Holocaust, a number which although often quoted, is arbitrary. '11 million' is not inclusive of every non-Jewish victim of the Holocaust, as the Soviet prisoner of war casualties alone number in excess of 3.3 million. Despite his intention to adopt a comprehensive approach to the victims of the Holocaust, Carter failed to do so almost immediately. Carter's decision to extend the boundaries of commemoration came again from a member of White House staff, Ellen Goldstein, who worked for Chief of Domestic Policy, Stuart Eizenstat.[107] Although both Goldstein and Eizenstat were Jewish, rather than favouring a memorial dedicated exclusively to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, they advocated a broader approach. Goldstein put forward the suggestion 'about whether the boundaries of Holocaust memory should be expanded to include non-Jewish victims', in line with other contemporary proposed projects for Holocaust memorials and centres.[108] There were several reasons why the proposed expansion of victim groups that Carter's memorial would include received a warm reception, among which was the introduction of a new bill in the Senate to establish a

---

[105] Ibid, p.216.
[106] 'Address by President Jimmy Carter Made at the National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony, April 24, 1979, United States Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C., in *Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust,* Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications, p.26.
[107] Edward T. Linenthal, p.17.
[108] Ibid, pp.20-21.

memorial to the Holocaust's '"eleven million innocent victims, of all faiths"'.[109] Moreover, once Carter had made his declaration, 'senators and representatives who lauded the proposal - Jews and gentiles alike - referred as often to "eleven" or "six plus five" or "six plus millions of others" as they did to "six"'.[110] From the very announcement of the idea of a national Holocaust memorial, there was evidently confusion about which victims were to be commemorated, the 6 million Jewish victims, or the Jewish and non-Jewish victims, the so-called '11 million'. It seems that even the President himself was undecided. Less than a year after his declaration at the White House he had changed the memory of the Holocaust that he wished America to remember and publicly commemorate. By April 1979, the Holocaust that the President's Commission was to memorialise was intended to be an inclusive one. Yet, by quoting the arbitrary '11 million' victims, the inclusiveness of the United States' Holocaust memorial was debatable from the outset.

Carter's decision to commemorate both the Jewish and non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust brought with it a new problem. For many members of the Commission, in particular its Chairman Elie Wiesel, the Holocaust was a Jewish event. Wiesel was a Jewish child survivor of Auschwitz-Birkenau and Buchenwald and an author of numerous books, including *Night*, a quasi-autobiography of his wartime experience.[111] Furthermore, Wiesel was an international figure and had become a symbol of the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. Wiesel used his special status as a survivor to speak publicly about contemporary Jewish concerns, such as Holocaust commemoration, and he 'became the unofficial moral spokesman of the American Jewish community'.[112] Wiesel's appointment was viewed in the White House as 'non-political' and that his position would be undisputed by the Jewish population.[113] The Carter administration was clearly aware that as a representative of the American Jewish community, Wiesel would be highly concerned with Jewish interests in the project, namely preserving the uniquely Jewish element of the Holocaust. Indeed, Wiesel stated that in terms of the specificity versus universality debate, his position was 'that the Holocaust is a Jewish tragedy with universal implications. Any attempt

---

[109] *Cong. Rec.*, 95th Cong., 2nd sess., 27 April 1978, 124, pt.9:11799-11800, in Peter Novick, p.217.
[110] Ibid, p.217.
[111] Elie Wiesel, *Night*, (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1981).
[112] Alan Mintz, p.21.
[113] Edward T. Linenthal, p.21.

to dilute or extrapolate it can only distort its meaning. As a Jew, [his] duty is to evoke the Jewish tragedy. But in so doing, [he] incite[s] other groups to commemorate their own.'[114] In his memoirs, Wiesel narrated that the Commission held 'passionate discussions' and 'stormy sessions' on this issue that 'dominated' their meetings from the outset.[115] Some Jewish members of the Commission, such as Arthur Goldberg, felt that because their 'mandate contain[ed] a specific name, the Holocaust, it refer[red] exclusively to the tragic fate of the Jews', whereas those members of Polish, Ukrainian or Lithuanian descent disagreed on this particular focus.[116] Wiesel's insistence on the Jewish uniqueness of the Holocaust was demonstrated by an event that took place after the first Days of Remembrance ceremony. Wiesel questioned Carter on his use of the figure '11 million', which Carter said he had taken from the writings and speeches of Simon Wiesenthal who included all of the Holocaust's victims, 6 million Jewish and 5 million non-Jewish.[117] Wiesel informed the President that although there were non-Jews in the camps and the Resistance, they numbered only a fraction of 5 million and that, moreover, there were also anti-Semites among them who the Nazis released from prison to supervise the camps.[118] Wiesel then asked Carter whether it would be appropriate to remember *these* non-Jews alongside his parents and Carter's response was to never cite '11 million' victims again.[119]

On 27 September 1979 the President's Commission presented its *Report to the President*, in which the struggle to find a compromise between the two viewpoints of the Holocaust as a Jewish catastrophe on the one hand and as a tragedy encompassing all of the Nazis' victims, whether they were Jewish or non-Jewish, on the other hand, became clear. Wiesel emphasised the centrality of the Jewish experience in the *Report*, stating that 'while not all victims were Jews, *all* Jews were victims, destined for annihilation solely because they were born Jewish'.[120] In contrast, Michael Berenbaum, Deputy Director of the President's Commission and who would later become the Project Director of the Museum and Director of

---

[114] Elie Wiesel [Marion Wiesel, trans.], *And the Sea Is Never Full: Memoirs, 1969-*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1999), pp.186-187.
[115] Ibid, p.186.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid, p.187.
[118] Ibid, pp.187-188.
[119] Ibid, p.188.
[120] *Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust,* Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications, p.iii.

the Research Institute, was the main advocate of an exhibition narrative that was inclusive of non-Jewish victims. Berenbaum argued that:

> In fact, the uniqueness of the Jewish experience can best be documented by comparing it with the Nazi treatment of other persecuted populations. Only by understanding the fate of other groups, detailing where it paralleled Jewish treatment and, more importantly, where it differed, can the distinctive nature of Jewish fate be historically demonstrated.[121]

The Commission did strike a balance between these conflicting opinions, which was illustrated in the choice of language employed in its definition of the Holocaust as 'the systematic, bureaucratic extermination of six million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators as a central act of state during the Second World War; as night descended, millions of other peoples were swept into this net of death'.[122] The Commission's interpretation was an amalgamation of both Wiesel's and Berenbaum's concepts.[123] As will be demonstrated later, this compromise did not halt discussions, and indeed arguments, concerning which victims of the Holocaust the Museum was to commemorate.

The USHMM was to be an institution dedicated to the Holocaust, an event that was geographically removed from American soil and did not directly affect American citizens during the Second World War. Those individuals and organisations that supported the creation of the Museum were thus aware that they needed to justify its existence to American society as a whole. In order that Americans would perceive the relevance and need for a Holocaust museum, President Carter publicly defended the memorial on American grounds. In an undated 1984 press release entitled 'A Campaign to Remember: A Case for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum', the proposed plans for the Museum were detailed and the establishment of a national fundraising campaign was announced.[124] In the document Carter stated that the Holocaust and, in turn, a

---

[121] Michael Berenbaum, *After Tragedy and Triumph: Essays in Modern Jewish Thought and the American Experience,* (Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.22.
[122] *Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust*, p.3.
[123] Edward T. Linenthal, p.36.
[124] 'Statement of Mark Talisman, Vice Chairman, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, before the Senate on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies, on the 1985 Budget for the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 13 March 1984, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.051, Box 5, United States Holocaust Memorial Council: Minutes and Records Relating to Council Meetings, p.6.

national memorial to remember the catastrophe, was significant to America for three reasons:

> First, it was American troops who liberated many of the death camps, and who helped to expose the horrible truth of what had been done there. Also, the United States became a homeland for many of those who were able to survive. Secondly, however, we must share the responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge forty years ago that this horrible event was occurring. Finally, because we are humane people, concerned with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such enormities from occurring in the future.[125]

The Museum would not only be a repository for telling the story of the most terrible act of genocide in the history of mankind, but it would also provide important moral lessons for contemporary American society and for the future of America as a just nation. The liberal, pluralistic objectives of the USHMM were thus affirmed.

It was not only the content of the Museum that needed to be justified to the American public, but its location as well. Although the cost of the Museum itself was to be entirely funded through private donations, which eventually totalled in excess of $150 million, the piece of land on which the museum was built, measuring 1.7 acres, was donated by the government.[126] Originally, the site included a red-brick building which the Council, with the help of a team of specialists, planned to repair and renovate the interior to accommodate the Museum.[127] Wiesel and other Council members liked the simplicity of the building and the way that it blended into its surroundings, it even reminded some of the blocks at Auschwitz.[128] After further examination, however, the building was discovered to be in danger of collapse and as the cost of repairs would be too expensive, it was decided that the best option was to demolish it and create a new

---

[125] 'A Campaign to Remember: A Case For The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.051, Box 5, United States Holocaust Memorial Council: Minutes and Records Relating to Council Meetings, 14 March 1984-30 January 1985, pp.1-2.

[126] Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2002.023, Box 2, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Staff Newsletter 'Update', January 1991-Summer 1993, Winter 1992/1993 edition, insert p.4 and Adrian Dannatt, *Architecture in Detail: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, James Ingo Freed,* (London and New York: Phaidon Press Limited, 1995), p.57.

[127] Elie Wiesel, *And the Sea Is Never Full*, p.222.

[128] Ibid, pp.222, 223-224.

building.[129] The Museum's proposed conspicuous position, just off the south west of the national Mall, the epitome of all that is American, with its numerous memorials dedicated to American heroes, necessitated that the USHMM defend its place in American history. The five hundred and fifty-five foot high Washington monument, dedicated to America's first President and a leader in the fight for independence, dominates the skyline of the Mall and would be clearly visible from the Museum. The Museum would thus be in the shadow of one of the ultimate symbols of the United States as a liberal, democratic nation. The Museum would sit among multiple national museums, galleries and institutions that line the Mall, such as the Museum of American History and the Archives of the United States of America, which houses three founding documents of the nation for public viewing, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. As the country's capital, Washington, D.C., has countless memorials and monuments dedicated to defining moments in America's establishment as a nation and it is this topography of symbolism that imbues Washington's memorials with a heightened sense of meaning. As Adrian Dannatt has asserted, 'though all monuments are meant to be symbolic they seem oddly more so in Washington'.[130] The USHMM had to find a way of fitting comfortably into Washington, D.C.'s very American landscape.

This could only be achieved by ensuring that the building in which the Museum was to be housed conformed to its surroundings. The architecture of the buildings and memorials that line the colossal Mall is grandiose, reminiscent of Grecian temples, hewed out of limestone, with numerous columns and intricate figural carvings. The USHMM had to harmonise with the architectural style of its neighbours and the architect charged with this difficult task was James Ingo Freed, of Pei Cobb Freed & Partners. In 1986 Freed 'was invited to try and amend the scheme of a previous architect, whose plan was thought to be too fascistic'.[131] Freed believed his predecessor's plan was unsalvageable and alternatively proposed a design of his own, which was approved by the Federal Fine Art's Commission in 1987.[132] Freed faced a problem which his predecessor had been unable to solve, how to incorporate the neoclassical architecture of Washington into the Museum's building, without imbuing the Museum with totalitarian

---

[129] Ibid, p.223.
[130] Adrain Dannatt, p.5.
[131] Ibid, p.2.
[132] Ibid.

implications that a regulated, conformist architectural style could suggest.[133] A building that referenced the perpetrators of the event on the outside, whilst simultaneously containing the story of the victims of the Holocaust on the inside, would have been an uncomfortable juxtaposition. Freed overcame this difficulty by including elements of the Museum's neighbouring buildings and at the same time giving the Museum a distinct architectural style all of its own. Freed's 'limestone and brick exterior engages the neoclassical Bureau of Engraving and Printing to the south, and the Victorian red-brick Auditor's Building to the north'(see Figure 1).[134] As well as utilising the materials of the Museum's

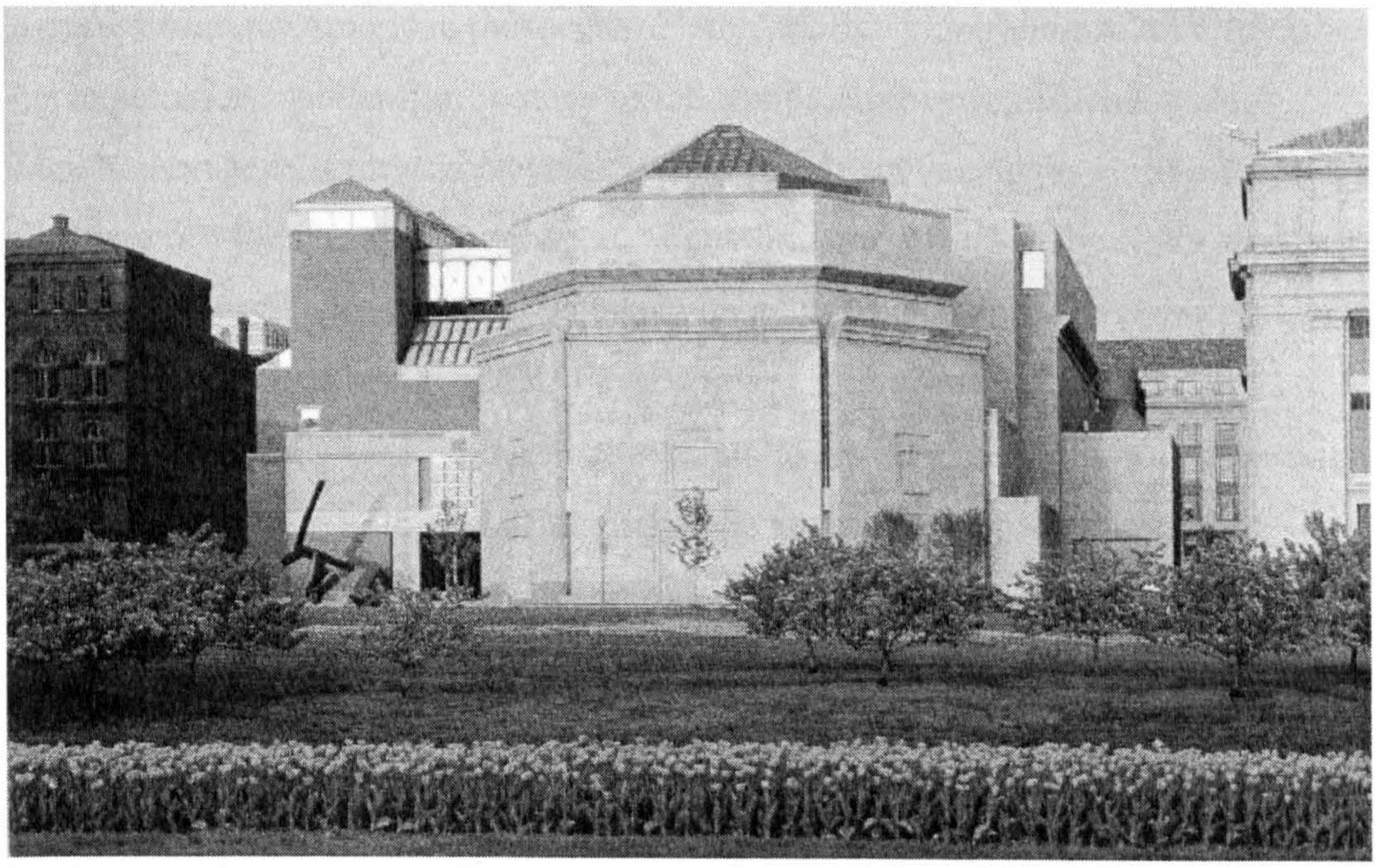


Figure 1: The blending façade of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

neighbours, he also borrowed key features from them, the Museum's towers and pitched metal roofs 'pick up geometrical elements from the Washington monument' which can be seen unobstructed from the Museum.[135] Some of these characteristics, once placed on a building that would narrate the story of the Holocaust, became imbued with a new meaning, 'the museum's brick towers continue the forms of the Auditor's Building whilst making clear their own reference to the death camps', invoking camp guard towers.[136] The architectural style of the USHMM subtly references the subject it contains and simultaneously blends in with the topography of Washington, D.C.

---

[133] Ibid.
[134] The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *The Architecture and Art of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, undated pamphlet, p.2. Photograph taken from Adrain Dannatt, p.24.
[135] Adrian Dannatt, p.20.
[136] Ibid, p.6.

The location of the Museum also affected its agenda and the narrative of the Holocaust that the Museum would tell. The Museum had to portray a version of the Holocaust that would appeal to its audience, who would be predominantly non-Jewish Americans. Situated in America's capital city, nestled just off the Mall, among popular cultural institutions, the Museum would become a tourist attraction for visitors of differing ages and backgrounds. It was therefore decided that the narrative presented would be an American version of the Holocaust. This was achieved from the outset by ensuring that the very first encounter the visitor has with the Holocaust, in the lift up to the *Permanent Exhibition* on the fourth floor, is narrated from an American perspective. An American liberating soldier describes his experiences, whilst film footage of US troops discovering Buchenwald, Mauthausen and Ohrdruf is played.[137] This American vantage is emphasised further when the elevator doors open, 'signalling our arrival in the silent world of "The Holocaust" we come face-to-face with a huge black and white photograph of US troops staring at a pile of half-burnt corpses at Ohrdruf Concentration Camp'.[138] Although the representation of an historical event does not necessarily have to be told chronologically in order to be an effective presentation, by encountering the liberation of concentration camps first before viewing pre-war life and the victimisation, persecution and annihilation that took place during the war, the American perspective of the Museum's narrative is strongly emphasised. Indeed, as Tim Cole has asserted, the role of America as liberator and the United States as a place of refuge for survivors, are the 'themes of 'American Holocaust history' that dominate in the museum'.[139] As Rochelle G. Saidel and others have noted, the USHMM portrays itself as telling the narrative of the Holocaust from an American, rather than a Jewish, perspective.[140] That the Holocaust narrative the Museum would tell would be an inclusive, universal story, is only fitting, according to Harold Kaplan, who asserts that the features of the Holocaust that attract most general interest are its universal implications and therefore these are the ones that an American museum should narrate.[141] A universal telling of the Holocaust is appropriate in the United States because America is a country that

---

[137] Tim Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler, How History is Bought, Packaged, and Sold,* (New York: Routledge, 1999), p.152.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Rochelle G. Saidel, *Never Too Late to Remember: the Politics Behind New York City's Holocaust Museum,* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1996), p.221.
[141] Harold Kaplan, *Conscience and Memory: Meditations in a Museum of the Holocaust,* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p.125.

views itself as having 'a major commitment to interracial and transnational values'.[142] This universal dimension of the Museum was emphasised during a Holocaust Memorial Council meeting by Dr Leon A. Jick, who was a rabbi and Professor of American Jewish History at Brandeis University.[143] In addition, Jick was a 'committed Zionist', an active civil rights supporter and an environmentalist.[144] With this background of both his Jewish faith and his interest in humanitarianism, Jick simultaneously advocated Jewish uniqueness and recognised that the Holocaust held universal implications for contemporary society. Jick suggested that due to the Museum's location in the heart of Washington, D.C., 'the very centre of the historical memory of the United States of America', the Museum had 'a special responsibility for the most sensitive and eloquent expression of how the uniqueness of the Jewish condition and the experience has universal consequences and is related, therefore, to the totality of the experience of Hitlerism and World War II and repression and all of the other dimensions' of the Holocaust.[145] Consequently, the story that the USHMM was to tell would be an American one: it would be one with which the American visiting public could associate.

Such an American perspective on the Holocaust in turn necessitated that a liberal, inclusive attitude was displayed in the Museum and its planning bodies, reflecting the multicultural society of contemporary America. Yet, the debate over whether the Museum would operate a policy of inclusiveness or exclusiveness in the victim groups it would remember persisted. This dispute affected every aspect of the planning process and became painfully evident in the very first step towards the creation of the Museum, choosing the people who would constitute the President's Commission. Various groups representing non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust strongly voiced their opinions and concerns in an effort to ensure that their communities would be included and appropriately represented in the exhibition. Some groups were more vociferous than others, such as the Polish-American community who pressed for their inclusion on the President's Commission in the infancy of the planning stages, in order to ensure that non-

---

[142] Ibid.
[143] 'Former Brandeis professor Leon Jick passes away age 80', <http://my.brandeis.edu/news/item?news_item_id=103814&show_release_date=1>, November 2005.
[144] 'Leon A. Jick, 80, rabbi and scholar at Brandeis', *The Boston Globe*, 22/05/05.
[145] Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.014, Box 26, Director of the Museum, Subject files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg: Minutes and Records relating to Content Committee meetings and United States Holocaust Memorial Council meetings, Content Committee meeting, 3 September 1985, pp.92-93.

Jewish Poles would be present amongst the Museum's representation of Holocaust victims. Under increasing political pressure from the Poles, Irving Greenberg, the Director of the Commission, suggested that '"an interim continuation group" be formed to implement the commission's proposals, and that it include several members from the Polish-American community, such as Dr. John Pawlikowski [...] and [Aloysius] Mazewski'.[146] Father John Pawlikowski was an educator and theologian 'who had written extensively on Jewish-Christian relations after the Holocaust'.[147] Throughout Council meetings Pawlikowski acknowledged simultaneously that the fate of the Jews was unique, but that the non-Jewish victims 'were not just afterthoughts by the Nazi[s], [...] they were part of this genocidal plan'.[148] Mazewski was the President of the Polish-American Congress and was fiercely insistent on the scale of Polish persecution, he argued that it was Poles who suffered the most casualties, quoting 3 million, after the Jews.[149]

Ukrainian spokesmen also pressed for inclusion on the Commission. Julian Kulas, an attorney and banker from Chicago, a member of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations and chairman of the Helsinki Monitoring Committee of Chicago, was eventually named as a suitable Ukrainian representative.[150] Although the choice of a Ukrainian representative was intended to be a step towards national inclusiveness, any number of other national representatives could have been chosen, such as a Lithuanian. The failure to represent other ethnic victims of the Holocaust on the Museum's creating body, demonstrates that the attempt to adopt a comprehensive approach in the victims that the institution would represent was limited to those groups who were politically active and demanded their own inclusion. The participation of the non-Jewish Polish community and the Ukrainians worried Michael Berenbaum, as both non-Jewish Poles and Ukrainians had been involved in persecuting Polish Jews during the war.[151] Advocates of the Jewish uniqueness of the Holocaust on the Commission were also, as Edward T. Linenthal has asserted, wary of such an attempt of all-encompassing memory, they 'would share it only carefully, and certainly not with representatives of nations who suffered at the hands of the Nazis

---

[146] Edward T. Linenthal, p.40.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Subject files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 3 September 1985 Content Committee meeting, pp.51-52.
[149] Peter Novick, p.217.
[150] Edward T. Linenthal, p.46.
[151] Edward T. Linenthal, pp.39-41.

but also killed Jews, nor would these custodians of memory permit the memory of Jewish victims to drown in a sea of politicised inclusiveness'.[152] The concerns raised by Berenbaum and others highlighted the difficulty of the task. Those involved in the President's Commission attempted to make the body more equitable by bringing in other ethnic groups. Yet, this new-found inclusiveness brought with it a fresh set of problems, such as upsetting the representatives of Jewish victims in particular who felt that other groups should be excluded because of their persecutory relationship with Jews during the Holocaust. Such discussions demonstrate that memory work is never simple: even well-intentioned inclusion can still lead to certain exclusions.

This debate over ethnic representation on the President's Commission became exacerbated when the membership lists were being drawn up for the Holocaust Memorial Council, the Commission's successor body, whose task it would be to oversee the planning and construction of the Museum. Wiesel recalled how the initial list displeased the White House, as the Council had 'forgotten a factor that politically weigh[ed] more heavily than the others [for example, religious and geographical considerations] - the ethnic factor. After all, we [were] on the eve of an electoral campaign.'[153] Ethnic representation on the Council was considered necessary by the President and Eizenstat due to 'political realities'.[154] They felt that if the Museum really were to be an American institution, teaching the values of liberalism and the dangers of exclusion, then the body that decided upon the content of that establishment must be representative of diverse communities. Wiesel and other members of the Commission eventually agreed that the Council needed to have a broad-based membership, with Wiesel suggesting that *all* the countries whose inhabitants had been victims of the Holocaust should be incorporated.[155] The decision to begin the process of drawing up the Council membership list afresh was not a popular one in the White House, which felt that the process had already been too drawn out.[156] The Council membership list was announced in May 1980 and included several so-called 'ethnic' representatives joining Pawlikowski, Mazewski and Kulas:

---

[152] Ibid, p.39.
[153] Elie Wiesel, *And the Sea Is Never Full*, p.209.
[154] Edward T. Linenthal, p.45.
[155] Ibid, p.47.
[156] Ibid, pp.47-48.

> Set Momjian (a first-generation Armenian American whose parents had been orphaned in the genocide and who had served as an adviser to President Carter, a representative to the United Nations, and a White House representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission), Tibor Baranski (honoured by Yad Vashem for saving Hungarian Jews), popular Jewish entertainer Victor Borge (active in foundation work to honour Danes for their help in saving Jews), and Father Constantine N. Dombalis (dean of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Richmond, Virginia).[157]

With this list of members, the Holocaust Memorial Council appeared to be all-inclusive in the nations and the victim groups that it encompassed.

Nevertheless, certain non-Jewish victim groups were excluded completely from representation on the Council, the Roma being a particularly noteworthy example. Wiesel was one member that expressed that he would have been pleased if a Romani had had a seat on the Council.[158] The Roma, however, did not receive any attention from the Holocaust Memorial Council until they began to actively press for inclusion on the Council in the mid-1980s. In 1984 Roma met at the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles to announce the establishment of the United States Romani Holocaust Committee, whose aim was to gain representation on the Council and in the exhibition.[159] Roma tirelessly pressed for a seat on the Council and in 1985 their aim was achieved, although it was in what many from the Romani community regarded as a token gesture. Ian Hancock, a historian of the *Porrajmos* and a Professor of English, Linguistics and Asian studies at the University of Texas, was appointed in a newly created post as special adviser to the Council on Romani issues.[160] To add to the insult of not being given a full place on the Council, Hancock 'had little influence on council matters as special adviser, a position characterized by Micah Naftalin as "honorary." He never met with Wiesel, and had particularly prickly relations with numerous council members and staff.'[161] In January 1986 Romani representatives thought that the opportunity to be granted a place on the Council would at last be fulfilled when eleven Council seats expired, but their expectations were once again not rewarded.[162] In 1987 William Duna, a lecturer of music at the St. Thomas University in Minnesota, became the first Romani representative on the Council,

---

[157] Ibid, p.48.
[158] Elie Wiesel, *And the Sea Is Never Full,* p.211.
[159] Ibid, p.240.
[160] Guenter Lewy, *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies,* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2000), p.226.
[161] Edward T. Linenthal, p.243.
[162] Ibid, p.244.

but he was quick to criticise the Council's attitude towards the fate of the Roma.[163] Linenthal has asserted that relations between the Romani community and the Council were difficult due to the Council's failure to recognise the Roma's fate in the Holocaust during the initial planning years of the Museum.[164] Although the White House began to rectify the situation in 1987 with Duna's appointment, 'by that time, at least for some Romani spokespersons, deep suspicion ruled their interaction with the council, fueled by clear evidence that some council members viewed Rom[ani] participation in the museum the way a family deals with unwelcome, embarrassing relatives'.[165] The Roma as a victim group, unlike the Poles and other non-Jewish communities, struggled with representation on the Holocaust Memorial Council and were therefore anxious that they would also be neglected as a part of the Holocaust narrative that the Museum would tell. Ironically, as will be demonstrated, the exclusion of the Roma at this stage of the Museum's life did not lead to omission in the final museum exhibition.

ii. The Planning of the *Permanent Exhibition*: Inclusion or Exclusion?

During the meetings of the Content Committee and the Holocaust Memorial Council, the issue of 'which' Holocaust was to be remembered in the Museum and its exhibition was time and time again discussed and defined and redefined. Consideration of whether the Armenian genocide of the First World War should be included in the Museum narrative was a part of this debate. From as early as 1979 members of the Armenian community and one of their representative bodies, the Armenian National Committee, felt that the genocide should be incorporated due to the very fact that the Turkish government persisted in its denial that there had been a genocide.[166] The Armenians believed that if the Museum, which was to remember the most horrendous case of genocide that history had witnessed, would not recognise their tragic past, then the Armenian genocide was in danger of not being commemorated at all.[167] Set Momjian, an Armenian spokesperson on the Council, was working to ensure the commemoration of the massacre in the

---

[163] Ibid, p.245.
[164] Ibid, p.246.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid, p.229.
[167] Ibid.

Museum.[168] Some members of the Council, particularly those who advocated the Jewish uniqueness of the Holocaust, felt that although the Armenian massacre was an instance of genocide, it did not belong in the Museum as part of the Holocaust narrative because it was not an element of the Nazis' Second World War programme of persecution and annihilation.[169] Despite such viewpoints, discussion of the inclusion of the Armenian fate continued and in 1987 one Council member voiced his concern over the proposed content of the exhibition, that there was no mention of 'the Armenian precedent'.[170]

Throughout the creation of the Museum, extreme duress was placed upon members of the President's Commission, the Holocaust Memorial Council and the White House administration by the Turkish government and its representatives, to exclude the Armenian genocide from the Museum and its related activities. This pressure was founded upon the longstanding official Turkish principle to deny that the Armenian genocide took place and was reinforced by some members of the academic community: non-Turkish historians wishing to write accounts of the genocide were denied access to Turkish archives and 'most of those Turkish historians dealing with the First World War have pursued an agenda similar to that set by the state'.[171] The lack of historiography on the subject and the constant denial by the Turkish government has led, as historian Donald Bloxham has asserted, to the worrying situation that doubt has been raised over whether the Armenian massacre can be termed a 'genocide' and therefore whether it should be remembered as such.[172] The Turkish government were determined that the USHMM would not remember the Armenian genocide at all. As early as 1979, during the planning of the first 'Days of Remembrance' ceremony, the Turkish government warned 'the Carter administration that there would be repercussions should the president mention the Armenians in his remarks' and consequently, Carter referred only indirectly to the fate of the Armenians.[173] Turkish pressure was relentless and soon after the Holocaust Memorial Council was formed in 1980, Council member Hyman Bookbinder, the Washington representative of the

---

[168] Elie Wiesel, *And the Sea Is Never Full*, p.211.
[169] Edward T. Linenthal, p.231.
[170] Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.016, Box 1 of 4, Research Institute: Michael Berenbaum's Committee Memoranda and Reports: Minutes and Records relating to Content Committee meetings, United States Holocaust Memorial Council meetings and Academic Committee General Information, 21 October 1987.
[171] Donald Bloxham, 'On the Memory of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 4 (1) (1995), p.76.
[172] Ibid, pp.76-77.
[173] Edward T. Linenthal, p.230.

American Jewish Committee, attended a lunch with the Turkish ambassador to the United States.[174] The Turkish ambassador informed Bookbinder shockingly 'that the well-being of Jews in Turkey might be threatened were Armenians included in a federal Holocaust museum'.[175] Alongside this duress from the Turkish government, American politics also prevented the Armenians from being significantly represented in the Museum. During several attempts in 1985, 1987 and 1990 to introduce a resolution that would have marked 24 April as a day to commemorate the victims of genocide, particularly those of the Armenian massacre, governmental reluctance to recognise the Armenian genocide for political reasons was exposed.[176] The United States not only wanted to keep trade links with Turkey open, but Turkey was an important geopolitical North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) ally and the risk of angering them was too great and as a result, political motivation overrode official recognition of the Armenian genocide.[177]

It was this political pressure, coupled with the ambivalence of some members of the Council towards whether the Armenian genocide fitted into the Holocaust narrative that the Museum was to tell, that led to only marginal representation of the Armenian genocide in the *Permanent Exhibition*.[178] Berenbaum believed that the massacre would be included in the Exhibition narrative as a 'prelude' to the Holocaust, but this never materialised.[179] The objections to Berenbaum's idea were based on the theory that by using the Armenian genocide as a prelude to the Holocaust it would threaten its uniqueness, but as Linenthal has recognised, this approach could have been used to '*support* it, through an interpretive strategy of situating it in the comparative hierarchy of genocide and the Holocaust'.[180] The only mention of the Armenian massacre in the *Permanent Exhibition* presently is Hitler's alleged infamous quote, '"Who today remembers the destruction of the Armenians?"'.[181] The exclusion of the Armenian genocide in the USHMM for political reasons has caused concern at the ease with which an official memory can become neglected and that the same politics of forgetting could be applied to the

---

[174] Ibid, p232.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid, p.238.
[177] Donald Bloxham, p.76 and Edward T. Linenthal, p.238.
[178] Edward T. Linenthal, pp.231-232.
[179] Ibid, pp.233-236.
[180] Ibid, pp.236-237.
[181] Ibid, pp.233-236.

Holocaust in the future.[182] The inclusiveness of the Holocaust that the Museum was to remember was beginning to restrict.

Despite the eventual exclusion of the Armenian genocide, it is clear that the massacre was originally intended to be incorporated to some extent, along with the persecution of non-Jewish victims, in the exhibition narrative of the Museum. In a document entitled 'Summary of Content Considerations,' discussed at a meeting on 3 September 1985, Micah H. Naftalin, who became Senior Deputy Director in 1982, stated that the two guiding principles of the Museum were:

> (i) the Holocaust, strictly defined, was the state-sponsored genocidal destruction of 6,000,000 Jews, the story about and the memorial of whom constitute the primary mandate and raison d'etre of our memorial museum project; and (ii) our facility must also, with accuracy and dignity, tell the story of, and find appropriate ways to memorialise, the Armenian genocide (which presaged the Holocaust) and the millions of others who were murdered and abused during the Holocaust period at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators, e.g., Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians, Jehovah's Witnesses, Gypsies and gays, etc.[183]

It is clear from these principles that the members of the Holocaust Memorial Council viewed that there was a hierarchy of Holocaust victims and that in turn, the narrative of the Museum's exhibition would tell the story of the Jewish victims first and foremost and then include reference to the fate of the non-Jewish victims. This Jewish-centred focus of the Exhibition was partly due to internal Council politics and general American political issues. The Holocaust Memorial Council consisted of numerous Jewish survivors and members of Jewish organisations, who in the majority advocated portraying the Jewish uniqueness of the Holocaust in the Museum. Larger political forces were also at work to constrict the inclusiveness of Holocaust memory, such as the President's need to placate the American Jewish community and the necessity to ensure that Turkey remained an ally. There was concern among some members of the Council that the non-Jewish victims were not being included into the narrative of the Exhibition to a great enough extent. In an impassioned letter dated 26 May 1988 to Arthur Rosenblatt, the then Director of the Museum, Father Pawlikowski stated that although he had no doubt that the Holocaust Memorial Council were committed at the 'level of principle' to representing non-Jewish victims, he had issue with the Council's

---

[182] Ibid, pp.238-240.

[183] Subject files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, Content Committee meeting, 3 September 1985, p.28.

'level of concrete implementation' in this matter.[184] Pawlikowski warned that if the Museum continued to fail to consult the non-Jewish community in that crucial early stage, it would 'threaten the potential success of the Museum'.[185] Pawlikowski acknowledged that Council members had been sensitive to the reaction to Museum proposals within the Jewish community, particularly amongst survivors, which he believed was only fitting, but he exhorted that the non-Jewish population could not be ignored and that he 'truly [felt] that not to have raised this warning flag would [have] be[en] an irresponsible act on [his] part as a Council member'.[186] Pawlikowski remained a strong voice in the struggle for the inclusion of non-Jewish victims in the Exhibition throughout the planning years of the Museum.

During the design years of the *Permanent Exhibition*, the Museum endeavoured to gather documentary materials, photographs and artefacts relating to the experience of non-Jewish victims during the Holocaust. The Museum's staff newsletter entitled 'Update' detailed several donations of non-Jewish artefacts that the Museum received, including a concentration camp uniform worn by a political prisoner interned in Dachau, complete with its purple triangle and prisoner number and an autograph album owned by a member of the Polish underground who was imprisoned in Buchenwald and signed by forty-five of his fellow political prisoners.[187] In a July 1987 meeting of the Content Committee, who were concerned with the substance of the exhibition, the results of the first phase of information gathering in Austria and Germany were revealed and it was stated that there were photographic, filmic, artistic and musical sources as well as documentation relating to the persecution of the Roma during the Second World War, in existence.[188] In addition, the Museum enlisted the help of several specialists to collate information on the non-Jewish victims. Robert Buckley, the

---

[184] Letter dated 26 May 1988 to Mr. Arthur Rosenblatt, Director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, from Father John Pawlikowski, member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.016.1, Box 1 of 4, Michael Berenbaum's Committee Memoranda and Reports: Minutes and Records relating to Content Committee meetings and Academic Committee General Information.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2002.023, Box 1, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Staff Newsletter 'Update', April 1987-present (December 1990), November 1989 issue, December 1989 issue, July/August 1989 issue.
[188] Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.016.1, Box 1 of 4, Michael Berenbaum's Committee Memoranda and Reports: Minutes and Records relating to Content Committee meetings, United States Holocaust Memorial Council meetings and Academic Committee General Information, Content Committee meeting, 15 July 1987.

Jehovah's Witnesses' news director for the Washington, D.C., area, travelled to West Germany in 1988 on behalf of the Museum, where he conducted and taped oral history interviews with five Jehovah's Witnesses families and collected family papers relating to their fate during the Holocaust.[189] The Museum also hired Klaus Müller, a historian who specialised in the fate of the homosexuals during the Holocaust, to assist 'in securing exhibits and eyewitness testimonies about the persecution of homosexuals during the Holocaust'.[190] In 1984 the Council selected five academic consultants to 'prepare overview papers respectively on one of five key subjects - - the fate of the Gypsies in the Holocaust, Jewish Resistance, Righteous Gentiles, the Armenian Genocide, and the Liberation of the Camps'.[191] It was felt that these were areas that needed further research to support the exhibition design.[192] It is therefore clear that the Museum did aim to represent non-Jewish victims in its exhibition and specifically sought material to support the parts of the narrative that would detail their fate.

Although the USHMM intended to be all-encompassing in the victims that it would represent, a hierarchy of victims has emerged, one that Michael Berenbaum and other members of museum staff acknowledged. The narrative of the Holocaust as told in the Museum is one in which:

> All of the Nazis' victims are included and respected. At the center of the tragedy of the Holocaust is the murder of European Jews [...]. Near that center is the murder of the Gypsies. Historians are still uncertain if there was a single decision for their complete annihilation, an enunciated policy of transcendent meaning to the perpetrators. Nevertheless, historians have recognized - both in the museum and elsewhere - the victimization of the Gypsies who were killed in very substantial numbers, and also homosexuals, political prisoners, Soviet POWs and slave labourers.[193]

It is crucial to highlight that different members of the Museum's staff viewed the victims of the Holocaust in varying ways. Steve Luckert, the Curator of the *Permanent Exhibition*, believed that the Holocaust was the mass murder of the

---

[189] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Staff Newsletter, 'Update', June 1989 issue, Accession number 2002.023, Box 1.
[190] Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington,* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1995), pp.161-162.
[191] Subject files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, Content Committee meeting 3 September 1985, p.26.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Michael Berenbaum, *The World Must Know,* p.2.

Jews.[194] Nonetheless, 'in the Nazi racial and political vision that they had, it encompassed far more than that, [...] it was also the persecution of Soviet POWs, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, political prisoners, so that all fit in with the Nazi world view'.[195] Luckert maintained, like Berenbaum, that it is beneficial to compare the similarities and differences between the experience of the Jews and the non-Jewish victims, which reveals that 'the solutions and the treatment of those groups differed greatly'.[196] Jacek Nowakowski, Senior Curator for Research and Acquisition, also acknowledged the parallels and contrasts between the Jews and the non-Jews, that 'in certain parts of the story, their fate was exactly the same as the Jews [...], the way that the prisoners were treated inside of the concentration camp very often was not much different'.[197] Nowakowski viewed the main distinction between the Jewish and the non-Jewish victims as their 'final destination', the crematoria, that unlike other victim groups, Jews were selected on arrival to live or die and that all Jews were ultimately destined for annihilation.[198] This 'hierarchy of victims' is thus a fluid categorisation amongst the staff of the Museum.

In its Mission Statement, the Holocaust Memorial Council defined the Holocaust that the Museum would remember as follows:

> The Holocaust was the state-sponsored, systematic persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by Nazi Germany and its collaborators between 1933 and 1945. Jews were the primary victims - six million were murdered; Gypsies, the handicapped, and Poles were also targeted for destruction or decimation for racial, ethnic or national reasons. Millions more, including homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war and political dissidents, also suffered grievous oppression and death under Nazi tyranny.[199]

The list that the Council provided suggests a threefold hierarchy of victim groups. Jews were the primary victims and the number of Jewish casualties, 6 million, is given. Second to the suffering of the Jews are the Roma, the handicapped and the Poles, who are grouped together because they were murdered for racial, ethnic or

---

[194] Interview with Steve Luckert, Curator of the *Permanent Exhibition* and Ramee Gentry, Co-ordinator for the *Permanent Exhibition*, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 26 May 2005.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Interview with Jacek Nowakowski, Senior Curator for Research and Acquisition, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 26 May 2005.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, p.23.

national reasons as well, but because they did not die in such large numbers as the Jews, they are on a different level. Thirdly, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war and political dissidents are classed together as also suffering under the Nazis' regime. This third grouping, however, suggests an equivalence between these four victim groups that was not there in reality because the numbers of casualties that each group suffered varied tremendously. Approximately 5,000 homosexuals died, whereas hundreds of thousands of political prisoners were killed and over 3.3 million Soviet POWs died. When these figures for non-Jewish victims are taken into consideration, the figure '11 million' for Jewish and non-Jewish Holocaust victims quoted by President Carter in 1979, appears to be incorrect and not as inclusive as it may have seemed at the time. The USHMM does not therefore rank the victims of the Holocaust according to statistics of the dead, but it clearly views that the Jews were the primary victims and the deaths of non-Jewish victims were secondary. This hierarchy of victims in turn affects the way in which Jewish and non-Jewish victims are represented in the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition*.

iii. The Representation of Non-Jewish Victims in Form, Space and Context in the *Permanent Exhibition*

Non-Jewish victims are present throughout the *Permanent Exhibition* in various forms, including artefacts. Indeed, one of the very first artefact-based displays that a visitor to the Exhibition encounters is a tower of concentration camp prisoner uniforms. These striped items of clothing are typically associated with Jewish concentration camp prisoners. Yet, among these uniforms is that of a political prisoner, indicated by the red triangular badge with a black 'P' marked on it.[200] The text accompanying the uniforms makes no reference to the wearers of the clothes or to the reason why they were imprisoned and as a result, it is not explicitly indicated to the visitor that they were worn by non-Jewish, as well as Jewish victims.[201] Once visitors have viewed the rest of the *Permanent Exhibition*, they would be able to ascertain that not only were non-Jewish groups victims of

---

[200] Section entitled 'The Victims', The *Permanent Exhibition*, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW Washington, D.C., 20024-2126, United States of America, viewed on the 27-29 May 2005.
[201] Ibid.

the Holocaust, but they may also be able to distinguish between the different categories of victims by the colour of the badges displayed. Nevertheless, the very first mention of a non-Jewish prisoner in the narrative goes relatively unnoticed as such. There is, however, a reference to non-Jewish victims in association with an artefact that is immediately recognisable as part of the Holocaust narrative. On display are stone fence posts that once supported the electrified barbed wire fences that surrounded Auschwitz-Birkenau.[202] In the middle of two of these posts is an excerpt from Elie Wiesel's *Night*.[203] The fence posts are thus referenced to the most famous Jewish survivor of the Holocaust. The text that accompanies the posts illuminates a surprising fact, that 'these posts once supported a fence that separated the sectors for Hungarian Jews and for non-Jewish men'.[204] Non-Jewish victims are therefore presented alongside elements of the narrative that are traditionally thought of as uniquely Jewish, albeit in a subtle form. The Museum's representation of these non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust is problematic, as the non-Jewish associations with these artefacts are not prominent enough and as a result, the visitor would not be aware of their connection to non-Jewish victim groups.

The physical space in which non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust are presented in the *Permanent Exhibition* plays a crucial role in their representation and how prominent they are as victim groups to museum visitors. The display section on 'Operation T4', the Nazi euthanasia programme of mentally and physically handicapped adults, occupies a large area of floor space.[205] The segment includes numerous photographs and a bed and blanket from the Sachsenberg clinic which also housed a 'paediatric department' where disabled children were murdered, although they were not killed as part of the official T4 programme.[206] The positioning of this important aspect of the persecution of non-Jewish victims is not, however, that noticeable. The section is to the left and around a corner from the main flow of the *Permanent Exhibition*. Visitors who walk towards it are in danger of passing it unawares and turning left towards the beckoning light of the glass bridge that will take them down towards the third floor

---

[202] Ibid, fence posts opposite the section entitled 'Mauthausen Crematorium'.
[203] Ibid, text taken from Elie Wiesel, *Night*, 'Never shall I forget that night, [...] Never.', p.45.
[204] Ibid, fence posts opposite the section entitled 'Mauthausen Crematorium'.
[205] Ibid, section entitled 'Murder of the Handicapped.'.
[206] Ibid and Benno Müller-Hill, *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others in Germany, 1933-1945,* (Cold Spring Harbor: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 1998), p.xix.

of the Exhibition. Thus, although the section on the murder of the handicapped is separated off from the rest of the narrative and was evidently deemed to be an important aspect of the Holocaust by the designers of the Exhibition, there is a chance that due to its location in the flow of the display, it may be missed completely.

Throughout the *Permanent Exhibition*, non-Jewish victims are featured in sections of the narrative where their presence has been widely acknowledged by historians, such as Nazi racial theory towards those people the regime classed as racially inferior, Robert Ritter's eugenic survey of the Roma, the forced sterilisation and later murder of the physically and mentally handicapped and the imprisonment of Soviet prisoners of war, other political prisoners, Poles, Roma, Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals in various concentration camps.[207] Non-Jewish victims are also mentioned in segments of the Exhibition where they are not so widely recognised as being part of the Holocaust narrative at that particular point. The mass murder of all the Jews of Kiev in the Ukraine as a reprisal for the NKVD, the Soviet Secret police, blowing up several buildings occupied by the German military, is a well-known catastrophe of the Holocaust.[208] Babi Yar, as the mass killing of the Jews came to be known after the site at which they were murdered, is therefore assumed by most people to be a Jewish tragedy. What is not so widely known, but is detailed in the exhibition narrative, is that after the massacre of more than 33,000 Jews in two days, Babi Yar remained a site of destruction for partisans, Roma and Soviet prisoners of war.[209] The Museum thus introduces a space in which non-Jewish victims are remembered alongside the Jews and by doing so at a point in the Holocaust story usually associated specifically with Jewish persecution, the fate of the Roma and its similarity to that of the Jews, is accentuated.

The imprisonment of thousands of the Nazi regime's victims in ghettos is another part of the Holocaust narrative that most visitors to the Museum assume is a solely Jewish element. Yet, if the visitor were to examine the text closely in the display sections entitled 'The Warsaw Ghetto', 'The Łódź Ghetto' and 'Four Hundred Ghettos', they would discover that Jews were not the only people to be

---

[207] Ibid, sections entitled 'The "Science of Race"', '"Enemies of the State"', 'Forced Sterilization', 'Murder of the Handicapped' and 'Prisoners of the Camps'.
[208] Michael Berenbaum, *The World Must Know*, pp.99-101.
[209] The *Permanent Exhibition,* section entitled 'Babi Yar'.

sealed off from the outside world in ghettos.[210] The exhibition narrative details that Roma too were interned alongside Jews in the Warsaw and the Łódź ghetto, two places that are again normally associated with Jewish suffering. The *Permanent Exhibition* relates that when the Warsaw ghetto was sealed on 16 November 1940, there were 445,000 residents, amongst them 'several hundred Roma (Gypsies)'.[211] It is noteworthy that the Roma are mentioned in this point of the Holocaust story, especially with consideration of the imbalance in the number of Jewish and Romani inhabitants of the ghetto. This representation of the Roma is immediately followed by their non-representation. The narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition* fails to mention that these Roma, along with their fellow Jewish ghetto inhabitants, were deported to Treblinka extermination camp in the summer of 1942 and gassed.[212] Roma are consequently denied the equivalent status of Jewish victims in regard to this particular aspect of the Holocaust story. Furthermore, the display details that alongside 164,000 Jews imprisoned in the Łódź ghetto when it was sealed in April 1940, there were 5,000 Roma.[213] The imprisonment of the Roma is mentioned in the very last sentence of the section on the Łódź ghetto and is separated from the main body of text that describes the appalling living conditions that affected the Jewish inhabitants. This narrative organisation serves to further play down non-Jewish suffering. The story of the ghettos, does therefore, remain a Jewish one in the *Permanent Exhibition*, as the narrative focuses on them.

The *Permanent Exhibition* contains a section on the *Einsatzgruppen,* which were an infamous part of Jewish persecution. It may come as a surprise to some visitors that the exhibition narrative demonstrates that the *Einsatzgruppen* also murdered Roma and Communist party officials.[214] The non-Jewish victims killed in this manner are not emphasised in the text, they are only mentioned in passing. The Jewish victims of the *Einsatzgruppen* are stressed at the end of the section, which details that 'more than 1.2 million Jews were killed by these squads in the occupied southern territories [...]. It was these mass shootings of Jews that

---

[210] Ibid, section entitled 'Lost Communities' and 'Four Hundred Ghettos'.
[211] Ibid, section entitled 'The Warsaw Ghetto'. The text details that there were 445,000 residents of the Warsaw ghetto when it was sealed on 16 November 1940 and this figure includes all of the Jewish inhabitants and 'several hundred Roma'.
[212] Raul Hilberg, 'Gypsies' in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.276.
[213] The *Permanent Exhibition*, section entitled 'The Łódź Ghetto'.
[214] Ibid, section entitled 'Mobile Killing Squads'.

initiated the "'Final Solution.'"[215] The number of Romani victims is not given and they are omitted from connection to the Final Solution. Although the Roma were not part of the Final Solution, as they were not Jewish, they too were murdered in the gas chambers of Auschwitz, a place that is infamously known as the largest killing centre of Jews. Once again, the status of the Roma as the non-Jewish victims whose treatment at the hands of the Nazis was most similar to that of the Jews, is understated in the narrative of the Jewish Holocaust as told in the *Permanent Exhibition*.

Another area in which non-Jewish victims are mentioned that visitors would not expect to see them, is in their association with one of the most widely known symbols of the Holocaust and its Jewish victims, the tattooed prisoner number. Although it is a widespread perception that numbers were tattooed on all Jewish inmates' arms to indicate their prisoner number in the concentration camp in which they were interned, this is not an accurate portrayal of events. In fact, the majority of Jews were not tattooed because they were selected for murder immediately upon arrival at concentration camps. Nevertheless, this symbol, like the figure '6 million', has become synonymous with Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Towards the close of the *Permanent Exhibition*, a different version of the tattooed prisoner number is presented in a photograph that shows bare-chested Soviet prisoners of war interned in Mauthausen concentration camp with numbers tattooed on their chests.[216] The text accompanying the photograph makes reference to the usual Jewish connection of such tattooed numbers, stating that 'many Soviet prisoners of war had numbers tattooed on their chest, not their forearm'.[217] In this instance the representation of non-Jewish victims is referenced to the representation of Jews and a widely known aspect of their persecution under the Nazis. The narrative does highlight that although the form of persecution between non-Jewish and Jewish victims differed in type, Soviet prisoners of war were tattooed on their chests, not their forearms, the outcome was ultimately the same. Soviet prisoners of war, like their Jewish counterparts, were dehumanised and branded like cattle, for a life-long physical reminder of their imprisonment. In some ways, no matter how subtle, the *Permanent Exhibition* does show that the persecution of non-Jewish victims was comparable to that of the Jews.

---

[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid, section entitled 'Tattoos'.
[217] Ibid.

There are large segments of text devoted to non-Jewish victims, such as the section entitled 'Enemies of the State', which details the persecution of political opponents, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses and Freemasons, accompanied by artefacts, an audiovisual programme and photographs.[218] This segment contains a reasonable amount of information on the non-Jewish victims and by placing all of the non-Jewish groups together, their treatment at the hands of the Nazis is memorable. The Roma too are given their own section, which although included under the same heading of 'Enemies of the State', is separated off from the text relating to the other non-Jewish victims by a large, but sparsely furnished, display area. In this enclosure a Romani wagon and violin are arranged, set in front of a photomural showing the deportation of Roma from the Vienna suburb of Simmering, possibly dating from 1939.[219] The artefacts chosen for the *Permanent Exhibition* were selected by a design team, which consisted of the following members: Museum Director, Jeshajahu Weinberg; Raye Farr, who was the then Exhibition Producer; the Exhibition Designer, Ralph Appelbaum; Museum Project Director, Michael Berenbaum; Jacek Nowakowski, Director of Collections and Acquisitions; Charlotte Hebebrand, Content Coordinator; Lauriston Marshall, Exhibits Director and Steve Weintraub, Conservation Consultant.[220] The relevance of each artefact to the segment in which it would feature was carefully considered by the team and whether the object would fulfil their aims of enhancing the section and propelling the story forwards.[221] Nowakowski also noted that the group was 'looking for artefacts whose meaning [would] be easily understood by the public, objects that speak for themselves, and call for minimal textual explanation'.[222] With this association between the object, its meaning and the visitor in mind, the Museum's choice of artefacts with which to represent the Roma is problematic, as they serve to reinforce popular stereotypes concerning this non-Jewish victim group.

The Roma are presented using items that have romantic associations with the traditional image of them as a carefree nomadic people, renowned for their musical talent. Indeed, Museum historian Sybil Milton, who believed that Roma, as well as the mentally and physically handicapped, were racial victims of the Nazis and

---

[218] Ibid, section entitled 'Enemies of the State' and 'Prisoners of the Camps'.
[219] Ibid, section entitled 'Enemies of the State', subheading 'Roma (Gypsies)'.
[220] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Staff Newsletter 'Update', March 1991 issue, p.8, Accession number 2002.023, Box 2.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid.

that their fate was therefore equivalent to that of the Jews, highlighted this problem.[223] Milton related that Romani visitors themselves that she had shown around the *Permanent Exhibition* felt that 'the wagon promote[d] the stereotypical view of all Rom and Sinti peoples as migratory'.[224] With the display of Romani clothing and jewellery, the Museum perpetuates the most popular and enduring cliché of the group, their physical appearance, which has typically been 'portrayed as showy and colourful, with headscarves, trinkets and droopy earrings in abundance'.[225] In addition to this stereotyping, as Ian Hancock has observed, these artefacts serve to display Romani cultural life rather than their persecution at the hands of the Nazis.[226] Some Museum staff have voiced that they feel that this particular section is not very well designed and that it could be more powerful.[227] Roma are displayed in the *Permanent Exhibition* as an example of a distinct cultural group, rather than as the non-Jewish victims whose fate most closely paralleled that of the Jews. Nevertheless, the separation of the Roma from the other non-Jewish victim groups provides them with a heightened prominence in the narrative, coupled with the display of Romani artefacts, which takes up a sizeable piece of the exhibition floor.

The *Permanent Exhibition*'s treatment of the Roma is particularly noteworthy. Throughout the *Permanent Exhibition*, this non-Jewish victim group are designated by the word 'Roma', which is always followed by '(Gypsies)'. There is no mention of the Kalderash, Machavaya, Lovari, Churari or any of the other tribes which constitute the Roma and as a result, visitors are not made aware of the specific origins of the Roma. In contrast, the heritage of the Jews and an outline of their two thousand year history in Europe is provided directly after the opening section of the Exhibition.[228] This difference in background detail on the Jews and the Roma highlights the disparate positions that the two victim groups hold in the narrative of the Holocaust that is told in the Museum's exhibition. The Jews are

---

[223] Edward T. Linenthal, p.247.
[224] Ibid, pp.247-248.
[225] David Mayall, *Gypsy-travellers in nineteenth-century society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.75-76.
[226] Ian Hancock, 'Responses to the Porrajmos: The Romani Holocaust', in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide,* (Colorado: Westview Press, A Member of Perseus Press, L. L. C., 1998), p.55.
[227] Interview with Radu Ioanid, Director of the International Archival Programmes Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies and Raye Farr, Director of the Department of Film and Video, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 27 May 2005 and Interview with Martin Smith, Director of the *Permanent Exhibition* 1988-1990, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at his home in Bristol, 12 July 2005.
[228] The *Permanent Exhibition*, section entitled 'Before the Holocaust'.

considered to be the primary victims and therefore their cultural and historical background before the Holocaust is given. Alternatively, a victim group that is perceived to be on the periphery of the Holocaust, such as the Roma, is not grounded in a history of their own. This gives the impression that the Roma were another mass of faceless victims, rather than a distinct group with a rich heritage. The decision to use the word 'Roma', was, according to Martin Smith, the former Director of the *Permanent Exhibition*, twofold. Firstly, 'that's how the group themselves was to have referred to themselves' and secondly, because Museum historian Sybil Milton insisted that that was the terminology that should be used, 'you couldn't call them Gypsies'.[229] Smith explained that Roma is followed by 'Gypsies' in brackets for a practical reason, 'because that would be how the mass of the audience would be expected to perceive them and clarity is all'.[230] The constant use of the word 'Gypsy' in the narrative may overwhelm the term 'Roma' in a visitor's consciousness and as Milton was clearly aware, the correct terminology may then be disregarded.

The Roma hold a unique position in the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition,* they are the non-Jewish victim group that is mentioned most prominently. This is acknowledged by Nowakowski, who stated that there was an attempt by the Museum to show the most representative events for different victim groups for each part of the Exhibition narrative and as a result of this 'you have the presentation of the Gypsies [...] whose story is the most similar to the Jewish story [...], very early on they are presented [...] quite prominently as another group'.[231] Moreover, the moments at which they are mentioned in relation to the Jewish story is significant. Aspects of the persecution of the Roma are frequently acknowledged alongside the story of Jewish victims. The Roma are referenced in the deportation section in the first line of text, next to the Jews, as the victims that were transported to the six killing centres in Poland.[232] In the section towards the close of the Exhibition on children, Roma are again recognised directly alongside Jews: 'Jewish and Romani (Gypsy) children, like their parents, were considered threats to German racial "purity", and they shared the fate of adults.'[233] Roma are mentioned together with the Jews at these moments in the Exhibition narrative

---

[229] Interview with Martin Smith.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Interview with Jacek Nowakowski.
[232] The *Permanent Exhibition,* section entitled 'Deportations'.
[233] Ibid, section entitled 'Children'.

because these are the points at which their fate has been documented and acknowledged. Yet, by voicing their presence next to that of the Jewish victims and therefore to a certain extent equating their fate to that of the Jews, the Roma are given the most prominence of all the non-Jewish victims in the *Permanent Exhibition.*

This marked representation of the Roma in comparison to the Exhibition's treatment of other non-Jewish victim groups is paradoxical when their marginality during the planning stages of the Museum is considered. As has been demonstrated, the Roma, unlike other non-Jewish victim groups, struggled for representation on the Holocaust Memorial Council in the early 1980s and in turn, for inclusion in the Holocaust narrative that the Museum was to tell. Although somewhat problematic, some final recognition of the Roma in the *Permanent Exhibition* may be an attempt to readdress the neglect of the persecution of this group which took place in the initial planning stages of the Museum. Whatever the reason for the extent of their representation, the Roma are viewed by the USHMM as a non-Jewish victim group whose story can exist non-threateningly alongside that of the Jews. Although the Museum maintains a hierarchy of victims, with the Jews as the primary victims and 'other' non-Jewish victims as secondary to them, the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition* simultaneously asserts in subtle ways, that the persecution and fate of the Roma was closest to that of the Jews. This acknowledgement is an innovative step in the representation of this non-Jewish victim group.

The prominence of the fate of the non-Jewish victims, or lack of prominence in the case of some victim groups, in the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition* contributes strongly to the knowledge of these victim groups that visitors to the Museum leave with. As I viewed the Exhibition, one visitor voiced his shock at his discovery of the number of Soviet prisoners of war that died whilst they were imprisoned in Nazi concentration camps. He read out the number '3.3 million' contained in the text he was reading twice, shaking his head in disbelief as he did so.[234] Clearly, for this visitor the high number of Soviet prisoner of war casualties came as somewhat of a shock. Yet, the figure for the number of Soviet prisoner of war victims quoted in the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition* may be too low to include the total number of deaths. The figure might be accurate for the number of Soviet prisoners of war that died in captivity, presumably in concentration camps,

---

[234] Ibid, section entitled 'Prisoners of the Camps'.

but it does not include those who died elsewhere.[235] There seems to be a reluctance to recognise the correct number of Soviet prisoner of war victims in the Holocaust narrative of the USHMM that is essentially Jewish. This may be due to the fact that if the true number of Soviet prisoners of war were acknowledged, this would disrupt the hierarchy of victims that exists in the exhibition narrative and the Jews would no longer be represented as the primary victims of the Holocaust in terms of casualties suffered.

In addition to this inaccuracy, there is clearly a lack of awareness of the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust and the number of those groups who suffered, among visitors to the *Permanent Exhibition*. Indeed, the Museum carried out audience testing, as it was curious to know whether in the course of the Exhibition it was transmitting basic facts, such as the different victim groups.[236] In the Museum's survey, a random selection of people going into the Exhibition were asked who the victims of the Holocaust were and the majority of people answered 'the Jews' and some visitors could name one other victim group.[237] Another group of visitors were asked the same question after they had viewed the Exhibition and they could then mention several specific victim groups.[238] In spite of the fragmentary nature of the representation of non-Jewish victims in the *Permanent Exhibition*, visitors to the USHMM evidently leave with a wider knowledge of the Holocaust and its victims than they held on entering. More importantly, in terms of the portrayal of Soviet prisoners of war, this newly-acquired information is inaccurate. The limited amount of representation that this non-Jewish victim group receives in the Museum is thus compromised by a distortion of truth.

The USHMM maintains that there are several reasons why there is not as much depiction of non-Jewish victims in the exhibition narrative as there could be. In the case of non-Jewish Poles and Soviet prisoners of war, the Museum believes that 'it is difficult to define who should be categorised as Holocaust victims and who as war casualties in the national struggle against the German invaders'.[239]

This lack of representation is clearly linked to the longstanding internal debate over who the Museum perceived the victims of the Holocaust to be. Furthermore,

---

[235] Christian Streit, 'The Fate of the Soviet Prisoners of War', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis,* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), p.142.
[236] Interview with Steve Luckert and Ramee Gentry.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, p.159.

the Museum holds that there are no reliable figures for the number of casualties that the Romani community suffered, although scholars of Romani history, such as Angus Fraser, have made educated estimates with the available resources.[240] The approximations for Romani victims range from a quarter of a million to half a million and more.[241] The Museum avoided using figures due to 'the sensitivity of the issue, mainly in Polish and Gypsy communities, where some believe the number of their victims defines the magnitude of their tragedy'.[242] The Museum felt that there was something distasteful about using a quantitative approach to measure tragedy encountered by non-Jewish victims. The Museum did not, however, feel that it was insensitive to use the figure '6 million' in its discussion of the Jewish victims. The figure '6 million' defines the immensity of the Jewish suffering and by assigning a figure to the Jewish victims, but not to the non-Jewish victims, the hierarchy of victims within the Exhibition narrative continues. It seems that although the USHMM profess to representing an inclusive account of the Holocaust, they do indeed measure the torment of Jews and non-Jewish victim groups against each other and the group with the greatest number of casualties, the Jews, are granted 'the right' to be the 'ultimate' victim of the catastrophe.

The Museum believes that there are also practical reasons why there is an imbalance between the amount of material displayed on the persecution of Jewish and non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The main difficulty faced by the curators of the Museum was the acquisition of artefacts relating to non-Jewish victim groups, particularly those of the Roma, Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals.[243] As Luckert has asserted, 'you have to have something to show'.[244] Textiles are difficult objects to find, particularly for the Roma and so 'that's going to be something [the Museum is] going to have to think about, [...] how are other ways [...] through different kinds of artefacts, that [the Museum] can tell that story'.[245] The section entitled 'Prisoners of the Camps' displays a significant object relating to the persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses, a Bible that belonged to Johann Stossier, a Jehovah's Witness who was imprisoned and died in Sachsenhausen.[246] The importance of this artefact relating to the fate of the

---

[240] Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992).
[241] Ibid, p.269.
[242] Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, p.159.
[243] Ibid, pp.159-162.
[244] Interview with Steve Luckert and Ramee Gentry.
[245] Ibid.
[246] The *Permanent Exhibition*, section entitled 'Prisoners of the Camps'.

Jehovah's Witnesses cannot be underestimated, particularly for members of the Jehovah's Witness community. Ramee Gentry, the Co-ordinator of the *Permanent Exhibition*, told me that Jehovah's Witnesses who visit the *Permanent Exhibition* specifically want to see the object that relates to the fate of that victim group and hence she ensures that all Museum staff are aware of its position in the Exhibition.[247] This incident demonstrates that although non-Jewish victims are represented in only subtle ways in comparison to the Jews, that they are represented at all is the crucial matter. The acquisition of materials relating to the persecution of homosexuals had a practical obstacle to overcome, namely that 'until quite recently few German homosexuals had come out'.[248]

The curatorial department faces the additional difficulty of the rotation of artefacts because owing to conservation reasons, artefacts can only be on display for a certain period of time.[249] Gentry gave the example of the dress that was worn by a Romani woman, which has fragile textile and will need to be removed from display at some point.[250] The USHMM also faces such problems of display due to the fact that the memorialisation of some non-Jewish victim groups, such as the Roma, was a slow process that still continues today. Poor pre-war and wartime statistical data and a lack of interest amongst scholars in the fate of the Roma, hampered further by this absence of data, has led to little historiography on the subject.[251] The very nature of Romani society has also contributed to the delay in memorialisation due to the fact that 'history has been an alien concept in Romani culture, where the dead are rarely mentioned and seldom become the subjects of commemoration'.[252] The oral tradition of the Roma, which meant that many were illiterate and those who were literate did not record their wartime experiences for dissemination outside of the community, has led to a lack of survivor testimony. Moreover, commemoration of the *Porrajmos* took place many years after the Jewish victims of the Holocaust had begun to be remembered, with many accounts of the wartime plight of the Roma not published until the late 1990s or after. Due to this delay in memorialisation and the unrecognised historical value of artefacts

---

[247] Interview with Steve Luckert and Ramee Gentry.
[248] Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, p.162.
[249] Interview with Steve Luckert and Ramee Gentry.
[250] Ibid.
[251] For accounts of these research difficulties, see Léon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate: The Nazi Program for the Destruction of the Jews of Europe*, (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), pp.265-266 and Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethnopolitics,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.103, 107-110.
[252] Zoltan Barany, p.103.

related to the event, 'a lot of the material that could have been useful has been lost'.[253]

In their answers to the question of whether non-Jewish victim groups could have been included to a greater extent in the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition*, staff at the Museum expressed mixed feelings. Luckert and Gentry stressed that due to exhibition floor space, the Exhibition design team were constrained by how much material they could include and that 'they went to the limit on what they could do' in terms of representing non-Jewish victims.[254] To other members of staff this question is one of focus, once again demonstrating the internal particularistic versus universalistic argument. Nowakowski has asserted that 'if you are [...] looking at this exhibition as a [...] story-telling exhibition, you have to focus on something and the story that this exhibition was saying was the [...] uniqueness of this event, the Holocaust, and we carried it on from the very beginning'.[255] Other victims, with the exception Nowakowski notes of the Roma and the mentally and physically handicapped, 'fall [...] on the periphery of that main story, so that is the [...] proper place in this presentation [...] for them'.[256] Nowakowski thus indicates why the Roma are represented so prominently, because the staff of the Museum perceived their fate to be closest to that of the Jews. In line with this victim hierarchy, other non-Jewish victims lie on the periphery of what the Museum holds is a Jewish Holocaust narrative and were therefore represented only minimally in the *Permanent Exhibition*. Radu Ioanid, Director of the International Archival Programmes Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, who was formerly head of the division which collected photographs for the *Permanent Exhibition*, reinforced the hierarchical relationship between the representation of the non-Jewish victims and the Jewish-orientated nature of the Museum's Holocaust narrative. Ioanid emphasised that you cannot alter a part of the Exhibition narrative without affecting its surrounding elements; to include more material on the fate of the non-Jewish victims would necessitate excluding some representation of Jewish persecution.[257] Gentry added a pragmatic consideration that the inclusion of more material on non-Jewish victim groups would bring, it would impact upon the flow of the narrative: the 'challenge [...]

---

[253] Interview with Steve Luckert and Ramee Gentry.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Interview with Jacek Nowakowski.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Interview with Radu Ioanid and Raye Farr.

with dealing with other victim groups is that, finding a place in the Exhibition also sometimes means jumping the chronology around a little bit, from the main narrative thread that you've got going, through the main history'.[258] Although the Museum wanted to show the tension between these two threads, the persecution of the Jews and the non-Jews, they felt that by repeatedly bringing in the story of the non-Jewish victim groups there was a danger that such a narrative would confuse visitors.[259]

Staff at the USHMM have indicated that there is a possibility that at some stage the non-Jewish victims will be represented in the *Permanent Exhibition* in a different way. Luckert and Gentry highlighted that although the Exhibition is a 'Permanent' one as the title suggests, there is a certain amount of flexibility in terms of changing the content of the display. Luckert stated that by altering the labels accompanying artefacts, previously overlooked or omitted elements can be addressed.[260] He also demonstrated that new research that has been conducted since the opening of the Museum has been taken into consideration, citing the example of the segment on the Nazi persecution of the Poles that underwent a change of title as well as an addition of more information a few years ago.[261] In light of a further ten years' museological experience since the Museum opened and fresh research that has been carried out exploring how visitors absorb information, there have been discussions amongst the Museum's Exhibition team concerning whether the display is text-heavy and if there are other, more effective ways of presenting the information.[262] The specific moment at which the *Permanent Exhibition* was conceived has also had an impact upon the representation of the non-Jewish victims. Ioanid expressed that due to recent research, much more is now known about the fate of the non-Jewish victim groups and more photographs and artefacts have become available, so it would be possible to include non-Jewish victims in more depth.[263] Moreover, Ioanid asserted that if they were to start the Exhibition again, a better job could be done for both Jewish and non-Jewish victims.[264] Essentially, many members of Museum staff are extremely proud of the *Permanent Exhibition* and feel that they presented the Jewish and the non-

---

[258] Interview with Steve Luckert and Ramee Gentry.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Interview with Radu Ioanid and Raye Farr.
[264] Ibid.

Jewish victims in the most effective way that they could possibly have done with consideration of the research limitations and the resources that were available to them at the time.

iv. The Representation of Non-Jewish Victims Outside of the *Permanent Exhibition* Space

The USHMM believes that it has overcome the lack of representation of non-Jewish victim groups in its *Permanent Exhibition* by including them in a variety of other activities relating to the Museum:

> the fate of the non-Jewish victims in the Holocaust has now, after the opening, become one of the most important themes dealt with in the lectures and film programmes organised by the Museum's Education Department, in the acquisition activities of library and archives, and in the work of the United States Holocaust Research Institute, the Museum's scholarly division.[265]

Martin Smith, the former Director of the *Permanent Exhibition*, has noted that the argument could be put forward that non-Jewish victims 'have been better treated with travelling exhibitions and temporary exhibitions because it is believed that [...] the core story of the [...] Jewish Holocaust is so well represented within the Museum, that the Museum has another task to make its inclusiveness known'.[266] Certain non-Jewish victim groups, most notably homosexuals and Roma, have been afforded more attention than others in the Museum's commemorative activities outside the remit of the *Permanent Exhibition*.

In 1994 a film series entitled 'Stories Untold: Gays and Lesbians During the Holocaust' was shown in the Joseph and Rebecca Meyerhoff theatre at the Museum.[267] Each film was followed by a panel discussion, with remarks made by Museum historians, such as Klaus Müller, hired by the Museum during the planning stages of the project to gather information relating to the fate of homosexuals.[268] The literature accompanying the film series highlighted the fact that it was not until quite recently that research had been conducted concerning the

---

[265] Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, p.162.
[266] Interview with Martin Smith.
[267] 'Stories Untold: Gays and Lesbians During the Holocaust', materials relating to the film series, 15-19 May 1994, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.
[268] Ibid.

fate of homosexuals in the Holocaust due to 'ongoing persecution first under the Allied military government of Germany, and later and more systematically under German authorities'.[269] A special exhibition 'Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals, 1933-1945' was shown at the Museum in 2002-2003 and a series of public programmes 'on the life of homosexuals before, during and after World War II' were undertaken.[270] The Museum acknowledged in its literature for the special exhibition that homosexuals were 'lesser-known victims of the Nazi era' and announced future plans to mount a series of exhibitions concentrating on this victim group.[271] Despite this recognition by the Museum that there is a lack of knowledge concerning this victim group, they did not feel that the way to combat this oversight would be to include them to a greater degree in the *Permanent Exhibition*. In line with this special exhibition, the Gay and Lesbian Campaign ran a particular fundraising mission. The pledge card for the campaign stated that 'as one of the most visited sites in our nation's capital, the Museum gives voice to the victims of the Holocaust, including homosexuals'.[272] The Museum evidently felt that there would be enough support to specifically target the gay community for financial assistance, perhaps in light of the recent emergence of the fate of homosexual victims in the Holocaust and a politically active homosexual community in the United States.

The Roma have also received more attention than other non-Jewish groups in the additional commemorative activities of the Museum. In 1992 an exhibition of paintings by Romani artist Karl Stojka entitled 'The Story of Karl Stojka: A Childhood in Birkenau' was held at the Embassy of Austria in Washington, D.C., in association with the Museum.[273] Stojka's autobiographical works draw 'on the tragic memories of his childhood in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Buchenwald, and Flössenburg concentration camps from 1943 to 1945'.[274] A symposium entitled

---

[269] Ibid.
[270] 'Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals 1933-1945', materials relating to the special exhibition, 15 November 2002-16 March 2003, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.
[271] Ibid.
[272] 'Gay and Lesbian Campaign Pledge Card', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.
[273] 'The Story of Karl Stojka: A Childhood in Birkenau', catalogue of the exhibition at the Embassy of Austria, 30 April-29 May 1992, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.
[274] Ibid.

'Roma and Sinti: Under-Studied Victims of Nazism', was organised in September 2000, at which leading scholars in the research of the Nazi persecution of the Roma, such as Ian Hancock, delivered papers covering topics including the background to Romani persecution during the war, their fate in the Holocaust and remarks on future research areas.[275] Similar to the Museum's treatment of homosexuals, the Museum affirmed that the Roma as a victim group are under-studied, but did not emphasise their presence in the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition*. Through a variety of exhibitions and conferences, homosexuals and the Roma have become two non-Jewish groups that the Museum has represented in its activities outside the *Permanent Exhibition* space. This representation has been made possible due to the fact that more research on their fate during the Holocaust is being undertaken and there is growing support from their respective communities for their remembrance.

The education department at the Museum has produced a series of pamphlets entitled *'Victims of the Nazi Era 1933-1945'* focusing on five groups of non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust: Jehovah's Witnesses, Roma, homosexuals, Poles and the handicapped.[276] These booklets detail the history of the prejudice against these groups and their treatment at the hands of the Nazis, both before and during the Second World War, though there is no such pamphlet dedicated to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The Museum evidently felt that all visitors to the *Permanent Exhibition* would be sufficiently aware of the Jewish victims and their persecution during the Holocaust and therefore extra material on their story was not warranted. Each publication contains photographs and a selected bibliography and a number of the booklets include the personal story of one member of that particular victim group who was tyrannised during the Holocaust. It is clear then, that the Museum did have access to artefacts to support the exhibition narrative relating to the persecution and fate of these non-Jewish victim groups, but chose not to include these artefacts to a greater extent. Where to find information regarding these non-Jewish victim groups in the *Permanent Exhibition* and further reading is detailed in the pamphlets as well, such as the Museum's holdings

---

[275] 'Roma and Sinti: Under-Studied Victims of Nazism', materials relating to the symposium, 21 September 2000, Institutional Archives, #379/#380, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

[276] 'Victims of the Nazi Era 1933-1945', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

relating to those victim groups in its collections and library. Despite these very specific booklets, the overall catalogue and publications that accompany the *Permanent Exhibition* focus on the Jewish narrative of the event, reflecting the Exhibition as a whole.[277]

One area in which the USHMM does devote a great deal of attention to the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust is on the pages of its extensive website.[278] The content of the website is also available in the Museum itself, on computers in the second floor Wexner Learning Centre. Yet, due to the vastness of the resource, the material is probably best absorbed on the website before or after a visit to the *Permanent Exhibition* itself, rather than on the same day. The website includes an entire section entitled 'A Mosaic of Victims' that details the Nazi persecution of Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Trade Unionists, the Roma, Poles and other Slavs, Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals accompanied by photographs and concentration camp uniforms.[279] An online visitor can also read excerpts of the testimony of several survivors. Once again the Museum demonstrates that there is material available with which to narrate the story of the non-Jewish victims, although some artefacts would not have been eligible for display due to issues of conservation and loan. The website does pay great attention to detail in its presentation of non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust and is a valuable learning tool in the representation of these victim groups.

The Wexner Learning Centre and the website indicate, along with the special exhibitions, that there is inclusiveness of non-Jewish victims at the USHMM, but it is outside of the main, dominant narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition* itself. These resources are of secondary importance in relation to the *Permanent Exhibition*, which is the main component of the Museum and the one viewed by most visitors to the building. This in turn means that the attention devoted to non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust in these materials is secondary to the Jewish-oriented narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition*. The persecution and fate of the non-Jewish victim groups is addressed in the USHMM through its secondary activities. Yet paradoxically, by not being addressed to a great extent in the core

---

[277] See for example, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *The Holocaust,* (Washington: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2004), Michael Berenbaum, *The World Must Know,* and Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli.
[278] The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <http://www.ushmm.org>, July 2005.
[279] 'Mosaic of Victims', <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/index.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10005149>, July 2005.

representation of the institution, the *Permanent Exhibition*, the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust are not dealt with thoroughly.

v. Conclusions: An American and a Jewish Tale

The USHMM believes that it holds an inclusive approach to those groups who constitute the victims of the Holocaust that it represents and memorialises. Despite this, there was great internal confusion and debate from the outset about just *who* the victims of the Holocaust were, even the President himself was enmeshed in this perplexity. Was the Holocaust an exclusively Jewish event? Or, should the commemoration of the event include all of those who suffered under the Nazi regime, whether they were Jewish or not? Even the very figures of victims quoted were problematic. Although '11 million' was intended to be inclusive of all victims, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, as has been demonstrated, the number is too low to be a comprehensive total. The debates surrounding 'which' Holocaust the Museum was to remember became highly politicised and the ethnic composition of the Museum's planning bodies, the President's Commission and the Holocaust Memorial Council, was also drawn into the furore. With a supposedly ethnically representative Council (although representatives of some victim groups, notably the Roma, were initially excluded from the planning process), the Museum looked set to adopt an inclusive approach towards the victim groups that would be part of the Holocaust that it was mandated to commemorate. The story that the Museum would tell was strongly affected by the Museum's situation in America's capital city which, with its memorial-dotted topography, evoked strong connotations of American history and liberalism. This very American setting necessitated not only that the building's architectural style should conform to its grand Washington, D.C., surroundings, but that the Museum's Holocaust narrative would provide a direct link for the visiting public between the United States and the European event, which was achieved by framing the story of the Holocaust from the perspective of American liberating troops. The Museum was set to become another building imbued with symbolism on the national Mall, it would be a repository of 'man's inhumanity to man' and would serve as a warning memorial to contemporary and future American society of the dangers of prejudice and racism.

Ultimately, the Holocaust Memorial Council and the staff of the Museum resolved that the narrative that the USHMM would tell would be of the Holocaust, which they defined as the murder of 6 million Jews and they would put this in context by relating the Nazi persecution of other, non-Jewish victims as well. This adopted perspective was less to do with choosing uniqueness over universalism and more due to the internal dynamics of the Council, whose membership comprised of a large number of Jewish survivors and members of Jewish organisations. American politics also played a large part in 'which' Holocaust was chosen, as the Museum was originally conceived as a means to placate American Jewry and pressure from the Turkish government succeeded in the Museum's exclusion of the Armenian genocide as a genocidal precedent. Although non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust are mentioned in the Museum narrative, it is in subtle forms and as an addition to the main focus, the persecution of European Jewry. Certain non-Jewish victim groups are represented more prominently in the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition* than others, with the Roma granted the position of the non-Jewish victim group whose persecution and fate most closely paralleled that of the Jews. The Museum maintains that in addition to weaving the fate of non-Jewish victim groups throughout the story of the persecution of the Jews in the Exhibition narrative, non-Jewish victims are represented in other activities outside of this space, such as in special exhibitions and conferences. Nevertheless, these resources are secondary to the main element of the USHMM, the *Permanent Exhibition*. In turn, the representation of non-Jewish victims is secondary to the portrayal of the Jewish victims. In spite of original intentions to adopt a universal approach, a hierarchy of victims within the *Permanent Exhibition* emerged and non-Jewish victim groups are on the periphery of a Holocaust narrative that is essentially Jewish and American as told in the USHMM.

Section Three: The *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum

Akin to America's national commemoration of the Holocaust in museum form, the USHMM, Britain now has its own national museum exhibition dedicated to the subject. The *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM opened after five years of planning to great acclaim, most notably in the British press, on 7 June 2000.[280] The initial enthusiasm has not waned and the *Holocaust Exhibition* has proved to be popular, attracting 400,000 visitors in the first year and a half of its opening.[281] In contrast to the USHMM, which is an entire institution dedicated to the event, Britain's *Holocaust Exhibition* is precisely that, an exhibition within an existing national museum, the IWM in Lambeth, central London. Nevertheless, the *Holocaust Exhibition* is a permanent and very large display, occupying approximately 13% of the total exhibition space within the IWM.[282] Spread over two floors, the *Holocaust Exhibition* is larger than the IWM's *Second World War* exhibition, which, as a display narrating the story of a conflict that Britain was directly involved in and that the people of Britain were affected by, is more of a traditional exhibition in terms of the Museum's remit. Thus, although housed within an existing museum, the subject of the Holocaust is a prominent one in the IWM.

i. The Beginnings of Commemoration: The Building, the Institution and Precedents of Memory

The IWM was established in 1917 to collect and display records relating to the First World War.[283] The Museum was given the title of 'Imperial War Museum' after interest had been taken by the Dominion governments and it was opened in

---

[280] 'The testament of ghosts', *The Times*, 30/05/00.
[281] 'Holocaust survivors tell their story at the Imperial War Museum: Suzanne Bardgett remembers the making of the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum and the important role in its making played by British survivors of the Nazi camps. Article written for Jewish Care magazine', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/lambeth/holocaust/download_files/Jewish_care_article.pdf>, p.2, October 2005.
[282] Suzanne Bardgett, 'HOLOCAUST EXHIBITION: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS', Martin Smith's personal files, 3 June 2000, p.2.
[283] Sue Malvern, 'War, Memory and Museums: Art and Artefact in the Imperial War Museum', *History Workshop Journal*, 49 (2000), p.177.

1920 by King George V in the Crystal Palace.[284] In 1936 the Museum was re-opened in its present location and the Museum's scope was expanded at the beginning of the Second World War to include both world wars.[285] The Museum building was formerly the site of the Royal Bethlem Hospital, also known as Bedlam, where those classified as mentally ill were incarcerated.[286] The building's gruesome past as Bedlam is detailed in the IWM's catalogue, which states that 'until 1770 there were no restrictions on visitors, and the lunatics, who were often manacled or chained to the walls, were a public attraction'.[287] Ironically, the building is again a public one, where visitors come to marvel at its interior, which is now mechanical, rather than human. A former site of suffering and degradation has become the setting for the display of warfare. The portrayal of Britain's involvement in war has altered over the course of the Museum's lifespan. As Sue Malvern has asserted, at various times the IWM has represented war contrastingly as a past evil, as inflicting suffering and loss, as glorious military victory, as a futile event and as a narrative of sacrifice and redemption.[288] The disjuncture between the building's past use and its present one no doubt goes largely unnoticed by the majority of the IWM's visitors.

In 1953 the Museum's terms of reference were again enlarged 'to include all military operations in which Britain or the Commonwealth have been involved since August 1914'.[289] In the 1980s the Museum underwent a major revision. This redevelopment was part of a wider cultural change that affected museums during this period, when the government resolved to make public institutions less dependent on public expenditure and museums were 'forced [...] to rethink priorities and seek alternative sources of funding'.[290] In an effort to increase visitor numbers, museums became 'user-friendly' and installed 'interactive displays and improved public amenities such as restaurants and shops'.[291] This general museological trend was clearly evident in the IWM's threefold redevelopment. Firstly, a physical transformation was achieved with the renovation of the existing building. As the Chairman of the Museum's Board of

---

[284] Imperial War Museum, *Imperial War Museum London*, (London: The Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, 2000), p.44.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid, p.4
[288] Sue Malvern, 'War, Memory and Museums', pp.182, 185, 187-188, 192-193.
[289] Imperial War Museum, *Imperial War Museum London*, p.44.
[290] Sue Malvern, 'War, Memory and Museums', p.197.
[291] Ibid.

Trustees, Field Marshall Lord Bramall articulated, this redevelopment became necessary in the early 1980s as the Museum building had 'become wholly unfit for its purpose':

> Its fabric and services were in a dilapidated, even dangerous condition, unsuitable for the preservation of a national collection; facilities for visitors were extremely poor; there had been no extension of the galleries since 1936 when the Museum's remit was confined to the First World War. As a result, less than a tenth of its collections could be displayed and important parts of the story of twentieth century conflict remained untold.[292]

The first stage of the expansion scheme provided the Museum with new galleries on the two World Wars in the building's former courtyard, an atrium display of large exhibits, a shop and café and improved facilities for disabled visitors.[293] A change of content followed when more exhibition space was devoted to displaying conflicts since 1945. The second stage of the scheme opened in 1995 and enabled further refurbishment of the building in order to expand the focus of the displays beyond 1945, as well as providing a Special Exhibitions Gallery and a permanent exhibition entitled *Secret War*, documenting the role of special forces.[294] The IWM simultaneously underwent an ideological transformation during this period, with the institution acknowledging that many of its visitors had not encountered war at firsthand and therefore the Museum resolved to make its displays relevant to the British public by opening up to ordinary people's experiences of war.[295] This alteration in direction helped to create the basis for the IWM to commemorate the Holocaust.

It was during this phase of redevelopment, in 1995, that the Museum first considered how to address the Holocaust in exhibition terms.[296] Initially, the Holocaust was to be displayed as part of a more wide-ranging exhibition on genocide.[297] Lord Bramall envisaged an exhibition concentrating on genocide entitled ''Man's Inhumanity to Man' [...] that would encompass [...] in it [...] a

---

[292] Imperial War Museum, *Imperial War Museum Redevelopment: The Second Stage,* Imperial War Museum Archives, undated pamphlet, p.2.
[293] Ibid and 'The Imperial War Museum Redevelopment Scheme', *Imperial War Museum: The Holocaust: A Major Permanent Exhibition for the New Millennium*, Imperial War Museum Archives, undated publicity package, p.2.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Tony Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History*, (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1994), p.264.
[296] Suzanne Bardgett, 'The Genesis and Development of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition Project', *The Journal of Holocaust Education,* 7 (3) (1998), p.30.
[297] Ibid.

large space devoted to the Holocaust'.[298] The idea for this proposed exhibition altered as the Museum investigated the concept more closely and several proposals were put forward to suggest different ways of tackling the subject of genocide.[299] As Suzanne Bardgett, Project Director for both the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition explained, after some consideration the Museum decided that 'an exhibition just dealing with all genocides would be incredibly indigestible' and so they resolved to 'split the concept into two [with] the *Holocaust Exhibition* on two floors and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition on the top floor'.[300] The IWM felt that the Holocaust was a subject matter deserving of its own exhibition for various reasons. Firstly, it had become included as a topic on the National Curriculum, which in turn solicited educational demand from schools.[301] Secondly, the Holocaust had taken place in Europe and was hence an event geographically close to Britain and, more significantly, the Holocaust happened during the Second World War, which was a considerable part of the IWM's remit.[302] The *Holocaust Exhibition* became part of stage three of the redevelopment scheme which further enriched the Museum with a Special Exhibitions Gallery, an education and conference centre and what was to become the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition.[303] The *Holocaust Exhibition* was funded both in the form of private donations and a £12.6 million Heritage Lottery Fund grant given to the Museum as a whole.[304] The Heritage Lottery Fund uses money from every pound spent by the British public playing the National Lottery to provide grants for groups and organisations that will conserve and enhance the United Kingdom's Heritage.[305] Backed by a national trust and situated in a national museum, the *Holocaust Exhibition* was designated as a national concern from the outset.

---

[298] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett, Director of the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the Imperial War Museum, 4 October 2005.
[299] For the various approaches considered see 'Man's Inhumanity to Man: a discussion paper', Imperial War Museum Archives, undated.
[300] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.
[303] 'The Imperial War Museum Redevelopment Scheme', p.2.
[304] '£12.6 million puts us on target for Millennium opening', *Imperial War Museum Report,* (Winter 1996/97), p.1.
[305] 'What do we do?', <http://www.hlf.org.uk/English/AboutUs/OurBackground/Whatdowedo.htm>, 'Where does our money come from?', <http://www.hlf.org.uk/English/AboutUs/OurBackground/Wheredoesourmoneycomefrom.htm> and 'Who are we?' <http://www.hlf.org.uk/English/AboutUs/>, October 2005.

The reasons surrounding the creation of the *Holocaust Exhibition* were manifold and were grounded in both a general cultural need as well as a specific requirement by the IWM. During the late 1980s and early 1990s there was increased public awareness of the Holocaust, as expressed by Bardgett, which was triggered by key events and works of popular culture, such as Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List*.[306] As well as this wider social and cultural trend, Martin Smith, a member of the Advisory Group to the *Holocaust Exhibition*, noted that Jewish Holocaust survivors themselves became more proactive in memorialisation of the event at this time, they had 'enough confidence to demand that it be seriously [...] addressed within the British educational and cultural framework' and were therefore more inclined to speak publicly about the event.[307] The advancing age of Holocaust survivors and the need to record their experiences for posterity and a commemorative basis were further reasons given by Robert Crawford, the Director-General of the Museum.[308] There was also a large educational impetus for mounting the *Holocaust Exhibition*, as the Holocaust had become part of the National Curriculum history syllabus at Key Stage 3 level and schools therefore had a desire for resources on the subject.[309] In addition, the Holocaust was felt by the IWM to be a subject of extreme relevance to contemporary society and held a didactic purpose, that 'lessons [could] be learned about the dangers of misplaced scepticism about news of atrocities, and the consequences of turning a blind eye'.[310]

The creation of the *Holocaust Exhibition* also indicated the relationship between London's exhibition and the USHMM. Bardgett has stated that it was in 1993, when the USHMM opened, that the IWM became aware of the possibility of a Holocaust display.[311] This timing demonstrates that the IWM felt the need for a successful precedent before mounting their own exhibition on the event. Furthermore, historian Tony Kushner has asserted that it was the opening of the Museum in Washington that 'exposed the absence of a national place of

---

[306] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.
[307] Interview with Martin Smith, a member of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at his home in Bristol, 6 September 2005.
[308] Robert Crawford, 'A central event of the Twentieth Century', *Imperial War Museum Report*, Winter 1996/97, p.2.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Robert Crawford, 'Why an Exhibition devoted to the Holocaust?', 'Imperial War Museum: The Holocaust: A Major Permanent Exhibition for the New Millennium', Imperial War Museum Archives, undated proposal, p.1.
[311] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.

commemoration in Britain'.[312] The two institutions established a relationship during the planning stages of the *Holocaust Exhibition*, when members of the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office visited Washington, D.C. and sought advice from the USHMM's staff. The *Holocaust Exhibition* comprises of 1,200 square metres, just under a third of the size of the *Permanent Exhibition* at the USHMM, which occupies 3,716 square metres of floor space.[313] Although smaller in scale, London's exhibition has clear resonances of its American counterpart, such as the layering of media in the display and the narrative structure of the story.[314]

Similar to the explicitly American reasons for creating the USHMM, it was felt necessary to provide British links to the event in order to justify the IWM's new exhibition. Many newspaper reports surrounding the opening of the *Holocaust Exhibition* tackled the question of why Britain needed an exhibition on the Holocaust and why the Holocaust was relevant to Britain, a country not directly affected by the event. The articles responded that in a continuing age of conflict and genocide, more than ever, the public needed an exhibition about the most horrendous example of genocide in our time, from which they could learn.[315] The reports also stressed the important educative function of the Exhibition for schools and the role it would play in Britain's national commemoration of the Holocaust.[316] Reporter Hannah Betts commented that the day on which the *Holocaust Exhibition* was opened, 6 June, commonly known as D-Day, was particularly significant in answer to the display's relevance in Britain.[317] Betts stated that this day has 'symbolic resonance' with the British public, demonstrating that the Holocaust was a part of our national history, that 'as the flipside of plucky British triumphalism, this thing of darkness we finally acknowledge as ours - in part, at least'.[318] Lord Bramall also highlighted a connection between British soldiers and the Holocaust, that it was Allied troops

---

[312] Tony Kushner, 'Oral History at the Extremes of Human Experience: Holocaust Testimony in a Museum Setting', *Oral History*, 29 (2) (2001), p.89.
[313] Imperial War Museum Press Notice, 'The Holocaust Exhibition', Martin Smith's personal files, April 2000. The *Permanent Exhibition* is cited in Adrian Dannatt, *Architecture in Detail: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, James Ingo Freed,* (London and New York: Phaidon Press Limited, 1995), p.10, as measuring '40,000 square feet', which was converted to square metres using the conversion rate of 1 square foot is equal to 0.0929 of a square metre.
[314] Suzanne Bardgett, 'The Holocaust: A New Museum within the Imperial War Museum', Imperial War Museum Archives, October 1996.
[315] 'A salutary history lesson for us all', *The Independent*, 11 June 2000 and 'Their voices must be heard forever', *The Daily Mail*, 07/06/00.
[316] Ibid.
[317] 'The testament of ghosts'.
[318] Ibid.

who liberated death camps in Europe and that experience convinced soldiers they had been fighting a just war.[319]

Professor David Cesarani, a historian specialising in twentieth-century Jewish history and culture and a member of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, asserted why such a project to memorialise the Holocaust was relevant to Britain, that quite simply, 'the Holocaust is a part of British history'.[320] Cesarani highlighted the positive ways in which Britain was involved both directly and indirectly in the Holocaust, such as Britain's role as a place of refuge for German Jewish refugees and British troops' participation in the liberation of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.[321] In addition, he stated that such a museum should discuss Britain's inaction during the war years, for example, the negative attitude towards initial news of the Holocaust and the failure to bomb the railway tracks to Auschwitz.[322] Cesarani also expressed that a museum exhibition dedicated to the Holocaust would rectify the longstanding neglect of the Holocaust in British consciousness.[323] Alongside such British justifications for mounting the *Holocaust Exhibition*, the Museum indicated that the Exhibition narrative would provide a link with the country in which it was to be situated, that although the focus of the narrative would be European, 'the *British* perspective on what was happening in Europe from 1933 to 1945 [would] form an illuminating element'.[324] This desire to thread the British reaction to European events was realised in the shape of a series of 'News Reaches Britain' windows placed throughout the Exhibition. The *Holocaust Exhibition* had a connection with contemporary Britain and a feeling of national celebration as well, it was billed as 'the [IWM's] principal contribution to the commemorative events marking the Millennium in Britain'.[325] This association helped to ground the Exhibition within a national framework, thereby emphasising its importance.

One of the key and very specific reasons for mounting the *Holocaust Exhibition* was that the IWM felt that the subject was a lacuna in its displays. As

---

[319] 'Two reasons, says Lord Bramall', *Imperial War Museum Report*, (Winter 1996/97), p.1.
[320] David Cesarani, 'Should Britain Have a National Holocaust Museum?', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), p.19.
[321] Ibid, pp.19-20.
[322] Ibid, pp.19-20.
[323] Ibid, p.20.
[324] Suzanne Bardgett, 'The British Perspective on the Holocaust', 'Imperial War Museum: The Holocaust: A Major Permanent Exhibition for the New Millennium', Imperial War Museum Archives, undated proposal, p.6.
[325] Imperial War Museum Press Notice, 'The Holocaust Exhibition', Imperial War Museum Archives, 30 November 1996.

an institution that collected and displayed material on twentieth-century history, the IWM had failed prior to the creation of the *Holocaust Exhibition* to devote substantial attention to the Holocaust, which was a major event of the Second World War.[326] In fact, Smith believed that the Holocaust had been 'appallingly treated' not just in the Museum, but also 'in the British educational arena beforehand'.[327] The Holocaust was not a completely alien subject to the IWM before the *Holocaust Exhibition* opened in 2000, but it had been displayed only fleetingly until that point. In 1977 an exhibition was proposed that was to deal with the history of the Third Reich and in turn, would discuss Nazi racial policies and the uses and purposes of concentration camps.[328] The exhibition was to have utilised two large collections of German militaria, but staff at the Museum were concerned that such a display could appeal to 'National Front members and other extremists - at that time a worryingly prominent force in Britain'.[329] The plans for the exhibition were leaked to the press, including the existence in one of the artefact collections of a book allegedly bound in human skin, which although the Museum would not have considered putting on display, the *Guardian* ran a story that 'put the worst possible interpretation on it'.[330] The exhibition was postponed and never became a reality.

The Holocaust as a subject became part of the Museum's displays in 1989 when the first stage of the Museum redevelopment was completed and new exhibition space was dedicated to the First and Second World War displays.[331] As part of the *Second World War* exhibition, concentration camps were given a small but separate section.[332] Although the artefacts displayed in this segment have altered slightly, the display is still extant today.[333] The section is incorporated under the exhibition title 'Europe Under the Nazis' and details that concentration camps were established in Germany shortly after Hitler's assumption to power in 1933 to imprison the Nazis' political opponents in order to eradicate their 'anti-social' tendencies.[334] The emphasis in the display is not on the Jews as the sole

---

[326] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.
[327] Interview with Martin Smith.
[328] Suzanne Bardgett, 'The Depiction of the Holocaust at the Imperial War Museum since 1961', *The Journal of Israeli History,* 23 (1) (2004), p.148.
[329] Ibid, p.149.
[330] Ibid, pp.149-150.
[331] Ibid, p.152.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid.
[334] The *Second World War* exhibition, the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ, United Kingdom, viewed on 4 October 2005.

victim group, it has a more inclusive approach, with the list of victims imprisoned in these camps reading as follows: 'Socialists, communists, Jews, gypsies, homosexuals, pacifists, trade unionists and Jehovah's Witnesses'.[335] The segment continues that the outbreak of war altered the camp system and death camps were established in occupied Poland 'to implement the 'Final Solution', the systematic killing of Jews' but the word 'Holocaust' is not mentioned.[336] This small display on concentration camps was not designed to be an exhibition on the Holocaust, but it subtly signalled the beginning of a change of direction for the IWM.

In 1991 the IWM took a step nearer to including the Holocaust in its exhibitions when it mounted a special display entitled *Belsen 1945* at the end of the *Second World War* exhibition.[337] The decision to mount the display originated from Alan Borg, the then Director-General, who 'had become aware of the strength of the IWM's holdings in this area'.[338] Borg cited the impact that the newsreel footage taken at the liberation of the camp had had on the British public and the continued violence in the world, creating images of 'mass graves and mutilated bodies', as the historical background against which the Museum 'decided to give special prominence to [its] holdings on Belsen, both as a record of ultimate depravity and as an extraordinary story of survival and recovery'.[339] The exhibition detailed the relief effort of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp after it was liberated by the British army in 1945, through the use of 'contemporary film, sound recordings, paintings and photographs, personal mementoes, letters and other documents'.[340] The departure for the IWM that the Belsen display marked was recognised by the Museum itself. Borg stated that in conjunction with its physical reconstruction, the Museum recognised that the interest in and knowledge of the First and Second World Wars by visitors was changing.[341] In line with this, the Museum realised that it was 'all the more important for [them] to try and put the World Wars into a context which would have relevance to today's visitors and to make [their] displays more than a nostalgic journey into a near-forgotten

---

[335] Ibid.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Suzanne Bardgett, 'The Depiction of the Holocaust at the Imperial War Museum since 1961', pp.152-153.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Alan Borg, 'Foreword', *The Relief of Belsen: April 1945. Eye Witness Accounts,* (London: The Imperial War Museum Board of Trustees, 1991), Imperial War Museum Archives, p.3.
[340] 'Belsen 1945' in *The New Imperial War Museum*, (London: The Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, 1989), Imperial War Museum Archives, p.40.
[341] Alan Borg, p.3.

reality'.[342] Reactions to the exhibition by the public were noted by the press of the day, who surveyed that teenagers and adults alike were visibly moved by what they saw, their silence indicating that they understood the implications of what they had viewed.[343] The Belsen exhibition was criticised for its British focus, that 'it and its printed counterpart [were], perhaps, still biased towards the representation of Belsen as a British rather than a Jewish camp'.[344] Nevertheless, the *Belsen 1945* exhibition can be regarded as a precursor to the *Holocaust Exhibition*, introducing the Holocaust as a viable subject for display at the IWM. The Belsen exhibition demonstrated that not only was the topic palatable to the Museum's visitors, but also that a national museum displaying twentieth-century warfare could portray a topic that addressed a human catastrophe of war rather than the machinery of warfare and the triumphalism associated with such relics of conflict.

Unlike the USHMM, which was designed specifically to reflect the subject matter it contained, Britain's *Holocaust Exhibition* is situated within an existing national institution, the IWM. This necessity to fit London's *Holocaust Exhibition* into a longstanding museum had implications that affected the topic to be displayed. The IWM is Britain's national museum of war and conflict and presents an image of warfare that is concerned with the triumphant, liberating aspect of conflict and the mechanical ornaments associated with this perspective



Figure 2: The exterior of the Imperial War Museum, complete with 15-inch guns from *HMS* Resolution and *HMS* Ramillies

---

[342] Ibid.
[343] 'Remembering Belsen', *Times Educational Supplement*, 30/08/91.
[344] Tony Kushner, 'The Memory of Belsen', in Jo Reilly et al (eds.), *Belsen in History and Memory*, (London and Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1997), pp.197-198.

(see Figure 2).[345] In contrast, the Holocaust is a catastrophe involving persecution and mass murder. Although the Museum could have chosen several perspectives from which to narrate the story of the Holocaust, including a focus on the perpetrators or bystanders, the narrative was to centre on the victims of the event. Thus the Holocaust seemed to be a subject matter that was incongruous with the Museum's traditional stance on war. This apparent disparity between the nature of the IWM as a national institution and the Holocaust as a subject demonstrated why it was so difficult for the Museum to dedicate a permanent exhibition to the Holocaust earlier. As journalist and commentator Anne Karpf pointed out at the time of the opening of the *Holocaust Exhibition*:

> To reach the [IWM's] new, permanent Holocaust exhibition you must pass through the atrium. Known as the biggest boys' bedroom in London, it houses the "dinosaurs of war" - giant weapons used by both sides during the second world war. This isn't just a physical passage: it's also an ideological one. It points to the obsession with technology which, along with triumphalism and the much mythologised spirit of defied optimism, for so long characterised the war in British popular imagination. They tell us why it has taken Britain until now to mount any national historical display about the Holocaust.[346]

It is not only the Museum's traditional theme that has marked the *Holocaust Exhibition* at odds with the building in which it is housed, but also its location in London, Britain's capital city, which emphasises its role as a 'national' museum. As Kushner has noted, the Museum's position in London is inconsistent with its stance towards the Holocaust, due to the fact that the Museum 'does not engage in any depth with the place of Britain, as a bystander nation, in the Nazi era'.[347] Moreover, the Museum does not encourage its visitors to reflect upon the Holocaust in conjunction with the history of the site as a former asylum or with continued racial violence, such as 'the murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence, in an adjacent south London district'.[348] The Holocaust as a subject matter provided a challenge to the IWM and its conventional attitude to warfare.

---

[345] Photograph taken from an Imperial War Museum postcard entitled 'View of the Imperial War Museum showing 15-inch guns from *HMS* Resolution (*left*) and *HM*S Ramillies (*right*)'.
[346] 'Bearing Witness', *The Guardian*, 02/06/00.
[347] Tony Kushner, 'The Holocaust and the Museum World in Britain', in Sue Vice (ed.), *Representing the Holocaust*, (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003), p.27.
[348] Ibid.

ii. The Planning of the *Holocaust Exhibition*: Inclusion or Exclusion?

Similar to the USHMM, the IWM established an Advisory Group to consider the remit of the new *Holocaust Exhibition*. As Steve Slack, former Research Assistant for the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition has stated, the purpose of the Advisory Group was to discuss ideas and to establish the ethos behind the *Holocaust Exhibition*, what the feel of the display would be.[349] At a more specific level, the Advisory Group was involved in editing the text for the exhibition narrative and establishing the order for the various sections of the display.[350] Slack has emphasised that the Advisory Group was more than a Museum body merely agreeing with all of the Museum's proposals.[351] Indeed, one member of the Advisory Group, Martin Smith, has said that his role on the Advisory Group was 'all-encompassing' and that he 'felt [...] free to comment on editorial content, exhibition style, [and] artefacts' among other elements.[352]

The Advisory Group consisted of academics on the Holocaust, such as David Cesarani, a University Professor and a former Director of the Wiener Library in London, an institution that collects material relating to Nazism. Cesarani was initially uneasy about the IWM's original proposal in 1995 to mount a display that had comparative genocide as the focus, which would therefore have made the Holocaust less central to the exhibition. Nonetheless, once the genocide concept had been divided into two separate displays - the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition - he became a key figure within the Advisory Group to the *Holocaust Exhibition*. Sir Martin Gilbert CBE, is Winston Churchill's official biographer and has written extensively on the Second World War and the Holocaust. Several members of the Advisory Group were Jewish Holocaust survivors, including the late Rabbi Hugo Gryn CBE and Ben Helfgott, the founder of the '45 Aid Society, a charitable organisation which assists the 732 child Holocaust survivors who were sent to Britain by the Central British Fund in 1945.[353] Helfgott was also the chairman of the Yad Vashem Committee of the

---

[349] Interview with Steve Slack, Research Assistant for the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition at the time of interview, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the Imperial War Museum, 30 March 2004.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Interview with Martin Smith.
[353] 'Introduction', <http://www.45aidsociety.org/index.htm>, October 2005.

Board of Deputies of British Jews, a long-established organisation that supports the Jewish community in Britain through a number of projects.[354] Other members of the committee represented different areas of knowledge on the subject. Martin Smith is a film producer whose work includes editing and producing on the major 1970s television series, *The World at War*. *The World at War* featured an episode on the Holocaust entitled 'Genocide: 1941-1945' and a programme on the collapse of Nazi Germany captioned 'Nemesis: Germany, February-May 1945'.[355] 'Genocide' was a path-breaking programme, which narrated the rise of the SS and their mission for a new Aryan Germany and the increasingly persecutory measures employed to achieve this aim, culminating in the Final Solution.[356] The episode featured interviews with former SS officers and Holocaust survivors, as well as displaying graphic footage of the execution of Holocaust victims and images of piles of corpses in the concentration camps.[357] This programme would have been stark viewing for a 1970s British public whose engagement with the subject until that time would have been quite limited. *The World at War* was not only the first instance that the Holocaust was represented in Britain in the form of a mass popular medium, but also the first time that the Jews were portrayed as the main victims of the Holocaust on British television. The Holocaust was framed as only a small part of the Second World War narrative, as it was covered in its entirety in this single fifty-minute episode. As mentioned previously, Smith was Director of the *Permanent Exhibition* at the USHMM for two years, where he was very influential to its form. Smith therefore had first-hand experience of the project that the IWM wished to undertake. Antony Lerman was the editor of *Patterns of Prejudice*, a journal on anti-Semitism and racism and was formerly the editor of *The Jewish Quarterly*, a magazine devoted to Jewish affairs. Meetings of the Advisory Group were also attended by members of the IWM staff, such as Robert Crawford, the Director-General and representatives of the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office, including Suzanne Bardgett.[358]

Unlike the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the composition of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group was not embroiled in public debate and

---

[354] 'The Voice of British Jewry', <http://www.bod.org.uk/bod/>, October 2005.
[355] *The World at War,* Episode 20 'Genocide: 1941-1945', written by Charles Bloomberg, produced by Michael Darlow, UK, 1974 and *The World at War*, Episode 21 'Nemesis: Germany, February-May 1945', written by Stuart Hood, produced by Martin Smith, UK, 1974.
[356] Ibid, Episode 20 'Genocide: 1941-1945'.
[357] Ibid.
[358] Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 15 April 1996, 16 October 1996, 20 April 1998, 23 April [?] and 28 May 1999, Imperial War Museum Archives.

controversy and therefore did not necessitate a political, ethnically inclusive membership list. As a result, there were no members of the Advisory Group that specifically represented the interests of non-Jewish victim groups. The majority of the Advisory Group members were Jewish. Although Smith is of Anglican background, he describes himself as 'rabidly atheist today'.[359] Smith has commented that he was not aware of anyone being invited to a meeting of the Advisory Group that represented a non-Jewish victim group.[360] Bardgett asserted that representatives of non-Jewish victims were, however, involved in the planning process of the *Holocaust Exhibition* outside of the meetings of the Advisory Group. During the early stages of the project, the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office contacted various individuals who represented non-Jewish victim groups, such as Klaus Müller, a historian specialising in the persecution of homosexuals, who worked at the USHMM.[361] Müller was invited to the IWM 'and showed a film to the staff of the Museum [...] about this particular aspect and then took questions afterwards'.[362] Bardgett highlighted that there was an attempt by the Museum to specifically research each victim group. Members of the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office were given a group to study and James Taylor, who was Bardgett's deputy, investigated both political prisoners and Jehovah's Witnesses, which led him to contact the Jehovah's Witnesses' organisation Watchtower.[363] As Bardgett has stated, contact with organisations that represented victim groups was essential in order to locate relevant archives or artefacts and documents, or even the loan of items for display in the case of Watchtower.[364] Despite these efforts to incorporate the representation of non-Jewish victim groups, the Advisory Group itself lacked voices actively speaking out for their inclusion in the narrative of the *Holocaust Exhibition*.

The question of 'which' Holocaust was to be presented in the Exhibition, whether the narrative was to focus on the Jewish story of the event, or whether the display was to take an all-encompassing perspective and include non-Jewish victims as well, is not reported to have been discussed directly during any sessions held by the Advisory Group. It should be noted that the minutes of the Advisory Group meetings do not consist of direct reportage, unlike the extensive minutes of

---

[359] Interview with Martin Smith.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid.

the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and they are brief in detail as a result. What is more, the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group minutes suffer from an unmethodical approach, with vital information, such as the year the meeting was held, not given in one set of notes.[365] Smith has asserted that the Advisory Group's attitude towards the victim groups was one of inclusion. Although there were constantly discussions that centred on how much material to incorporate on the Jewish experience, these arguments did not involve consideration of removing non-Jewish victim groups from the narrative, there was no 'jostling a place [...] for victim groups'.[366] As far as the Advisory Group were aware, the Exhibition 'was clearly pre-eminently going to be the Jewish story of the Holocaust but the other victims were indeed other victims, with all [that] such a terminology [...] might imply'.[367] Smith's comments reveal that similarly to the USHMM, the IWM's *Holocaust Exhibition* was to thread the story of the persecution of non-Jewish victims throughout the narrative of the Holocaust which was viewed as essentially a Jewish event.

Despite this inclination towards the Jewish narrative of the Holocaust, there are fleeting mentions in the notes of the Advisory Group meetings of discussions regarding the inclusion of non-Jewish victim groups in the museum display. For example, it is reported in the minutes of a meeting held in 1996 that Smith argued that rather than devoting so much narrative to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, persecutory measures taken by the Nazis at the time, such as the establishment of the internment camp for Roma at Marzahn on the outskirts of the city, should feature more prominently.[368] The resulting section in the *Holocaust Exhibition* on the Olympics is quite brief and only one sentence is devoted to the treatment of Roma during this time.[369] Incorporation of material on the rest of the world's awareness of Nazi racial theory and the Nazis' belief that black people were 'subhuman', although runner Jesse Owens participated in the Games, was considered as well.[370] During another session of the Advisory Group, the audiovisual programme that was to be shown in the entrance cone to the Exhibition, provisionally entitled 'The Way We Lived', that was to show pre-war

---

[365] Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 23 April [?].
[366] Interview with Martin Smith.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 20 April 1998.
[369] The *Holocaust Exhibition*, section entitled 'The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games', the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ, United Kingdom, viewed on 30-31 March 2004 and 3 October 2005.
[370] Ibid.

Jewish life, was discussed.[371] It was suggested that footage of the mentally and physically handicapped should be included in this programme, in order to display a connection to their later persecution by the Nazis, but this was not incorporated in the final version of the film.[372] The Advisory Group clearly intended to represent the persecution of non-Jewish victim groups in the narrative of the *Holocaust Exhibition* and were concerned that this element of the story should be weaved throughout the Jewish-orientated narrative in order to provide continuity, rather than inserting only selected parts of the story of non-Jewish persecution. In the case of these two examples, despite initial intentions, the representation of non-Jewish victims in the *Holocaust Exhibition* was not as prominent as it might have been.

There was some conflict amongst the members of the Advisory Group reported in the consideration of who should be included in the list of victims that was to appear at the beginning of the *Holocaust Exhibition*, particularly those victims the Nazis categorised as 'asocials'.[373] It was recorded that Cesarani felt that 'asocials' should be encompassed in the list, in order to demonstrate the murderous mindset of the Nazis.[374] Dr Steve Paulsson, a member of the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office team, concerned at the length of the proposed list, felt that if included, the term 'asocials' would not be understood by visitors.[375] During this discussion, Smith voiced his opinion that political opponents and trade unionists should be incorporated amongst the list.[376] Political opponents and trade unionists do figure amongst the series of victims at the opening of the *Holocaust Exhibition* but the term 'asocial' does not. Whether Poles were used as slave labour during the Holocaust was also debated in the same meeting of the Advisory Group.[377] Cesarani believed that the Nazis may have planned to use Poles as slave labour but that it never came to fruition.[378] Helfgott suggested that due to the fact that Poles were paid, albeit poorly, they could not be classified as slave labour.[379] Paulsson disagreed with both Cesarani and Helfgott, as Poles were kidnapped and

---

[371] Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 23 April [?].
[372] Ibid.
[373] Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 28 May 1999.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Ibid.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid.

held in labour and concentration camps.[380] There was clearly then, an awareness amongst the Advisory Group that the representation of non-Jewish victims would figure in the *Holocaust Exhibition*. Rather, what was of issue was the *extent* to which non-Jewish victims would be included in the Exhibition narrative.

iii. The Representation of Non-Jewish Victims in Form, Space and Context in the *Holocaust Exhibition*

The Holocaust story that the *Holocaust Exhibition* was eventually to tell was a Jewish-orientated one, as the newspaper reports surrounding its opening stated. Many of the articles denoted that the *Holocaust Exhibition* 'tells of the Nazis' attempted genocide of Europe's Jews, in which six million died', that it was 'a fitting tribute to six million slaughtered Jews'.[381] Some reporters did, however, merit the Exhibition's mention of the persecution of the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust, that 'the fate of gipsies and other victims of Nazi prejudice is also made clear, including the murder by gas and lethal injection of 170,000 mentally and physically disabled Germans, many of them tiny children, in a mad attempt to create a 'pure' Aryan race'.[382] In this example 'gipsies' is spelt incorrectly, demonstrating that the plight of this non-Jewish victim group during the Holocaust is so little known that they are not designated with the correct spelling of 'Gypsies', or even more precisely, they are not categorised by their self-appellation of 'Roma'. Despite this recognition of non-Jewish victims by some newspaper articles, the Exhibition's focus is undoubtedly on the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, as one writer highlighted:

> Bardgett and her six-strong team deal simply with the much-debated arguments about the specificity of the Holocaust and the experience of other persecuted groups such as the Gypsies, people with disabilities and gays. Though there's some material on them here, the main focus is unequivocally on the persecution of European Jews.[383]

Another reporter noted that 'the emphasis is on the persecution and destruction of the Jews, but the other victims are not neglected', but then failed to mention who

---

[380] Ibid.
[381] 'How a nation dedicated its mind to hate', *The Mail on Sunday*, 30/05/00 and 'Their voices must be heard for ever'.
[382] 'Their voices must be heard for ever'.
[383] 'Bearing Witness'.

these 'other' victims were and did not expand upon their wartime fate in the remainder of the article.[384] Bardgett has acknowledged that the focus of the *Holocaust Exhibition* is the destruction of European Jewry, that this was designed to be the element of the Holocaust that 'would give the narrative shape to the Exhibition'.[385] Although the Jewish story was to be given prominence in the display narrative, the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office intended to deal with the persecution of non-Jewish victims by telling 'other victims' suffering [...] as the Exhibition progresses'.[386] The *Holocaust Exhibition* regards non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust as 'other' to the Jewish victims. They are almost outside the Jewish narrative of the Holocaust that is told at the IWM.

Throughout the *Holocaust Exhibition* non-Jewish victims are mentioned as an 'and' to the persecution of the Jews. The choice of words at the beginning of the Exhibition is comprehensive, mentioning non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Yet, this recognition of non-Jewish victim groups appears almost as an afterthought at the end of a statement that affirms that the Holocaust was an exclusively Jewish event:

> Under the cover of the Second World War, for the sake of their 'new order', the Nazis sought to destroy all the Jews of Europe. For the first time in history, industrial methods were used for the mass extermination of a whole people. Six million were murdered, including 1,500,000 children. This event is called the Holocaust.
>
> The Nazis enslaved and murdered millions of others as well. Gypsies, people with physical and mental disabilities, poles, soviet prisoners of war, trade unionists, political opponents, prisoners of conscience, homosexuals and others were killed in vast numbers.[387]

This opening statement sets the tone of the IWM's *Holocaust Exhibition,* that the main narrative will tell the story of the persecution of the Jews and the fate of 'other' non-Jewish victims will be displayed 'as well'. Indeed, a visitor to the *Holocaust Exhibition* would have to pay great attention to detail at most points in the Exhibition narrative to find snippets of information pertaining to non-Jewish victim groups. If visitors were to look and listen closely enough, there are traces of the non-Jewish victims of the Nazis' throughout the Exhibition. Akin to the

---

[384] 'Remembrance of things past', *The Independent*, 06/06/00.
[385] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.
[386] Ibid.
[387] The *Holocaust Exhibition,* opening statement.

USHMM, non-Jewish victims are present throughout the *Holocaust Exhibition* in the form of artefacts, such as a 'P' patch worn by Polish forced labourers in Germany and the annexed areas of Poland, a Soviet prisoner of war's file card, a photograph depicting the deportation of German Roma from Remscheid and a letter written by a Jehovah's Witness interned in Ravensbrück.[388] A camp jacket worn by a Soviet prisoner of war is displayed, but unlike the political prisoner concentration camp uniform shown in the USHMM that is unmarked as such, London's Soviet prisoner of war jacket is accompanied by explanatory text detailing the grounds for this victim group's imprisonment, the treatment they received inside concentration camps and the number that died whilst interned.[389] Visitors who read this text may then be surprised to learn that a non-Jewish victim group were also interned in concentration camps, starved to death, used for medical experiments and that a high number of them, as well as Jews, died, approximately 3.3 million according to the display.[390] Similar to the USHMM, this figure quoted by the IWM is too low to include all of the Soviet prisoner of war casualties, but there is a reluctance to acknowledge this group as victims of Nazi persecution by institutions such as the IWM. This unwillingness may be due to the fact that non-Jewish victims such as Soviet prisoners of war would then be just as prominent as Jewish victims in the display, which would be at odds with the Museum's Jewish-orientated Holocaust chronology and narrative. The experiences of non-Jewish victims during the Holocaust, most notably Jehovah's Witnesses and non-Jewish Poles, are also narrated in sections of the video testimony that runs through the *Holocaust Exhibition*.

Non-Jewish victims are portrayed throughout the *Holocaust Exhibition* in relation to elements of the Holocaust narrative where their presence has been confirmed in historiography and consequently, they appear where a visitor would expect to see them. For example, the Nazis' 'euthanasia' programme, code-named 'Programme T4', which involved the 'mercy killing' of people with mental and physical disabilities, is displayed in some detail.[391] Roma are mentioned separately under the subheading 'The Sinti, Roma, and other tribes ('Gypsies')' in the section that deals with Nazi eugenics and various artefacts relating to the so-

---

[388] Ibid, sections entitled, 'Nazi occupation policy', 'Invasion of the Soviet Union', 'Preparing the ground' and 'Survival'.
[389] Ibid, section entitled 'Inside the camps'.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid, section entitled 'Unworthy of Life'.

called 'scientific' determination of their race, such as the 'instruments used by race scientists to examine hair and eye colour in order to determine whether or not a person was 'Aryan", are displayed.[392] These parts of the Holocaust narrative that relate to non-Jewish victims as displayed in the IWM replicate the most widely known parts of the fate of non-Jewish victims as also told in the USHMM.

In line again with the USHMM, non-Jewish victim groups are mentioned in elements of the *Holocaust Exhibition* narrative where they are not so widely recognised as being part of the event at that juncture. More importantly, their fate is displayed in elements of the Holocaust account that are conventionally perceived as specifically Jewish. For example, a number of non-Jewish victim groups are detailed in a section of text on the *Einsatzgruppen*, where a list of executions is displayed and among the numbers of Jews who were murdered, Russian, German, Polish and Lithuanian Communists, robbers, murderers, a criminal, a Pole, a partisan, Roma (designated as 'gypsies' in the narrative) and Russian prisoners of war are referred to.[393] Unexpectedly, Roma are detailed as being imprisoned in both the Lodz and Warsaw ghettos, what might be assumed to be very 'Jewish' aspects of the Holocaust, where the text narrates that as well as '490,000 Jews [...] a few hundred Gypsies struggled to survive [in the Warsaw ghetto] despite extreme hardship' and that 'for a few months, 5,000 Gypsies' lived in the Lodz ghetto.[394] In the section on Auschwitz-Birkenau, where a twelve metre long white model of the selection of 2,000 Hungarian Jews at the camp is displayed, there is a paragraph of text devoted to the 'Gypsy camp', detailing the murder of many Roma by gas on arrival at the camp.[395] In contrast to the USHMM, London's *Holocaust Exhibition* portrays the murder of mentally handicapped people in gas vans as a precursor to the concentration camp gas chambers that would later be used to kill Jews. A short piece of silent black and white footage is played in this section, which 'is thought to show the experimental killing of patients at a mental hospital in Mogilev, Belorus, in autumn 1941'.[396] The footage pictures emaciated patients being led into a hut wearing white coats and the camera then slowly pans along the route of the pipes that presumably contained the lethal gas, showing them running from a car exhaust pipe into the

---

[392] Ibid, section entitled 'Race Science'.
[393] Ibid, section entitled 'Mobile killing squads'.
[394] Ibid, section entitled 'The Warsaw ghetto' and 'The Lodz ghetto'.
[395] Ibid, section entitled 'The Warsaw ghetto', 'The Lodz ghetto', and 'The Gypsy Camp'.
[396] Ibid, section entitled 'New Ways of Killing'.

hut.[397] This element of the Holocaust narrative is one that is likely to be unknown by the majority of visitors to the Exhibition, who with their pre-existing knowledge that Jews were the primary victims of the Holocaust, would assume that it was only Jews that were murdered by gas.

As well as more traditional museum objects such as artefacts, photographs and text that are employed to narrate the story of the Holocaust, the *Holocaust Exhibition* features a series of audiovisual programmes that play on a loop at various positions in the Exhibition narrative. Martin Smith was asked by the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office to be a special adviser to the audiovisual programmes. Smith was involved in selecting the production company to compile the films, in editorial considerations and he viewed and commented on the films at various stages.[398] In 1997 the IWM commissioned the late Annie Dodds, a film producer and James Barker, a film director, of October Films to help the Project Office locate film footage to make a series of audiovisual programmes.[399] In addition to assisting to locate these films in the Exhibition narrative, October Films interviewed Holocaust survivors and compiled the audiovisual programmes of the filmed testimony for the Exhibition.[400] A large proportion of the audiovisual programmes feature testimony given by eighteen English-speaking Holocaust survivors. Initially, however, there was some debate within the Exhibition team as to whether any survivor testimony whatsoever should be included in the planned display. It was feared that oral testimony 'would overload the main narrative' and that 'the disjuncture between the 'now' of the survivor faces and the 'then' of the artefacts would confuse the visitor as the rest of the material in the exhibition was almost exclusively contemporary'.[401] Bardgett described one of the predominant early concerns of the Project Office, that 'the presence of living people in the Exhibition [might] give the impression that it was the norm to survive'.[402] The team's fears were allayed once the programmes were made, as they 'realised that the survivor's stories were in large part about the gradual deterioration and loss of loved ones, so that the cumulative story was definitely one of destruction rather

---

[397] AV 21 SHOOTING TURNS TO GAS, 10:55:00:00-10:55:22:13. Transcripts of the audiovisual programmes made for the *Holocaust Exhibition* by October Films, Imperial War Museum Archives.
[398] Interview with Martin Smith.
[399] 'Film and the making of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition. By Suzanne Bardgett, Project Director of the Holocaust Exhibition', <http://london.iwm.org.uk/upload/pdf/Film_conference-paper.pdf>, October 2005, p.2.
[400] Ibid, p.3.
[401] Tony Kushner, 'Oral History at the Extremes of Human Experience', pp.90-91.
[402] 'Film and the making of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition', p.2.

than survival'.[403] The important role played by the survivor testimony featured in the *Holocaust Exhibition* was noted by many of the reporters that covered the opening, that 'one key ingredient rams the facts home: survivors speak. They tell what they saw, and, digging deep into the nightmare of their past, they put a history of the unimaginable securely on the record.'[404]

With consideration of the prominent role that the survivor testimony plays in the narrative of the *Holocaust Exhibition*, the examination of the ethnicity of the survivors that speak reveals an imbalance in the representation of Jewish and non-Jewish victims in the audiovisual programmes. Of the eighteen survivors interviewed, thirteen are Jewish, originating from Poland, Germany and Austria.[405] The whole of European Jewry that was affected by the Holocaust is thus represented by survivors from only three countries, demonstrating that even representation of the Jewish victims in the *Holocaust Exhibition* is *un*representative of their experience of the event. This geographical limitation was due to the constraints of research and language: the Museum and October films required only English-speaking survivors to appear in the programmes as they did not want to use subtitles and, in addition to this, resources to locate survivors were restricted.[406] The remaining five Holocaust survivors are non-Jewish. Premsyl Dobias is a Czech Jehovah's Witness, Magdalena Kusserow is a German Jehovah's Witness and Daniel Falkner is Polish and was an Army Officer during the war.[407] Albin Ossowski and his wife Maria are Catholics who were members of the Polish resistance.[408] As with the Jewish survivors interviewed, the five non-Jewish survivors represent non-Jewish victims in only three countries: Czechoslovakia, Germany and Poland. More importantly, these five survivors represent only two of the eight non-Jewish victim groups that were mentioned in the opening statement of the *Holocaust Exhibition*: the Jehovah's Witnesses and non-Jewish Poles. An imbalance in the ethnicity of the non-Jewish survivors that were interviewed for the audiovisual programmes is clearly evident.

---

[403] Ibid, pp.2-3.
[404] 'How a nation dedicated its mind to hate'.
[405] 'Survivors featured in *The Holocaust Exhibition* audio-visual programmes', Imperial War Museum Archives.
[406] Interview with James Barker of October Films, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the Nova Scotia Public House, Bristol, 9 October 2005.
[407] 'Survivors featured in *The Holocaust Exhibition* audio-visual programmes' and AV 10 LIFE UNDER NAZI PERSECUTION, Magdalena Kusserow, 10:5:18:09. Transcripts of the audiovisual programmes made for the *Holocaust Exhibition*.
[408] 'You felt this was the end of the journey. This is where life ends', *Evening Standard*, 31/05/00.

Moreover, there is a disproportion in the non-Jewish victims that *are* represented in the survivor testimony, in terms of the non-Jewish victim groups of the Holocaust that suffered the highest number of deaths. Approximately 1.8 million non-Jewish Poles are believed to have been murdered directly under the Nazis' wartime plan to eliminate Poland as a nation.[409] Estimates for the number of Jehovah's Witnesses that perished during the Holocaust vary, with some sources quoting the figure 5,000, whilst others do not commit to death tolls, simply stating that 'out of the over 25,000 Jehovah's Witnesses who lived in Germany, 6,019 were imprisoned'.[410] The number of Jehovah's Witnesses that died during the Holocaust is therefore apparently small in comparison to some non-Jewish victim groups, such as non-Jewish Poles. Yet, when this figure is considered in the context of the number of homosexual victims for example, who it is believed that out of the 5,000 imprisoned, 3,000 were murdered or died, the figure becomes more significant in terms of the non-Jewish victim groups who suffered the most casualties.[411] The number of Jehovah's Witness victims is relatively small in comparison to the Roma, who the *Holocaust Exhibition* narrative tells us, 'of the 25,700 Gypsies who passed through Auschwitz, perhaps 2,000 survived the war', not to mention the total death count of Roma that is stated in the interactive computer programme as being 'about 200,000'.[412] Considering also that the Roma are the most prominent non-Jewish victim group in the narrative of the *Holocaust Exhibition*, it is incongruous that not one of the survivors in the audio testimony is a Romani. Bardgett has asserted that the reason for this omission was one of clarity, the Museum wanted to have only English-speakers in the Exhibition and although they tried to find an English-speaking Romani survivor, this proved fruitless.[413] Barker has elaborated that October Films did consider trying to find a homosexual survivor to interview, but due to limited resources they were unable to do so.[414] Smith raised the issue of the lack of a Romani survivor, as well as a Soviet survivor to the Museum, calling them 'very serious omissions', especially due to the fact that Roma had a relevance to a modern day audience, namely 'that

---

[409] Interactive computer programme, section entitled 'Who were the victims?'.
[410] *Purple Triangles*, Martin Smith, dir, UK, 1991 and Ina R. Friedman, *The Other Victims: First-Person Stories of Non-Jews Persecuted by the Nazis,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p.49.
[411] Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.313.
[412] The *Holocaust Exhibition*, section entitled 'The Gypsy Camp' and interactive computer programme, section entitled 'Who were the victims?'.
[413] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.
[414] Interview with James Barker.

the Roma have become hate targets across Europe (especially in our tabloids)'.[415] This disparity between the non-Jewish victim groups that are represented in the narrative of the *Holocaust Exhibition* demonstrates that in contrast to the USHMM, there is no correlation between the issue of victim numbers and the level of representation achieved in the IWM's display. Rather, it appears that the survivors interviewed for the *Holocaust Exhibition* were chosen specifically because they were straightforward to locate and due to the fact that they would be easily understood by the Exhibition's audience.

The few non-Jewish survivors that are featured in the audiovisual testimony programmes are not very prominent. If a visitor to the *Holocaust Exhibition* were to listen to the survivor testimony, they would have to concentrate very carefully to realise that not all of the survivors speaking are Jewish. At no point, either in the audiovisual programmes themselves, or in the course of the Exhibition narrative, is the visitor informed of the ethnicity of the interviewees, whether they are Jewish or non-Jewish. In fact, only Magdalena Kusserow explicitly mentions her religious identity:

> Sometimes there were a special talk from Hitler. We had to sit at school and the radio was there and we had to listen. And then at the end of this [...] talk, we had to get up [...] and salute the flag, and this was a little bit difficult for us as Jehovah's Witnesses. We'd stand up, but we didn't [...] say 'Heil Hitler'. And my father said, 'look, Heil Hitler means the salvation comes by Hitler. But as we learned by the Bible, that salvation comes from - by Jesus Christ.'[416]

Bardgett has stated that the reason for not overtly detailing the ethnicity of the survivors interviewed was twofold. Firstly, the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office did not want to overload the visitor with too much information, particularly at the beginning of the Exhibition in the entrance cone where the survivors are first seen, that 'in many cases in the Exhibition actually we ended up providing less detail, historical labelling if you like, than might ideally have been the case'.[417] Secondly, Bardgett believed that the survivors' ethnicity unfolds throughout the Exhibition in the course of the testimony that they give, so that it does become

---

[415] Memorandum addressed to Robert Crawford, Suzanne Bardgett and Penny Ritchie-Calder from Martin Smith, regarding Smith's viewing of the rough cuts of the audiovisual programmes, Martin Smith's personal files, 24 February 1999.

[416] AV 10 LIFE UNDER NAZI PERSECUTION, Magdalena Kusserow, 10:5:18:09. Transcripts of the audiovisual programmes made for the *Holocaust Exhibition*.

[417] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.

clear who is Jewish and who is non-Jewish.[418] Furthermore, October Films did not want to give the interviewees 'some sort of representational status which perhaps they themselves would not be very happy with'.[419] Although the non-Jewish victims are not identified as such in the audiovisual programmes, Barker highlighted that the Jewish victims are not identified as Jewish voices either, that they wanted visitors to relate to the speakers as individuals.[420]

Notwithstanding that two of the other survivors do not explicitly state that they belong to non-Jewish victim groups, a visitor could infer this from their testimony. For example, Albin Ossowski alludes to the fact that he is not Jewish by talking about Jewish people as if they were distinct:

> My mother had a Jewish friend which they went for gossiping or something, and always if they wanted to speak about something that a child shouldn't understand they spoke German. The older generation from Gdansk of Jewish people felt more German than Polish. The young ones, of course, with us in school there wasn't any difference.[421]

Similarly, Premsyl Dobias describes how he was mostly unaware that Jewish people were any different and in so doing, indicates to the listener that he is not Jewish:

> I grew up with a friend who was Jewish, and I had no idea that he was Jewish until I realised that he had different holidays at school than I did. Otherwise I had no conception of differences between religions or between people who were of Jewish faith.[422]

Although both Ossowski's and Dobias' testimony reveal to an attentive listener that they are not Jewish, this is inferred through their discussion of Jewish victims. Once again, Jewish victims are emphasised in the narrative of the *Holocaust Exhibition*. Ossowski's and Dobias' testimonies may have been included precisely because they contained material on Jews, the Holocaust victims that are the focus of the Exhibition. The ethnicity of other speakers, such as Daniel Falkner, is represented ambiguously. In his testimony, Falkner discusses Jewish cultural life and their cheerful spirit in the face of appalling conditions and this, coupled with

---

[418] Ibid.
[419] Interview with James Barker.
[420] Ibid.
[421] AV 1 WHO WE WERE, Albin Ossowski, 10:06:41:22. Transcripts of the audiovisual programmes made for the *Holocaust Exhibition*.
[422] AV 1 WHO WE WERE, Premsyl Dobias, 10:00:26:15. For source reference see note 421 above.

his narration of being liberated by American troops from a concentration camp, may lead a visitor to conclude that he is Jewish.[423] Although Falkner is in fact a non-Jewish Pole, he goes unnoticed as a non-Jewish survivor because his testimony is used to narrate the Exhibition's Jewish Holocaust narrative. Even the Museum's 'experts' are unaware of this diversity of witnesses featured in the audiovisual programmes, Sir Martin Gilbert stated in one newspaper article at the time of the Exhibition's opening that 'in the first room of the exhibition we are introduced on video screens to Jewish survivors'.[424] The non-Jewish interviewees are not very prominent because they do not appear in the video testimony as frequently as the Jewish survivors. This may be due in part to the fact that their narrative does not fit with the chronology of what is, in essence, the Nazi persecution of the Jews as told in the *Holocaust Exhibition*.

Other non-Jewish victim groups that were imprisoned and murdered during the Holocaust are portrayed in the narrative of the Exhibition implicitly, in the testimony given by Jewish survivors. This representation of non-Jewish victims through the eyes of Jewish victims, akin to the discussion of the fate of Jewish victims by non-Jews, serves to reinforce that the primary victims of the Holocaust were Jewish. As the primary victims of the Holocaust and the speakers who are the most prominent in number in the audiovisual programmes, Jewish survivors are in a position to narrate not only the fate of their own group, but also 'other' non-Jewish groups that were persecuted. In this vein, Mayer Hersh describes the existence of the so-called 'Gypsy camp' at Auschwitz-Birkenau and the night of 2 August 1944 when the entire remaining population of the 'Gypsy camp' was murdered:

> One day I overheard a man who worked in the *sonderkommando*, this is the crematorium, who confided to this (blokelster?), this is the block commander, that we've got - that the Germans have got a plan to eliminate all the gypsies. He doesn't know the exact date, but it's going to be fairly soon. And one night there was curfew and very soon afterwards we heard those big lorries going into the camp, and of course we knew what it was. The gypsies also knew and they were screaming like mad. There was nothing they could do,

---

[423] AV 19 A SLOW DEATH, Daniel Falkner, 10:02:41:16 and AV 28 DISCOVERY AND LIBERATION, Daniel Falkner, 10:04:53. Transcripts of the audiovisual programmes made for the *Holocaust Exhibition*.

[424] 'Their voices must be heard forever'.

> nothing whatsoever. In the morning there was not one gypsy left alive. They were all taken to the gas chambers and murdered that night.[425]

Although this testimony referring to the murder of Romani victims interrupts the Jewish focus of the audiovisual testimony, the Jewish Holocaust narrative remains uncompromised as the fate of the Roma is related by a Jewish survivor. There are other important fragments of information relating to the fate of non-Jewish victims that are narrated by Jewish survivors. Hersh, for example, states that the reason why some prisoners were incarcerated in Auschwitz was not because they were Jewish, but that prisoners transferred to Auschwitz from other camps 'were in for political reasons or for many other reasons. Some were actually genuine criminals.'[426] Fyodor Konkov describes the division of prisoners in Buchenwald concentration camp into nationalities, suggesting to the Exhibition visitor that not all camp inmates were Jewish, that 'each block was a national block. I lived in the Russian block and the Polish lived only in the Polish blocks, and there were special blocks for Austrians, special blocks for political Germans and so on and so on.'[427] In essence, non-Jewish victim groups are afforded only tokenism in the audiovisual programmes of the *Holocaust Exhibition*: non-Jewish victims can be mentioned, but only through the voices of the primary victims, Jews. It is unlikely that the majority of visitors to the *Holocaust Exhibition* would listen to all of the survivor testimony, which amounts to several hours, as they would spend less time than that visiting the whole Exhibition. As a result, the testimony of the non-Jewish victims that is included in the Exhibition's audiovisual programmes will probably be unheard by most visitors, who will leave with the assumption that the survivors that speak are Jewish.

Non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust also appear in the interactive computer programmes set aside in a space towards the end of the *Holocaust Exhibition*, between the display sections entitled 'Destroying the evidence' and 'Discovery'.[428] Initially, there was some concern regarding the use of interactive technology in the Exhibition, as Bardgett explained:

---

[425] AV 26 CAMP LIFE 2, SOUND ONLY PROGRAMME, Mayer Hersh, 10:41:57:08. Transcripts of the audiovisual programmes made for the *Holocaust Exhibition*.
[426] AV 26 CAMP LIFE 1, SOUND ONLY PROGRAMME, Mayer Hersh, 10:19:56:2. For source reference see note 425 above.
[427] AV 26 CAMP LIFE 1, SOUND ONLY PROGRAMME, Fyodor Konkov, 10:19:33:16. For source reference see note 425 above.
[428] Interactive computer programme, the *Holocaust Exhibition*, between sections entitled 'Destroying the evidence' and 'Discovery'.

> There is a strong expectation of this type of display device, but there is something distasteful, we feel, about effectively playing computer games in the same space as one is learning about mass deportation and death. The answer is probably to keep interactives to one part of the exhibition rather than be tempted to pepper them throughout.[429]

The computer programmes detail information regarding what the Holocaust was, who the victims were, what could have been done to aid the victims and lists the effects of the event, country by country.[430] Under the category of who the victims were, space is dedicated to not only Jews, but also to all of the non-Jewish victims of the Nazis, namely Roma (designated as 'Gypsies' in the computer programmes), the mentally and physically handicapped, Soviet prisoners of war, Poles, Serbs, other Slavs, Jehovah's Witnesses, 'Politicals' (Socialists, Communists, liberals and trade unionists), Christian clergy, homosexuals and 'Blacks' (children of mixed-race parentage).[431] Visitors to the Exhibition touch a picture to reveal the victim group to which that person belonged and an explanation is provided for why that group was persecuted by the Nazis and how many suffered.[432] Non-Jewish victims are also mentioned in the country-by-country accounts of the Nazi regime, such as the text focusing on Albania which details the 'round-ups of Jews, communists, partisans and 'suspicious elements''.[433] Once again, as with the audiovisual survivor testimony, the difficulty with the interactive computer programmes is that it depends on whether a visitor to the *Holocaust Exhibition* takes the time to sit down and read the information available in order for them to discover that the Jews were not the only victims of the Holocaust. It is clearly evident that the computer programmes are secondary to the main narrative display. In turn, the fate of non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust is secondary to the main Exhibition narrative, which is Jewish-orientated.

Akin to the *Permanent Exhibition* at the USHMM, the *Holocaust Exhibition* is a permanent display. Yet, Bardgett has indicated that the Exhibition is a fluid one and that as such, there is the possibility that its content in relation to the non-

---

[429] Suzanne Bardgett, 'The Genesis and Development of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition Project', p.34.
[430] Interactive computer programme, the *Holocaust Exhibition*.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid.

Jewish victim groups will change in the future. As time passes, the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office will be able to add new material to the Exhibition and Bardgett cited the example that if they acquired a really good Romani artefact, they could label it and make a feature out of it.[434] In answer to the question of whether non-Jewish victims could have been represented in the Exhibition's narrative to a greater extent, Bardgett replied that 'the Exhibition's been fairly well received' and so she has not 'judged it as a major problem'.[435] Yet, at the same time Bardgett thinks that the IWM 'should never be complacent, [they] should always be looking to enrich the Exhibition' and therefore she has 'a full time member of staff working on [...] showcase replenishment and getting better material'.[436] Bardgett suggested that if the Project Office did add to the audiovisual programmes at a later date, they would investigate the possibility of including testimony from a homosexual victim.[437] These changes would, however, only alter the Exhibition's representation of the non-Jewish victims to a small extent. Smith hinted at a reason why it would be harder for the IWM to change the focus of the Exhibition narrative, to represent the non-Jewish victim groups in more depth. Increased inclusion of the non-Jewish victims would complicate the narrative flow of the display, that 'if the IWM had gone with a much more prescriptive shopping list of who had to be [...] acknowledged, dealt with [...], this would have impacted on the ability of a general understanding of the subject matter from the tour of that exhibition'.[438] If this approach had been adopted, Smith 'think[s] it would have broken down and [...] become a sort of checklist', which he did not feel was 'right for a general audience'.[439] Smith acknowledged that although representatives of specific non-Jewish victim groups may feel unhappy that their group is not covered extensively, people outside that victim group would recognise that in view of what the Exhibition encompasses, there is 'a reasonable attempt to cover' all aspects of the Holocaust.[440] Those associated with the *Holocaust Exhibition* are clearly willing to concede that the non-Jewish victims could be represented differently in the narrative of the display but despite this, there are currently no plans to alter the Jewish-orientated focus of the Exhibition.

---

[434] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.
[435] Ibid.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid.
[438] Interview with Martin Smith.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Ibid.

iv. The *Crimes Against Humanity* Exhibition

The *Holocaust Exhibition* is not the only mention of the Holocaust and non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust within the IWM. Despite Suzanne Bardgett's initial reservations regarding an exhibition that focused solely on the theme of genocide, this idea was eventually adapted and became the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition which opened in a small space on the top floor of the Museum in 2002. In comparison to the *Holocaust Exhibition*, the *Crimes Against Humanity* display occupies a smaller amount of floor space, 377 square metres, just under one third of the size of the *Holocaust Exhibition*.[441] The *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition completed stage three of the Museum's redevelopment plan and akin to the *Holocaust Exhibition*, was supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund.[442] Dr Mark Levene, a historian specialising in both modern Jewish history and genocide, was a historical adviser to the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition. Levene has asserted that the IWM felt that once they had addressed the Holocaust in exhibition terms this alone was not sufficient within the context of the Museum, they also wanted to demonstrate that they had a wider interest in genocide.[443] As we have seen, there was originally a debate in 1995 concerning whether an exhibition focusing on genocide would be mounted, with the Holocaust encompassed as a part of that display. These plans were revised and the resulting *Holocaust Exhibition* became the driving force behind the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition and, ultimately, the *Holocaust Exhibition* became the primary of the two display concepts.[444] Consequently, in order to address the broad issue of genocide, the Museum decided to mount a very small exhibition which Levene has called a 'very nice [...] subsidiary, or [...] 'tokenry other', which [...] attempts to encompass an enormous range of atrocities [...] in a very sort of telescoped and in many ways, historically not terribly contextualised, sort of way'.[445] Shortly after the opening of the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, one reporter highlighted the relationship between the new display and the *Holocaust Exhibition*, that the all-

---

[441] 'GA Plan and Sections', (Cusson Mann Designers, London), October 2001, Imperial War Museum Archives.
[442] Suzanne Bardgett, 'F FLOOR EXHIBITION BRIEF *GENOCIDE IN OUR TIME: ITS CAUSES AND PREVENTION*', Martin Smith's personal files, 13 January 2001, p.1.
[443] Interview with Dr Mark Levene, a historical adviser to the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, interviewed by Hazel Starmes, at the University of Southampton, 6 December 2005.
[444] Ibid.
[445] Ibid.

encompassing genocide exhibition was a logical progression from its Holocaust-specific predecessor, 'it [was] the essential next stage that follow[ed] the opening in 2000 of the museum's acclaimed Holocaust exhibition'.[446] The reporter also noted that the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition marked an important ideological change in the history of the IWM, it 'show[ed] how a museum can evolve and grow. The [IWM] was founded to parade the glories of the British armed forces; it has become a far broader and more comprehensive exhibition of warfare in all its forms and all its nastiness.'[447] With the opening of the *Holocaust Exhibition* in 2000 and two years later, the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, the IWM began to be recognised as an inclusive institution, whose displays had a relevance to contemporary society, rather than as a museum that held a nationally insular focus on warfare.

In line with the *Holocaust Exhibition*, the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition was constrained by the building in which it is situated. Levene felt that as an institution, the IWM preferred to present the information, rather than prompting visitors to ask questions.[448] Thus the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, although it tells us 'something about what violence is like and how nasty it is', it fails to 'do what it really ought to be doing, which is to make people think about why violence is so endemic and chronic in the world we live in. And perhaps why we aren't generally on the receiving end of violence, but other people are.'[449] Moreover, Levene has asserted that the IWM is not self-critical, it does not relate the issue of genocide to the British Empire and its wars, but he simultaneously acknowledged that he may be asking too much of 'a museum which represents in some shape or form, the British state, the British crown'.[450] The broader subject of genocide, akin to the specific topic of the Holocaust, is also one which jars in the national setting of the IWM.

Although secondary to the *Holocaust Exhibition*, the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition was devised with the reassurance that the *Holocaust Exhibition* had highlighted the potential success of an all-inclusive genocide exhibition, that it had 'shown the keen appetite the public has to understand how and why genocides happen' and that visitors leaving the *Holocaust Exhibition*

---

[446] 'A Century of Murder Most Foul', *Times2*, 07/01/03.
[447] Ibid.
[448] Interview with Dr Mark Levene.
[449] Ibid.
[450] Ibid.

often 'reflect[ed] on the fact that the prejudice and inhumanity displayed in it continue[d] to plague the world today'.[451] The *Holocaust Exhibition* clearly affirmed to the IWM that a broad display on genocide would be palatable to the viewing public. Furthermore, the Museum believed that an exhibition on genocide would be relevant to contemporary society for specific reasons. Firstly, the nature of warfare is changing, it no longer features traditional soldiers, or the triumph of one army over another, but rather ordinary citizens who become soldiers in order to achieve the aim of 'the forcible expulsion of the civilian population of one's enemy'.[452] The Museum therefore felt that the proposed genocide display would 'explore one of the most important themes facing both the international community and ordinary citizens today'.[453] The genocide exhibition would not just focus on the past but also the present, in turn creating a display to which modern visitors could relate. This present-day relevance coupled with historical precedents of genocide, such as the 1915 Armenian genocide and the Holocaust that were detailed in the 'F FLOOR EXHIBITION BRIEF' document, was felt to be the basis for a powerful display.[454] As in Washington, D.C., the inclusion of the Armenian genocide in the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition became a political issue. Levene recalled that both the Turkish government and the Armenian community levelled objections to the way in which the genocide was to be represented in the exhibition and that 'it was to the credit of the [IWM] that they did to an extent break ranks with [...] British government [...] policy, in the sense that they inferred that [...] what happened to the Armenians might have been [...] a crime against humanity'.[455] This incident demonstrates that as in Washington, D.C., an inclusive approach to memory work is never simple or unaffected by political concerns.

The design strategy adopted for the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition was a minimalist one. The exhibition team decided not to include any artefacts in the display, instead a film was chosen to be the central element, which Bardgett believed 'was definitely the right way to treat it [...] anything else would have [...] both been indigestible and just impossible to articulate'.[456] The film production

---

[451] Suzanne Bardgett, 'F FLOOR EXHIBITION BRIEF *GENOCIDE IN OUR TIME: ITS CAUSES AND PREVENTION*', p.1.
[452] Ibid, p.2.
[453] Ibid.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Interview with Dr Mark Levene.
[456] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.

company October Films, who made the audiovisual programmes for the *Holocaust Exhibition,* was commissioned again to make the thirty minute film 'which examines the theme of genocide and ethnic conflict'.[457] The film plays repeatedly and explores numerous topics relating to genocide including its causes, the effect on the victims both during and after the event and how the international community responds.[458] In the exploration of these themes, interviews are conducted with survivors and narration and comment is provided by contemporary journalists and members of international agencies, such as Amnesty International.[459] The film portrays incidences of genocide in the twentieth century including, amongst others, those that have occurred in Rwanda, East Timor and Kosovo. [460] The Holocaust as an example of genocide is also featured in the film.[461] The extent to which the Holocaust would be included in the film was constrained by its spatial distance to the *Holocaust Exhibition* on the floor below. The makers of the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition were mindful that the film's treatment of the Holocaust should not repeat the content of the *Holocaust Exhibition* downstairs, 'the issue did become how do we encompass this in [...] a broader twentieth-century frame of reference'.[462] The Holocaust is employed as a referent in the *Crimes Against Humanity* film, it is discussed in terms of the utopian aims of any group that commits genocide and it is referred to in the examination of the perpetrators of genocide and their trial and punishment. Due to the limited space that the Holocaust is afforded in the film, the genocide portrayed within it is that of the Jews.

In addition to the main film, the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition also contains a seating area with several computer terminals which display an interactive programme. The computer programme allows a visitor to explore the theme of genocide in more depth independently by touching headings that detail information about terms and definitions of genocide, trial and punishment of those guilty of the crime and the genocides that have occurred in the twentieth century,

---

[457] 'Crimes Against Humanity Exhibition', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/lambeth/server/show/nav.00b005009 >, October 2005.
[458] The *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ, United Kingdom, viewed on 31 March 2004 and 4 October 2005 and *Century of Killing*: version as at 12/02/02, (the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition film), Dr Mark Levene's personal files.
[459] *Century of Killing.*
[460] Ibid.
[461] Ibid.
[462] Interview with Dr Mark Levene.

some of which appear in the film.[463] Among the list of genocides that took place in the era of the Second World War featured in the programme are those of the Roma (designated as Roma and Sinti in the programme), non-Jewish Poles and Soviet prisoners of war.[464] In the list of 'victims of the Nazis', as well as Jews, the persecution of Roma, people with disabilities, Soviet prisoners of war, non-Jewish Poles, Serbs and religious and political opponents is detailed.[465] In fact, non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust compose three quarters of the pages on the interactive computer programme that are dedicated to the event. Bardgett has asserted that this prominence of non-Jewish victim groups is due to the way in which the interactive programmes were designed, they 'were not conceived in a [...] story telling way, they were conceived as almost like entries in an encyclopaedia, so [...] it was possible to be much more even in the amount of text that one devoted to particular victim groups'.[466] The non-Jewish victims are afforded so much attention in the *Crimes Against Humanity* interactive computer programmes that they 'are perhaps more prominent than in the *Holocaust Exhibition*'.[467] *Crimes Against Humanity* is not an exhibition that focuses on the Holocaust, its narrative is dedicated to all genocides of the twentieth century and consequently non-Jewish victims are noticeable in the limited space available to the Nazi genocide.

v. Conclusions: A Jewish Affair

The creation of the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM marked an ideological change in direction for Britain's national museum of twentieth-century war and conflict. Although the Museum's representation of war has altered over the course of its history, with its central atrium of mechanical finery, the IWM continues to be associated with a triumphant image of Britain at war. The Museum's chosen focus of the Holocaust, its victims, was therefore seemingly at odds with the institution's traditional remit. Indeed, the situation of the *Holocaust Exhibition* within an existing national institution necessitated that very British reasons were expounded for its creation. Unlike the USHMM, London's Exhibition was

---

[463] Interactive computer programme, the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition.
[464] Ibid.
[465] Ibid.
[466] Interview with Suzanne Bardgett.
[467] Ibid.

established with little controversy and continues to be praised by the press and public alike. The question of 'which' Holocaust was to be displayed in the Exhibition narrative rarely arose during the meetings of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, among the Museum staff or the Holocaust Exhibition Project Office. As a result, the non-Jewish victims feature in the IWM's *Holocaust Exhibition* as an extension to the main narrative that tells the plight of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Although non-Jewish victims are included intermittently in the narrative text of the Exhibition, the audiovisual survivor testimony and the interactive computer programmes, their story is not as prominent as that of the Jewish victims. The Jewish focus of the *Holocaust Exhibition* is emphasised further by non-Jewish victims discussing Jewish victims in the audiovisual testimony programmes and even when Jewish victims refer to the non-Jewish victim groups, it serves to reiterate the role of the Jews as the primary victims. The inclusion of non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust in the IWM's *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition demonstrates that the Museum has endeavoured to adopt a more inclusive approach, despite the fact that this display too has its limitations. The *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition is, nevertheless, secondary to the *Holocaust Exhibition* and as such, the display's portrayal of non-Jewish victim groups remains secondary to their representation, or lack of representation, in the *Holocaust Exhibition* downstairs. Visitors to the IWM's *Holocaust Exhibition* would have to look and listen very diligently to catch glimpses of what the Exhibition displays as the 'other' non-Jewish victims.

Section Four: Comparisons and Contrasts: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum

As has been highlighted throughout the examination of the preceding case studies, there are contrasts between the USHMM and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM. These differences are apparent in the temporal distance between them and, most notably, in the scale of controversy caused by the specific focus of the Holocaust that the museums were to commemorate. Most striking, however, are the similarities between the two projects which can be noted in key aspects of the institutions: from the reasons given for their creation, to the way in which the narrative of the Holocaust is told in the exhibitions themselves.

During the planning stages of both displays, organisational bodies were established to decide upon, among other considerations, the focus of the exhibitions. It was the topic of the discussions held by these groups during the formative years of the projects that divide the USHMM and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM. The issue of 'which' Holocaust the USHMM was to tell dominated from the outset. Was the Museum to adopt a universal approach to the Holocaust, encompassing all of the Nazis' victims, Jewish and non-Jewish alike? Or was the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition* to be particularistic, concentrating on the 6 million Jewish victims, highlighting the Holocaust as a uniquely Jewish event? This debate began in the very infancy of the project, when President Carter first announced that the memorial would remember the '6 million' victims of the Holocaust, but then only a few months later he changed the focus of commemoration by employing the figure '11 million'. The discussion continued during the compilation of the President's Commission, who would propose a national memorial and throughout the drawing up of the membership list of the Holocaust Memorial Council, the Commission's successor body, who would discuss the form of the *Permanent Exhibition*. The selection process of the Holocaust Memorial Council was a lengthy and political one, with representatives of numerous non-Jewish communities vying for inclusion both on the Council and in the Museum itself. Eventually, the Council was perceived to be a politically and nationally inclusive body, although some victim groups were still excluded.

Yet, in London, the Advisory Group to the *Holocaust Exhibition* was not engaged in such debate. This was partly due to the size of the project and the

committee in relation to Washington, D.C. The USHMM was to be an entire institution devoted to the Holocaust, whose Council constituted of over fifty members. Alternatively, the *Holocaust Exhibition* was to be situated within Britain's existing national museum of twentieth-century war and conflict and the Advisory Group consisted of just six members. In contrast to Washington, D.C.'s Holocaust Memorial Council, the establishment of London's Advisory Group was a very private affair; members were invited to be a part of the committee by staff of the IWM, as opposed to the President and his office. The differing role of ethnic lobbying in the United Kingdom, in comparison to the United States, affected the representation of non-Jewish victims on both the Advisory Group and in the *Holocaust Exhibition*. Members of national groups and the representatives of non-Jewish victim groups did not, unlike in Washington, D.C., actively lobby for inclusion on the Advisory Group. Consequently, the need was not felt to incorporate representatives from ethnic groups on the Advisory Group and therefore there was no one specifically speaking out for non-Jewish inclusion in London's project. The universalistic or particularistic argument debated in the planning stages of the USHMM in turn affected the direction of the *Permanent Exhibition*, whereas in London this topic did not dominate such discussions of display content.

The two institutions are also separated by their contrasting memorial functions. Besides its exhibition space, the USHMM has a formal memorial role in the form of its Hall of Remembrance. An eternal flame burns in the Hall and the walls are inscribed with the names of concentration and death camps. This space imbues the Museum with a sense of the sacred, it is somewhere to mourn and remember the victims of the Holocaust and has been the setting for national commemorative ceremonies. The relationship between the Museum's memorial and exhibition space is reciprocal: the Hall of Remembrance 'envelops the exhibition with the right ambience; the exhibition endows the memorial building with historical context'.[468] With the solemn atmosphere that the Hall of Remembrance creates, the Museum becomes a step removed from the traditional museum role of educator and entertainer. London's *Holocaust Exhibition* does not have such a memorial space. As a display within a long-standing institution that has many other exhibitions focusing on events that caused human fatalities, it was

---

[468] Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington*, (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1995), pp.26-27.

perhaps more difficult for the IWM to single out the victims of the Holocaust as deserving of their own commemorative area. Moreover, the surroundings of the *Holocaust Exhibition* are very different to that of the *Permanent Exhibition.* The mechanical finery on display in the IWM's atrium signals that the building as a whole is not dedicated solely to the Holocaust and its commemoration. The IWM is home to competing stances on warfare.

In addition to these differences, the two displays share similarities. The creators of both the *Permanent Exhibition* in Washington, D.C. and the *Holocaust Exhibition* in London felt the need to justify their respective projects on national grounds. This requirement was partly due to the locations of the institutions: both exhibitions were to be situated in their own country's capitals. This spatial prominence emphasised the state and public elements of the tasks. There was thus a necessity to explicitly link both the relevance of the Holocaust as an event and its commemoration to the country in which it was to be displayed in museum terms. The Holocaust had to be 'sold' as it were, to its prospective 'buyers', the viewing public. In this vein, the Holocaust was highlighted as a part of American and British history respectively. Both countries called attention to their status as a place of refuge for Jews during the war and the liberation of concentration camps by their military forces. Indeed, the country's role as a liberator became a core part of the exhibition narrative in the United States, which begins not with the rise of Nazism in 1933, but in 1945 at the discovery of concentration camps in Germany and Austria by US troops. The Holocaust story that the USHMM tells is as much an American one as it is Jewish. This national focus is not predominant in London's exhibition, which was to relate the narrative of the Holocaust from a European perspective.[469] Nonetheless, Britain's wartime relationship to the Holocaust is narrated by punctuating the account of Europe's Jews with 'News Reaches Britain' windows, which 'show the impact in Britain of news of the scale of the killings'.[470] These are a minor part of the *Holocaust Exhibition*, however, and they are not prominent enough to compromise the main Continental stance.

Contemporary reasons for mounting both exhibitions were also expounded, with their direct relevance to modern American or British society emphasised. The Holocaust was employed in the United States as an example of human tragedy that was not to be repeated and as an event that could teach the present American

---

[469] Suzanne Bardgett, 'Exhibiting Hatred', *History Today*, 50 (6) (2000), p.18.
[470] Ibid.

population, which prided itself on its liberal, democratic nature, important lessons about the consequences of prejudice and racism. In Britain, the didactic purpose of the *Holocaust Exhibition* was set forth, the display would become an essential resource for schoolchildren learning about the event as part of the National Curriculum History syllabus at Key Stage 3 level. The opening of London's display was also billed as part of Britain's Millennium celebrations and, as a result, the *Holocaust Exhibition* was launched amid a wave of publicity, as a 'must-see' attraction, grounding it firmly within the national cultural framework. The Holocaust story that the USHMM and the IWM's *Holocaust Exhibition* would tell would therefore have different perspectives due to their 'local' contexts and timings.

The narrative focus of both the exhibitions mirrors the Nazis' own wartime priority, the annihilation of European Jewry. In the USHMM and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM, there is a strong Jewish account. Although the decision was ultimately made to include all of the victims of the Holocaust in the USHMM, a hierarchy of victims emerged and this perspective is clear in the narrative of the *Permanent Exhibition*. The fate of the non-Jewish victims during the Holocaust is fitted into this Jewish framework in both the exhibition stories in Washington, D.C., and London, rather than being displayed as a separate, yet simultaneous process. Artefacts, documents, photographs and text are all used to portray the persecution of non-Jewish victim groups in both displays, but they are fleeting mentions in museum exhibitions that are dedicated to the Nazis' persecution of Europe's Jews. In the USHMM non-Jewish victims are dealt with more prominently in conferences, special exhibitions and the Museum's website. In London, non-Jewish victims are afforded considerable attention in the interactive computer programmes in both the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition. Nevertheless, the non-Jewish victims are considered by both institutions as secondary to the main narrative, which remains essentially the Jewish Holocaust.

Despite being regarded by the USHMM and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM as secondary, one non-Jewish victim group, the Roma, are the most prominent in both display narratives. The level of representation achieved by the Roma is paradoxical when their exclusion as a victim group during the planning stages of both exhibitions is considered. Their final inclusion is due to the existence of enough artefacts in order to be able to illustrate their wartime plight

which, as has been discussed, has been a major obstacle in the representation of other non-Jewish victim groups, such as homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses. More importantly, at certain moments of the Holocaust story, the fate of the Roma helps to support the Jewish narrative, for example they are used in both displays to demonstrate the Nazis' obsession with racial purity. At various stages of the narrative in both exhibitions the persecution of the Roma is portrayed alongside that of the Jews. Thus, the Roma are allowed to sit comfortably and non-threateningly next to the Jews, who both exhibitions consider to be the primary victims. This positioning demonstrates that the persecution and fate of the Roma was the most similar in nature to that of the Jews.

Some parallels between the *Permanent Exhibition* and the *Holocaust Exhibition* are undoubtedly born out of the temporal distance between the two projects. The *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM opened in 2000, seven years after the USHMM admitted its first visitors. London's Holocaust Exhibition Project Office staff forged links with their American counterpart during the planning stages of the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the style of London's display mirrors that of the museum in Washington, D.C. The aesthetics of both exhibitions are similar, with a multimedia layering effect employed and the chronology of the displays adheres to the Nazis' order of persecution. Both exhibitions were conceived in the last years of the twentieth century and contemporary museological trends influenced their form. In line with a concern among the museum profession to keep up with the current technological revolution and offer more than the traditional display of artefacts and text, both museums utilise a range of technology in their displays, including wartime film footage, audiovisual survivor testimony, interactive computers and both institutions have websites. As twentieth-century exhibitions, both institutions were clearly aware of their place as part of the tourist industry and, consequently, their need to attract visitors and offer them more than an educational experience, which is demonstrated by the inclusion of cafés and shops. As well as these current museological issues, the displays reflect late twentieth-century western representations of the Holocaust. The similarity in the focus of the exhibitions and the Nazi-dictated chronologies indicate the need for contemporary Holocaust representations to find a 'usable narrative' through which to tell the story of the event. Both the *Permanent Exhibition* and the *Holocaust Exhibition* are very much products of the era in

which they were created, contributing to their similarity in approach and aesthetics.

As has been demonstrated, the USHMM and the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM share more similarities than differences. This is somewhat unexpected when their divergent backgrounds and contexts are examined. The two projects were separated from the outset by the diverse task faced by each venture. London's exhibition was to be a display within an existing museum, whereas Washington, D.C.'s project involved building an entire institution. These varying issues of location affected the nature of the exhibitions. By building from scratch, with the express purpose to commemorate the Holocaust, the designers of the USHMM had more scope in terms of how the exhibition and the building in which it was housed would look. The *Holocaust Exhibition* was confined physically from the outset by the need to be integrated into the IWM. In addition, it was more of a challenge ideologically for the IWM to add a new exhibition that was different in subject matter to the rest of the Museum's displays. Although the *Holocaust Exhibition* adopts similar aesthetics to the Museum's other exhibitions, with its multimedia style, the subject itself is far removed from the other displays. With its recommended visitor age of fourteen, the *Holocaust Exhibition* signals a change in tone, it is clearly not the 'boys and toys' portrayal of warfare that visitors to the Museum are immediately greeted with in the atrium. As well as the contrasting contexts of the exhibitions, the ethnic politics that surrounded the creation of Washington, D.C.'s display, which caused controversial debate, were not present in London in a major way. With consideration of the very different backgrounds and contexts from which the two exhibitions were born it is therefore surprising that the narratives of the displays share the same Jewish focus, structured according to the Nazis' own chronology, with non-Jewish victims treated as secondary to this framework.

Chapter Two: The Memorial Landscape

Section One: Memorialisation

Societies have long commemorated and celebrated notable people and events in the form of physical memorials. The process of immortalising someone or something in stone, thereby hoping to safeguard their remembrance for future generations, is subject to multiple influences, both cultural and political, on a local as well as national level. The memory that a memorial attempts to encapsulate and preserve is therefore moulded to suit the ends of a certain community, society or nation. Memorials have always been a disputed phenomenon, stemming not only from who is remembered and who is not, but also the form that the memorial assumes. The memorialisation of a traumatic event, such as the mass death of the Holocaust, tends to intensify these frictions.

'Monuments' and 'memorials' are two terms that are often used interchangeably. Yet traditionally, they have been classified as two distinct concepts, "memorials' recall only past deaths or tragic events and provide places to mourn, while 'monuments' remain essentially celebratory markers of triumphs and heroic individuals'.[1] The difference between the two phrases can be interpreted as more fluid than this simplistic commemorative/celebratory divide, 'a memorial may be a day, a conference, or a space, but it need not be a monument. A monument, on the other hand, is always a kind of memorial.'[2] Whatever the form of a monument, a common purpose is inherent in its very nature, namely that 'the word *monument* derives from the Latin verb *monere*, meaning simultaneously to remind and to warn'.[3] This intrinsic quality of the monument alludes to the relationship that it attempts to construct between a past event, the present time and the future: a monument is a public marker of memory designed to remind contemporary society of a past event and to warn future generations against forgetting that event.

Collective memory is a powerful aspect of society. It provides a connection between the past, present and future, 'remembrance as a vital human activity

---

[1] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.3.
[2] Ibid, p.4.
[3] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials,* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), p.7.

shapes our links to the past, and the ways we remember define us in the present. As individuals and societies, we need the past to construct and to anchor our identities and to nurture a vision of the future.'[4] The twentieth century has been a period increasingly obsessed with memory, a preoccupation demonstrated in the proliferation of communal markers of memory such as museums, archive collections and memorials.[5] Memorialisation is inextricably linked to memory. The very construction of a memorial is a public indicator of a person, group or event that a community, society or nation feels is noteworthy of remembrance. Memory, like any other human quality, is subject to outside influences; 'memory is never shaped in a vacuum; the motives of memory are never pure'.[6] In the case of memorials, the memory to be demonstrated in material form is one that has been carefully considered and constructed by the body that has commissioned the work. The event, person or groups of people that are to be publicly remembered in the memorial are assigned a specific memory by the commissioning organisation, 'a memorial gives shape to and consolidates public memory: it makes history'.[7] Public memory is fashioned and epitomised in the physical appearance of a memorial.

i. Issues of Memorialisation: Public and Private Memory and Forgetting

In their physical configuration alone memorials can indicate the particular memory of an event that a government, institution or group wants to be commemorated. The memorials that were built to the fallen soldiers of the First World War provide an example of national, official remembrance of warfare and bloodshed overriding personal feelings towards the death of loved ones during the conflict. These memorials needed to justify the mass loss of life that they commemorated, they had to express that contrary to the individual opinions of the bereaved, soldiers did not die in vain. This rationalisation was achieved by the use of iconography, 'by recalling traditional heroic icons in order to invest memory of a recent war with

---

[4] Andreas Huyssen, 'Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age', in James E. Young (ed.), *The Art of Holocaust: Memorials in History*, (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), p.9.
[5] Adrian Forty, 'Introduction', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999), p.7.
[6] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.2.
[7] Kristin Ann Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, (Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998), p.9.

past pride and loyalties, which would also explain the recent war in ways visible and seemingly self-evident to the public [...] figurative imagery seemed best to naturalize the state's memorial messages'.[8] Abstract imagery, which called for personal vision, was shunned during this period of memorialisation as it was perceived to contradict the public ethos of commemoration that the government wished to convey.[9] Abstraction in the form of memorial sculptures continues to cause controversy in the present time, particularly in the case of Holocaust memorials, where a debate persists as to whether the demands of a work of art and the requirements of a public memorial to the catastrophe can be resolved in the same structure. This dilemma will be examined in more detail in the forthcoming section through the discussion of George Segal's memorial, 'The Holocaust', in San Francisco.

In a direct contrast to the memorials of the fallen soldiers of the First World War, the majority of memorials dedicated to the Holocaust did not commemorate the victims as heroes. The Warsaw Ghetto Monument in Warsaw is a notable exception. As the first iconic monument to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, it celebrated the victims partially as heroes and as martyrs under the Nazi regime.[10] The monument, sculpted by Nathan Rapoport, was unveiled in April 1948 on the fifth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.[11] Mordecai Anielewicz, head of the Jewish Fighting Organisation, is depicted on the front of the sculpture, surrounded by his fellow fighters, amidst the burning ghetto.[12] The physiques of the fighters are idealised, as they do not resemble the emaciated inhabitants of the ghetto in 1943.[13] All except one of the figures are illustrated in stances of resistance, grasping a weapon and yet they are simultaneously exposed, as they wear only rags.[14] This side of the monument symbolises the heroism and activism of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. The Jews on the reverse of the sculpture are, however, depicted rather differently. These figures, including women and children, are portrayed more in victim mode: their body language suggests dejection; the majority of the figures look downwards and are hunched in stance.[15] Perhaps tellingly, Rapoport's sculpture is called a 'monument' rather than a

---

[8] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.10.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, p.234.
[11] Ibid, p.232.
[12] Ibid, p.234.
[13] Ibid.
[14] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, pp.172-174.
[15] Ibid, p.174.

'memorial', emphasising its overriding message of heroism, as opposed to tragedy. Indeed, Holocaust memorials have often sparked controversy due to the fact that they recalled, rather than resolved, painful memories of the event.[16] Thus not all memorials are capable of subsuming personal grief under the national remembrance of an episode.

At the heart of memorialisation is a struggle between the private and the public, between two types of memory, that of the individual and the official memory of the state. In the case of the memorial representation of German soldiers that died during World War II, the relationship between public and private memory in Germany can be reciprocal, 'public commemoration can elicit and support private needs'.[17] This correlation is demonstrated by a cemetery in Halbe, East Germany, the largest for German soldiers, which employs women to tend the graves.[18] Employing women to maintain the graves of fallen soldiers indicates a complementary way in which private and public memory can work. Firstly, the women's actions demonstrate publicly that the graves continue to be cared for and in turn, the memory and sacrifice of the dead is not forgotten, either by the authorities or the women themselves. Secondly, the action of caring for the graves could be a comforting process for the women on a personal level. Indeed, the relationship between public and private memory can also work in an opposing manner, 'private needs can be expressed in public display, such as in caring for public graves'.[19]

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Constitution Gardens, Washington, D.C., is testimony that public and private memory cannot always be reconciled. The memorial comprises of a v-shaped wall made of black reflective granite set into the ground, which rises up in the middle, listing the names of the servicemen that were killed in the Vietnam War in the order that they died.[20] As with the memorialisation of any conflict or past event that involved massive loss of life, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial faced the difficulty of the subject with which it dealt:

---

[16] Michael Rowlands, 'Remembering to Forget: Sublimation as Sacrifice in War Memorials', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999), p.131.
[17] Alf Lüdkte, 'Histories of Mourning: Flowers and Stones for the War Dead, Confusion for the Living-Vignettes from East and West Germany', in Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith (eds.), *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemoration,* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p.174.
[18] Ibid, pp.151-152.
[19] Ibid, p.175.
[20] The *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, Constitution Gardens, Henry Bacon Drive and Constitution Avenue at 21st Street NW, Washington, D.C., United States of America, visited on 26 May 2005.

> the official forgers of the memory of the Vietnam War needed to construct a memory that promised to imagine the costs of the war as no memorial before it had. To do this they combined and refigured all of the memorial impulses of twentieth century American wars. They built a remarkably complicated memorial, but still they did not find a way to represent all of the conflicting impulses - sorrow, sacrifice, shame, pain, pride, suffering, victory, loss, and genuine confusion about patriotism and the nation - that the Vietnam War produced.[21]

In an affirmation that not only is the memory of the Vietnam War still a contested issue among the American public, but also that commemoration of the event is ongoing, visitors bring what Kristin Ann Hass has called their own 'memorials' to the official memorial structure of the granite wall.[22] Thousands of people visit the Vietnam Veterans Memorial each year and leave a token such as a letter, a stars and stripes flag, or a teddy bear at the base of the wall in a marker of personal memory at the site of public memory of those who lost their lives in the conflict.[23]

The Second World War instigated a change in the nature of war memorials in the United States of America and the way in which the memory of the conflict was translated to the public by the government. Until this period, memorials in America had consisted of traditional forms such as obelisks and statues. The alteration in the style of memorialisation was brought about by the economic conditions that prevailed after the war, 'coming out of a long depression and an expensive war overseas, national commissions and local communities expressed more interest in spending money on municipal improvements than in setting ideology in stone'.[24] American memorial committees at that time chose more practical forms of remembrance, such as playgrounds and football fields, which would provide a palpable benefit to the community.[25] Moreover, the memory that these memorials wanted to perpetuate was different in nature to that of memorials dedicated to previous conflicts. Memorials built to the Second World War were less about remembering suffering and the individual lives lost and more a comment on the future, looking forward to more prosperous times.[26]

Memorials, like any other form of representation, are subject to local and national sensibilities. With regard to war memorials in particular, there are several

---

[21] Kristin Ann Hass, p.40.
[22] Ibid, p.24.
[23] Ibid, p.8 and the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial.*
[24] Kristin Ann Hass, p.59.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid, p.60.

elements which can indicate these sensibilities. The spaces in which memorials are located are 'charged with meaning' and denote the significance of the memorial within the community they are placed.[27] Some memorials occupy prominent public positions, such as in front of a town hall, demonstrating that the public remembrance of the person or event that the memorial embodies was considered of the highest importance.[28] Other memorials are less conspicuous and are to be found in more secluded communal areas such as cemeteries, or are completely in the private realm, such as the Zachor Holocaust Memorial located in the isolated grounds of the Sternberg Centre in Finchley.[29] As will be demonstrated, some memorials, for example, the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden, although placed in a public setting, do not seek attention. The geographical placing of a memorial can help to imbue the structure with meaning, 'a monument becomes a point of reference amid other parts of the landscape, one node among others in a topographical matrix that orients the rememberer and creates meaning in both the land and our recollections'.[30] Nonetheless, place can be a misleading signifier of importance, for with time the topography of a location can alter, such as with the evolution of a road system, and the physical position of a memorial can change as well.[31] This is particularly the case with Holocaust memorials that were formerly the sites of destruction, for example, Auschwitz-Birkenau. Over the course of time such locations have been subject to deletions and additions and are no longer exactly as they were topographically at particular moments, such as the point of liberation.

The inscriptions that are to be found on a memorial are also an indicator of the memory that is ascribed to the person or event commemorated. The word 'memory' appeared on numerous World War I memorials to the dead, and 'was used to denote the way in which the dead would continue to survive in memory'.[32] In accordance with the official stance towards the war, 'memory was always described in positive terms: the loss of a loved one was to be viewed as a glorious and meaningful sacrifice rather than as painful, pointless loss. Thus we never read

---

[27] Antoine Prost, 'Monuments to the Dead', in Lawrence D. Kritzman (ed.), *Realms of Memory,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p.310.
[28] Ibid, pp.310-311.
[29] The *Zachor Holocaust Memorial*, The Sternberg Centre, 80 East End Road, Finchley, London, N3 2SY, visited on 29 November 2004.
[30] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.7.
[31] Antoine Prost, pp.310-311.
[32] Catherine Moriarty, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance: British First World War Memorials', in Martin Evans and Ken Lunn (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), p.137.

of 'regretful memory', 'angry memory' or 'broken-hearted memory."[33] Memorials inevitably remember certain elements while excluding and therefore forgetting, other details.[34] Inscriptions have the ability to obfuscate a particular memory that a nation wanted to forget, such as the national memorial in Berlin to 'those killed through war and violence' during World War II.[35] This description caused a public outcry because it overlooked any distinction between the diverse groups of people who died in the War, 'it erase[d] the fundamental difference between (overwhelmingly German) perpetrators and their accomplices and those people and peoples throughout Europe whom they made victims of destruction, genocide and murder'.[36] Consequently, the memorial hinted at an offensive equality between the German war dead and the victims of the Holocaust.[37] As will be demonstrated in the following discussion of specific case studies, the choice of wording on Holocaust memorials is particularly significant in relation to which victims the memorials remember. Jewish, as well as non-Jewish victims, can be excluded completely, or non-Jewish victim groups are subsumed under the broad category of 'other' victims. Inscriptions also provide a warning of the possibility of forgetting, which 'underlies the deeply felt need to create a memorial to posterity. The popular inscription 'Lest We Forget' testifies to this fear.'[38]

The unveiling ceremonies that introduce memorials to the public arena and the commemorative services that are held with memorials as the site and focal point of the ceremony, are as much a part of the memory of the person or event that the memorial remembers. In the case of memorials to the fallen soldiers of the First World War, the unveiling ceremony was a very public platform for the authorities to state how the memorial, the memory of the war and the casualties sustained should be understood.[39] Simultaneously, these services were a time for individuals to publicly display their grief. The authorities, however, moulded such feelings to suit their own political ends, 'private grief was acknowledged, yet not dwelt upon. [...] the audience was urged to convert its grief to pride'.[40] A connection between personal grief and public remembrance was often provided in the choice of the person or persons who unveiled the memorial. A grieving mother or a widow was

---

[33] Ibid.
[34] Adrian Forty, p.9.
[35] Alf Lüdkte, p.149.
[36] Ibid, pp.150-151.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Catherine Moriarty, p.128.
[39] Ibid, p.130.
[40] Ibid, p.135.

a popular selection, thereby linking other members of the community who were also mourning with the memorial and its meaning.[41] Furthermore, national memorial days reinforce the public and communal nature of memorials. By the very gathering together of individuals to commemorate an event a feeling of community is forged and 'by creating the sense of a shared past, such institutions as national memorial days [...] foster the sense of a common present and future, even a sense of shared national destiny'.[42] Remembrance ceremonies are thus a means by which to publicly connect the past, present and future memory of an event.

Intertwined with memory is the act of forgetting. The need to forget is essential for an individual to have a normal, healthy life.[43] An individual does not need to remember everything and so they must be able to forget certain details, otherwise their mind would be too preoccupied with unwanted memories.[44] The necessity to forget can extend from an individual level to society in general to involve a collective forgetting.[45] Societies, as much as the individual, are selective in what they choose to remember and what they choose to forget. Such selectivity is necessary in order for society to function. Indeed, 'the relative stability of Western Europe since 1945 has in part been due to a colossal act of collective, consensual forgetting - of the divisions between wartime partisans and collaborators, which whatever may be said in private, have in public been forgotten'.[46] Memorials have been traditionally conceived as the most permanent reminder of an event, insuring that in turn the memory of that event was permanent. Yet memorialisation, the very embodiment of memory, is necessarily susceptible to forgetting too.

The construction of memorials in order to signify collective memory is an established practice:

> the Western tradition of memory since the Renaissance has been founded upon an assumption that material objects, whether natural or artificial, can act as the analogues of human memory. It has been generally taken for granted that memories, formed in the mind, can be transferred to solid material objects, which can come to stand for memories and, by virtue of their

---

[41] Ibid, p.136.
[42] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.6.
[43] Adrian Forty, p.1.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid, pp.1-2.
[46] Ibid, p.7.

> durability, either prolong or preserve them indefinitely beyond their purely mental existence.[47]

The transferral of memory from the human mind to the physical structure of a memorial does, however, possess an intrinsic flaw. Once a memorial is constructed, it is accepted that the physical reminder of an event, in the form of the memorial, is enough to keep it alive in the memory of the public.[48] With the belief that the 'memory work' has been assigned to the memorial, the memory of an event is no longer actively commemorated and, to all intents and purposes, the memory for which the memorial stands may well become forgotten.[49] Instead of standing as commemorative markers, memorials may therefore contradictorily become what Andreas Huyssen calls 'objects of forgetting'.[50] Both individual and collective memory can, when confronted by such terrible news as the facts of the Holocaust, become susceptible to 'a sanctioned principle of forgetting'.[51] Monuments can serve to heal the conscience of a nation, to 'disburden memory'.[52] In some cases, it is felt that once a memorial to the Holocaust has been built, that is as far as Holocaust remembrance needs to go, that a memorial is an adequate way in which to memorialise the Nazi regime's victims. The country in question feels it has redeemed itself by publicly and permanently acknowledging the Holocaust in stone and can put the catastrophe towards the back of its conscience and in so doing, forget.

The only way to ensure that memorials do not attest to forgetting rather than remembrance is to make certain that memorialisation is an ongoing process. Memorials require constant attention, they need to be maintained in order to safeguard their permanence. Memorials 'acquire and retain their significance through the organization of human actions'.[53] Although the physical structures of memorials attest to the public desire to remember an event, it alone is not enough to ensure lasting commemoration. The preservation of sites connected with the Holocaust such as the landscapes of former concentration camps is, in itself, an act

---

[47] Ibid, p.2.
[48] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.5.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Andreas Huyssen, p.12.
[51] Geoffrey H. Hartman, 'Introduction: Darkness Visible', in Geoffrey H. Hartman (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), p.15.
[52] Andreas Huyssen, p.10.
[53] Alex King, 'Remembering and Forgetting in the Public Memorials of the Great War', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999), p.151.

of memorialisation.[54] In addition, it is the continuing debate surrounding Holocaust memorials and the memory those discussions purvey that will ensure that the event for which they stand will continue to be remembered.[55] Memorials and their meanings are not stable. As a result, they cause contested memory. Although such debate does guarantee remembrance of an event, it may be the wrong element of that event and for the wrong reasons, that is remembered. This will be demonstrated in the forthcoming discussion of the Baltimore Holocaust memorial which became a divisive issue amongst the local community.

ii. Holocaust Memorials: Development, Memory and Tourism

Memorials have become a popular means of commemorating the Holocaust and now proliferate throughout Europe (in countries linked to places of destruction) and Israel, as well as the United States of America. Memorials to the catastrophe take on various configurations on numerous scales and are located both on sites that bear a direct connection to the events of the Holocaust, such as former concentration camps, as well as on shores that are geographically removed from the event, for example, the United Kingdom.

As with memorials commemorating other events, the desire to simultaneously remind and to warn is always present in the Holocaust memorial. Some Holocaust memorials are created with a didactic aspiration, to warn future generations of the dangers of prejudice and by doing so, they attempt to prevent such an event recurring.[56] Other Holocaust memorials have a more sombre purpose, they 'are dedicated to those who died, and stand as a concrete witness to what was destroyed'.[57] Memorials were and by many, are still thought to be, the most permanent and public reminder of the Holocaust and were constructed in an effort to reverse the Nazis' wartime attempt to obfuscate the events of the Holocaust from society and leave no trace of the atrocities that they perpetrated.[58] In direct contrast to the Nazis' plan, memorials are placed in public settings, some in very

---

[54] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, pp.7-8.
[55] James E. Young, 'Jewish Memory in Poland', in Geoffrey H. Hartman (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), pp.229-230.
[56] Isabel Wollaston, *A War Against Memory? The Future of Holocaust Remembrance,* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1996), p.36.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

prominent communal spaces such as city centre parks and by their very physicality demand to be taken notice of. As well as being a material attestation to the catastrophe, Holocaust memorials serve a more practical purpose to an event that, by its very nature, left its victims unrecorded: 'building memorials serves to provide a focus of mourning for both the individual and the community. Many of those who died have no known grave or date of death.'[59] Memorials to the Holocaust are designed with the intention to proliferate memory of the Holocaust publicly, although some are more private or introspective, for the event to be commemorated and remembered for generations to come.

Akin to any other genre of Holocaust representation, from the outset, Holocaust memorials faced the overwhelming difficulty of the subject matter with which they were designated to commemorate. The Holocaust was an unprecedented event and consequently established forms of memorialisation, even in the context of commemorating the war dead, were inadequate and unsuitable. Due to the religion of some of the Nazi regime's victims, conventional images of commemoration were religiously offensive, as 'traditional funerary art in most war cemeteries used predominantly Christian iconography commemorating heroism and patriotism usually associated with military casualties'.[60] Moreover, 'the traditional portrayal of death as an individual or familial event did not fit the Holocaust' and so by its very nature the Holocaust demanded a new style of memorialisation.[61] This impetus to create a fresh method in which to commemorate the Holocaust did not mean that a single uniform way in which to remember the catastrophe would emerge. Indeed, discussions are still ongoing over sixty years later as to what is the most suitable manner in which to memorialise the event. Debates within each nation state that chooses to commemorate the Holocaust have led to different views of the catastrophe. Inevitably, as a result no two countries represent the event in their respective memorials in exactly the same way. As will be discussed in the forthcoming section, each country selects diverse aspects of the Holocaust to commemorate in its national memorials, ultimately adopting the sections which fit with their state memory of the catastrophe. Memorials in a particular country therefore tend to have recurring tropes or themes. In Poland, in a descent from ancient funerary

---

[59] Ibid.
[60] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, p.9.
[61] Ibid.

images, memorial designers 'incorporate[d] stylised versions of the Jewish cemetery as a memorial motif [and] often rend[ered] the monuments themselves'.[62] Fragments of Jewish tombstones have thus become the symbol around which public memory of the Holocaust is being constructed in Poland.[63]

Holocaust memorials can be divided into two main types. Firstly, the sites of former concentration and labour camps, sites of resistance, places of Jewish settlement (the towns and villages where Jews were killed or deported from) and locations of Nazi atrocities (all of which can also include purpose-built memorials constructed since 1945), are themselves memorials to the catastrophe. As memorials, these places are different in nature as some sites have more physical extant remains than others that allude to the atrocities that once took place there. In comparison to the seemingly untouched Auschwitz I (the site has actually altered greatly since its liberation), Birkenau and its crematoria lie in ruin remains due to the fact that after liberation the portable stables that were used as barracks were dismantled to provide shelter for the homeless in Warsaw.[64] These sites have also been conserved to varying degrees, some now lie neglected under grass, while others have been maintained and some, such as Auschwitz I, have been reconstructed in part. The attention that respective memorials are afforded attests to the place they and the Holocaust as a whole occupies in the national memory of the country they inhabit.

Secondly, since 1945, specifically designed memorials dedicated to the Holocaust in both countries directly connected with the events of the catastrophe, as well as those with no geographical link, have been erected. These memorials can be further divided into local and national projects. All of the American and British Holocaust memorials that will be examined in the following sections were constructed in the post-war period and range from a localised, very specific level to a national scale. On the Continent, regional memorials where particular Jewish communities are remembered have been put up by survivors, the local population or both. These memorials are often very simple consisting, for example, of just a plaque. One such project is mentioned in Theo Richmond's work *Konin: A*

---

[62] James E. Young, 'Jewish Memory in Poland', p.216.
[63] Ibid, p.215.
[64] Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, 'Reclaiming Auschwitz', in Geoffrey H. Hartman (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), pp.234-239, 240.

Quest.[65] Richmond is a London-based journalist, whose family originated from Konin, a shtetl in Poland.[66] As he grew up, Richmond felt the presence of the town that his parents had left just before World War I and after the Holocaust he became aware of the tragic end of many of his family members.[67] Richmond later decided to write a book about the Jewish inhabitants of Konin, and in so-doing he hoped to learn more about his family and their fate.[68] In the course of his research, Richmond discovered that in November 1941 the forest in the village of Kazimierz Biskupi in the district of Konin was the site of the mass murder of 8,000 Jews from Konin and other Polish towns and villages.[69] The first to memorialise the victims were a small group of Jewish Konin survivors who visited the site of the mass grave in 1945 to erect a homemade wooden plaque and recite Kaddish.[70] In 1948 the only remaining Jew in the nearby town of Kleczew installed a few tombstones with the help of two non-Jews, marking 'THE GRAVE OF THE INNOCENT JEWISH VICTIMS FROM THE KONIN DISTRICT MURDERED BY THE NAZI OPPRESSORS 1941-1944'.[71] It was not until some thirty years later, in 1980, that the local authorities erected an official memorial in the form of a slab of concrete.[72] The memorial's Polish inscription omitted any reference to the victims' ethnicity, and consequently the murdered Jews became 'THE VICTIMS OF NAZI BARBARITY'.[73] This process of memorialisation highlights that Jewish survivors and members of the local community were often the first to initiate Holocaust commemoration on a parochial level. An attempt at a more official remembrance was compromised by Polish reluctance to acknowledge that the victims were Jewish. *Konin: A Quest* demonstrates that those Jews who were not killed in concentration camps tend not to be represented in an iconic fashion.

Both the sites of former concentration camps and memorials constructed since the end of the Second World War have, as Sybil Milton has observed, undergone two distinct phases of development. In the first stage, the late 1940s to the 1950s, the general conditions of the post-war period, combined with the scale of recent

---

[65] Theo Richmond, *Konin: A Quest*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995).
[66] Ibid, p.1.
[67] Ibid, pp.1-2.
[68] Ibid, pp.3-4.
[69] Ibid, pp.450-455, 456.
[70] Ibid, p.455.
[71] Ibid, pp.445-446, 457.
[72] Ibid, pp.446, 456.
[73] Ibid, p.456.

events, did not allow for public commemoration.[74] In addition, there were practical considerations that prevented concentration camps from becoming memorials directly after their liberation, such as the fact that 'initially, many former concentration camps housed survivors and displaced persons (DPs)'.[75] The establishment of memorials to the catastrophe followed the trend of other genres of Holocaust representation. In the immediate post-war era memorialisation was not a priority for survivors who were reluctant to talk publicly (or risk rejection by doing so) about their wartime experiences and were preoccupied with more pressing concerns such as rebuilding their lives. The 1940s to 1950s was a period of amnesia rather than remembrance. The extant remains of former sites of concentration camps were among the first memorials to be officially opened to the public as sites of commemoration, although many in the Eastern Bloc were presented as part of a crude anti-fascist pedagogy.[76] These locations had a visible connection with the events of the Holocaust and were therefore obvious places to designate as memorial spaces to the victims to start with. The second phase of memorialisation, the 1960s and 1970s, was a time of resurgent interest in the Holocaust.[77] These decades saw the Holocaust become a 'separate' event recognised in the public domain, both by countries where Nazi atrocities took place and in countries removed from direct involvement. A few purpose-built memorials were constructed in Europe and the United States during this time and further former concentration camp sites were opened in Europe.[78]

Purpose built memorials dedicated to the Holocaust that were erected after 1945 underwent two stages of evolution, marked by the aspect of Holocaust memory that such memorials were designed to convey. In the 1940s and 1950s, memorials were largely constructed as monuments in European cemeteries.[79] These monuments 'served primarily as memorials to the dead'.[80] In form, 'the first European and Israeli monuments modified the traditional secular tomb of the unknown soldier and extended it to Jewish victims of Nazi mass murder'.[81] Memorials built in this period were evidence of 'a form of 'mass personal memory' in which those who actually lived through the events were responsible

---

[74] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, pp.9-10.
[75] Ibid, p.10.
[76] Professor Tony Kushner's comments in relation to this matter were valuable.
[77] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, p.11.
[78] Ibid, p.12.
[79] Ibid, p.11.
[80] Ibid, p.123.
[81] Ibid.

for the shape that the memorialisation process took'.[82] In the second phase of development, the 1960s and 1970s, as the Holocaust became more widely acknowledged, the focus of memorials remembering the catastrophe altered; 'memorials were designed for the living and also as signposts for the future'.[83] Holocaust memorials of this time were characterised by innovation and kitsch.[84] By the 1980s a larger shift in the evolution of Holocaust memorials was evident, 'Holocaust sculpture, although still primarily commemorative in nature, was designed to communicate with a broader public'.[85] This resulted in artists choosing their own styles and 'a broader range of artistic and iconographic solutions was introduced to a growing public eager to understand the Holocaust'.[86]

Holocaust memorials are subject to political constraints. These political pressures are linked to national memory of the Holocaust and emphasise certain aspects of the catastrophe while concealing or deleting other parts. Public memory of the Holocaust is shaped and in some countries, distorted, politically. Many of the first East European memorials did not explicitly mention Jews as victims, 'thereby reflecting the ideological views of Communist regimes, which emphasise political resistance'.[87] As self-serving memorials, these monuments 'attribut[ed] a national identity to the victims not granted to them in their lifetimes. Thus, a posthumous acknowledgement transforms Polish Jews into Poles and French Jews into French.'[88] Although such a description is correct in terms of national identity, as these victims were Poles and French, it neglects to detail why they were persecuted, because they were Jewish. Jewish victims are obfuscated by not being mentioned as a separate victim group.[89] American and Israeli memorials demonstrate a reversal of this exclusion, they name the Jews as victims, but omit non-Jewish victim groups.[90] Explicit mention of non-Jewish victims, such as the Roma or the physically and mentally handicapped, is rare due to the fact that 'the major impetus and financing for memorials in those two countries has come from Jewish survivors'.[91] This selectivity in the remembrance of Holocaust victims and

---

[82] Dan Stone, 'Memory, Memorials and Museums', in Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of the Holocaust,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p.511.
[83] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, p.123.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid, p.124.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid, p.9.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

the reasons behind it, will be examined in the specific United States and United Kingdom case studies in the following section.

The particular memory that Holocaust memorials convey can cause controversy and in some cases, public distaste has been voiced through vandalism. The reasons for their desecration are manifold and include anti-Semitism as well as a purely inappropriate setting, which will be discussed in the analysis of the Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial in London and the Baltimore Holocaust memorial in America. Despite such instances of public aversion, many Holocaust memorials have become tourist attractions in their own right, a phenomenon which has raised two opposing questions: is Holocaust tourism a sign of the commercialisation and/or trivialisation of the event?, or 'is such interest a sign of hope for the future, a concrete example of a world-wide commitment to remembrance?'.[92] Andreas Huyssen has voiced that one of the problems for Holocaust memory today is not that the catastrophe will be forgotten, but that the Holocaust is everywhere, it pervades at all levels of popular culture.[93] Further, 'the attempt to counteract apparent trivializations such as the American television series *Holocaust* (1979) by the building of museums and monumental representations may once again just freeze memory into ritualistic images and discourses'.[94] The Holocaust tour has also become a profitable entity and as early as the 1970s 'alternative city tours' became popular in the Federal Republic of Germany, 'where residents and tourists viewed sites of persecution and resistance'.[95] Although the touristic consumption of memorials may not be as praiseworthy as other aspects of memorialisation, it is an act of Holocaust commemoration nonetheless.[96] To some, Holocaust tourism has an unsavoury element to it, as it necessarily involves marketing mass death in order to attract visitors and the revenue associated with them. This type of interest does also mean that knowledge of the Holocaust is disseminated amongst popular society and in turn, commemoration of the event is ongoing. Tourism is a modern by-product of Holocaust memorialisation and as such it, and the way it influences memory of the event, need to be considered in any examination of how the Holocaust is currently represented.

---

[92] Isabel Wollaston, p.35.
[93] Andreas Huyssen, p.13.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, p.13.
[96] James E. Young, 'Jewish Memory in Poland', p.229.

Memorials are the public embodiment of memory. The memory of a past person or event that they convey, is however, a necessarily mediated one. Memorials are subject to a range of forces, at the heart of which is a struggle between private and public memory. Other factors affect the memory encapsulated in memorials, such as their topographical position, the physical form they take, the inscriptions they carry and the unveiling ceremonies and commemorative services that take place around them. Memorials are in danger of being at odds with the very purpose of their construction, namely that the event they remember may in time be forgotten. The stone from which memorials are constructed is not their most lasting feature, it is the ongoing commemorative work that surrounds the structure that ensures memory will persist in the future. Memorials are a telling testimony to the cultural and political factors of the era in which they were conceived and constructed and it is these influences that shape the memory of the event that memorials attempt to immortalise.

iii. The Memorial Case Studies

In the following two sections, three Holocaust memorials each in the United States and the United Kingdom will be examined to ascertain the extent to which non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust are included, or excluded, in this popular form of Holocaust memorialisation. Six examples in total were chosen due to the fact that Holocaust memorials are so prevalent in America in particular, and in Britain to a lesser extent, that it was necessary to be selective. The six memorials examined provide a range of contexts and approaches to Holocaust memory. In the United Kingdom, the memorials that were singled out were built in different periods, spanning three decades, therefore providing an insight to the evolution of British Holocaust commemoration. Although the American memorials are closer in age, with the exception of the re-designed Baltimore memorial, this itself is significant for the nature of Holocaust remembrance in the United States. The British memorials are also very different in nature: one is Britain's national memorial, one is a very specific and local memorial and the other encompasses more than just remembrance of the Holocaust. In the American case, three different cities with divergent ethnic make-ups and politics were chosen. All of the memorials reflect America and Britain's disparate relationships with the Holocaust to varying degrees. Contrasting boundaries of memory are clear in all, with the Jewish and

non-Jewish victims included to different extents. Limiting the examined case studies to six has allowed for a close reading of each individually and contextualisation of them all.

Section Two: Holocaust Memorials in the United States of America

Memorials dedicated to the commemoration of the Holocaust in the United States of America (and Britain, as will be shown in the next section) face an inherent difficulty from the moment of their conception. This complication stems from the very nature of America's multifaceted participation in the Holocaust as a bystander, liberator and welcoming, or unwelcoming, recipient of refugees and survivors. During the Second World War the population of the United States was a step removed from the events of the Holocaust, they experienced the catastrophe vicariously, mainly through occasional newspaper articles and, at the very end of the conflict, newsreel footage and radio reports. It was only the moment of liberation that, for some, brought direct involvement with the Nazi atrocities through their encounter with survivors. It is thus these two overriding experiences of the Holocaust, as a vicarious encounter and as liberators of the camps, that have informed and shaped the particular American memory of the catastrophe and, in turn, the construction of Holocaust memorials in America. The United States is geographically and experientially removed from the sites most closely associated with the Holocaust, such as the locations of former concentration camps. American Holocaust memorials; unlike their European counterparts, cannot rely on the topography of their surroundings alone to imbue a sense of meaning on the memory of the event that they are attempting to convey. Adding to these difficulties in the construction of any American Holocaust memorial are issues such as contemporary politics, local concerns, the impetus behind the memorial, how the memorial was funded and by whom, all of which contribute to contrasting memories of the Holocaust. The people that the memorials remember also differ and it is not just the victims of the Holocaust that are memorialised. There is one theme that underpins the three memorials examined here, that of a liberal, tolerant American society.

i. Memorialisation: Slow Beginnings

The process of Holocaust memorialisation in the United States has been one of gradual development. From the immediate post-war years until the 1960s, commemoration of the Holocaust was an understated and private affair, usually

taking the form of ceremonies of remembrance.[97] No memorials to the Holocaust were constructed in this period, only commemorative plaques which were mainly erected on synagogue walls, that is, in the private Jewish sphere.[98] At this time, 'the Holocaust made scarcely any appearance in American public discourse, and hardly more in Jewish public discourse'.[99] Privately, it was mainly Holocaust survivors who undertook memorialisation.[100] One of the first attempts to publicly commemorate the Holocaust in the United States never came to fruition. In 1946 a memorial to 'the Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto Battle' and 'the six million Jews of Europe martyred in the cause of human liberty' was suggested for a site in Riverside Park, New York.[101] Several design proposals were put forward and rejected and in 1964 two further submissions were turned down because it was felt that a specifically Jewish memorial would alienate other 'special groups' who would want to be publicly represented.[102] It was additionally argued that monuments in the parks should concentrate on American history.[103] Jewish American survivors were astonished by such justifications as there were already memorials in public spaces dedicated to heroes of other immigrant groups and, moreover, they had assumed that their experiences, as American immigrants, constituted a part of American history.[104] A new site, opposite Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty, was proposed for the memorial in the mid-1960s, but the project floundered once again, this time due to a lack of financial support, blamed on 'worsening economic recession, Israel's recent wars and the crisis of Soviet Jewry'.[105]

The 1970s and 1980s marked a change in the process of United States Holocaust memorialisation and numerous monuments to the catastrophe were built. The 1970s was a decade which witnessed the weighty impact of popular culture with the airing of two widely-watched television programmes concentrating on two ethnic communities. *Roots* (1977) allowed black Americans to identify with their past oppression and *Holocaust* (1978) enabled American

---

[97] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.287.
[98] Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life,* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), p.104.
[99] Ibid, p.103.
[100] Ibid, p.104.
[101] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, pp.288-294.
[102] Ibid, pp.291-292.
[103] Ibid, p.292.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

Jews to do the same. Victim culture became established during this time and ethnic difference was explored and celebrated. American Jews felt that they could publicly commemorate their past suffering by memorialising the Holocaust. By the mid-1980s, the decade after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, it was the American Jewish community who became the most active contingent in establishing Holocaust memorial projects in the United States.[106] For American Jews, the conflict highlighted the fragile position of Jews in their adopted homeland and they felt that 'there was nothing inherently exploitative in the Jewish push for monuments, memorials, and public tributes to the period of their most intense suffering'.[107] In the 1980s there was an explosion of memorial projects in the United States, three of those unveiled during this period will be examined in the following sections. This boom of memorials occurred at a time when, as has been demonstrated in the creation of the USHMM, the Holocaust had become pervasive in not only American Jewish consciousness, but also American public consciousness as a whole. Memorialisation of the Holocaust became mandated in American law in 1980 when the act establishing the United States Holocaust Memorial Council declared that in extension to building the Museum, the Council would 'provide for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the holocaust'.[108] Millions of dollars are now spent each year on building Holocaust memorials in America, as Tim Cole has asserted, "*Shoah* business' is big business'.[109] This is not to say that the process of constructing a Holocaust memorial in the United States has been a harmonious one. Indeed, all except one of the analysed memorials that follow have sparked controversy, debate and some have incited the most public expression of aversion - vandalism. Nevertheless, at the present time virtually every city in America features a public monument that commemorates the Holocaust.

---

[106] Judith Miller, *One, By One, By One: Facing the Holocaust,* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), p.224.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Please note: 'Holocaust' is spelt with a lower case 'h' in the original document. 'Ninety-sixth Congress of the United States of America: An Act to establish the United States Holocaust Memorial Council', 3 January 1980, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2001.125, H.R.8081.
[109] Tim Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler, How History is Bought, Packaged, and Sold,* (New York: Routledge, 1999), p.1.

ii. Baltimore: A Reinvented Memorial

One such Holocaust memorial that caused friction was dedicated in Baltimore, Maryland in November 1980. Baltimore has one of the largest Jewish communities in the United States. The city is home to 91,400 Jews, approximately 1.8% of the total Jewish population of America.[110] The Baltimore Jewish community is long-established. In the late eighteenth century, Baltimore witnessed a period of growth due to an increase of trade, attracting merchants and it became an immigrant city.[111] It was not until after this time that Baltimore became a major Jewish centre.[112] Baltimore's Jewish community consisted of many Jewish immigrants and refugees from Europe and Germany, who emigrated to the United States in three waves from the early nineteenth century to the 1930s.[113] During the 1930s Baltimore families fostered lone German Jewish children escaping Nazism and German Jewish families settled in the city as well.[114] By 1970 the Jewish community had changed from a predominantly immigrant one to a predominantly native-born community.[115] *The Jewish Community Study of Greater Baltimore: Population Survey* conducted in 1999, detailed that today 'Baltimore is a strong, cohesive, active Jewish community'.[116] In support of this assertion, a newspaper report highlighted that, in 1997 'local Jewish charities initiated a $25 million fund drive, and local Jews were the driving force behind the national Holocaust museum in Washington. So it should come as no surprise that Baltimore built its original memorial in 1980, well before the current construction binge.'[117] Baltimore was clearly a city receptive to the commemoration of the Holocaust, particularly the remembrance of the Jewish

---

[110] *The Jewish Community Study of Greater Baltimore: Population Survey,* (Baltimore: THE ASSOCIATED: Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore, 2001), p.4 and *The National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01: Strength, Challenge and Diversity in the American Jewish Population,* (New York: United Jewish Communities, 2003). The percentage is based on a total American Jewish population of 5.2 million.

[111] Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community: the History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971), pp.12-13.

[112] Ibid, p.13.

[113] Deborah R. Weiner, 'The Third Wave: German Jewish Refugees Come to Baltimore', in Anita Kassof, Avi Y. Decter and Deborah R. Weiner (eds.), *Lives Lost, Lives Found: Baltimore's German Jewish Refugees, 1933-1945,* (Baltimore: The Jewish Museum of Maryland, 2004), pp.12-14.

[114] Chana R. Kotzin, 'Germany's Loss is Baltimore's Gain: Jewish Youth from the Third Reich Remake Their Lives in Baltimore', in Anita Kassof, Avi Y. Decter and Deborah R. Weiner (eds.), *Lives Lost, Lives Found: Baltimore's German Jewish Refugees, 1933-1945,* (Baltimore: The Jewish Museum of Maryland, 2004), pp.77-94.

[115] Isaac M. Fein, p.241.

[116] *The Jewish Community Study of Greater Baltimore: Population Survey,* p.73.

[117] 'New Memorials Mark the Drive for Holocaust Memory in US', *The Boston Globe,* 29/12/97.

victims. The Baltimore memorial was, however, to have a turbulent history that spoke more about the memory of the Holocaust than the physical form of the memorial itself.

Although not installed until 1980, the memorial was first conceived some twelve years earlier by Alvin D. Fisher, a resident of the city who was appalled at the lack of awareness of the events of the Holocaust amongst Baltimore's Jewish schoolchildren.[118] In 1968, at a religious school in the city, an assembly of fifteen year old pupils had been shown an uncensored U.S. Army Signal Corps film of the liberation of concentration camps.[119] The students' reaction to the film was one of scepticism, they did not believe that they were watching documentary footage, but that 'the 'survivors' were played by actors who had dieted to emaciation, on a set littered with 'animal bones''.[120] Fisher cited the failure of Baltimore's adult Jewish community to commemorate the Holocaust publicly as the reason for the younger generation's incredulity and resolved to reverse this trend with his memorial project, receiving official support from the Baltimore Jewish Council in 1978.[121]

The Baltimore Holocaust memorial was designed by Donald Kann of Kann Associates and Arthur Valk of Valk Design Associates.[122] The memorial consisted of three parts:

> a large grassy mound planted with trees, two 80 by 19 feet cantilevered blocks of bleached, gray-white concrete which were deliberately featureless, cold and brutal and a grassy mall behind the blocks. On one wall was a granite inscription consecrating the memorial to the victims of the Holocaust . and listing the 32 camps where they died.[123]

The memorial was dramatic in appearance, 'at its crest, the hillside plunge[d] abruptly into a stark, cavernous structure that form[ed] the main part of the monument. Enormous rectangular slabs of concrete [stood] braced against the earth and [hung] overhead. Narrow walkways [led] away from either side of a

---

[118] 'Holocaust Memorial Dedicated', *The Associated Press,* 02/11/80.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] 'Baltimore Holocaust Memorial',
<http://www.josephsheppard.com/holocaust/AboutMemorial.htm>, May 2006.
[123] Ibid.

central memorial plaque.'[124] The form of the memorial was intended to imbue a sense of isolation and seclusion within the visitor as they walked through the commemorative space, a feeling that the names of concentration camps inscribed on the wall were designed to enhance.[125] The $300,000 memorial was dedicated to the 6 million Jews who died under the Nazi regime.[126] One part of the structure explicitly indicated the specific nature of the memory of the Holocaust that the Baltimore memorial wanted to convey, namely the six rows of flowering pear trees planted in a park behind the memorial, a row for each million Jewish victims that died during the catastrophe.[127] The particular Jewish focus and symbolism of the Baltimore memorial signified that it was a memorial dedicated solely to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust and the memorial related closely in design to the original memorialisation impetus for the Jewish community to remember the (Jewish) Holocaust.

In 1988 an addition was made to the original Baltimore Holocaust memorial. Joseph Sheppard, a renowned Realist painter and sculptor from Baltimore, was commissioned by Jean and Melvin Berger and Jean and Jack Luskin in 1987 to produce a sculpture for the memorial.[128] Through knowledge gained from books and photographs, Sheppard had 'intense feelings' about the Holocaust and after receiving his memorial commission he visited Dachau concentration camp.[129] On returning to his studio in Italy, Sheppard produced the sculpture which 'represents the flame of death that offered the only escape from suffering for the Holocaust victims'.[130] Sheppard's work follows in the vein of the 'Greek, Renaissance and Baroque [traditions], which symbolise the height of Western Art, which was always based on using the human figure as the ultimate form of expression'.[131] The sculpture shows figures being consumed by flames, who are depicted 'particular to their tragedy; old and young, male and female, starved, broken and naked' (see Figure 3).[132] Around the base of the sculpture, a quotation from the

---

[124] Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims', *National Public Radio,* 08/01/96.
[125] Ibid.
[126] 'Holocaust Memorial Dedicated'.
[127] Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims'.
[128] 'Baltimore Holocaust Memorial' and 'The Early Years', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/Book/early.htm>, May 2006.
[129] 'Baltimore Holocaust Sculpture', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/holocaust/AboutStatue.htm>, May 2006.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid for text and photograph.



Figure 3: Joseph Sheppard's Holocaust statue

philosopher and author George Santayana reads 'those who do not remember the past are destined to repeat it'.[133] The sculpture was dedicated in 1988 in memory of *Kristallnacht*, the so-called 'Night of Broken Glass', the 9-10 November 1938 pogrom during which the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) attacked and burned Jewish businesses and synagogues.[134] Over one hundred people were killed in the pogrom and male Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps.[135] The Joseph Sheppard sculpture, akin to the original memorial, was assigned a specifically Jewish memory of the Holocaust. This particular focus of the Baltimore memorial was to alter nine years later.

The Holocaust memorial sat on a city street near to Baltimore's main tourist attraction by day, the Inner Harbor.[136] Although it was believed that this site would ensure that the memorial drew the attention of passers by and thus perpetuate the memory of the Holocaust, the downtown location of the Baltimore Holocaust memorial proved to be its downfall. Peter Novick has asserted that monuments in general 'attract more attention from pigeons than they do from human passers-by'.[137] The Baltimore memorial did attract the attention of humans, except it was not the type of attention that Fisher and the Jewish community wished to entice. The Holocaust memorial was near to Baltimore's

---

[133] 'Baltimore Holocaust Memorial'.
[134] Ibid and Karol Fonca, 'Kristallnacht', in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp.385-391.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims'.
[137] Peter Novick, p.276.

adult entertainment district and was frequented at night by prostitutes, drunks, the homeless and drug addicts.[138] The original intention of the memorial was that it would 'create 'isolated areas for contemplation', hidden from street traffic by concrete walls and a hill'.[139] This sense of seclusion was abused and it became, in the words of Arthur Abramsom, Director of the Baltimore Jewish Council, 'a total embarrassment', it 'was being desecrated every night, and everyone was just miserable about it. It was the exact opposite of what we wanted.'[140]

Several proposals were put forward to rectify the intolerable situation: it was suggested that fencing off the memorial would prevent abuse, 'but Holocaust survivors and others objected to the symbolism of putting a fence around a Holocaust memorial'.[141] The tensions that the memorial was creating between the Jewish community and the non-Jewish residents of Baltimore became evident when accusations arose that the Jewish inhabitants were trying to fence out the homeless.[142] Moving the memorial to a more residential area was proposed, but this was felt to negate the purpose of it being a conspicuous public memorial and the idea to install twenty four hour security guards was ruled out as 'impractical'.[143] Finally, although at great financial cost, Baltimore Jewish Council decided that the best solution would be to raze the structure to the ground and start again.[144]

A second Baltimore Holocaust memorial, costing $400,000, was funded by city, state and private donations.[145] The new memorial was rededicated in September 1997 by Myrna Cardin, President of the Baltimore Jewish Council.[146] Architect Jonathan Fishman of Richter, Cornbrooks and Gribble 'was selected to provide guidance in defining the memorial themes and providing an appropriate architectural design'.[147] Fishman explained that the concept behind his design 'was to conceive the site as an abandoned rail yard. The idea was to evoke a sense of vacancy, an image of abandonment.'[148] Taking on a completely different form

---

[138] Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims'.
[139] 'New Memorials Mark the Drive for Holocaust Memory in US'.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims'.
[142] 'New Memorials Mark the Drive for Holocaust Memory in US'.
[143] Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims'.
[144] Ibid.
[145] 'New Memorials Mark the Drive for Holocaust Memory in US' and Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims'.
[146] 'New Memorials Mark the Drive for Holocaust Memory in US', and 'Baltimore Holocaust Memorial'.
[147] 'Baltimore Holocaust Memorial'.
[148] Ibid.

from the first memorial, which was abstract in nature, the redesigned Baltimore Holocaust memorial attempted to provide a context for the event it commemorated by creating a setting imbued with meaning. This was achieved by utilising architectural elements associated with the deportation of Holocaust victims to the concentration camps of Europe, such as railway tracks and boxcars:

> On each side of the walkway triangle are 1940 vintage railroad tracks symbolizing the railway system that transported millions of Holocaust victims to the concentration camps. Ornamental grasses are planted between the tracks to represent an abandoned rail yard. Lamp posts representative of rail stations in the 1940s line the plaza. At the end of the plaza are two massive, cantilevered concrete blocks, each 80 feet long and 19 feet high that symbolize railway boxcars. There are steel wedges, at each end, that imply locomotive cowcatchers. The metal grates, in the center, represent the boxcar sides (see Figure 4).[149]

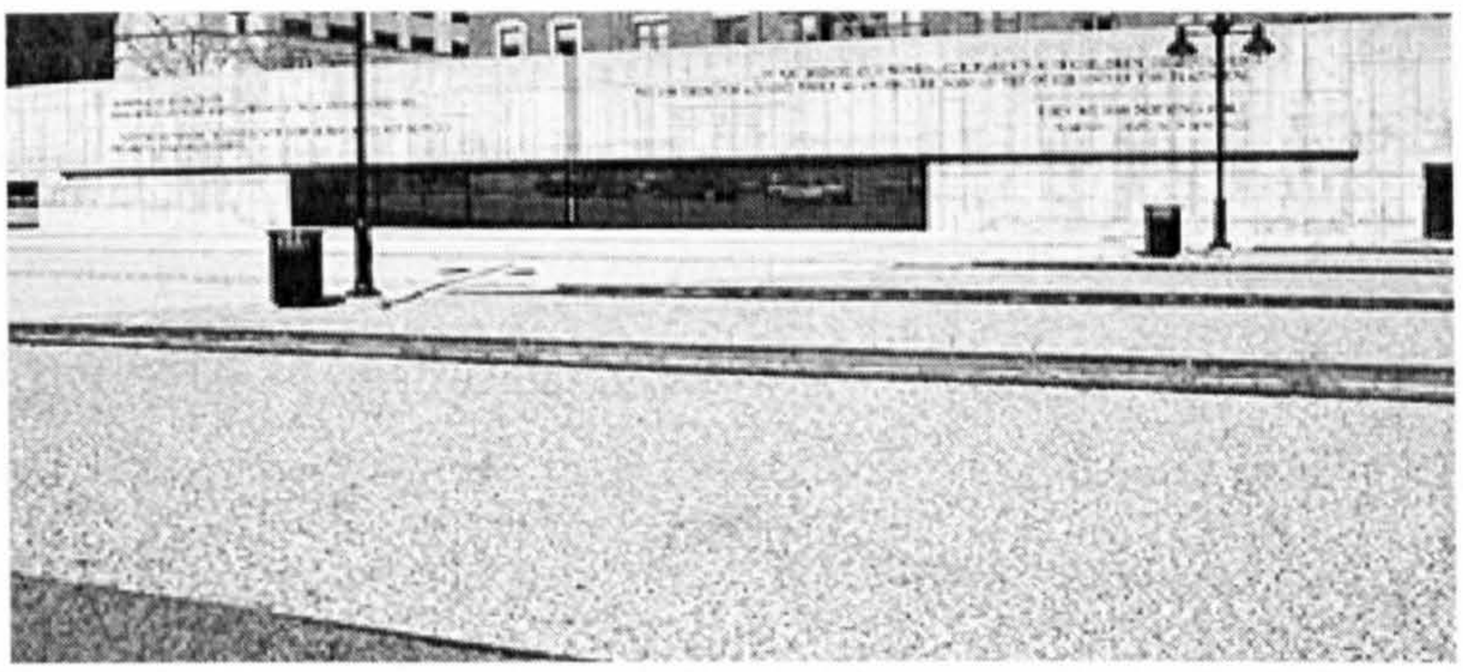


Figure 4: The Memorial Plaza

On the sides of the concrete blocks, words from Holocaust survivor Primo Levi's autobiography, *Survival in Auschwitz*, are inscribed.[150] One quotation offers a glimpse of the victims' initial experience on arrival at Auschwitz under the cover of night, describing the sights and sounds gleaned from the cattle truck:

> ON BOTH SIDES OF THE TRACK
> ROWS OF RED AND WHITE LIGHTS APPEARED AS FAR AS THE EYE COULD SEE…
>
> …WITH THE RHYTHM OF THE WHEELS, WITH EVERY HUMAN SOUND NOW SILENCED,
> WE AWAITED WHAT WAS TO HAPPEN.[151]

---

[149] Text and Photograph taken from 'New Baltimore Holocaust Memorial', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/holocaust/NewMemorial.htm>, May 2006.
[150] Ibid and Primo Levi [Stuart Woolf, trans.], *Survival in Auschwitz,* (New York: Touchstone, 1996).
[151] Ibid and text taken from Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz,* 'On both sides […] was to happen', p.18.

The other extract describes the separation at the arrival ramp of the men from their loved ones, the selection of those who would live from those who would die immediately:

> ...IN AN INSTANT, OUR WOMEN, OUR PARENTS, OUR CHILDREN DISAPPEARED.
> WE SAW THEM FOR A SHORT WHILE AS AN OBSCURE MASS AT THE OTHER END OF THE PLATFORM;
>
> THEN WE SAW NOTHING MORE.[152]

In this instance, Levi's words could be read as a universalist interpretation of the Holocaust victims, as he does not specify the ethnicity of the people he describes. Levi is regarded as a humanist and his work is seen as less 'Jewish' than that of other Holocaust survivors, such as Elie Wiesel. Levi himself feared being pigeonholed as a Jewish writer, in his work on the Holocaust he wanted 'to appeal to all men at all times: our human condition, not just the Jewish condition, was to be his subject'.[153] Levi is also seen as a figure of hope and his work is more accessible than Wiesel's Jewish mysticism. Judaeo-biblical references were in fact removed from *If This Is A Man* (later republished in the United States as *Survival In Auschwitz*) 'in order to strengthen the book's secular, universal spirit' and in his books he described his extraordinary experience in everyday speech.[154]

The choice of a quotation from Levi in the redesigned Baltimore memorial, which was designed to have a broader conception of the Holocaust, was significant. This selection indicated that although the words of a well-known Holocaust survivor were chosen, they belonged to one who unlike Wiesel, has not been vociferous concerning Jewish uniqueness. Levi's words reflect the overall sentiment of the new memorial. Sheppard's sculpture stands at the apex of the triangular central plaza and Holocaust historian Deborah E. Lipstadt was commissioned to write an inscription to be placed on a raised memorial plaque behind the sculpture.[155] The situation and immediate topographical surroundings of the second memorial were felt to be significantly contrasting to the first so that it too would not fall prey to the wrong kind of attention: 'the memorial used to face a little-used side-street; now it faces busy Lombard Street. It used to be

---

[152] Ibid and text taken from Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz,* 'Thus, in an instant [...] saw nothing more', p.20.
[153] Ian Thomson, *Primo Levi*, (London: Vintage, 2003), pp.466, 245.
[154] Ibid, pp.245, 424.
[155] 'New Baltimore Holocaust Memorial' and 'Baltimore Holocaust Memorial'.

hidden from the community; now it is wide open, and the hill is gone. It used to have benches; now it has garbage cans and lamp posts.'[156]

The meaning that the new Baltimore Holocaust memorial wished to convey was also markedly different to that of the original monument, this time the message was broader and therefore further reaching. Gwen Katzen, the Assistant Director of the Baltimore Jewish Council, highlighted that the Council wanted the second memorial to be 'educational and contemplative for the whole community, the general community of Baltimore'.[157] Art Abramson spoke of the significance the memorial held to the non-Jewish community, who voiced that they felt it was important that the memorial was there so that they could discuss the issues it raised with their children.[158] A universal theme was highlighted by the Jewish officials in the new memorial, that of the danger of all hatred.[159] The redesigned memorial needed to not only be a physical improvement of the first, but it was also required to be a development in terms of the meaning associated with it. This enhancement of the memorial's message was achieved in two ways. Firstly, the new memorial would have a more contemporary message, that of tolerance. Secondly, the reconfigured memorial was intended to appeal to a wider audience; it would be aimed at the non-Jewish, as well as the Jewish, community. In order to accomplish these more universal aims a shift in design was necessary, one that incorporated the non-Jewish victims as symbols of the memorial's new-found inclusion. Subsequently, unlike the first memorial, with its distinct reference to the 6 million Jewish victims of the Holocaust, the new memorial included allusions, both explicit and implicit, to non-Jewish victim groups.

The fresh plural theme of the redesign incorporated reference to the non-Jewish victims in the form of the memorial itself. The central plaza of the memorial is a large concrete triangle, which 'represents the shape of the badge that holocaust victims were required to wear'.[160] All inmates of concentration camps wore a triangular-shaped badge of contrasting colours to designate the crime for which they were imprisoned. Jehovah's Witnesses' triangles were purple, those people considered 'asocials', including Roma, wore black (although in some camps Roma wore brown badges), 'political' prisoners wore red, homosexuals

---

[156] 'New Memorials Mark the Drive for Holocaust Memory in US'.
[157] Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims'.
[158] Ibid.
[159] 'New Memorials Mark the Drive for Holocaust Memory in US'.
[160] Please note: 'Holocaust' is spelt with a lower case 'h' in the original document. Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims'.

wore pink and criminals wore green. Jewish prisoners wore two yellow triangles laid on top of each other, one pointing down, one pointing up, which formed the Star of David. If a Jewish prisoner was included in another category as well, one of the stars would be the colour of the other category. With the inclusion of such symbolism, the redesigned Baltimore memorial therefore appeared to convey a more universal interpretation of the Holocaust. Despite this, the new memorial still defined the Holocaust as fundamentally Jewish, as the inscription revealed:

> The Holocaust, the German attempt to annihilate European Jewry between 1933 and 1945, took the lives of six million Jews [...]. Gypsies and German handicapped were also marked for death as part of the Holocaust. Nazi Germany tyrannized homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war, Polish nationalists, and resistance fighters. Millions died as a result.[161]

Although the inscription could be viewed as inclusive, as it incorporates non-Jewish victims, a hierarchy between the victim groups exists: in the description of the Holocaust, the Jews are mentioned first and foremost and then the non-Jewish victim groups are detailed. The non-Jewish victims are segregated further into two distinct categories: those who the Nazis intended to completely annihilate - the Roma and the mentally and physically handicapped - and those who the Nazis persecuted and murdered, but there was no clear plan to eradicate in their entirety - homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war, non-Jewish Poles and resistance fighters. Even then, the list does not include *every* category of non-Jewish victim and as a result, it is not all-encompassing.

Although the Jewish community of Baltimore still wanted to remember the fate of the Jews in the Holocaust, second time around, they wanted the memorial to reach out to non-Jewish residents as well and to instil in them that the overriding lesson to be learnt from the Holocaust was the danger of hatred. This extension of the meaning of the Holocaust in the new memorial was perhaps a result of the tensions that the old memorial caused between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities. The rest of the city felt that the original memorial had caused a public nuisance. It was therefore perceived that in order for the non-Jewish community to accept another memorial dedicated to the Holocaust, it was necessary to invest the second memorial with a more pluralistic meaning and with a didactic message about a contemporary concern. In addition, the association

---

[161] *The Holocaust Memorial in Baltimore*, undated leaflet describing the redesigned memorial.

between the anti-Semitism of the Holocaust and present-day prejudice helped to close the mental gap between America and the event. The Holocaust does not seem so temporally distant if the root cause of the atrocity still exists, even in a democracy such as the United States. The need by the late 1990s to connect the Holocaust with modern society also demonstrates that America's role as a liberator had become a dominant influence on the specific memory of the event that was commemorated in the nation's memorials. As a liberator, the United States wanted to reiterate that it was a tolerant nation during the war and, moreover, that it has continued to be so, a theme evident in our second example, San Francisco, if articulated differently.

iii. San Francisco: Art and Memorial

It must be argued that San Francisco's Holocaust memorial struggled to overcome the geographical and mental distance between the United States and the European sites of destruction. Akin to Baltimore, San Francisco is home to a substantial Jewish community. A comparison of data gathered from Jewish community studies conducted in 1986 and 2004, has revealed that in 1986, the study year nearest to the creation of the city's Holocaust memorial, the Jewish community of San Francisco comprised of 119,000 people in 25,800 households, approximately 2.3% of the total American Jewish population.[162] The study disclosed that only a third of the city's 1986 Jewish community were actively engaged with their religion, with 35% of those surveyed belonging to a synagogue and 36% were members of a Jewish organisation.[163] During the 1980s San Francisco was a city in which only a small proportion of Jews may have been receptive to, and proactively supported, a memorial commemorating the Holocaust, if they viewed Holocaust remembrance as a high priority. In 1981 Mayor Dianne Feinstein established the San Francisco Holocaust Memorial Committee, whose aim was not only to install a memorial dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust, but to also create a work of art in its own right.[164] That a Holocaust memorial situated in San

---

[162] *2004 Jewish Community Study: Full Findings,* (San Francisco: Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties, 2005), p.16 and *The National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01: Strength, Challenge and Diversity in the American Jewish Population,* p.2.

[163] *2004 Jewish Community Study: Full Findings* (San Francisco), p.76.

[164] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory,* pp.309, 310.

Francisco was expected to fulfil a dual role of commemoration and piece of art, is specific to San Francisco as a locality. As a cultural centre, San Francisco is a city that places a high value on art. It follows that in order to fit in with the local sense of place, a Holocaust memorial in San Francisco would need to be artistic in style. Once the Committee had acquired a piece of land from the city Parks Commission at Lincoln Park's Palace of the Legion of Honor, they then devised a list of prospective artists and invited them to submit designs.[165]

George Segal was among the artists encouraged to put forward a proposal for the memorial. Segal was raised by Jewish parents and pursued an education in art and teaching, initially establishing himself as an artist who made 'statements based on the real world rather than the pure abstractionism that was all the rage'.[166] Segal became identified as part of the 'Pop Art' movement, although his work was separated from the group by 'staying closely related to personal experience and human values'.[167] During the 1960s Segal devised and refined his figurative plaster sculptures, for which he became best known.[168] Segal cast his sculptures from live models, 'applying the soaked plaster bandages in layers. When dry and hard, these were cut away and reassembled. Because the fine detail was on the inside of the cast and therefore invisible, the figures looked something like mummies robbed of their distinguishing features.'[169] Segal supplemented his plaster figures with inanimate objects, thus providing an environment for them, 'creat[ing] real life tableaux'.[170]

Segal's initial reaction to Mayor Feinstein's invitation was one of hesitancy, he 'didn't want to do it because [he] knew [he] would be steeped in death for months on end'.[171] Nevertheless, Segal was tempted by the proposition to visit the site in Lincoln Park and it was an incident on his way to San Francisco that altered his mind. While he and his wife were in Tokyo installing a show, Segal heard the news that Israel had invaded Lebanon.[172] On reaching San Francisco on their return journey, they turned on the television to find out the details of the invasion and 'for the first time, [Segal] heard anti-Semitic words coming out of American

---

[165] Ibid, p.310.
[166] 'Biography-George Segal (1924-2000)', <http://www.segalfoundation.org/bio.shtml>, June 2006.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] 'Pop-art Icon Segal', *The Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), 13/06/00.
[170] 'Biography-George Segal (1924-2000)'.
[171] 'Why Segal is Doing Holocaust Memorial', *The New York Times,* 08/04/83.
[172] Ibid.

mouths. In that instant, [he] decided to do the piece.'[173] Segal was further moved by Holocaust survivors on the San Francisco Memorial Committee who spoke to him about their wartime experiences, even though until then they had been reluctant to do so.[174] Segal recognised that his prospective memorial could fulfil a sense of loss that one survivor had told him of, that is, the lack of a gravestone to go to.[175] For Holocaust survivors who emigrated to the United States there are no topographical sites, such as the remains of former concentration camps, at which they can mourn those who perished in close proximity to where they were killed. The United States is, by its very geographical distance, removed from the events of the Holocaust. This geographical separation in turn widens the experiential gap between America and the Holocaust. Furthermore, Segal had a deeply personal reason for embracing the Holocaust memorial project, although it was this same reason that almost prevented him from creating the sculpture; his parents were of Russian-Polish origin and almost all of his relatives that remained in Europe during the Second World War were killed.[176]

Segal's memorial entitled 'The Holocaust' is set 'on the incline below the turnabout in the Palace of the Legion of Honor parking lot' in Lincoln Park and overlooks the Golden Gate Bridge and the Pacific Ocean.[177] The memorial occupies a space of approximately twenty square feet.[178] James E. Young has noted that on first impression, Segal's memorial seems to be incongruous with its naturally beautiful setting, yet once one remembers that the concentration camps were often placed in attractive countryside, this incongruity partly dissipates.[179] This topography is so overpowering that it swallows up Segal's memorial, and in turn its meaning is overwhelmed, that 'in such a context, these figures seem to refer neither to their material, nor to themselves, nor to the ghastly moment of liberation; instead, they are drawn outside themselves by the landscape, become less about themselves than part of the surroundings'.[180] Due to the memorial's situation and form, the visitors' attention is drawn away from the memorial itself and towards the surrounding landscape:

---

[173] Ibid.
[174] 'Art People', *The New York Times,* 10/01/86.
[175] 'Is the Holocaust Part of the Second World War?', *The Ottawa Citizen,* 06/12/97.
[176] 'Why Segal is Doing Holocaust Memorial'.
[177] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials,* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), p.248 and James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.310.
[178] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, p.248.
[179] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.316.
[180] Ibid, p.317.

> From their elevated perspective in front of the monument's inscription, visitors look down at the scene, as from a cliff over a beach. Rather than lingering on the installation, the eyes of visitors are apt to join the survivor's own gaze over a spectacular landscape of sloping green grass, a golf course, the ocean, and sailboats - framed by trees on one side and the Golden Gate [Bridge] on the other.[181]

In the nature of its topographical surroundings, Segal's memorial reiterates the difficulty faced by a sculpture dedicated to the Holocaust in a country so far removed from the actual events of the catastrophe. The site of an American Holocaust memorial alone will not allude to the memory of the event that the monument is trying to convey. It is difficult to strike a balance between such a memorial's location and the form of the sculpture itself, so that neither detracts attention from the other, or from the memory of the Holocaust. In an attempt to link the site of Segal's American Holocaust memorial with the European sites of murder and close the geographical and mental distance between the two places, the names of concentration camps and killing centres are written on an inscription stone, with the sentiment that the names 'serve as a symbolic memorial for the survivors, their families and others in our community, whose family members were murdered at these sites'.[182] In Holocaust memorial projects that are located away from the European scenes of destruction it is felt necessary to include mention of the actual places where the Holocaust occurred, in order for the memorial to be perceived as having a direct link to the event.

'The Holocaust' was unveiled on 8 November, the eve of *Kristallnacht*, in 1984.[183] The date the memorial was dedicated revealed that similar to the original Baltimore memorial, San Francisco's monument had a specific memory, and in turn a particular victim group, of the Holocaust in mind - the Jewish victims. The

---

[181] Ibid.
[182] 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 1c', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p1c.jpg>, June 2006.
[183] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.317.

memorial consists of Segal's trademark white plaster cast figures, fashioned in bronze and then covered with a white patina.[184] There are eleven figures in total: ten of which lie in various poses on the floor resembling a pile of naked corpses and one figure stands alone, with his back to the rest (see Figure 5).[185] All of the



Figure 5: George Segal's 'The Holocaust' overlooking the Pacific Ocean

figures were cast from live friends of Segal. Segal asked his friends to imagine that they were dead and in the time that it took for Segal to cast each figure he hoped 'to capture some expression of his models' responses to their task, some trace of their own memory'.[186] By casting live people, rather than obtaining bodies from a mortuary, Segal wanted to embody a sense of life in his sculpture, 'by reminding us that the dead were once whole, living humans, the artist hoped to rehumanize all the victims, to undo some of the degradation that moved his conception in the first place'.[187] As a result, rather than simply portraying Jews as dead victims, which is what the Nazis reduced them to, Segal wanted to show an element of the richness of Jewish life in his memorial. The standing figure in Segal's sculpture was cast from an Israeli friend who is a Holocaust survivor, as Segal 'felt that certain things had to be authentic'.[188] The very form of Segal's memorial, his use of white figures, is intrinsically connected to his personal memory of the Holocaust. Akin to most Americans, Segal first encountered the Holocaust through newsreel footage and photographs of the concentration camps

---

[184] 'Holocaust Memorial Dedicated'.
[185] Photograph taken from 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 5b', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p5b.jpg>, June 2006.
[186] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory,* p.314.
[187] Ibid.
[188] 'Why Segal is Doing Holocaust Memorial'.

liberated by U.S. soldiers, pictures that were almost all captured in black and white.[189] Segal's overriding memory of the Holocaust was therefore one of piles of naked corpses.[190] When he determined to submit a design for the San Francisco Holocaust memorial, Segal returned to these images and decided that it was this aspect of the Holocaust victim's experience that he wanted to capture in his sculpture.

Rather than recreate 'the obscenity of the disorder' that Segal saw in the photographs depicting piles of naked corpses, the form that the figures take in his memorial is far from random.[191] The figures have been 'carefully arranged to suggest numerous human and mythological meanings', with the pile of bodies themselves collectively resembling a rough star or cross in shape.[192] These two outlines hold strong religious significance. The Star of David is a symbol of Judaism, whose use as a religious marker was distorted when the Nazis identified the Jews as such using the symbol on their clothing to indicate Jews as distinct and undesirable. Although the cross is traditionally associated with Christianity, its role during the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ resonates strongly with Segal's pile of Holocaust corpses, lying with their limbs outstretched as though they too are martyrs. This representation of the victims emphasises the cause of their death, namely their religious beliefs, also highlighting their Jewishness. Yet, the use of the cross in any form of Holocaust memorial is controversial. As Isabel Wollaston has highlighted through the case of the presence of a Carmelite convent at Auschwitz, such a Christian symbol in a space strongly associated with Jewish victims could be seen as an attempt to 'Christianise' the Holocaust and thus deny, or try to downplay, the Jewishness of the victims.[193] Perhaps Segal felt that the cross could be used in a memorial that is geographically removed from a European killing site, as the space is not marked as sacred in Jewish memory. In contrast, the use of a cross at Auschwitz, which Jews maintain should be left untouched as it was a site of massacre and should therefore not become a place of institutionalised

---

[189] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory,* p.313.
[190] Ibid.
[191] 'Why Segal is Doing Holocaust Memorial'.
[192] 'A Muted Dedication for 'Holocaust'', *The New York Times*, 04/01/86.
[193] Isabel Wollaston, *A War Against Memory? The Future of Holocaust Remembrance,* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1996), p.6 and Isabel Wollaston, 'Sharing Sacred Space? The Carmelite Controversy and the Politics of Commemoration', *Patterns of Prejudice,* 28 (3 & 4) (1994), p.26.

prayer, is more contentious.[194] The cross symbolism could be viewed as making the memorial more universal, as it suggests a Christian element which broadens the boundaries of the memorial's remembrance to include non-Jewish victims as well. Examined more closely, some of the individual figures depict strong biblical allusions, there is 'a woman with her head against a man's rib, a partly eaten apple in her hand; a father fallen near his son, both sacrificed; a man with outstretched arms, seemingly crucified' (see Figure 6).[195] In these references to the Bible,

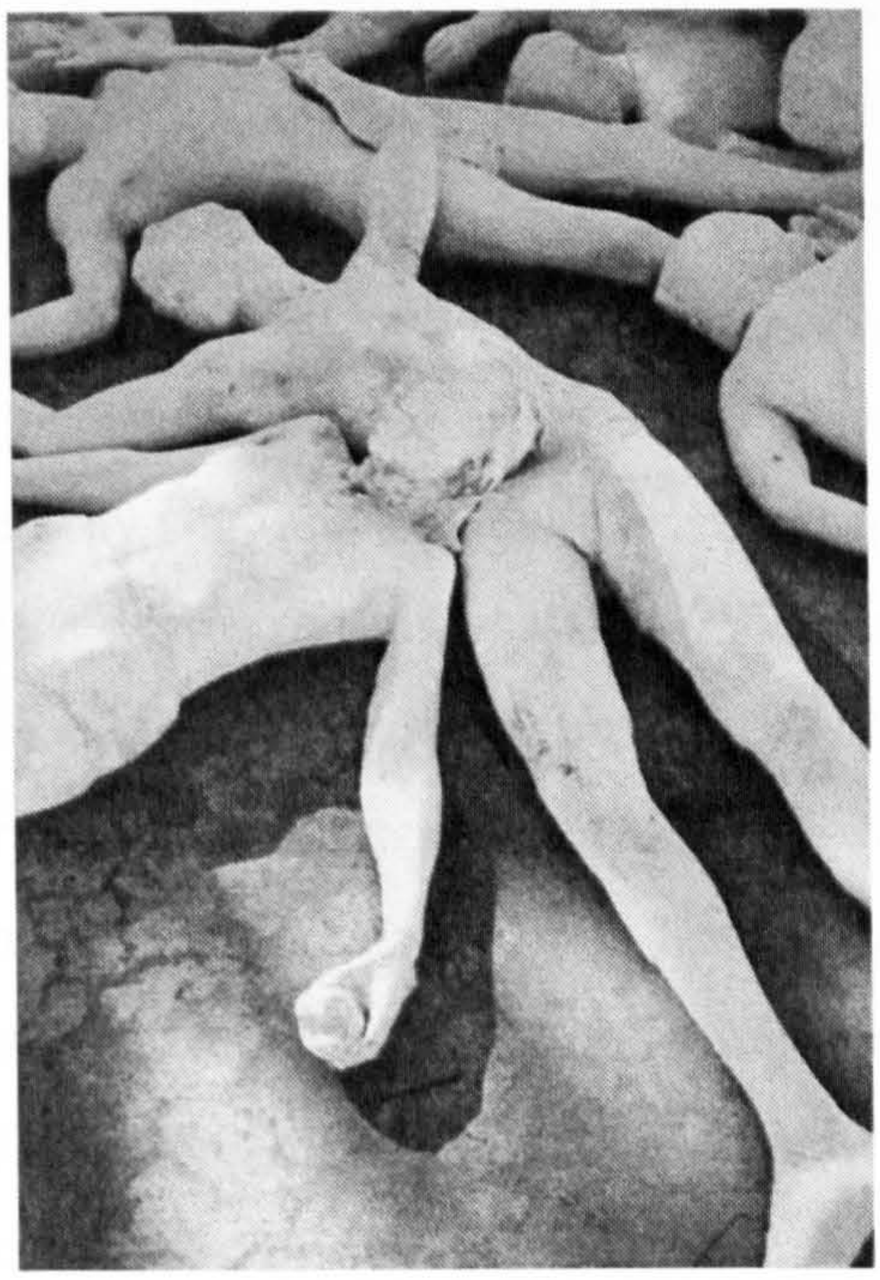


Figure 6: The positioning of the memorial's figures suggest biblical allusions

Segal's memorial suggests a Judeo-Christian religious tradition and could be perceived to represent both Jewish and non-Jewish victims simultaneously.

Four tablets of stone set on a wall behind the Holocaust memorial, overlooking the figures and following the gaze of the survivor out to the sea, bear accompanying inscriptions.[196] The particular memory that the memorial commemorates is stated on one tablet, the 'memorial stands as eternal testament to the Holocaust perpetrated against the Jews by Nazi Germany and its collaborators

---

[194] Isabel Wollaston, 'Sharing Sacred Space? The Carmelite Controversy and the Politics of Commemoration', pp.26-27.

[195] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.312. Photograph taken from 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 7a', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p7a.jpg>, June 2006.

[196] 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 1a', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p1a.jpg>, June 2006.

from 1933-1945'.[197] The non-Jewish victims are mentioned as 'other victims' that were murdered during the period and no detail of who they were is given.[198] Two of the stones contain Hebrew inscriptions with an English translation underneath, again reiterating the specific Jewish nature of the sculpture.[199] 'The Holocaust' is a memorial conceived by a committee comprising largely of American Jewish Holocaust survivors and was sculpted by a Jewish artist. Segal himself called it 'a Memorial to the Six Million Victims of the Holocaust'.[200] Furthermore, the memorial has become a meeting place for the Jewish community of San Francisco and specifically Jewish commemorations, such as ceremonies for *Yom Ha'Shoah* and *Kristallnacht*, are held there.[201] In 1985 when President Reagan visited the graves of SS soldiers in Bitburg in Germany, a silent vigil was held in protest at the memorial in San Francisco.[202] In addition to these Jewish elements, the 'Holocaust' simultaneously suggests a Judeo-Christian aspect in the symbolism of its form and as a result, a degree of universalism in the victim groups that it remembers. Nevertheless, Segal's Holocaust memorial largely attempts to perpetuate the memory of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

As well as the emphasis upon a particularly Jewish memory of the victims of the Holocaust, there is also a redemptive nature to Segal's memorial, indicated in his use of the single standing man. This figure, unlike the pile of naked corpses behind him, is dressed in the notorious striped uniform of the concentration camps. Although the use of clothing invests this man with a sense of dignity, emphasising that he is very much alive, the uniform of a concentration camp prisoner served as a humiliating reminder of their interned and degraded condition. He has one hand on a barbed wire fence and is glancing out towards the bay (see Figure 7).[203] His

---

[197] 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 1b', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p1b.jpg>, June 2006.

[198] Ibid.

[199] 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 2a', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p2a.jpg>, June 2006 and 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 2b', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p2b.jpg>, June 2006.

[200] 'Why Segal is Doing the Holocaust Memorial'.

[201] 'Art People', and James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.317.

[202] 'Journey to Bitburg', *Newsweek*, 13/05/85.

[203] Photograph taken from 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 3a', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p3a.jpg>, June 2006.

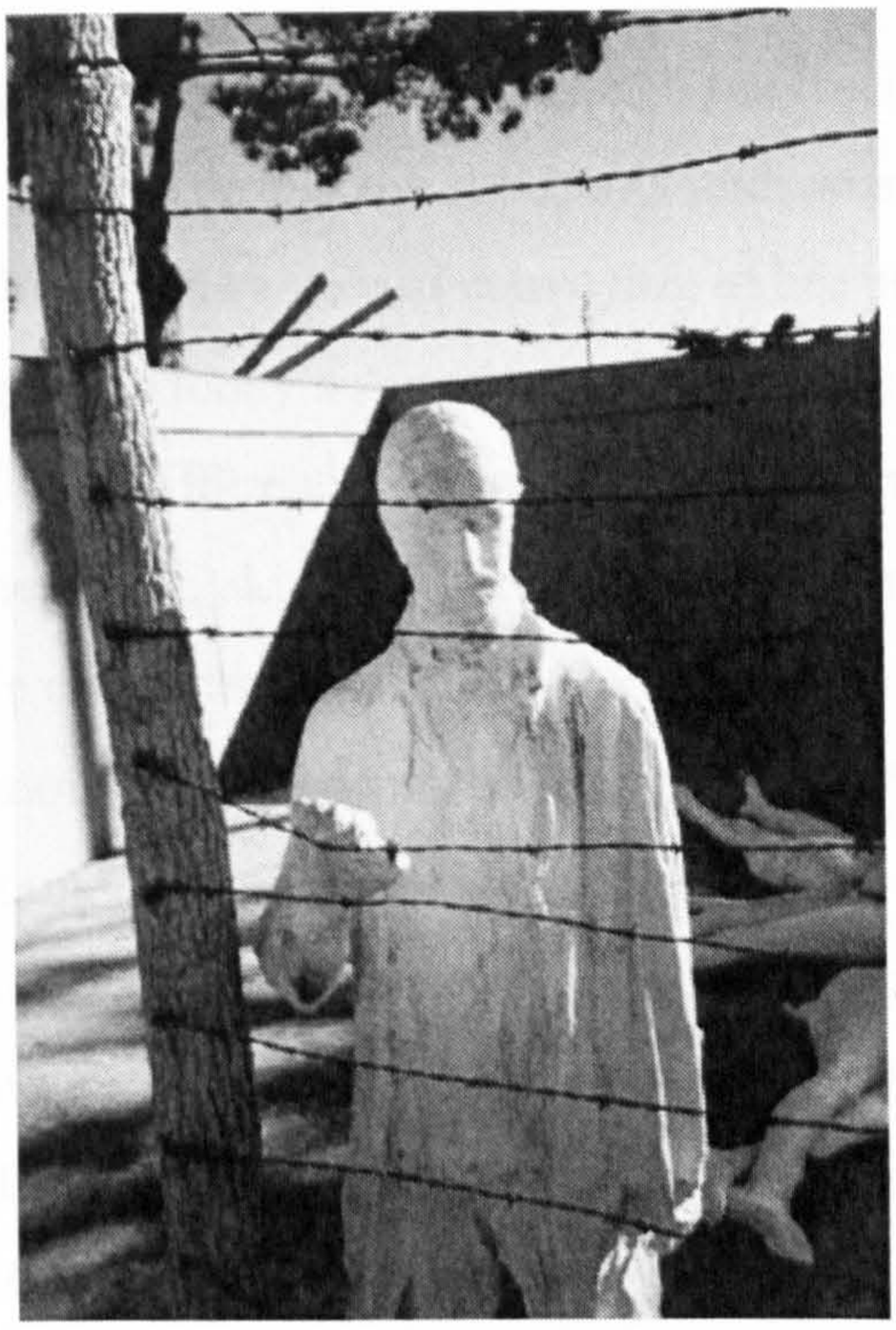


Figure 7: The clothed survivor figure looks out beyond the barbed wire

stance demonstrates that he is not only looking beyond the physical confines of the camp in which he is interned, but he is also looking mentally beyond the barbed wire, towards the future. This solitary figure symbolises, in Segal's own words, 'survival', even though surviving the Holocaust often brought with it an inherent guilt rather than a sense of euphoria, 'sometimes it was much more painful to be standing and surviving [...]. There was an inhumanity forced on the Jews by the Germans on all these low levels. You hated yourself for surviving. You felt you had to be evil.'[204] Yet, this man adds to the memorial a sense that it was possible for people to survive the Holocaust. The standing figure indicates a redemptive element to a memorial that has death as its subject.

For one group of visually impaired and blind schoolchildren in 2002, Segal's memorial conveyed a more contemporary meaning, it encapsulated the tolerance of American society. The children's teacher compared the fate of the Jews in the Holocaust to the present immigration to the United States of people from different countries, emphasising that America is a free country, compiled of a diverse mix of nationalities, a harmonious melting pot.[205] The teacher rather insensitively explained to her pupils that immigrants to America, unlike Jews in wartime

---

[204] 'Why Segal is Doing the Holocaust Memorial'.
[205] 'S. F. Holocaust Sculpture Becomes Touching Experience for the Blind', *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California,* 15/02/02.

Europe, 'don't end up on the ground'.[206] Although the teacher utilised the memorial as a sensory aid to further the children's understanding of the Holocaust, she additionally employed it as a way of conveying to her pupils that people who are disabled are accepted in today's American society, they are not persecuted and murdered because of their difference. As well as a commemorative marker to the Holocaust, Segal's memorial, akin to the redesigned monument in Baltimore, can also be imbued with a current relevance.

Since its installation, Segal's memorial has, similar to the memorial in Baltimore, been surrounded in public debate and criticism. Just four days after the memorial was installed, vandals painted the faces of some of the figures with yellow and black paint and the words 'Is this necessary?' were daubed on the cement wall next to the memorial.[207] Anti-Semitism was, and still is, perceived by the Jewish community of San Francisco to be a contemporary presence, with 43% of all respondents to the 1986 Community Study stating that there was a moderate amount or great deal of anti-Semitism in the area and 19% had personally experienced some form of anti-Semitism.[208] Akin to Baltimore, there were clearly tensions between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities in the years immediately after the Holocaust memorial had been installed. This public act of disapproval only served to galvanise the community, 'guards were posted at the memorial at night, and since that time an anonymous person has had fresh flowers delivered to the site every day'.[209] Segal's sculpture has been accused of failing to fulfil the task of memorialising the Holocaust, that 'his ensemble of caged, colorless figures has the inadvertent effect of seeming merely to commemorate the anonymity to which the Nazi death camps brutally reduced their victims' and hence Segal has created a 'public art embarrassment for San Francisco'.[210] In contrast, Sybil Milton has argued that whilst Segal's sculpture has sparked controversy, its contemporary form will provide a lasting memorial, that 'the symbolic realism of Segal's style will be comprehensible to future generations, although the outdoor site is far removed from the historic European settings of mass murder during World War II'.[211] The debate surrounding Segal's memorial, whether positive or negative, has been a form of memory work in itself and as

---

[206] Ibid.
[207] 'Holocaust Memorial Vandalized', *The Associated Press,* 12/11/84.
[208] *2004 Jewish Community Study: Full Findings,* (San Francisco), p.111.
[209] 'Art People'.
[210] 'In Public, Art Gets Timid', *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 23/12/02.
[211] Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, p.16.

such accomplishes the purpose of any Holocaust memorial, to perpetuate the commemoration of the Holocaust.

Segal's Holocaust memorial struggles to connect the event it remembers with its topographical surroundings, reiterating the difficulty of any Holocaust memorial located away from the European killing sites. The beautiful locality of 'The Holocaust' seems incongruous with the subject matter for an American visitor and detracts from the horror of the event commemorated. Segal's memorial attempts to create a sense of place by citing the names of European concentration camps and suggesting that the San Francisco memorial can provide a link between American Holocaust survivors and their relatives that were murdered in wartime Europe. The memorial's form is constrained by the majority of the American population's vicarious experience of the Holocaust through black and white photographs and news footage captured when U.S. troops liberated concentration camps. Horrifying images such as the piles of naked corpses were ingrained in American public consciousness and it was this instantly recognisable element of the Holocaust on which Segal chose to base the design of his memorial. 'The Holocaust' commemorates a very American experience of the Holocaust and in this way seeks to close the gap between the event and the country in which it is memorialised.

iv. New Jersey: In the Shadow of Liberty

New Jersey became home to a Holocaust memorial that would highlight America's relationship with the event in the most unambiguous terms of the three commemorative projects examined here. The New Jersey Holocaust memorial was devised at the same time that San Francisco was planning a memorial to commemorate the event. Despite this close temporal proximity, New Jersey's memorial was to remember a particularly American memory of the Holocaust that both the redesigned Baltimore memorial and Segal's San Francisco sculpture had already hinted at, but in a much more explicit way. The idea for New Jersey's memorial came from Governor Thomas H. Kean of New Jersey.[212] Kean visited the future sculptor of the memorial, Nathan Rapoport, at his New York City studio

---

[212] 'Liberty and Freedom Celebrated in Sculpture', *The New York Times,* 23/02/85.

in 1983 and saw a model of the sculpture that would eventually sit some fifteen feet tall in Liberty State Park.[213]

Rapoport was born in Warsaw, Poland and spent most of the Second World War living and working in Russia.[214] After the war he lived in Paris and Israel before emigrating to the United States in 1959.[215] Rapoport had a pedigree for creating memorials; his most famous, a monument to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising located in Warsaw, has already been discussed in the introduction to this chapter. The 36 foot-high bronze sculpture is double-sided, each face portrays a different image of the Jewish inhabitants of the Warsaw Ghetto, as indicated by the monument's dedication 'To the Jewish People-Its Heroes and Its Martyrs'.[216] This iconic sculpture has been reproduced in Israel, at Yad Vashem in 1975 and the monument's bas relief of martyrs has been replicated in the United States at synagogues and seminaries in New York, Syracuse and Dallas.[217] These American versions of the Ghetto Monument commemorate only the 6 million Jews who perished and the original monument's remembrance of the heroes is not replicated.[218] The dual depiction of the subject of the Warsaw Ghetto Monument is a theme that Rapoport was to reproduce in the New Jersey Holocaust memorial.

Rapoport had a prestigious reputation in the United States, he was awarded the Herbert Adams Memorial Medal from the National Sculpture Society for his achievements in American sculpture.[219] Once Kean had commissioned the memorial, a site in Liberty State Park was secured and the Liberty Park Monument Committee was then established, which consisted of one hundred members.[220] Akin to the Warsaw Ghetto Monument, the committee for the New Jersey project called the memorial a 'monument', hinting at the more optimistic nature of the commemoration. The Committee raised more than $1 million in contributions to cover the cost of the monument.[221] The process of installing the memorial was surrounded in official protocol. On 3 October 1984 ground was broken for the monument in a ceremony attended by five hundred people.[222] Rapoport's sculpture was shown for the first time on 22 February 1985, when it was officially

---

213 'Domestic News', *The Associated Press,* 04/10/84.
214 'Nathan Rapoport, Sculptor of Works on Holocaust, Dies', *The New York Times,* 06/06/87.
215 Ibid.
216 Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski, p.234 and James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory,* p.174.
217 James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, pp.182-184.
218 Ibid, p.184.
219 'Nathan Rapoport, Sculptor of Works on Holocaust, Dies'.
220 'A Memorial to Liberators is Dedicated', *The New York Times*, 31/05/85.
221 'Park Monument is Begun in Jersey', *The New York Times,* 04/10/84.
222 'Ground Broken for Monument to American Liberators of Europe', *The Associated Press,* 03/10/83.

accepted by spokespersons of Kean, at the Tallix Foundry where it was cast.[223] Members of the Liberty Park Monument Committee, local officials and representatives of veterans' groups were also in attendance.[224] These public ceremonies demonstrated that not only was New Jersey's Holocaust memorial considered to be of great significance, but the presence of veterans' groups highlighted the particular memory of the Holocaust that would be commemorated: the role of American troops as liberators.

The dedication ceremony for Rapoport's memorial further enforced this specific focus. The memorial was unveiled on 30 May 1985, the traditional United States Memorial Day, when America remembers all of its fallen soldiers in conflicts that the nation has been involved in from the Revolutionary War (1775-1783) to the present time.[225] The date chosen to dedicate the memorial was significant: by coinciding with a national holiday that remembered fallen American soldiers, it revealed that the memory the memorial would convey was equally connected to U.S. troops and Holocaust victims. Indeed, both Holocaust survivors and former American soldiers who liberated concentration camps attended the dedication ceremony and gave speeches recalling their wartime experiences.[226] Approximately thirty veterans' groups laid wreaths at the base of the sculpture 'in observance of the traditional Memorial Day'.[227] The very name of the sculpture, 'Liberation', consolidated the focus of the Holocaust memory that it was designed to perpetuate: the liberating U.S. soldier. From its dedication, Rapoport's memorial became a symbol for America as a liberator and a commemorative marker of all those American troops who had given their lives to ensure that the United States remained a free country able to liberate others. The overwhelming sentiment of liberty that the memorial conveys has continued to be emphasised in the years after its installation. Newspaper articles have highlighted that children playing around the base of the memorial demonstrate the freedom that America currently enjoys due to the actions of soldiers such as the one portrayed in the memorial.[228] With these powerful images of the United States as

---

[223] 'Peekskill, N.Y., Feb. 21', *PR Newswire,* 21/02/85.
[224] Ibid.
[225] 'Park Monument is Begun in Jersey', 'White House Commission On Remembrance', <http://www.remember.gov/Home/tabid/36/Default.aspx>, August 2006, 'Who We Are', <http://www.remember.gov/WhoWeAre/tabid/52/Default.aspx>, August 2006 and 'History of Sacrifice', <http://www.remember.gov/HistoryOfSacrifice/tabid/57/Default.aspx>, August 2006.
[226] 'A Memorial to Liberators is Dedicated'.
[227] Ibid.
[228] 'Appreciating Liberty', *The New York Times,* 26/03/99.

liberators, rescuers and as a welcoming nation for Holocaust victims, it is not surprising that Rapoport's memorial is one of the most widely visited Holocaust memorials in America.[229]

Rapoport's sculpture sits on a centre mount, behind the Plaza of Flags in Liberty State Park.[230] This was not the site originally intended for Rapoport's work. Initially, Kean suggested that Rapoport sculpted the statue for the Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia, but Rapoport refused as he believed that this location was incongruous with the meaning of the sculpture, that 'it's not a monument to the dead, it's a monument to the living'.[231] Rapoport himself had had a very different setting in mind for his memorial when it was still a sketch on paper, he said that 'it was [his] dream to see this work in front of a school because it would be educational for young children. Maybe at some point in their lives they will remember the image and say, 'I will be like this man."[232] Rapoport evidently believed that his sculpture could have a didactic and inspirational effect on a viewer, particularly a younger one. Kean searched for a site and although it was not outside a school, Rapoport 'was ecstatic' with the Liberty State Park location.[233] Rapoport himself acknowledged the particular ambience of the site, that it 'is a grandiose place [...]. You have the Statue of Liberty behind it like an echo. There is Ellis Island. And you have all of New York - it's the whole world!'[234]

As Rapoport hinted, the 'Liberation' memorial, with the Statue of Liberty clearly visible over the right shoulder of the Holocaust survivor, mimics the shape of the Statue of Liberty; they share the same overall outline. Instead of a torch held aloft to welcome and show newcomers to America the way, it is the victim who becomes the torch in Rapoport's sculpture. The Holocaust survivor is held aloft as an example of America's worthy role in the Second World War as a saviour of humanity. In contrast to Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument, the survivor in 'Liberation' is portrayed solely as a passive victim, saved from death only due to the strength of a liberating U.S. soldier. It is this proximity to the Statue of Liberty that resonates most vocally with Rapoport's sculpture. The

---

[229] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.321.
[230] 'Statue to Honor Men Who Freed Nazis' Prisoners', *The New York Times*, 29/05/83.
[231] 'Ground Broken for Monument to American Liberators of Europe'.
[232] 'Statue to Honor Men Who Freed Nazis' Prisoners'.
[233] 'Ground Broken for Monument to American Liberators of Europe'.
[234] 'Statue to Honor Men Who Freed Nazis' Prisoners'.

memorial stands only one thousand feet away from the Statue of Liberty, 'America's greatest ideological icon', in New York Harbour (see Figure 8).[235]



Figure 8: Nathan Rapoport's 'Liberation' sculpture with the Statue of Liberty clearly visible in the distance

With the Statue of Liberty looming behind it, Rapoport's memorial is awarded a unique place amongst America's commemoration of past events. Its location suggests that the Holocaust is considered to be very much a part of the United States' history. It is the particular memory of the Holocaust that the memorial's proximity to the Statue of Liberty alludes to, namely that Rapoport's sculpture is a celebration of America's role in the Holocaust as liberators.

In addition to the setting of Rapoport's memorial, the form of the sculpture also demonstrates the particularly American memory of the Holocaust that is to be conveyed. Rapoport's 'Liberation' sculpture consists of an American GI walking along holding a concentration camp victim, who 'with skeletal chest showing through shredded prison garb, his arms spread, and his eyes staring vacantly into

---

[235] 'Deaths Elsewhere: Nathan Rapoport'. Photograph taken from 'Virtual Tours of NJ State Parks, Forests and Historic Sites: Liberty State Park', <http://www.state.nj.us/dep/parksandforests/virtual_tours/large_photos/liberty_large/p8153064.jpg>, July 2006 and James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.321.

the sky, [...] exemplifies helplessness'.[236] This image of the moment of liberation, more specifically, of the American liberator and rescuer, combined with the memorial's ideological backdrop of the Statue of Liberty, creates the very American meaning of the Holocaust that Rapoport's sculpture portrays. The overriding experience of the Holocaust for those Americans directly involved in the event was as liberators of the concentration camps. For those American citizens who did not take part in the wartime military campaign, the moment of liberation is still the most prominent event of the Holocaust, as they experienced it vicariously through newspaper reports and newsreel footage. The act of liberation is therefore the memory of the Holocaust that is most strikingly commemorated in the United States' memorials. Indeed, Rapoport's memorial is 'consonant with both the specific experiences of Americans in the war and with traditional self perceptions and idealizations of our role as rescuers in war and as sanctuary for the world's 'huddled masses".[237] Two years before the unveiling, Kean asserted that the memorial would 'stand as a universal symbol of the American commitment to liberty for the oppressed and help for the suffering'.[238] The event that Rapoport's memorial immortalises has been overwhelmed by America's role in that event, the monument was reported in the press as a sculpture to 'commemorate the role of U.S. soldiers in liberating Nazi concentration camps at the end of World War II', as opposed to a memorial remembering the victims of the Holocaust.[239]

The liberal, plural meaning of the memorial speaks to American society as a whole, it is not just aimed at the Jewish community. In fact, Rapoport's memorial is less about the victims of the Holocaust and more a congratulatory symbol of America as a tolerant nation and as a liberating force. It is unsurprising that the non-Jewish victim groups do not appear at all in Rapoport's memorial. The need to invest memorials in the United States with a contemporary meaning, such as liberty, is perhaps evidence of what Dan Stone sees as the struggle for the generation born after the war (and the generation after them) to confront the Holocaust.[240] In order for the Holocaust to be remembered in America, chronological, geographical and mental remoteness from the catastrophe has made

---

[236] Ibid.
[237] James E. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation,* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), p.188.
[238] 'Statue to Honor Men Who Freed Nazis' Prisoners'.
[239] 'Deaths Elsewhere: Nathan Rapoport'.
[240] Dan Stone, 'Memory, Memorials and Museums', in Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of the Holocaust,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p.517.

it necessary to relate the events of the past to present problems, such as the threat of intolerance (as evidenced by the Baltimore memorial and Segal's monument) and noteworthy American values, for example, the notion of America as a liberal nation (as portrayed by Rapoport's sculpture).

v. Conclusions: Non-Jewish Absence and Markers of Contemporary America

Holocaust memorials now proliferate throughout the United States of America. Despite this, at the time of writing, there is no known extant memorial in the United States dedicated to the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust as a collective, or to specific victim groups.[241] This absence is in itself oxymoronic, as the lack of such a memorial leads to the question of why one does not exist. Insufficient political organisation among representatives of non-Jewish victim groups would seem to be one reason for this lacuna. Nonetheless, as we have seen, representatives of some non-Jewish groups such as the Polish-American community were vociferous in their group's inclusion on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and their representation in the USHMM's *Permanent Exhibition*. This disparity between non-Jewish victim groups' involvement in different commemorative projects indicates that it may be the particular nature of memorialisation that influences participation. The USHMM was government-funded and was a very public undertaking. To be represented on the Council and in the Museum was an important acknowledgment by American society that those non-Jewish victim groups were considered to be a part of an event that had become prevalent in American public and political consciousness. The circumstances surrounding the creation of Holocaust memorials are somewhat different, mainly due to their smaller, local scale. Moreover, the persecution and fate of the non-Jewish victims during the Holocaust continues to be under-researched in Holocaust historiography, which in turn causes less awareness in the public arena, and consequently, non-Jewish victim groups are marginalised in the majority of commemorative projects. These factors make it more difficult for non-Jewish victim groups to independently, aside from Jewish organisations, gain

---

[241] Various individuals and organisations in the United States were contacted in an attempt to locate a non-Jewish memorial, including Ian Hancock, historian of the *Porrajmos*, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Association of Holocaust Organisations and the National Institute on Holocaust Education.

public and financial support for remembrance ventures that memorialise the fate of the non-Jewish victims only. It is therefore the Jewish victims of the Holocaust that are publicly commemorated in memorial form, reaffirming that they are the victims of the Holocaust that should be remembered.

The memorials dedicated to the Holocaust in the first major wave of Holocaust memorialisation, in the 1980s, were largely initiated and funded by members of the Jewish community in cities with significant, pro-active Jewish populations. As a result, it is the Jewish victims of the catastrophe that are remembered in these memorials and non-Jewish victim groups are afforded only a passing mention, such as in the second Baltimore memorial unveiled in 1997. Its more inclusive approach to Holocaust memory may reflect the altered demands of Holocaust commemoration at that time, seventeen years after the initial memorial was installed. In spite of the narrow interpretation of the victims of the Holocaust, all of the memorials examined here simultaneously carry a broader modern message. It is clear that in the United States during the 1980s the need was felt by those individuals and organisations that undertook Holocaust commemoration for such memorials to have a contemporary meaning that appealed to the non-Jewish community, in order for the relevance of such a project to be perceived by all.

Although the process of building Holocaust memorials in America has attracted great controversy, as we have seen in the case of the Baltimore and San Francisco memorials, the debate surrounding such sculptures serves to aid the continued remembrance of the event. Rapoport's New Jersey memorial, however, was a Holocaust memorial markedly absent in controversy. This lack of contention was due in part to its 'safe' message of the United States as a tolerant nation and as a heroic liberator of the oppressed. Such a plural and worthy sentiment was readily accepted by American society. The memorial's portrayal of Holocaust victims is problematic as they are represented as pitiful and faceless. Yet, it is not the Holocaust victims, or their portrayal, that is the important element in this memorial. In Rapoport's statue, the victims are secondary to the role of the United States as a liberating force and the plural implications of that function. 'Liberation' elicited no controversy as it dealt with a part of the Holocaust with which Americans felt comfortable, as opposed to tackling a more uneasy issue such as America's inaction as a bystander.

The geographical and experiential distance of Holocaust memorials situated in the United States from the European sites of destruction adds a further dimension

to such tasks: the memorials cannot rely on their topography alone and many projects reference the concentration and death camps to imbue a sense of place. Place also influences American Holocaust memorials in another sense: the place of the United States during the war as a liberator. This is evident in both the San Francisco and New Jersey memorials. Both memorials are shaped by America's role as a liberator. The form of the San Francisco memorial, with its white corpse-like figures, directly references the experience of the Holocaust for the majority of the American public, the liberation of concentration camps captured in black and white photographs and newsreel footage. The date on which the New Jersey memorial was unveiled (United States Memorial Day), the presence of veterans' groups, its situation spatially and ideologically in relation to the Statue of Liberty, its depiction of a GI carrying a Holocaust survivor, its very name, all of these elements serve to reinforce America's role as a liberator. Due to the nature of America's relationship to and memory of the Holocaust, as a nation removed from the sites of horror, as liberators and as a place of refuge for survivors, these memorials are necessarily constrained by this particular American experience of the Holocaust. It is thus not surprising that many of the memorials dedicated to the commemoration of the Holocaust in the United States are more markers of America's liberty than reminders of the suffering endured by the victims of the Holocaust, Jewish and non-Jewish alike.

Section Three: Holocaust Memorials in the United Kingdom

At the present time there are several notable public memorials that commemorate the Holocaust in the United Kingdom, the majority of which are located in Britain's capital city.[242] Although the memory of the Holocaust is the bond that connects these monuments, each one is markedly different. These memorials contrast in their specific foundation, the social, cultural and political climate in which they were conceived and the impetus behind their dedication. Their topographical situation, whether in the public or private realm, is divergent, as is the attention that they receive from members of the public and the media. These memorials also vary in their actual design. Similar to their counterparts in the United States, these Holocaust memorials are influenced by the United Kingdom's complicated relationship with the event as a bystander, liberator and place of refuge for survivors. The United Kingdom is geographically and psychologically removed from the European killing fields. British Holocaust memorials must therefore find other ways of conveying significance as they lack resonant topography. Most strikingly of all, these memorials all dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust choose to remember very different aspects and victim groups of the event and as a result ascribe contrasting meanings to it.

i. Memorialisation: A Fledgling Start

The history of Holocaust memorialisation in Britain is one besieged by debate and a lack of public support, particularly financial assistance. The first communal attempt to commemorate the Holocaust in Britain demonstrated the extent to which British society at the time did not consider remembering the Holocaust to be of significant importance to actively and economically encourage such a campaign. In 1965 the Association of Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors (ANCCS), who formed in an effort to sustain the memory of the events of the war, only managed to raise £20 for a memorial plaque to the victims of concentration

---

[242] In addition to the three Holocaust memorials that are discussed in detail in this section, other memorials of note located in London are the *Raoul Wallenberg Memorial*, Great Cumberland Place, London, W1, visited on 30 November 2004, the *Zachor Holocaust Memorial*, The Sternberg Centre, 80 East End Road, Finchley, London, N3 2SY, visited on 29 November 2004 and the *Kindertransport Memorial*, Liverpool Street Station, 200 Bishopsgate, London, EC2M 4NR.

camps which was installed in St Martin-in-the-Fields church in London.[243] There were other Holocaust commemoration initiatives which stumbled and failed in their infancy during this period. The Memorial Committee, established in 1960 by a group of Jews who were dedicated to perpetuating the memory of the Holocaust, put forward a proposal for a memorial centre to be built in London, but it never materialised, once again, mainly due to a lack of funding.[244] In 1965 the ANCCS suggested a memorial service in Trafalgar Square to mark the twentieth anniversary of the liberation of the camps.[245] In a foreshadowing of the debate surrounding the choice of the site for what was to become the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden eight years later, such a service was opposed by Britain's leading interfaith lobby - the Council of Christians and Jews - which feared that it 'might lead to antagonism and possible public disturbance (this being a time of disorder between neo-Nazis and anti-fascists in the capital)'.[246] Tony Kushner has asserted that Britain's lack of willingness to memorialise the Holocaust during this period 'has been used to distance the British experience from the "diseased" Continent'.[247] The geographical remove of the United Kingdom from the sites of former concentration camps was employed as a justification for the British educational and cultural arenas to ignore the events that had taken place in wartime Europe and as a reason not to publicly commemorate the Holocaust.[248] Holocaust memorialisation at this time was limited to the activities of a few survivors and activists. During the first twenty years after the liberation of the concentration camps the commemoration of the Holocaust in Britain was thus a fledgling and very understated affair.

ii. Gladstone Park: Too Inclusive A Memorial

A more conspicuous Holocaust memorial than the ANCCS plaque was unveiled in 1969 in the public space of Gladstone Park in Dollis Hill, North West London. The piece's title 'Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-

---

[243] Tony Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1994), p.252.
[244] Steven John Cooke, 'The Hidden Landscapes of the Holocaust in Late Twentieth Century Britain,' July 1998, (unpublished PhD thesis, submitted through Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education to the University of Bristol, 1998), pp.81-84.
[245] Tony Kushner, p.253.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid, p.256.
[248] Ibid.

1945' is often shortened to 'Prisoners of War' and was sculpted by Fritz Kormis, a man who had a deep connection with the theme of this piece of his work. Kormis was a committed Jew who was sent to the Eastern front with the Austrian Army in 1914, aged seventeen.[249] In 1915 Kormis was wounded and captured by the Russians and spent the following five years in a Siberian prisoner of war camp.[250] During his internment, Kormis remained artistically productive, modelling portraits of his fellow prisoners, making woodcuts and gravestones.[251] In 1920, Kormis, along with two friends, managed to escape and later that year he resumed work as a sculptor and held a one-man show of his pieces in Frankfurt, with 'the titles of FEAR, DESPAIR, and THE TORTURER reflect[ing] on their origin in the Prisoner of War Camp'.[252] Kormis was commissioned to sculpt a prisoner of war memorial in Tannenberg in 1931, but once the fascist press discovered that he was Jewish, the memorial was never installed and Kormis realised it was time to leave Germany.[253] In 1933 he and his wife moved to Amsterdam and then to London in 1934.[254] Stories of the conditions in the prisoner of war and concentration camps of the Second World War caused a re-emergence of Kormis' own memories of internment.[255] He returned to the theme of imprisonment and tried to find a site in London where he could install figures commemorating the subject.[256]

Kormis formed a friendship with Reginald Freeson, who became a Labour MP for Willesden East in 1964, when the artist was commissioned to produce a work for the local borough.[257] In addition, Freeson had a personal interest in the subject matter that was to be the focus of Kormis' memorial. Freeson was the grandson of refugees who fled from pogroms in Russian-ruled Poland and was raised and educated in the Jewish Orphanage in Norwood, South London.[258] On a visit to

---

[249] *Fritz Kormis Memorial Exhibition: Sculpture, Reliefs and Drawings, October 26-November 25 1987*, (Organised by the Manor House Society, Sternberg Centre for Judaism, 80 East End Road, London, N3), catalogue accompanying exhibition of the same name.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Ibid.

[254] Ibid.

[255] Ibid.

[256] Ibid.

[257] Steven John Cooke, p.88, 'Obituaries: Reginald Freeson, February 24, 1926-October 9, 2006: Veteran Labour politician who rose from an orphanage to the Privy Council, only to be unseated by Ken Livingstone', *The Times,* 12/10/06 and *Fritz Kormis Memorial Exhibition.*

[258] 'Obituary of Reg Freeson, Labour minister under Wilson and Callaghan who was deselected in favour of Ken Livingstone', *The Daily Telegraph,* 12/10/06 and 'OBITUARIES: Reg Freeson', *Jewish Chronicle*, 20/10/06.

Yad Vashem, thirty years after the end of the Second World War, Freeson discovered the names of six relatives murdered by the Nazis in wartime Poland and he later learned that all his family in Poland had died.[259] He had firsthand experience of warfare from his time served in the Rifle Brigade and the Royal Engineers towards the latter stages of World War II.[260] He was a committed anti-racist and anti-fascist, founding and editing the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* from 1964-1967 and an advocate of peace in the Middle East.[261] Freeson publicly opposed many British governmental policies such as its backing of the Vietnam War.[262] He was also chair of the Memorial Committee for what would later become the Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park.[263] In an attempt to help Kormis secure a central London position for his Prisoners of War memorial, Freeson tried to utilise his political sway by writing to Reg Prentice, then Minister at the Department of Public Buildings and Works.[264] Freeson maintained that it was his lack of experience as an MP and in lobbying ministers that led to his failure to achieve this aim.[265] Freeson then turned to personal connections he had established on Brent council in order to be given approval for a site in the Borough.[266] After Freeson and Kormis walked around several of the borough's parks, Gladstone Park was decided upon as a suitable setting as they both liked the dip in the ground where the memorial now sits.[267] Funding for the memorial was still an issue until 1967 when Kormis was left a legacy by his sister in order 'to carry out a piece of art about which he felt committed but which had never been commissioned'.[268] Kormis put the money towards the Prisoners of War memorial. On 11 May 1969 the memorial, which Kormis felt to be his main sculptural work, was officially unveiled.[269]

---

[259] Ibid.
[260] 'Obituary: Reg Freeson, Long-serving Labour housing minister ousted by Ken Livingstone', *The Guardian,* 11/10/06.
[261] Ibid and 'Obituary of Reg Freeson, Labour minister under Wilson and Callaghan who was deselected in favour of Ken Livingstone'.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Steven John Cooke, p.88.
[264] Ibid, pp.88-89.
[265] Personal communication between Steven John Cooke and Reginald Freeson, 26/02/96 in Steven John Cooke, p.89.
[266] Steven John Cooke, p.89.
[267] Interview with Reginald Freeson, former Labour MP for Willesden East and local councillor, interviewed by Dr James Jordan, 6 May 1999, Dr James Jordan's personal files.
[268] 'Letter from Reg Freeson MP (Willesden East)', *Jewish Chronicle*, 09/05/69 and Interview with Reginald Freeson.
[269] The *Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945* memorial, Gladstone Park, Dollis Hill, London, NW2, visited on 29 November 2004 and *Fritz Kormis Memorial Exhibition.*

Depending on which entrance to Gladstone Park a visitor uses, the Prisoners of War memorial can be difficult to locate. It is situated at the north-eastern end of the park, nestled in front of a large grassy slope dotted with trees, with a set of tennis courts behind it, a car park to its west and a road (Hil! Lane) running alongside it (see Figure 9).[270] In fact, by entering Gladstone Park from the

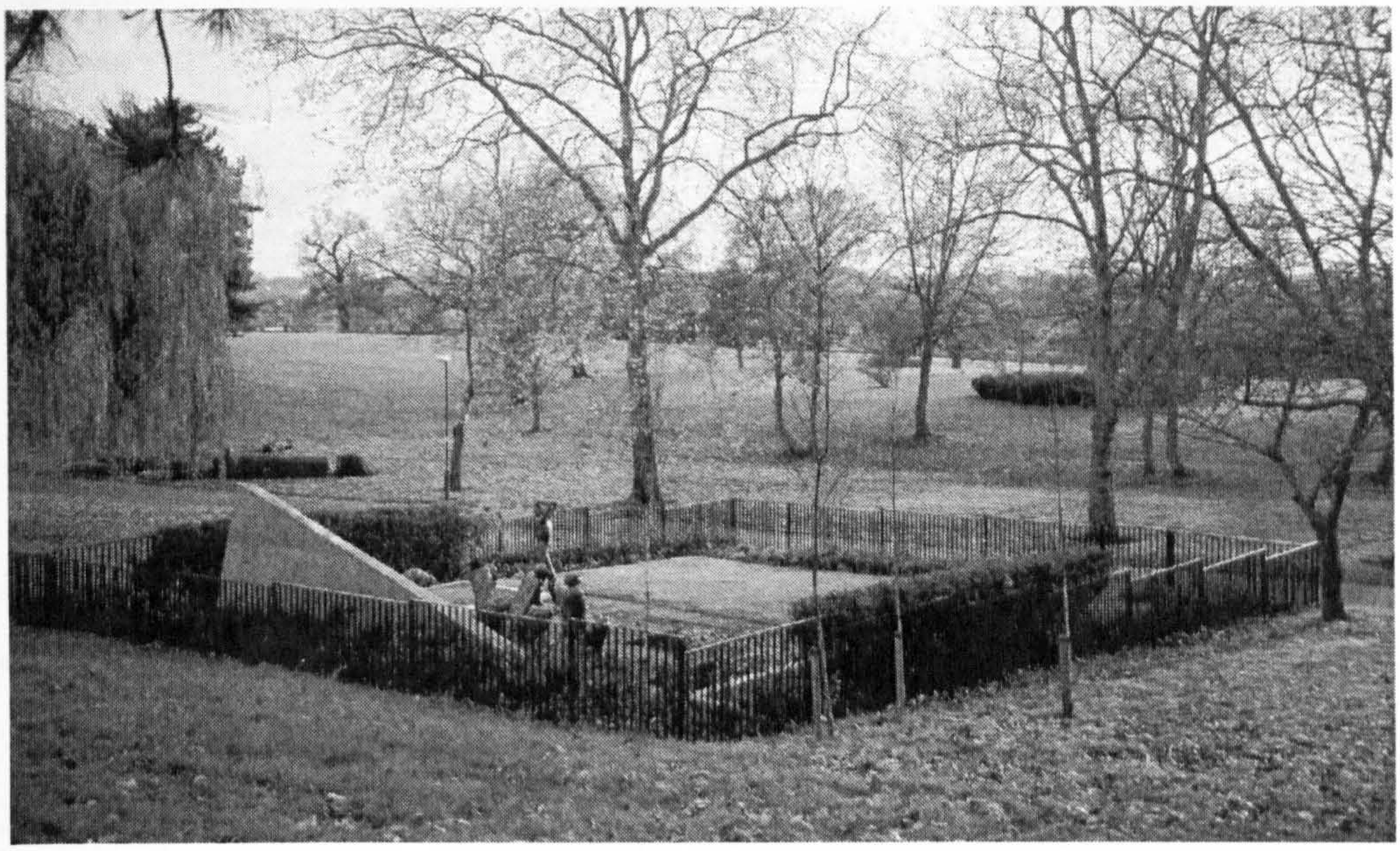


Figure 9: The Prisoners of War Memorial in front of the grassy slope

southern end on foot and as a result, avoiding the car park, I completed a lap of the park and was still unable to locate the memorial and needed assistance from a park maintenance man. On my way to the memorial I discovered that I had already passed it once from above, but had missed it because it was obscured by the slope. Steven John Cooke has remarked that it is this concealing topography of the area surrounding the sculptures that provides Kormis' work with an enclosed and suitably oppressive setting.[271] A notice board near the car park, and within view of the figures, that displayed details of a restoration project that Gladstone Park was undergoing during the period 2003 to 2004, provided the only official acknowledgement of the memorial.

The Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial comprises of five sculptures in various stances placed on brick plinths set in front of a white wall cut at an angle (see Figure 10).[272] The figures are enclosed in a garden space consisting of simple low level shrubbery and a neatly

---

[270] Photograph taken by Hazel Starmes, the *Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945* memorial, Gladstone Park, Dollis Hill, London, NW2, visited on 29 November 2004.
[271] Steven John Cooke, p.90.
[272] Photograph taken by Hazel Starmes, the *Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945* memorial.

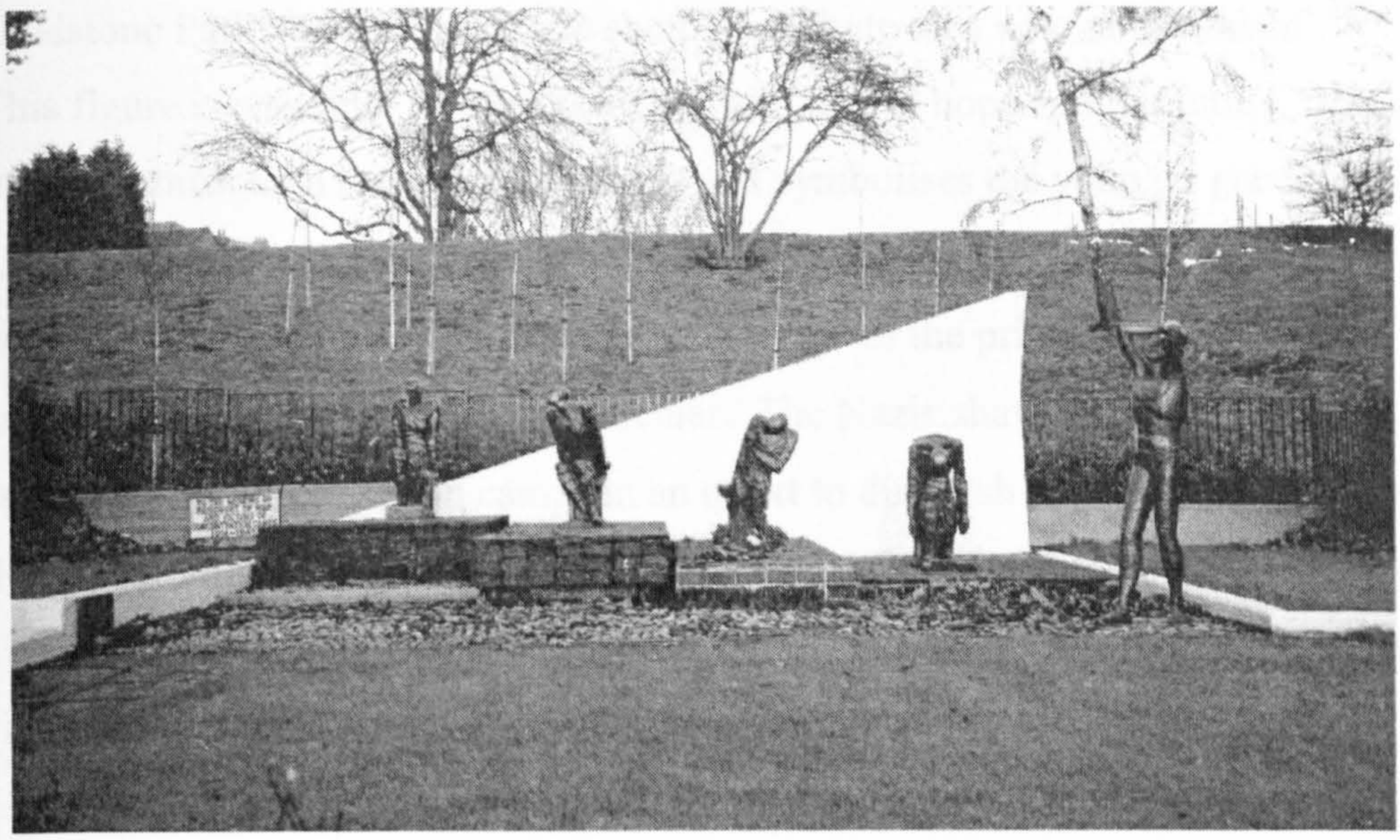


Figure 10: Fritz Kormis' five Prisoners of War sculptures

mown lawn surrounded by a black railing fence. Due to a limited budget, the sculptures were cast in fibre-glass rather than bronze, as Kormis would have wished.[273] Each figure represents a different mental stage of a prisoner. To Kormis, the memorial was 'a four chapter novel, each chapter describing a successive state of mind of internment'.[274] The first four statues are seated and swathed in the bandage-like dress of Kormis' earlier 1930 prisoner sculptures, which 'tends to emphasise the shape of the body by restricting it, and is a reminder of the body as a vessel for the mind'.[275] The figures' heads progressively lower from left to right, in an image of spiralling pain and despair. By the fourth statue, the head is lowered to such an extent that the shoulders have slumped down too, suggesting complete despondence and resignation. This physical descent is emphasised by the wall which increases in height from the left to the right, giving the impression that the sculptures are sinking down, while it is actually the wall behind them that is growing in height, reiterating their imprisoned state.

From left to right, the first figure is entitled 'Stupor After Capture', the second 'Longing for Freedom', the third 'Fight against Gloom' and the fourth 'Hope Lost'.[276] The fifth sculpture is named 'Hope Again' and stands apart from the others and contrasts in stance.[277] Kormis decided to add this figure after he had initially submitted a proposal to Willesden council for a four-statue memorial in

---

[273] Steven John Cooke, p.90.
[274] *Fritz Kormis Memorial Exhibition.*
[275] Ibid.
[276] 'Camp memorial unveiled', *Jewish Chronicle*, 16/05/69.
[277] Ibid.

Gladstone Park, 'so that the group should conclude on a note of optimism'.[278] This figure is standing, looking skyward, alluding to hope and the future. He looks more youthful than the other sculptures and symbolises the younger generation.[279] Unlike the previous four figures, he has a full head of hair. Kormis' shaven-headed sculptures reiterate the demoralised state of the prisoner of war and the concentration camp prisoner in particular. The Nazis shaved prisoners upon their arrival at the concentration camps in an effort to diminish their individuality and dehumanise them. Furthermore, the fifth statue is not dressed in bandage-like clothing, symbolising that he has shaken off the bonds of his imprisonment and signalling a sanguine resolution to the memorial.

Although the garden surrounding the sculptures is well-tended, the leaves had built up in piles to such an extent at the time of an autumnal observational visit in 2004 that they obscured part of the text on the plaque that was installed when the memorial was unveiled. The proximity of the fence from the aforementioned inscription, which sits on a low wall on the left side of the memorial at a right angle, makes the plaque hard to read. The gate in the fence surrounding the memorial was padlocked, presumably to protect the work from abuse, but this makes it difficult to examine the figures or the inscription at close range. Although the Prisoners of War memorial is a public monument set in a communal open space, the park authorities clearly want to restrict public access to it. In spite of this deterrent, the memorial had at some point been the target of vandalism, evident by illegible writing that had been daubed in white spray paint on the brickwork base of the first two figures.

Unfortunately, this was not the first act of vandalism to which Kormis' piece had been subjected. In 1990, due to a perceived association as a Jewish memorial, it was covered with swastikas and slogans such as 'Jew scum'.[280] The sculptures were further vandalised on Christmas day 2003 when they were attacked with a wooden paving mallet, decapitating three figures and badly damaging one.[281] Later that year, as part of the restoration of Gladstone Park, supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund's Urban Parks Initiative, the company Land Use Consultants were appointed to carry out specialist conservation works to the

---

[278] Ibid and Interview with Reginald Freeson.
[279] 'Camp memorial unveiled'.
[280] 'Alarm as UK antisemites strike again', *Jewish Chronicle*, 24/08/90.
[281] 'Gladstone Park: Fred Kormis Memorial', <http://www.londongardenstrust.org/features/gladstone.pdf>, November 2006.

memorial.[282] The figures were reconstructed and recast in a bronze finish, the wall behind the sculptures was cleaned and repainted and the perimeter railings were replaced.[283] The planting scheme surrounding the memorial had been allowed to over-mature, so the coniferous hedge behind the sculptures was replaced with a more translucent birch grove.[284] New low level planting was arranged in the foreground and 'new sightlines [were] opened up to the memorial from a nearby residential road' in the hope that it would 'make it less susceptible to future attacks'.[285] A proposal written for the park's restoration scheme documents that as part of the management of the memorial, it should be regularly monitored to check for vandalism, demonstrating that potential damage was a continuing threat.[286] It was disappointing to see that the memorial had been mutilated once again and that the graffiti had not been removed immediately. This lack of repair to the piece indicates to the visiting public that the memorial's upkeep and, in turn, the events it commemorates, is not afforded great attention by the park's maintenance body.

The memory that the Prisoners of War memorial wishes to convey is markedly different to the other Holocaust memorials that will be examined. In the first instance, Kormis' work is not dedicated exclusively to the memory of the Holocaust. In addition to concentration camp prisoners, the memorial also incorporates prisoners of war and, on a more general level, remembrance of both World Wars. Secondly, the Prisoners of War memorial is unusual in its approach to the Holocaust as it does not explicitly mention the ethnicity of the concentration camp prisoners that it memorialises. Consequently, it does not remember an exclusively Jewish Holocaust. In categorising the victims of the Holocaust that the memorial commemorates broadly as 'victims of concentration camps' and not specifically referring to Jewish or non-Jewish victims, the inscription leaves the categories of Holocaust victims that it remembers open to personal interpretation. The more inclusive nature of this work is reinforced by the plaque that stands to the left of the figures, which states that it is dedicated 'to the memory of prisoners of war and victims of concentration camps 1914-1945'.[287] The memorial's remembrance of those who died in the First and Second World Wars is reaffirmed

---

[282] 'Gladstone Park, Brent',<http://www.landuse.co.uk/London/Projects/pr_Gladstone.php>, October 2006.
[283] 'Gladstone Park: Fred Kormis Memorial'.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid.
[286] 'The Restoration/Management Scheme', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, December 2004, p.27.
[287] The *Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945* memorial.

by a contemporary act of commemoration. Although the gate in the enclosure around the sculptures was padlocked, access had been allowed recently, presumably on Remembrance Sunday, as there were three poppy wreaths placed on the base of the memorial. This particular kind of public display of memorialisation demonstrates that, although the piece is also dedicated to those victims who were interned in concentration camps, the memorial holds a strong resonance for those who remember prisoners of war from the First and Second World Wars. Jewish and non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust are not necessarily among the primary victims to be associated with the Prisoners of War memorial in Gladstone Park.

The Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial is more comprehensive in the victims that it commemorates as opposed to other Holocaust memorials, largely due to the personal histories of Kormis and Freeson, the driving forces behind its conception and installation.[288] Both men served in their respective nation's armies, Kormis during the First World War and Freeson in the Second. In addition, Kormis had firsthand experience of internment in the prisoner of war system. Freeson was an active campaigner for equality of ethnic minorities in his local constituency and was vociferous against racism and prejudice on a national level.[289] Together, Kormis' and Freeson's experiences of war incorporated both World Wars, military service and imprisonment. It was hence unsurprising that the memorial they created was one that would encapsulate their broad outlook and life work.

With its wide definition of which casualties of conflict it remembers, the Gladstone Park memorial connects prisoners of war and those interned in concentration camps together, therefore equating their experiences to a certain extent. Although both categories of prisoners underwent the despair and physical constraint, and for some the hope, demonstrated in the five figures of Kormis' work, the reason for their imprisonment and the treatment they received, differed markedly. According to international law, prisoners of war should be treated humanely. Such laws have been abused in some conflicts, for example the Nazi treatment of Soviet prisoners of war who were considered 'subhuman' and deliberately given inadequate food and shelter, resulting in a huge number of deaths. In contrast, victims interned in the concentration camps of the Second

---

[288] Steven John Cooke, p.94.
[289] 'Obituary: Reg Freeson, Long-serving Labour housing minister ousted by Ken Livingstone'.

World War were imprisoned because the Nazis believed them to be a threat to their utopian Aryan vision on racial, religious or social grounds. Kormis' memorial simplifies the complex experiences of the prisoner of war and the concentration camp victim by failing to distinguish between them in the form of the sculptures. Simultaneously, by pairing war and genocide together in its memorialisation of prisoners of war and concentration camp victims, the memorial could be perceived as making a statement about war. Genocide has often occurred in war and with their personal histories in mind, Kormis and Freeson could be said to have pacifist tendencies and the memorial could stand as a comment on the implications of race and discrimination in a situation of war.

While the universal aims of the memorial do confuse by blending together war and genocide, prisoners of war and concentration camp victims, those same aims do provide possibilities for the memorialisation of the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust in Britain. As an inclusive piece, the Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial allows not only for the commemoration of the non-Jewish victim groups but, more importantly, they are remembered side by side with the Jewish victims. Many Holocaust memorials in the United States and the United Kingdom include non-Jewish victims as an afterthought, they are subsumed under the category of 'other victims', after the Jews have been named specifically, or implied implicitly. By categorising the Holocaust victims that it remembers broadly as 'victims of concentration camps', not only does Kormis' work allow for an all-encompassing approach to the victim groups that it memorialises, it also does not enforce a hierarchy of victims. As an early example of Holocaust commemoration in Britain, although remembrance of the Holocaust is only part of the memorial's function, the Prisoners of War memorial is unusual in its style and content. Indeed, many later memorial projects have had a more specific and exclusive focus, namely the Jewish victims.

iii. Hyde Park: An Inconspicuous National Monument

A Holocaust memorial that would emphasise such a specifically Jewish memory of the event, the Holocaust Memorial Garden, was dedicated in June 1983.[290] Despite its particular focus, as Britain's national Holocaust memorial, the

---

[290] Steven John Cooke, p129.

Holocaust Memorial Garden signalled a major development for Holocaust commemoration in Britain. The garden is situated in London's Hyde Park, a large and popular communal green space in the heart of the capital, which contains numerous memorials, nine in total, excluding several more in Kensington Gardens, which is in close proximity.[291] The monuments in Hyde Park vary in style and the purpose of their installation. Two of the most prominent memorials, that to the Duke of Wellington and the Cavalry Memorial, are located near to the Holocaust Memorial Garden. Both these statues are very pronounced features of the park topography due to their sheer, towering size and position in the park and the fact that they conform to traditional memorial iconography, both featuring sculptures set on stone plinths.

The Wellington monument is located on top of a small hill, away from trees, near to Park Lane and Apsley House, Wellington's former home.[292] The memorial features a statue of the Greek hero Achilles, cast from black canon iron 'taken in the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, Toulouse and Waterloo' (see Figure 11).[293] The



Figure 11: The Wellington memorial, featuring a statue of Achilles

statue was unveiled in 1822 and was Hyde Park's first monument.[294] The memorial is indicative of nineteenth-century Britain as a nation that, in the wake of the 1798 Act of Union, was re-imagining itself around elements such as 'the celebration of the final defeat of the French and the re-enforcing of the political

---

[291] Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.
[292] *Buildings and Monuments in the Royal Parks,* (London: The Royal Parks, 1997), p.43.
[293] The Duke of Wellington statue, *Achilles*, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004 and photograph taken by Hazel Starmes.
[294] *Buildings and Monuments in the Royal Parks,* p.43.

position of the Hanoverian dynasty'.[295] As the capital of Britain, London reflected this new national identity and 'during and immediately after the Napoleonic wars London became a site/sight of celebration of victories over and of the eventual defeat of the French'.[296] This sentiment was reflected in the monuments and architectural sculpture added at the time in order to make London, as an urban environment, more aesthetically appealing.[297] The Duke of Wellington and Lord Admiral Nelson became national symbols and 'were regarded not only as men who had achieved military and naval victories over France but also as secular saints who symbolised national virtues'.[298] The Wellington statue was controversial when it was first installed as Achilles' head, which was modelled on the Duke himself, sat on top of a nude body.[299] Although Wellington was depicted as a victorious athlete, he was nude and because he was still alive, this 'ran counter to the modern nation he continued to represent'.[300] The Ladies of England, the patriotic upper-class society that had commissioned the work, were horrified and a fig leaf was introduced to protect the Duke's modesty.[301]

The Cavalry Memorial, originally unveiled in 1924 at Stanhope Gate, was moved to its present site in 1961 due to Park Lane improvements.[302] The sculpture commemorates the fallen soldiers of the First and Second World Wars. The bronze statue was cast from guns captured during World War I and features a fifteenth-century warrior modelled on St. George on horseback, triumphantly lifting his sword aloft.[303] The base of the memorial bears the names of the regiments that suffered casualties in the two World Wars (see Figure 12).[304] With their symbolism of athleticism on a mythological scale and the ultimate soldier in the form of St. George, both the Wellington and Cavalry memorials epitomise Britain heroically as a victorious nation.

---

[295] Dana Arnold, *Re-presenting the Metropolis: Architecture, urban experience and social life in London 1800-1840,* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), p.43.
[296] Ibid, p.55.
[297] Ibid, p.43.
[298] Ibid, p.58.
[299] *Buildings and Monuments in the Royal Parks,* p.44.
[300] Dana Arnold, p.58.
[301] *Buildings and Monuments in the Royal Parks*, pp.44, 49.
[302] Ibid, p.50.
[303] Ibid, pp.46, 50.
[304] The *Cavalry Memorial*, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004 and photograph taken by Hazel Starmes.



Figure 12: The triumphant Cavalry Memorial

The Diana, Princess of Wales, Memorial Fountain is a more recent addition to Hyde Park's collection of conspicuous British monuments. The memorial is in an area of open space near to the Serpentine lake and takes the form of a large oval fountain, approximately the size of a football pitch, carved from Cornish granite.[305] This fountain was the most popular with visitors on the day of an observational visit to Hyde Park.[306] The memorial was opened by Her Majesty the Queen on 6 July 2004.[307] The fountain was designed with the express purpose that it should be inclusive and accessible to visitors, reflecting 'the qualities of the princess that were the most loved and cherished'.[308] The form of the sculpture encourages the public to interact with it, incorporating three bridges that cross the water so that a visitor can go to the heart of the oval and touch the moving water.[309] The memorial was configured to be more interactive than a traditional stone statue, the Royal Parks agency 'wanted to create an environment in which

---

[305] 'Press Release: Memorial fountain to reflect Diana's qualities', <http://www.royalparks.org.uk/press/archive/press_release_5.cfm>, November 2004 and 'Hyde Park: Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fountain', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/parks/hyde_park/diana_memorial.cfm>, September 2006.

[306] Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004. The Royal Parks website cites an anticipated one million visitors a year, 'Hyde Park: Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fountain'.

[307] 'Hyde Park: Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fountain'.

[308] 'Press Release: Memorial fountain to reflect Diana's qualities'.

[309] 'Hyde Park: Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fountain' and 'Press Release: Memorial fountain to reflect Diana's qualities'.

people [could] remember Diana, not an icon that they [could] only look at'.[310] This open design also invites members of the public to investigate it at close range. Indeed, shortly after it was unveiled, the Diana Fountain had to be closed for a brief spell due to health and safety concerns after three people slipped.[311] In preparation for its reopening, temporary fencing was erected to manage the anticipated crowds, indicating its popularity.[312] Perhaps the appeal of this memorial was due to its recent installation in the summer of 2004. The evolution of the fountain was well-publicised in the media, as was its opening. Most significantly, Princess Diana was an iconic and much-loved public figure, evidenced by the unprecedented outpouring of grief at the time of her death. The Diana Memorial Fountain is indicative of the general reception to British memorialisation, demonstrating that the most admired memorial in Hyde Park is one dedicated to a very British (even quintessentially English) public figure, who died in the last ten years and had a strong connection with the space in which the memorial sits.

The notion of Englishness has not always sat so comfortably in Hyde Park. A memorial dedicated to a British character, William Henry Hudson, sparked controversy when it was first unveiled on 19 May 1925 by the then Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, due to the ethnicity of its sculptor.[313] The reaction to the sculpture revealed Britain's attitude towards the Jewish community at the time. The Hudson Memorial to the naturalist William Henry Hudson was proposed after his death by a group of his friends who formed an Executive Committee to oversee the project.[314] It was determined that the memorial should take the form of a drinking and bathing fountain for birds in association with a bird sanctuary in a London park.[315] The appeal for monetary support was generously received.[316] Jacob Epstein, a Jewish sculptor who had emigrated to Britain in 1905 from Paris, submitted three proposals for the sculpture and eventually his third concept was

---

[310] 'Press Release: Memorial fountain to reflect Diana's qualities'.
[311] 'Press Release: Diana memorial to re-open', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/press/current/press_release_49.cfm>, November 2004.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Linda Gardiner, 'ORIGIN OF THE HUDSON MEMORIAL "RIMA" HYDE PARK, LONDON', in Samuel J. Looker (ed.), *The Worthing Cavalcade: William Henry Hudson, A Tribute*, (Worthing: Worthing Art Development Scheme by Aldridge Bros., 1947), p.147.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid.

accepted.[317] Epstein used Hudson's book *Green Mansions,* a story about Rima, the soul of nature who falls in love with an earthly man, as the theme for the fountain.[318] The book's message, a parable, 'made a marvellous subject for Epstein; the story was a statement of Hudson's loathing of the men and women who worship success and the business of the world', with Epstein holding similar views.[319] From the moment it was unveiled, however, the memorial depicting Rima caused public outrage: 'the overt sexuality and imagination of the work, so true to Hudson's theme and captured by Epstein in the purity of Portland stone, portrayed to the emotionally inhibited guardians of English good taste nothing less than pornographic filth'.[320] There was a practical objection as well, the sides of the pool were too steep to allow birds to bathe or drink.[321] In the first ten years of its existence, the fountain was vandalised four times and there were calls in the newspapers and the House of Commons for it to be taken down.[322] One writer even suggested that the memorial was part of a Jewish plot, displaying the rise of fascism in the 1920s.[323]

The response to Epstein's work was indicative of the anti-Semitism, narrow nationalism and religious fervour that were prominent in Britain at the time.[324] Those who attacked Epstein as a foreign 'alien' chose to overlook that although of British origin, Hudson was in fact Argentinean-born.[325] The memorial is now considered to be 'one of Epstein's finest early works'.[326] The reaction to Epstein demonstrates the adversity that a memorial located in a public space heavily associated with British identity, but sculpted by a non-Briton, faced. The Hudson Memorial was a suggestion of the difficulty that a Hyde Park memorial commemorating a non-British event would endure. With the exception of the Hudson fountain, the prominent memorials in Hyde Park are dedicated to characteristically British heroes or causes and this perhaps goes some way to explain the attention that they receive. The Holocaust Memorial Garden is

---

[317] Stephen Gardiner, *Epstein: Artist Against the Establishment,* (London: Michael Joseph, 1992), pp.41, 238-239.
[318] Ibid, pp.238, 246-247.
[319] Ibid, p.247.
[320] Ibid, p.258.
[321] *Buildings and Monuments in the Royal Parks*, p.45.
[322] Stephen Gardiner, pp.252, 257.
[323] Ibid, p.253.
[324] Ibid, p.258.
[325] John T. Frederick, *William Henry Hudson*, (New York: Twaine Publishers, Inc., 1972), p.11.
[326] *Buildings and Monuments in the Royal Parks*, p.45.

therefore somewhat set apart from the other memorials in Hyde Park by the very event that it commemorates.

The Holocaust Memorial Garden is situated in the south eastern corner of Hyde Park in an area called 'the Dell'. The government gave the garden plot to the Board of Deputies of British Jews.[327] The internationally renowned Jewish architect Colonel Richard Seifert, who had a penchant for designing tall towers and was the designer of Centre Point, the highest building in London when it was completed in 1963, was commissioned to design the garden.[328] The Holocaust Memorial Garden comprises of low shrubs, small rocks and a gravel area surrounded by a cobblestone border, in the middle of which is a stone monument. The entire area is enclosed by a series of silver birch trees which are a direct reference to the birch forest that surrounded Auschwitz-Birkenau, from which the camp took its name, 'Birkenau' meaning 'birch'.[329] These birch trees intimate the concentration camp that is not only the most widely known by the general public, but they also allude to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust as Auschwitz is now infamous for its role as the place of death for over 1 million Jews. Nevertheless, Auschwitz has been a site of contested memory, as the Polish government initially had difficulty accepting its Jewishness, emphasising instead the suffering of Christian Poles at Auschwitz I, evidenced by their designation of the site as a 'Monument to the Martyrdom and Struggle of the Polish and Other Peoples'.[330] There are rows of seating along two of the paths which run parallel to two sides of the Memorial Garden, one set facing the space, the other with their back to the garden. The stone monument itself is of an understated design, comprising of a large vertical granite boulder, flanked by three smaller darker rocks that seem to support the central section. In fact, in comparison to the bold styles of other memorials in Hyde Park that commemorate British icons, the Holocaust Memorial Garden is markedly inconspicuous. The Holocaust Memorial Garden seems to be made to go unnoticed, as is indicated by the choice of granite for the stone: 'in choosing granite as opposed to (say) the Portland stone which is typical of monuments in the UK [...] the memorial garden does not *look like a typical British*

---

[327] 'Holocaust garden dedicated', *Jewish Chronicle,* 01/07/83.
[328] Steven John Cooke, p.124 and 'Obituaries: Richard Seifert, Workaholic architect whose tall towers changed the urban skyline of Britain and Europe', *The Guardian,* 29/10/01.
[329] Steven John Cooke, p.133.
[330] Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, 'Reclaiming Auschwitz', in Geoffrey H. Hartman (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), p.240 and Isabel Wollaston, *A War Against Memory? The Future of Holocaust Remembrance,* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1996), p.40.

war monument, and blends into the landscape in a way that a carved monument of Portland Stone like the Cenotaph can not'.[331]

The Holocaust memorial in Hyde Park is not an obvious memorial to the passing member of the public unaware of its existence. Although it is apparent that the garden has been strategically planted, there are no clues that it is part of a memorial. Unlike the Diana, Princess of Wales, Memorial Fountain, the design of the Holocaust Memorial Garden does not actively encourage the visiting public to examine it closely. In order to reach the boulder in the middle of the garden, which then reveals the commemorative nature of the space, the visitor has to deviate from any of the main concrete paths that run past the garden and then walk across the grass (see Figure 13).[332] The Holocaust Memorial Garden is made to



Figure 13: The inconspicuous Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park

look like part of the park's natural topography, not a memorial that demands to be examined at close proximity. Two instances highlight the garden's unobtrusive nature and the problems associated with it. In 1985 a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* complained that the memorial was 'hardly recognisable' as such, that there was no mention of the 6 million Jewish victims, or a date and the author wondered why British Jews apparently had to 'keep [...] a low profile'.[333] Clearly, the writer felt that the Jewish victims of the Holocaust were not being remembered

---

[331] Please note 'cannot' is spelt in the original document as 'can not'. Steven John Cooke, p.133.
[332] The *Holocaust Memorial Garden,* Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004 and photograph taken by Hazel Starmes.
[333] Letter dated 26 April 1985 to the *Jewish Chronicle* from Mrs. E. Meleck regarding the inconspicuousness and public's misuse of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

in Britain's national memorial to the event in a suitable or explicit manner. The author of the letter also lamented that the garden was being abused by youngsters climbing on the rocks, oblivious to its meaning.[334] Later that year, a representative of the South London Synagogue wrote to the Board of Deputies of British Jews to say that a member had complained that the memorial was being used as a slide and the general area as a playground.[335] Only two years after its unveiling there was a noticeable lack of respect for the Holocaust Memorial Garden by the younger members of the public, which caused great upset amongst the Jewish community. This abuse of the memorial was possibly due to the fact that visitors to the park were unaware of the significance of the space.

Indeed, during an observational visit, a cyclist was passing along one of the main paths by the Holocaust Memorial Garden and on seeing me photographing the memorial, dismounted and walked across. He asked me what the memorial was for and I explained. He said that he always cycled past the garden on the path, but did not know what it was. He suggested that perhaps a plaque or sign should be put on the path to inform people of the memorial's presence and significance. The Holocaust Memorial Garden is not mentioned on any of the numerous signposts around Hyde Park. The memorial is detailed on the maps on the notice boards that are situated near the entrances to the park, although it is only marked as a memorial and its specific context is not mentioned. In 1983, Hayim Pinner, then Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, wrote to the Bailiff of the Royal Parks shortly after the garden's dedication, requesting that the memorial be signposted.[336] Due to the Royal Park's policy of keeping signage to a minimum, Pinner's suggestion was turned down, but he was informed that consideration would be given to referencing the memorial on the maps when they were updated, which evidently did take place.[337] Two women also came to look at the stone inscription respectively whilst I was taking notes. One of whom wandered around the back of the stone, examining it closely as if looking for further explanation. Clearly, although the Holocaust Memorial Garden is set in a very busy public park, it affords little attention. The cyclist's comments

---

[334] Ibid.

[335] Letter dated 4 October 1985 addressed to Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Mr. J. Westbury regarding misuse of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, for source reference see note 333 above.

[336] Letter dated 17 August 1983 addressed to Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Ashley Stephenson, Bailiff of the Royal Parks, regarding signage of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, for source reference see note 333 above.

[337] Ibid.

demonstrate that even if members of the public register that the garden is a man-made feature, they do not investigate it further and remain uninformed of its memorial function.

During its inception, there was some discussion concerning exactly which victims of the Holocaust the Holocaust Memorial Garden would commemorate. In 1979 a campaign for a British Holocaust memorial was launched by the Board of Deputies of British Jews and in October that year the Holocaust Memorial Foundation was established to oversee the project.[338] Originally, several sites in central London, including Jewel House Gardens, opposite the House of Lords and a space in Whitehall, near the Cenotaph, were proposed and then turned down by the government.[339] These sites were deemed unsuitable due to their resonance in British memory of the Second World War and alongside its vulnerability to vandals because it was a 'Jewish' memorial.[340] Moreover, there arose a wider 'national debate about the monument [which] revealed that many in British society were yet to be convinced of its need or appropriateness'.[341] When Greville Janner MP, the President of the Board of Deputies, publicly announced the project in 1979, it was to include *all* the victims of the Holocaust, Jewish and non-Jewish alike.[342] Newspapers reported that the memorial was to remember the (supposed) 11 million victims, commemorating the non-Jewish as well as the Jewish victims of the Holocaust.[343] As has been mentioned already in the course of this thesis, although the figure '11 million' is often quoted, it is hard to justify and is too low to include all of the Jewish and non-Jewish victim groups. In spite of this pronounced inclusiveness, some contemporary newspaper reports stated that the memorial was solely a Jewish initiative and was to be funded entirely by money from Jewish sources, giving the impression that it was a memorial dedicated exclusively to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust.[344] Although the official line on the memorial was that it was a memorial to all victims of the Holocaust, there were tensions between this concept and the belief of many members of the Jewish community in the Jewish specificity of the Holocaust.[345] These oppositions were tangible in the comments surrounding the unveiling ceremony. Patrick Jenkin, the

---

[338] Steven John Cooke, pp.99, 104.
[339] Ibid, pp.101-102, 122.
[340] Ibid, pp.102, 114.
[341] Tony Kushner, pp.259-260.
[342] Ibid, p.260.
[343] 'WHITEHALL MEMORIAL TO 11m', *The Daily Telegraph*, 22/10/79.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Steven John Cooke, p.125.

then Secretary of State for the Environment, said that there were 'others' apart from Jews who had died in the Holocaust and that 'it [was] therefore appropriate that the garden should commemorate the victims of all faiths'.[346] Alternatively, one survivor, who clearly viewed the garden as a space in which to remember the Jewish victims, stated that 'the memorial w[ould] be a matzeva for those of us who have no grave to go to, nowhere to recite Kaddish'.[347]

This difference of opinion was further demonstrated in the lack of a figure given to the victims of the Holocaust in the inscription on the memorial stone itself (see Figure 14).[348] The inscription etched on the boulder is, however, a clear

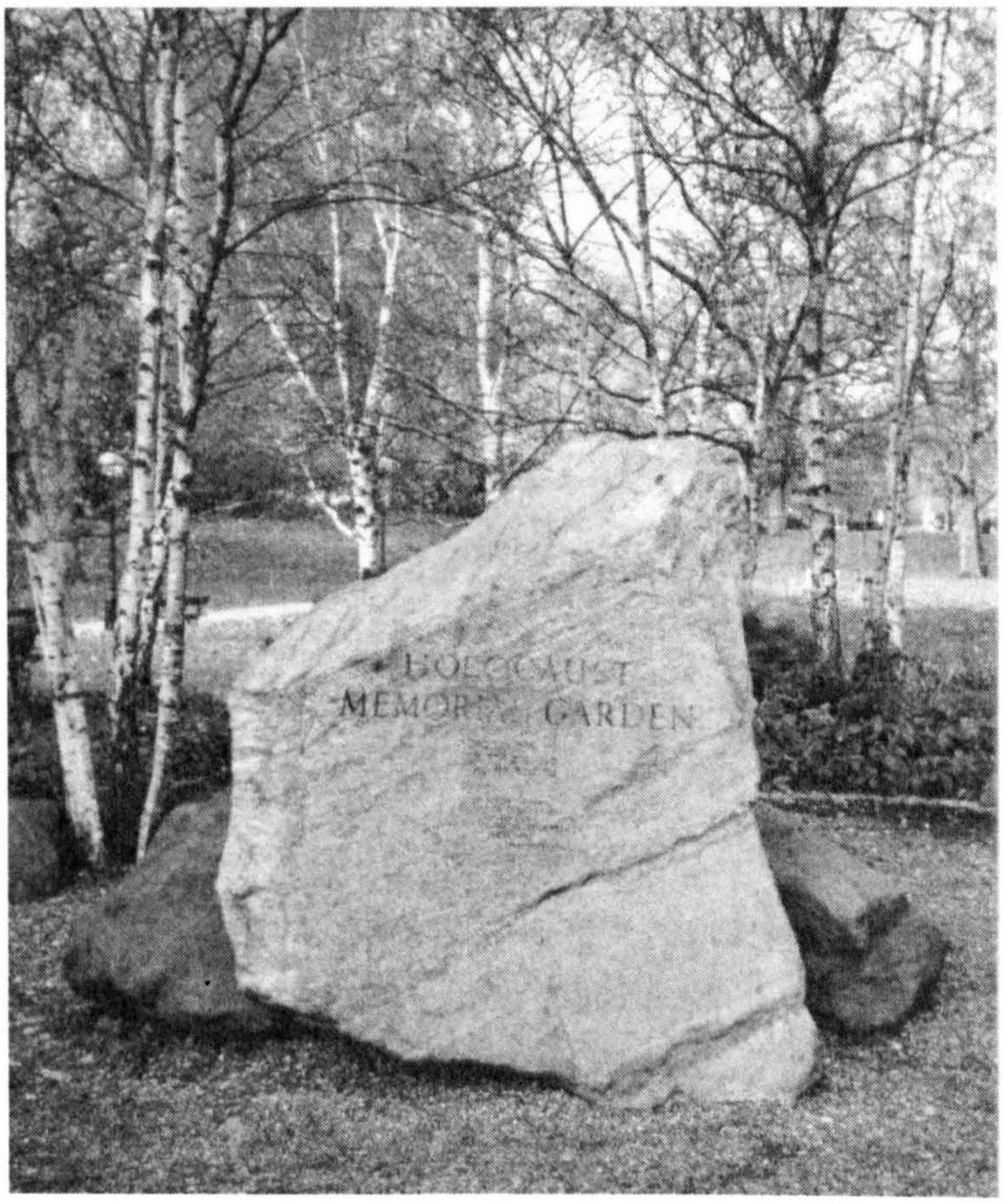


Figure 14: The central memorial stone with its fading inscription

indication of the memory of which victims of the Holocaust the memorial commemorates. The text details that the surrounding area is the 'Holocaust Memorial Garden' and the following reading from the Bible is written in Hebrew and then in English underneath:

---

[346] 'Holocaust garden dedicated'.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Steven John Cooke, p.125 and photograph taken by Hazel Starmes, the *Holocaust Memorial Garden*.

FOR THESE I WEEP
STREAMS OF TEARS FLOW
FROM MY EYES
BECAUSE OF THE DESTRUCTION
OF MY PEOPLE
(LAMENTATIONS)[349]

The quotation from Lamentations could be seen as inclusive, encompassing Christian and Judaic customs, remembering all victims of the Holocaust, Jewish and non-Jewish alike.[350] Yet, as Steven John Cooke has asserted, this is a rather simplistic reading of the verse and a closer analysis reveals that the passage is about the loss of the community of the Jews in the 587 BCE fall of Jerusalem and destruction of the temple.[351] The verse is placed within the tradition of Jewish historiography and mythology and is affirmed as a passage relating to the Jewish community.[352] In addition, the Hebrew text places the Holocaust that the Memorial Garden remembers in a Jewish religious, rather than secular, context. Secular Jews, as well as non-Jews, are consequently marginalised.

An annual remembrance ceremony held at the Holocaust Memorial Garden has further reinforced the Jewish particularity of the space. The Holocaust Memorial Garden has been used in the past by the Jewish community as an area in which to commemorate *Yom Ha'Shoah*. The service was held on the Sunday closest to the 27th day of the month of Nissan, the first month in the Jewish calendar, which usually occurred in March or April.[353] The 27th of Nissan is *Yom Ha'Shoah*, the date that was chosen to mark the remembrance of the Holocaust religiously in 1951 by the Israeli Knesset.[354] The position of the 27th of Nissan in the Jewish calendar, five days after the end of Passover and before *Yom Haatzma'ut*, the national Day of Independence, marked it as an important national and religious date within this period that is seen as beginning with 'God's deliverance of the Jews and concluding with the Jews' deliverance of themselves in Israel'.[355] The *Yom Ha'Shoah* ceremony at the Holocaust Memorial Garden was limited in publicity and was poorly attended owing to pragmatic factors such

---

[349] The *Holocaust Memorial Garden.*
[350] Comments made by Dr Gavin Schaffer, Dr Tom Lawson and Dr James Jordan on this matter were valuable.
[351] Steven John Cooke, p.127.
[352] Ibid.
[353] Ibid, p.145.
[354] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.268.
[355] Ibid, p.269.

as bad weather, a lack of seating and the logistical difficulty that its central-London location posed to Jewish communities outside of the capital.[356] Even the dedication ceremony for the garden attracted a low attendance (newspapers reported that between 400 and 500 people were present), which was due in part to the fact that a Monday, normally a working day, was chosen, which caused members of the Jewish community to complain that they had been excluded because they worked for non-Jewish employers.[357] The format of the *Yom Ha'Shoah* services marked them as Jewish ceremonies: speeches were given by prominent members of the Jewish community, such as Dr Jonathan Sachs, the Chief Rabbi, Jewish liturgical music was included and memorial prayers were recited.[358] The Jewishness of these ceremonies that remembered the Jewish Holocaust in a religious way marginalised not only non-Jews, but secular Jews as well. Furthermore, these services marked the Holocaust Memorial Garden as a Jewish space, remembering the Jewish Holocaust.

This exclusively Jewish, low key event is in stark contrast to Britain's national commemoration of the Holocaust, Holocaust Memorial Day. Holocaust Memorial Day is a secular event, whose pluralistic nature is reinforced by the choice of date on which it falls, 27 January, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the concentration camp most associated with the Holocaust in popular culture. Holocaust Memorial Day was established in 2000 as a result of the 1998 creation of the Task Force for International Co-operation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research by the Swedish, United Kingdom and United States Governments.[359] The national remembrance service is held in a different British city each year, but smaller commemorations are held around the country to support the national sentiment on a local level. Holocaust Memorial Day aims to remember all of the victims of the Holocaust, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, as well as those affected by more present-day atrocities, such as the genocides in Kosovo and Bosnia.[360] Despite this, the day is still perceived as largely a memorialisation of the Jewish Holocaust which has caused the Muslim Council of Britain's refusal

---

[356] Steven John Cooke, pp.148-150, 160.
[357] 'Wrong Day', *Jewish Chronicle*, 24/06/83, 'Holocaust garden dedicated' and 'GARDEN IN LONDON'S HYDE PARK IS BRITAIN'S HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL', *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 28/06/83.
[358] Steven John Cooke, p.151.
[359] 'What is Holocaust Memorial Day?', <http://www.hmd.org.uk/about/>, January 2007.
[360] Ibid.

to take part.[361] In comparison to *Yom Ha'Shoah*, Holocaust Memorial Day attempts to adopt a more universal approach to the Holocaust and in turn, the victims that it remembers. Holocaust Memorial Day has become increasingly inclusive since the first commemoration in 2001, more recent themes have included the genocide in Rwanda (2004) and 2007's topic 'The Dignity of Difference' focuses on the dangers of marginalising groups in society both during the Holocaust and today.[362] It thus contrasts to the more focused, religious remembrance associated with the Holocaust Memorial Garden.

Due to its public perception as a Jewish space, the Holocaust Memorial Garden has been subjected to several attacks of vandalism. In the first two months following its unveiling, the memorial was desecrated twice.[363] Patrick Jenkin MP, then Minister for the Environment, stated that such events were to be expected and that all of the Park's memorials were at threat from vandalism, whatever they commemorated and that the policy was to play down such incidents.[364] In January 1985 the memorial's inscription was covered with red and black paint and Hayim Pinner stated in a memorandum that the press would not be informed.[365] Jenkin and Pinner's determination to conceal the incidents suggests that they believed the Holocaust Memorial Garden was being targeted because it was considered to be a Jewish memorial and that publicising the attacks may have encouraged further incidents and unwanted publicity. In the early 1980s Britain as a nation was plainly not as receptive to commemoration of the Holocaust, specifically by the Jewish community, as those who established the Holocaust Memorial Garden would have wished.

The Holocaust Memorial Garden sits awkwardly within the context of its British counterparts in Hyde Park. The park is dotted with memorials which reinforce the overriding British memory of the Second World War, and Britain as a nation more generally, which is one of heroism and victory. Not only is the

---

[361] 'Senior Muslims tried to reverse Holocaust memorial day snub', *The Guardian*, 27/01/07.
[362] 'Holocaust Memorial Day 2004 Theme Paper: From the Holocaust to Rwanda: lessons learned, lessons still to learn', <http://www.hmd.org.uk/files/1149796746-20.pdf>, December 2006 and 'Holocaust Memorial Day 2007: The Dignity of Difference', <http://www.hmd.org.uk/files/1155629096-91.pdf>, December 2006.
[363] Letter dated 27 September 1983 to an unnamed recipient from Patrick Jenkin MP, Minister for the Environment, regarding the cost of repairing the damage caused by vandalism to the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession Number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.
[364] Ibid.
[365] Memorandum dated 9 January 1984 to the Honorary Officers, Colonel Richard Seifert, Mr. Henry Morris, Dr. Jack Gewirtz and Mr. Bruce Lawson, from Mr. Hayim Pinner, informing the recipients that the Holocaust Memorial Garden had been vandalised, for source reference see note 363 above.

subject matter of the Holocaust Memorial Garden at odds with conventional British memorials, but Britain's role in the Holocaust adds to the difficulty of commemorating the event. Traditionally, Britain has remembered its active role in previous conflicts in a triumphant way, utilising grandiose memorial iconography, such as depicting Achilles to remember the Duke of Wellington. As a bystander to the Holocaust, Britain cannot memorialise the event in a self-congratulatory way. Britain acknowledges the importance of the Holocaust and as a result chooses to commemorate it, but its burdensome relationship with the event is demonstrated in the form of its national memorial. The Holocaust Memorial Garden is so unassuming that although located in a very public space, it goes almost unnoticed by the general public as a purpose-built part of Hyde Park. The garden's commemorative nature and the event it remembers are unobserved.

Although inconspicuous, the inscription on the Holocaust Memorial Garden's central stone clearly asserts the group of Holocaust victims that Britain's national memorial to the catastrophe remembers, namely the Jewish victims. The specifically Jewish religious nature of the memorial is reinforced by the Hebrew text that appears first in the inscription and by the *Yom Ha'Shoah* services that were conducted annually in the memorial space. There is a contradiction at the heart of the Holocaust Memorial Garden between its universal aims, to memorialise Jewish and non-Jewish victims, and its particular recognition; it is marked as a Jewish religious space that remembers the Jewish Holocaust. Despite the original intention for Britain's national memorial to the Holocaust to commemorate all the victims of the catastrophe, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden is, in effect, an exclusive memorial dedicated to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust alone, but one framed in a superficial universalism.

iv. Chatsworth Park: An Almost Exclusive Memorial?

In contrast to the Jewish specificity of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, a Derbyshire memorial to the Roma is an attempt to almost exclusively commemorate a non-Jewish victim group in the United Kingdom. It is 'almost' exclusive because, as will be discussed, the wording on the memorial compromises its specificity. The Chatsworth memorial also serves to demonstrate the difficulty of researching the memorialisation of the Roma as an under-studied victim group,

as it has not been possible to ascertain much of the information surrounding the creation of this memorial.[366]

The Romani memorial is in the form of an oak tree planted in Chatsworth Park in the south east of the picturesque Peak District. Chatsworth Park is part of the Chatsworth estate, home of the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire.[367] The park consists of 1000 acres that are open without charge to the public all year round and it receives more than 750,000 visitors annually.[368] The 11th Duke of Devonshire, who passed away in 2004, was responsible for turning Chatsworth into the thriving business and tourist attraction that it is today.[369] When his father died in 1950 he was faced with a £7 million tax bill, which he paid in part by offering Hardwick Hall, a Jacobean house, to the Treasury for the National Trust.[370] He and his family then endowed Chatsworth House as a charitable trust and lived in the house effectively as tenants, paying rent.[371] The Duke was somewhat of a trailblazer in his attitude to ramblers' rights, agreeing with the Peak National Park in 1991 to open up 1,300 acres of his estate to walkers.[372] He has been described as 'humorous, tolerant, self-deprecating and mildly eccentric'.[373] The Duke was president of many organisations including the Royal National Institute of the Blind, Royal Hospital and Home (formerly Royal Hospital and Home for Incurables) and the National Association for Deaf Children, all of which he supported enthusiastically.[374] He 'inherited a great feeling of affinity with the Jewish community' from his father and consequently, the 11th Duke was president of the Conservative Friends of Israel and 'in 1991 he held a gathering at

---

[366] I contacted several individuals who specialise in Romani research, such as Ian Hancock, Amanda Sebestyen, Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, but unfortunately they were either unaware of the memorial or could not provide any further information.

[367] 'Learning: The Chatsworth estate', <http://www.chatsworth.org/learning/theestate.htm>, September 2006.

[368] 'What to see and do: Park and Stand Wood', <http://www.chatsworth.org/whattodo/parkandwood.htm>, September 2006 and 'Learning: The management of the estate today', <http://www.chatsworth.org/learning/estatemgmt.htm>, September 2006.

[369] 'OBITUARIES: 11TH DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE; MODEST HEIR'S GIFT TO BRITAIN', *The Express*, 05/05/04.

[370] Ibid.

[371] Ibid.

[372] 'The great legacy of the grand old Duke', *Derby Evening Telegraph,* 06/05/04 and 'Obituary: The Duke of Devonshire, Diffident and popular aristocrat whose life was spent struggling with the weight of his inheritance', *The Guardian,* 05/05/04.

[373] 'Obituary of The Duke of Devonshire Custodian of Chatsworth who secured the house's future and was a regular on the Turf and at Eastbourne', *The Daily Telegraph,* 05/05/04.

[374] 'OBITUARY: THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE; RESCUER OF CHATSWORTH AND REVIVER OF THE FAMILY TRADITION', *The Independent,* 06/05/04.

Chatsworth to promote peace in the Middle East'.[375] The 11th Duke's tolerant and liberal approach perhaps goes some way to explain why a tree commemorating the Romani victims of the Holocaust, and to a lesser extent, the Jewish victims, was situated in the grounds of Chatsworth estate during his lifetime.

The Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree was planted in 1995 by the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, 'a self-help voluntary group working locally, regionally and nationally' to provide information and assistance to the Romani community.[376] The tree was installed in association with the local Jewish community.[377] Due to Chatsworth's rural location, the nearest substantial Jewish community is likely to be situated in either Manchester or Sheffield, but it remains unclear who constitutes this 'local' Jewish community. The Duchess of Devonshire wanted the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree to be seen and therefore decided that it should not be planted with the other memorial trees, which are located in a private part of the park.[378] Despite this, the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree is not a prominent feature of Chatsworth Park. During several telephone conversations to the main switchboard at Chatsworth, all of the staff had difficulty putting me through to someone in connection with the tree, as nobody knew it existed.[379] Eventually, only someone with a personal association to the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree could offer assistance. David Spencer, Foreman of the Domain Department, Chatsworth Gardens, whose wife works for the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, was able to provide me with directions to find the tree.[380]

The memorial tree is located in the south of Chatsworth Park, near a road that leads to the Calton Lees car park, the main visitor car park. The tree is situated on a grassy slope that leads down a hill towards the River Derwent and a gravel path sweeps past it (see Figure 15).[381] Six other memorial trees, also oaks, are planted around the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree. The plaques on these trees state

---

[375] 'Obituary of The Duke of Devonshire Custodian of Chatsworth'.
[376] 'Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group', <http://www.dglg.org/>, September 2006.
[377] Personal correspondence with Siobahn Spencer of the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, Ernest Bailey Community Centre, Office 3, New Street, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3FE, on 11 September 2006.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Personal correspondence with the main switchboard at Chatsworth, Bakewell, Derbyshire, DE45 1PP, on 14 September 2006 and 22 September 2006.
[380] Personal correspondence with David Spencer, Foreman of the Domain Department, Chatsworth Gardens, Chatsworth, Bakewell, Derbyshire, DE45 1PP, on 14 September 2006.
[381] The *Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree*, Chatsworth Park, Chatsworth, Bakewell, Derbyshire, DE45 1PP, visited on 16 September 2006, photograph taken by Hazel Starmes.



Figure 15: The Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree (in the foreground) in Chatsworth Park

that they were put in place between 1992 and 2000. The other six trees were planted in memory of individuals or couples that were presumably local. These trees are relatively private in nature, although they are situated in a public setting. All of these memorial trees are accompanied by white plaques carrying inscriptions written in black text that are staked into the ground. The panels all face the same direction; a visitor looks up the slope, away from the river, to read the inscriptions. The plaque on the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree differs from those on the surrounding trees: it is grey with white writing and is located on a horizontal piece of wood halfway up the protective wooden and wire box that surrounds the trunks of all the trees. The panel faces across the slope, overlooking the other trees. This particular positioning of the plaque makes the fact that it is a memorial tree quite inconspicuous, let alone the specific nature of the memorial. On an observational visit, I initially walked right past the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree, failing to notice the plaque. Moreover, the cluster of memorial trees commanded no attention from the public on my visit. It is quite difficult to read the inscription on the panel as the wire fence has been placed directly over the top and obscures some of the lettering (see Figure 16).[382] The other trees do not suffer this problem as the plaques have been placed inside the fencing, but at a distance from the fence so that they can be clearly read.

---

[382] Ibid.



Figure 16: The obscured plaque and inscription on the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree

The inscription on the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree is written in both English and Romani and reads as follows:

Planted by Derbyshire Gypsy
Liaison Group.
April 30th 1995 to commemorate
the 50th anniversary of the
liberation of the concentration camps
The opreyed bar diks with hoi-iben
With pandered vasts and a bauri soverholoben
From a deep adray a garavved godli
Tries to bitcher a gili
In remembrance of Romany Jewish
and all other people who perished
Let them sleep beneath the flowers[383]

The lines written in Romani (6-9) are the first verse of a poem called 'The Aftermath' by Dimiter Golemanov which describes the loss of the Romani people.[384] The verse translates in English as:

> The upright stone stares angrily
> with clenched fists and a great curse.
> From within a hidden voice
> tries to send out a song.[385]

---

[383] Ibid.

[384] 'The Aftermath' by Dimiter Golemanov, from the files of the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group. For the full translated version of the poem, please see the Appendix.

The verse seems to describe the futility of inanimate objects, such as memorial stones, to convey meaning from the dead to the living. This sentiment is perhaps the reason why a tree, rather than a more traditional stone, was selected as a fitting memorial to the Romani victims. The last line of the plaque refers again to Golemanov's poem, which describes the unknown Romani victims as lying beneath the flowers and asks the current generation of Roma to let the victims continue sleeping there.[386] These lines appear to be a call to let the victims remain undisturbed and are possibly an indication as to the understated nature of this memorial and the lack of Romani memorialisation generally. The date that the tree was planted, the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of presumably the western concentration camps, signals that the memorial was intended to be an inclusive one. In choosing the date that all the camps had been liberated by, the memorial incorporates the Jewish and non-Jewish victims in the boundaries of its memory. The majority of the inscription is written in English, no doubt because that is the language that is most accessible to the greatest number of visitors to the park. The inclusion of Romani text indicates the specific and main victim group that the memorial tree remembers.

Nevertheless, the tree is not dedicated exclusively to the Romani victims of the Holocaust, as the Jewish victims and 'other people who perished' are afforded mention in the inscription as well. That the Jewish victims are remembered is not surprising given that the memorial was a joint initiative with the local Jewish community. Moreover, it demonstrates that it is necessary for a memorial commemorating non-Jewish victims to seek organisational (and possibly financial) help from the victim group that is most widely recognised as such and is the most experienced in Holocaust memorialisation. It would seem that a non-Jewish victim group cannot 'go it alone' in a Holocaust memorial. This is particularly the case for the Roma in comparison to other non-Jewish victims, for example homosexuals, due to the dynamics of the Roma as a group. The Roma are not a politically powerful body and they remain a marginalised faction in both the commemoration of the Holocaust and in society as a whole. Akin to the Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial and the Holocaust Memorial Garden, at the centre of the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree is a struggle between the universal and particular memory of the Holocaust.

---

[385] Ibid, lines 1-4.
[386] Ibid, lines 10-12, 13-14.

Although the memorial tree attempts to remember a non-Jewish victim group, the remembrance of the Roma is not possible without mention of the victim group at the heart of the particular Holocaust and its memory, namely the Jews. Universalism can only be achieved through acknowledgement of the particular first.

The Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree is the most exclusivist memorial that exists to a non-Jewish victim group in the United Kingdom. Yet it is not entirely focused on the Roma - as the inscription's mention of Jewish and other non-Jewish victims highlights. The memorial is not situated in London, with other prominent Holocaust memorials, but in rural Derbyshire. This location indicates that a memorial to a specific non-Jewish victim group had to be initiated on a local level, rather than a national one and as a result did not command such a prominent location as, for example, the Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park. Furthermore, the tree is placed in a setting that although public, is not an obvious location for such a memorial. Urban parks fulfil a variety of functions: they are sport fields, they have children's playgrounds, they contain woodland, wildlife habitats, areas of open space for dog walking and they are often home to sculptures and memorials. Alternatively, Chatsworth Park attracts visitors for its natural beauty as a walking area alone. The form of the Romani memorial also adds to its inconspicuousness as a commemorative marker. The Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree is not in the traditional configuration of a Holocaust memorial. Unlike the Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial and the Holocaust Memorial Garden, it does not comprise of a stone statue or figurative sculpture. The tree is arguably a suitable form for its picturesque surroundings. Above all, the Romani Holocaust Memorial tree does not stand out as a memorial at all, let alone as a memorial to the Romani victims of the Holocaust.

v. Conclusions: Markers of Britain's Wartime Role

The process of Holocaust memorialisation in the United Kingdom has begun to evolve slowly in the last forty years. Britain's relationship to the Holocaust has moulded the way in which it commemorates the event. All of the memorials that have been examined are public memorials, located in public spaces. Despite this, their prominence and the awareness of the event they remember amongst the

general public varies greatly. As a bystander to the Holocaust, the United Kingdom engages with the memory of the catastrophe in a different way than it does with other past events in which the nation's involvement is regarded as praiseworthy. Previous memorial iconography that was triumphant in nature could not be employed in British Holocaust memorialisation and therefore a new memorial tradition has had to be established. The United Kingdom's relationship to the Holocaust has resulted in unassuming forms of commemoration such as the Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park and the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree in Derbyshire.

In contrast, the Raoul Wallenberg memorial is a rather unusual example of a more conspicuous Holocaust memorial. The memorial is located in a crescent-shaped garden off Great Cumberland Place, to the north of Hyde Park. The statue is very prominent in form and location, but it is a very specific and obscure British Holocaust memorial. The three-and-a-half-metre-high bronze sculpture of Wallenberg by figurative sculptor Phillip Jackson, depicts the Swedish diplomat leaning against a wall, pulling a large overcoat around his shoulders clutching a 'Schutzpass', a false passport.[387] During the war, Wallenberg saved the lives of an estimated one hundred thousand Jews in Budapest by issuing them with 'Schutzpasses'.[388] Whilst acknowledging the United Kingdom's role as a bystander, the Raoul Wallenberg memorial simultaneously uses Britain's inactive wartime status to warn against such behaviour in the future. Despite that, its very topic, a Swedish diplomat that rescued Jews in Budapest, is obscure and seemingly far removed both geographically and experientially from Britain and the country's role as a bystander and liberator during the Second World War. The Wallenberg memorial demonstrates the difficulty Britain faces as a bystander in choosing the subject and form of a Holocaust memorial.

Although all three of the main memorial case studies discussed here remember the events of the Holocaust, they convey contrasting meanings of the catastrophe. The memory of the Holocaust that memorials in Britain today wish to impart is broad, but Jewish specificity remains a recurring theme. One of the first Holocaust memorials, which encompasses a wider remit of memory than just this event alone, the Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945

---

[387] 'West End's Wallenberg monument taking shape', *Jewish Chronicle*, 08/12/95 and the *Raoul Wallenberg Memorial*, Great Cumberland Place, London, W1, visited on 30 November 2004.
[388] The *Raoul Wallenberg Memorial*.

memorial in Gladstone Park, commemorates the non-Jewish victims to some extent in its general remembrance of 'concentration camp victims', although this is somewhat problematic. The religious symbolism of Britain's national Holocaust memorial, the Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park, and its inscription excludes not only the non-Jewish victims but secular Jews as well. Its unassuming form, however, indicates that in comparison to its imposing Hyde Park neighbours memorialising typically British heroes or causes, remembrance of even the Jewish victims of the Holocaust is not high on Britain's agenda. The Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree in Chatsworth Park is the first attempt in the United Kingdom to individually commemorate a specific non-Jewish victim group, but as has been demonstrated, this was not possible without the inclusion and help of representatives of the Jewish community. The location and form of this memorial signals its status as a local and rather obscure act of commemoration of the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Britain is currently an inconspicuous and exclusive phenomenon. As such, it is unsurprising that the non-Jewish victims remain on the periphery of this form of Holocaust representation.

Section Four: Similarities and Differences: Holocaust Memorials in the United States of America and the United Kingdom

As has been demonstrated in the examination of the preceding case studies, there are both similarities and differences between the three American Holocaust memorials and the three British memorials. In essence, the differences stem from the varying ways in which the United States and the United Kingdom perceive their relationship to the Holocaust. This factor, coupled with divergent ethnic politics in each country, has contributed to the variation in the memorialisation of the event. Nevertheless, although there is a struggle of memory evident in both the American and British memorials between a particular and a universal remembrance of the Holocaust, the representation of the non-Jewish victim groups is marginal in both.

Memorials are usually intended to be public markers of memory. All six examples are public memorials in the sense that they are located in spaces to which the public has easy access and without charge - for example, parks and areas located off a main street. Despite these very communal settings, there is a noticeable difference between the memorials in both countries in terms of how pronounced they are. The United Kingdom Holocaust memorials used as case studies are more inconspicuous than those in the United States. In the instance of the Holocaust Memorial Garden and the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree, it is their very form that has contributed to the public's unawareness of their presence. That in Hyde Park, London, was designed to look like a garden, although a strategically-planted one, but it blends in with the landscape of the park as a whole to such an extent that it goes largely unnoticed. The Romani memorial is an unobtrusive tree, with a small plaque as the only indicator of its memorial function. In the case of the Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial, it is the surrounding area that conceals the memorial, as it is hidden in a hollow in front of a large grassy slope. All three of the British Holocaust memorials suffer from insufficient signage to alert members of the public that they are there, or of their commemorative purpose. The lack of prominence accorded to these memorials suggests that although the Holocaust is remembered publicly in the United Kingdom in memorial form, it is in a way that

is so unassuming that it appears to be a token gesture, rather than being considered an important aspect of the nation's historical memory work.

In contrast, the American Holocaust memorials that have been examined are very conspicuous. Even so, the surrounding topography has not been without its problems. The isolated situation of the first Baltimore memorial caused it to be vandalised and the only solution was for it to be re-built in a new location. The beautiful natural setting of the San Francisco memorial draws the visitor's attention away from the figures towards the imposing Pacific Ocean and the Golden Gate Bridge. The New Jersey memorial is overshadowed by its iconic American neighbour, the Statue of Liberty. These American memorials are also more public than their British equivalents in the sense that they have attracted greater attention in the press, for example, the official protocol surrounding the evolution of the New Jersey memorial. Moreover, they have created increased debate in the community due to the problems that they have caused, such as in the case of Baltimore. The size, imposing forms and prominent locations of these United States memorials command attention from passing members of the public. The memorials demonstrate that American society feels that the Holocaust is a significant enough event in the nation's past to be marked in a public way.

The disparity between the American and British memorials and their varying levels of prominence has two major causes. Firstly, as we have already seen in the development of the USHMM, the role of ethnic identity and pride has had differing effects upon Holocaust remembrance and memorialisation in America and Britain. The Jewish community of the United States has been more vociferous than its British counterpart in establishing commemorative projects. The British Jewish populace is more unobtrusive, it tends to memorialise the Holocaust on a private level within its own community. This difference in visibility of the two Jewish populations has led to a distinction in not only their representation, but also the way that non-Jewish victim groups that are even less conspicuous are commemorated. The unassuming memorialisation of the Holocaust by the United Kingdom's 'quiet' Jewish community has meant that other victim groups that are yet more marginal, for example, the Roma, are left with only modest forms of commemoration to remember their dead, such as the tree at Chatsworth.

Secondly, the contrast in prominence between American and British memorials may lie in their respective country's sense of place of the Holocaust. Holocaust memorials in both the United Kingdom and the United States are

constrained by their respective country's relationship to the Holocaust; it shapes the memory of the Holocaust and the way in which it is represented. Yet, each country chooses a differing aspect of their relationship through which to view and commemorate the Holocaust. America sees itself primarily as a triumphant liberator, as opposed to the United Kingdom, which perceives itself largely as a bystander. Whereas Britain's position as a bystander constrains a grandiose gesture of memorialisation, America's self-congratulatory role as liberators allows for more pronounced commemoration. This discrepancy in obtrusiveness creates the impression that unlike the United States, Holocaust memorialisation in the United Kingdom is not considered a high priority.

Britain's situation as a bystander affects the representation of the Holocaust in its memorials to a greater extent than its role as a liberator or place of refuge. Despite this there are other genres of memorialisation in the United Kingdom that highlight Britain's simultaneous functions as a liberator and as a safe haven. The *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM emphasises the United Kingdom's position as a liberator with the inclusion of material on the liberation of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp by British troops. The 'Kindertransport' statue in London's Liverpool St Station commemorates Britain's role as a place of refuge for thousands of children who fled Nazi Germany in 1939. The impetus for the memorial came from the Kinder themselves, a special interest group of the Association of Jewish Refugees who established the project in conjunction with the World Jewish Relief.[389] A plaque expressing the Kinder's gratitude to 'the people and Parliament of the United Kingdom', unveiled in the House of Commons on 14 June 1999, further reinforces Britain's wartime situation as a place of asylum.[390] Notwithstanding these three examples, the United Kingdom's sense of itself as a liberator or as a place of refuge is less pronounced than in the United States. This position reflects both a contrast in the place of the Holocaust in the national mythologies of America and Britain and a difference in the standing of American and British Jewry in their respective countries.

As opposed to the more subtle way in which Britain's role as a bystander alters the conspicuousness of United Kingdom Holocaust memorials, the dominant experience of the United States as liberators is reflected explicitly in two of its

---

[389] 'Kindertransport sculpture arrives at Liverpool Street', *Jewish Chronicle*, 06/10/06.
[390] 'Association of Jewish Refugees Kindertransport', <http://www.ajr.org.uk/kindertransport.htm>, February 2007.

memorials. The majority of the American population that were not directly involved in the wartime events would have experienced the Holocaust vicariously through black and white news footage and photographs. Moreover, akin to the narrative of the USHMM, their encounter with the Holocaust would have been through the eyes of liberating American troops. It is therefore unsurprising that liberation is the element of the Holocaust that resonates most strongly in two of the United States memorials examined. The form of San Francisco's memorial mimics the overriding American memory of the Holocaust, depicting white naked corpses behind the confines of a barbed-wire enclosed concentration camp. New Jersey's memorial portrays the very moment of liberation, with an American GI lifting a Holocaust survivor to safety. Holocaust memorials in the United States are clearly marked by America's prevalent wartime relationship with the Holocaust.

In addition to differences in form, there is a contrast in the message that Holocaust memorials in the United States and the United Kingdom convey. In the case of two of the American memorials, it was felt that remembrance of the Holocaust alone was not strong enough justification for the installation of such a memorial. In conjunction with commemoration, it was perceived necessary to invest the Holocaust memorials with contemporary concerns. This was done in order that the communities in which they were situated would see the relevance of such a memorial in a country that was removed from the sites of the event, both geographically and experientially. Consequently, the second Baltimore memorial conveyed the didactic message of the danger of all hatred. The 'Liberation' memorial in New Jersey was endowed with a strong ideological sentiment of the United States as a tolerant, free nation, reinforced by the ever-present shadow of the Statue of Liberty. The memorial also portrays America as the saviour of humanity, depicted in the image of the strong GI carrying a weak Holocaust victim. Memorials in the United States perhaps feel the weight of the geographical distance more keenly between them and the European killing fields and thus need to provide a message that is perceived as directly pertinent to present-day society. Alternatively, such modern sentiments may be a way to subsume the United States' more questionable role in the Holocaust as a bystander and as a place of refuge that limited the amount of refugees it welcomed. In contrast, those organisations who initiated Holocaust commemoration projects in Britain did not feel the need to invest their memorials with such modern sentiments, perhaps

because these memorials and in turn, the event they remembered and Britain's role as a bystander in that event, were more inconspicuous.

All of the memorials examined in both America and Britain focus on different aspects of the Holocaust and they therefore remember different victim groups to varying extents. There is, however, a similarity in the Holocaust memory that the memorials convey: the struggle between the particular and the universal, as indicated in the debates surrounding the evolution of the memorials, their reception and their appearance. In the United Kingdom, the Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 memorial adopts a universal approach to the Holocaust and defines the victims inclusively as 'victims of concentration camps'. The ethnicity of the victims is not specified which allows for a broad interpretation of the categories of victim groups and, in turn, non-Jewish victims can be inferred to be included. The memory of this memorial is so broad that it not only incorporates the Holocaust but also prisoners of war of the First and Second World Wars and war and genocide on a more general level. As Britain's national Holocaust memorial, the Holocaust Memorial Garden was initially conceived as a memorial to all of the victims of the Holocaust, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. The boundaries of memory later constricted and it is now viewed as a memorial to the Jewish Holocaust, as evidenced by the presence of the Hebrew inscription on the central memorial stone, the *Yom Ha'Shoah* services that were held there annually and the vandalism that it has been subject to due to its perceived Jewishness. This very specific focus marginalises not only non-Jewish victims, but also secular Jews. The Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree has an unusual and almost exclusive focus, the Roma, but the memorial was developed with the help of the local Jewish community and consequently the Jewish victims are afforded mention in the inscription.

The United States Holocaust memorials show similar patterns of remembrance and the struggle between the particular and the universal. The first Baltimore memorial had a specifically Jewish focus as indicated by the choice of date on which it was unveiled and the Jewish symbolism of the form of the memorial. In addition, it was an initiative of the local Jewish community. The second memorial was more all-embracing in design and approach to the Holocaust. The re-designed memorial included references to the non-Jewish victims in its configuration and in its universal message of the danger of hatred. The San Francisco memorial suggested the liberation experience of America in its design, yet its Biblical and

religious references and the Jewish ceremonies that have taken place there indicate its specific aim. The New Jersey statue is so pluralistic in its approach to the Holocaust that it is less a Holocaust memorial and more a congratulatory symbol of America as a liberator and a place of refuge. The date on which it was unveiled, the presence of veterans' groups, its very name, its form depicting a GI saving a Holocaust victim and its location in the shadow of an American icon, all emphasise the American theme.

Ultimately, therefore, the American memorials and the British memorials possess more differences than similarities. The six Holocaust memorials examined here reflect the nature of memorials dedicated to any event; they are subject to a range of influences that aid construction of a particular memory of the Holocaust. The designs of the memorials, their locations, inscriptions, unveiling ceremonies and commemorative services all help to shape the specific Holocaust memory. Although both sets of Holocaust memorials in America and Britain remember contrasting elements of the event and varying victim groups, the non-Jewish victims are on the periphery of Holocaust memorialisation in both countries. Despite the different contexts of the United States and United Kingdom memorials, the non-Jewish victims have been largely excluded in both due to the predominance of the victim group who are the most active in Holocaust commemoration, namely the Jews. The Jews are the group who are the most widely recognised as victims of the Holocaust and they are the most politically organised of all of the victim groups. It thus follows that they have taken the lead in Holocaust memorialisation and that they are the victim group that is remembered most strikingly.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to investigate how, and the extent to which, the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust have been represented since 1945 in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. This has been carried out through the analysis of two popular modes of commemoration, the museum installation and the memorial. In the course of the examination of the case studies of the USHMM, the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the IWM and six Holocaust memorials, several trends have become clear: the effect of a sense of place upon the representation of the Holocaust in the United States and the United Kingdom, the difference in Holocaust commemoration in America and Britain, a struggle between a unique and universal interpretation of the Holocaust, the existence of a hierarchy of victims, the prominence in representation of one non-Jewish victim group and the impact of ethnic politics upon the representation of non-Jewish victim groups.

Sense of place has informed which Holocaust memory is commemorated in both the museum and the memorial case studies. This sense of place has worked on two levels: firstly, the location of the United States and the United Kingdom from the European sites of destruction. Secondly, the place of America and Britain during the war in relation to the Holocaust. The distance, both on a geographical and experiential level, between the nations in which the Holocaust is memorialised and the European countries in which the wartime events took place has inevitably affected how the Holocaust has been remembered. At both the USHMM and the IWM a need was felt to ground the exhibitions within the respective national cultural and historical framework in order that contemporary society would perceive the relevance and need for such displays in countries removed from the sites and events of the Holocaust. This was achieved in two ways. Firstly, explicitly American and British reasons were lauded for the creation of the exhibitions, such as each country's role during the war. Secondly, both museums felt it necessary to connect their displays with the past event they narrated by providing present links, such as the fact that the museums would serve as moral repositories to warn present and future society of the perils of prejudice and racism. In addition, Britain's exhibition would perform a didactic role as a resource for schoolchildren learning about the Holocaust as part of the National Curriculum. Many of the United States Holocaust memorials also felt the need to expound contemporary reasons for their creation, again to explicitly demonstrate

their appropriateness to society. The justifications included cautioning against the danger of all hatred (Baltimore) and highlighting America as an example of a free, liberal and tolerant society (New Jersey). The necessity to invest Holocaust memorials with a present-day message was not felt in the United Kingdom. This was perhaps because, unlike the United States, Britain's more constrained memorials were less of a contrast with its problematic relationship with the Holocaust as a bystander and safe haven that limited the number of refugees it admitted.

The geographical distance between the countries in which the Holocaust was being memorialised and the countries in which the events took place was also felt in the case of the American and the British Holocaust memorials. Unlike memorials located at the sites of former European concentration and death camps, the United States and United Kingdom memorials could not rely on their surrounding topography to evoke a sense of meaning. They therefore had to reference the European concentration and death camps to imbue a sense of place, either by incorporating an element of the European topography, such as the birch trees of Auschwitz (Hyde Park), or by adding the names of the concentration and death camps in the inscriptions (San Francisco).

The differing wartime roles of the United States and the United Kingdom have also impacted upon how the Holocaust has been represented in these two countries. The predominant American experience of the Holocaust was as liberators and as a place of refuge. This memory is captured vividly in its national Holocaust museum and two of its most well-known memorials. The narrative of the USHMM begins not with the rise of Nazism but in 1945, from the perspective of US liberating troops. The form of two of the American Holocaust memorials (San Francisco and New Jersey) directly reflect the experience of the liberation for the majority of the population who witnessed it vicariously through black and white newspapers and newsreel footage. The United States' self-congratulatory wartime role as liberators allows for more pronounced memorialisation. In contrast, the overwhelming United Kingdom memory of the Holocaust is as a bystander. This British viewpoint is less distinct at the IWM, whose Holocaust narrative is told from a European perspective. Nevertheless, information regarding when details of the Holocaust reached the United Kingdom and the reactions they caused are threaded throughout the display. The effect of Britain's role as a bystander upon the country's Holocaust commemoration is most explicit in its

memorials. Unlike other past events in which Britain's role has been celebrated, the Holocaust provided a new challenge and previous memorial iconography could not be employed. This resulted in the unassuming forms and locations of the United Kingdom Holocaust memorials studied here.

In both the museum and the memorial case studies a contention between a particular and a broader interpretation of the Holocaust has become evident. Yet, a specific definition of the Holocaust as the murder of 6 million Jews has emerged most prominently, resulting in a hierarchy of victims and a hierarchy of representation that is clear in both the museum exhibitions and the memorials. The USHMM provides the most striking example of the contest between a unique and a universal Holocaust narrative. The President's Commission and the Holocaust Memorial Council struggled to define who the victims of the Holocaust were, whether the Holocaust the Museum would remember would be that of the 6 million Jews, or whether the boundaries of remembrance would stretch further to include non-Jewish victim groups. Ultimately, the Holocaust was determined as the murder of 6 million Jews in the exhibition narrative, but their persecution was put into context by relating the Nazi persecution of 'other', non-Jewish victims. The IWM also adopted a Jewish-orientated narrative and the fate and persecution of the non-Jewish victim groups is narrated in addition to this specific focus. Non-Jewish victims are mentioned in activities outside of the space of the *Permanent Exhibition* and the *Holocaust Exhibition*, but these are secondary to the main displays. Some of the American Holocaust memorials examined remember the Jewish victims exclusively, with the non-Jews afforded only a passing mention as 'other' victims. Remembrance of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust is not high on Britain's Holocaust memorial agenda, as substantiated by the inconspicuousness of the country's memorials, so it is unsurprising that the non-Jewish victims are on the periphery of such Holocaust commemoration. In both the United States and the United Kingdom museum displays and memorials, a hierarchy of victims has become evident. The Jews are considered to be the main or only victims of the Holocaust in both genres of memorialisation. The non-Jewish victim groups are either incorporated as an addition to this Jewish framework, or excluded completely.

Despite being on the edge of a Holocaust memorialisation that is fundamentally Jewish, one group of non-Jewish victims receives a greater amount of representation than any other victim category, namely the Roma. The Roma are

the most prominent non-Jewish victim group in the narrative of both the USHMM's *Permanent Exhibition* and the IWM's *Holocaust Exhibition.* Although such conspicuousness seems strange when the lack of inclusion in the planning bodies of Washington and London's exhibitions is considered, this imbalance of representation is due to several practical factors. Firstly, there are extant artefacts to illustrate the Roma's story. Secondly, the Roma occupy an important role in the narrative of the Jewish Holocaust in both displays; their persecution helps to demonstrate the plight of the Jewish victims, such as their categorisation in eugenic terms. Although at times problematic, their marked representation alongside the Jews highlights that they are the non-Jewish victim group whose persecution and fate most closely paralleled that of the Jews. With regard to Holocaust memorials, the Roma are again the only non-Jewish victim group to which a memorial is almost exclusively dedicated. Nevertheless, their representation in this genre of Holocaust commemoration is on a less conspicuous scale than memorials remembering the Jewish victims; the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree in Chatsworth Park, Derbyshire is obscure in both location and form.

The divergent role of ethnic politics in America and Britain has had an effect upon the level of representation achieved by non-Jewish victim groups in each country. As we have seen in the case of the USHMM, the establishment of the President's Commission and the Holocaust Memorial Council became a politicised process. Representatives of ethnic and national groups clamoured for inclusion on these planning bodies, and in turn, in the Museum exhibition itself. Despite the absence of a Romani representative on either organisation, the Roma are the non-Jewish victim group that are portrayed most prominently in the *Permanent Exhibition.* The IWM's Advisory Group was not under such pressure to be ethnically inclusive and representatives of non-Jewish victim groups did not lobby for inclusion on the Group or in the museum display. Yet, in the case of the Roma, they too are the non-Jewish victim group represented most strikingly in the *Holocaust Exhibition.* Although there were contrasting ethnic politics at work in the United States and the United Kingdom, these divergent influences resulted in similar levels of representation of the non-Jewish victims in each country's Holocaust museums. A difference between the nature of the American and British Jewish communities has led, however, to contrasting representations of the non-Jewish victims in each nation's Holocaust memorials. In the United States, the

Jewish community have taken the lead in memorialisation and therefore they are the group who is remembered most prominently in its Holocaust memorials. The more reserved and private nature of the United Kingdom's Jewish community and its remembrance of the Holocaust has meant that British public forms of Holocaust commemoration are more restrained and unassuming. This understated precedent set by the Jewish victims, the victim group that is the most pro-active in British Holocaust remembrance, has in turn affected the way in which non-Jewish victim groups memorialise their Holocaust victims; they are left with even more modest forms of commemoration.

The conclusions drawn in this thesis may resonate beyond the two exhibitions and six memorials examined. Indeed, some of the findings discovered during the in-depth analysis of the particular local and national case studies can be said to reflect a general Anglo-American encounter and representation of the Holocaust and its victims, such as the prominence of the Jewish victims in each country's memorialisation. The ability to discover wider trends about the nature of Holocaust memory from a limited series of examples demonstrates the broader value of the approach of analysis at micro-level. The conclusions reached in this thesis regarding the hierarchical, and ultimately marginal, representation of the non-Jewish victim groups of the Holocaust in the United States and the United Kingdom, may have been somewhat different if a diverse series of case studies in a varying set of countries had been examined. European countries for example, would have provided contrasting national contexts with a different set of memories of the Holocaust to that of America and Britain. This would have impacted upon the national representation of the Holocaust and its various victim groups. Other national memorials, such as those at Auschwitz, may have demonstrated that the non-Jewish victim groups are represented in conjunction and as prominently as the Jewish victims.

Through the examination of the museum and memorial case studies it is evident that there is currently a debate concerning whether the Holocaust should be defined uniquely as the murder of 6 million Jews, or whether the term should be interpreted more universally to include all of the Nazi regime's victims, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. It has also become clear that despite this debate, divergent ethnic politics in America and Britain and the two countries' contrasting relationship with the event, a hierarchy of victims has emerged in Holocaust representation in both countries. The Jewish victims are regarded as the sole or main victims and the 'other', non-Jewish victim groups are assigned a supporting

role. The Roma are the only non-Jewish victim group that have been granted some level of recognition, although it has not been comprehensive or unproblematic. Although not entirely 'forgotten', the non-Jewish victims are on the periphery of a Holocaust narrative and a Holocaust memorialisation that is essentially Jewish in both the United States of America and the United Kingdom.

Appendix

THE AFTERMATH

By Dimiter Golemanov

The upright stone stares angrily
with clenched fists and a great curse.
From within a hidden voice
tries to send out a song.

The roads where we still travel
wait to hear it.
The Gypsies await the call
together with their horses.

But they are quiet, all are asleep.
Our brothers lie among the flowers
and no one knows who they are
or on which road the victims fell.

Hush Gypsies! Let them sleep
beneath the flowers.
Halt, Gypsies! May
all our children have their strength.

Glossary

Artfremdes Blut	Alien blood
Churari	Romani tribe
Churban	the Yiddish term (which translates literally as 'destruction') that was used, especially in Israel, to describe the Nazis' attempted destruction of European Jewry
Drang nach Osten	'Drive to the East'
Einsatzgruppen	mobile killing squads attached to the German Army, in operation 1939-1943
Kaddish	the Mourners' Kaddish, Jewish prayer for the dead
Kalderash	Romani tribe
Kinderstransport	1939 governmental policy which saw Britain become a place of refuge to thousand of Jewish children from Nazi Germany
Knesset	Parliament of Israel
Kristallnacht	'Night of Broken Glass', 9-10 November 1938
Lebensraum	'Living space'
Lovari	Romani tribe
Machavaya	Romani tribe
matzeva	gravestone or monument
monere	to remind and to warn
Mulattoes	part-black
Narodny Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del	Soviet Secret police

Operation T4	the 'euthanasia programme' of physically and mentally handicapped adults carried out during the Third Reich
Passover	Jewish festival of unleavened bread celebrating freedom, where the story of the exodus is remembered at the seder meal
Porrajmos	(translates literally from Romani as 'the devouring') the Romani Holocaust
Reichssicherheitshauptamt	Reich Security Head Office
Rom/Roma	(translates literally from Romani as) 'Man'/'People'
Romani	the language of the Roma
Schutzstaffel	Protection Squad
Shoah	the Hebrew term (which translates literally as 'catastrophe') that was used, especially in Israel, to describe the Nazis' attempted destruction of European Jewry
Sinti	Romani tribe
Sonderkommando	(translates literally from German as 'special unit') prisoners who were forced to dispose of the bodies of fellow inmates.
SS Obersturmbannführer	Senior Storm Unit Leader
Sturmabteilung	Storm troopers
Untermenschen	'Subhuman'
Ukrayins'ka Povstans'ka Armiya	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
Wehrmacht	the German Army of the Third Reich (1935-1945)
Yom Ha'Shoah	Holocaust Remembrance Day

Yom Haatzma'ut	National Day of Israeli Independence
Zyklon B	Cyanide-based poisonous gas

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Photographs:

Figure 1: Photograph taken from Adrian Dannatt, *Architecture in Detail: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, James Ingo Freed,* (London and New York: Phaidon Press Limited, 1995), p.24.

Figure 2: Photograph taken from an Imperial War Museum postcard entitled 'View of the Imperial War Museum showing 15-inch guns from *HMS* Resolution (*left*) and *HMS* Ramillies (*right*)'.

Figure 3: Photograph taken from 'Baltimore Holocaust Sculpture', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/holocaust/AboutStatue.htm>, May 2006.

Figure 4: Photograph taken from 'New Baltimore Holocaust Memorial', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/holocaust/NewMemorial.htm>, May 2006.

Figure 5: Photograph taken from 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 5b', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p5b.jpg>, June 2006.

Figure 6: Photograph taken from 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 7a', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p7a.jpg>, June 2006.

Figure 7: Photograph taken from 'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument: Picture 3a', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/p3a.jpg>, June 2006.

Figure 8: Photograph taken from 'Virtual Tours of NJ State Parks, Forests and Historic Sites: Liberty State Park', <http://www.state.nj.us/dep/parksandforests/virtual_tours/large_photos/liberty_large/p8153064.jpg>, July 2006

Figure 9 and 10: Photographs taken by Hazel Starmes, the *Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945* memorial, Gladstone Park, Dollis Hill, London, NW2, visited on 29 November 2004.

Figure 11: Photograph taken by Hazel Starmes, the Duke of Wellington statue, *Achilles*, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

Figure 12: Photograph taken by Hazel Starmes, the *Cavalry Memorial*, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

Figure 13 and 14: Photographs taken by Hazel Starmes, the *Holocaust Memorial Garden,* Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

Figure 15 and 16: Photographs taken by Hazel Starmes, the *Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree*, Chatsworth Park, Chatsworth, Bakewell, Derbyshire, DE45 1PP, visited on 16 September 2006.

Research Interviews:

Interview with Dr Mark Levene, a historical adviser to the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the University of Southampton, 6 December 2005.

Interview with Jacek Nowakowski, Senior Curator for Research and Acquisition, at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 26 May 2005.

Interview with James Barker of October Films, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the Nova Scotia Public House in Bristol, 9 October 2005.

Interview with Martin Smith, Director of the *Permanent Exhibition* 1988-1990 and a member of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at his home in Bristol, 12 July 2005 and 6 September 2005.

Interview with Radu Ioanid, Director of the International Archival Programmes Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies and Raye Farr, Director of the Department of Film and Video, at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 27 May 2005.

Interview with Steve Luckert, Curator of the *Permanent Exhibition* and Ramee Gentry, Co-ordinator for the *Permanent Exhibition*, at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 26 May 2005.

Interview with Steve Slack, a Research Assistant for the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition at the time of interview, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the Imperial War Museum, 30 March 2004.

Interview with Suzanne Bardgett, Director of the *Holocaust Exhibition* and the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, interviewed by Hazel Starmes at the Imperial War Museum, 4 October 2005.

Research Visits:

The *Albert Memorial*, Kensington Gardens, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

The *Cavalry Memorial*, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

The *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition, the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ, United Kingdom, viewed on 31 March 2004 and 4 October 2005.

The *Diana, Princess of Wales, Memorial Fountain*, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

The Duke of Wellington statue, *Achilles*, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

The *Holocaust Exhibition,* the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ, United Kingdom, viewed on 30-31 March 2004 and 3 October 2005.

The *Holocaust Memorial Garden,* Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

The *Norwegian War Memorial*, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

The *Pan* statue, Hyde Park, London, W2, visited on 30 November 2004.

The *Permanent Exhibition*, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW Washington, D.C., 20024-2126, United States of America, viewed on the 27-29 May 2005.

The *Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945* memorial, Gladstone Park, Dollis Hill, London, NW2, visited on 29 November 2004.

The *Raoul Wallenberg Memorial*, Great Cumberland Place, London, W1, visited on 30 November 2004.

The *Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree*, Chatsworth Park, Chatsworth, Bakewell, Derbyshire, DE45 1PP, visited on 16 September 2006.

The *Second World War* exhibition, the Imperial War Museum, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ, United Kingdom, viewed on 4 October 2005.

The *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, Constitution Gardens, Henry Bacon Drive and Constitution Avenue at 21st Street NW, Washington, D.C., United States of America, visited on 26 May 2005.

The *Zachor Holocaust Memorial*, The Sternberg Centre, 80 East End Road, Finchley, London, N3 2SY, visited on 29 November 2004.

Archival Material for the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum:

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'Comments made by the Advisory Group on the Holocaust Exhibition during their tour on 3 April 2000, and how the Museum proposes to deal with them', Marin Smith's personal files, 3 May 2000.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'F FLOOR EXHIBITION BRIEF *GENOCIDE IN OUR TIME: ITS CAUSES AND PREVENTION'*, Martin Smith's personal files, 13 January 2001.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'Holocaust Exhibition: first thoughts on the distillation section by section of the story into a two hour display', Martin Smith's personal files, 4 October 1996.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'HOLOCAUST EXHIBITION: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS', Martin Smith's personal files, 3 June 2000.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'Imperial War Museum Holocaust Exhibition: Five basic tenets of presentation', Martin Smith's personal files, 4 October 1996.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'The British Perspective on the Holocaust', 'Imperial War Museum: The Holocaust: A Major Permanent Exhibition for the New Millennium', Imperial War Museum Archives, undated publicity package.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'The Holocaust: A New Museum within the Imperial War Museum', Imperial War Museum Archives, October 1996.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'The Making of the Holocaust Exhibition', Martin Smith's personal files, undated.

'Comments left by visitors to the Holocaust Exhibition [January 2003-July 2005]', Martin Smith's personal files.

Crawford, Robert, 'Why an Exhibition devoted to the Holocaust?' 'Imperial War Museum: The Holocaust: A Permanent Exhibition for the New Millennium', undated proposal.

DEGW Press Release, Martin Smith's personal files, undated.

'GA Plan and Sections', (Cusson Mann Designers, London), Imperial War Museum Archives, October 2001.

Heritage Lottery Fund Press Release, 'Remembrances Past: Imperial War Museum's 'Holocaust Exhibition' opens with help from the Heritage Lottery Fund', Martin Smith's personal files, 2 June 2000.

Imperial War Museum, *Imperial War Museum Redevelopment: The Second Stage,* Imperial War Museum Archives, undated pamphlet.

Imperial War Museum, *Imperial War Museum: The Holocaust: A Major Permanent Exhibition for the New Millennium*, Imperial War Museum Archives, undated publicity package.

Imperial War Museum Press Notice, 'The Holocaust Exhibition', Imperial War Museum Archives, 30 November 1996.

Imperial War Museum Press Notice, 'The Holocaust Exhibition', Martin Smith's personal files, April 2000.

Judah, Gerry, 'Auschwitz Model, IWM', Martin Smith's personal files, undated.

'Lament by Frederick Stocken: Performed by the Strings of the Royal Academy of Music. Conducted by the composer at the opening of the Holocaust Exhibition, Imperial War Museum', Martin Smith's personal files, 2 June 2000.

Letter addressed to Martin Smith from Annie Dodds, regarding the rough-cut viewing of the audiovisual programmes, Martin Smith's personal files, 23 February 1999.

Letter addressed to Suzanne Bardgett from Martin Smith, regarding Smith's viewings of the audiovisual programmes at October Films, Martin Smith's personal files, 12 November 1998.

Letter addressed to the Editor of the British Journal of Photography from Jane Carmichael in response to Josef Gross' 9 May 1991 review of the *Belsen 1945* exhibition, Imperial War Museum Archives, 17 May 1991.

'Man's Inhumanity to Man: a discussion paper', Imperial War Museum Archives, undated.

Memorandum addressed to Penny Ritchie-Calder from Suzanne Bardgett, with the following documents attached: a note from Annie Dodds explaining the audiovisual programmes, Martin Smith's comments of the rough cuts he viewed and a description of each audiovisual as discussed between the Museum, the designers and October Films, Imperial War Museum Archives, 16 November 1998.

Memorandum addressed to Robert Crawford, Suzanne Bardgett and Penny Ritchie-Calder from Martin Smith, regarding Smith's viewing of the rough cuts of the audiovisual programmes, Martin Smith's personal files, 24 February 1999.

Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 15 April 1996, Imperial War Museum Archives.

Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 16 October 1996, Imperial War Museum Archives.

Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 20 April 1998, Imperial War Museum Archives.

Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 23 April [?], Imperial War Museum Archives.

Minutes of a meeting of the Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group, 28 May 1999, Imperial War Museum Archives.

'Note of a meeting held on 21 May 1998 between the Museum, the Holocaust Exhibition designers and Martin Smith to discuss the Auschwitz section', Martin Smith's personal files, 21 May 1998.

'Opening speech by Field Marshal Lord Bramall KG GCB OBE MC JP, Chairman of the Imperial War Museum's Board of Trustees made at the Press Conference to

announce plans for the Holocaust Exhibition, held at the Imperial War Museum on 23 April 1996', Imperial War Museum Archives.

'Report to the Imperial War Museum Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Group: progress report', Martin Smith's personal files, 3 October 1996.

'Speech made by Robert Crawford, Director-General of the Imperial War Museum, at the Press Conference held to announce plans for the Holocaust Exhibition on 23 April 1996', Imperial War Museum Archives.

'Survivors featured in *The Holocaust Exhibition* audio-visual programmes', Imperial War Museum Archives.

Transcripts of the audiovisual programmes made for the *Holocaust Exhibition* by October Films, Imperial War Museum Archives.

Archival Material for the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden:

Agenda for the Honorary Officers Meeting held on 7 July 1983, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Interview with Reginald Freeson, former Labour MP for Willesden East and local councillor, interviewed by Dr James Jordan, 6 May 1999, Dr James Jordan's personal files.

Letter dated 17 August 1983 addressed to Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Ashley Stephenson, Bailiff of the Royal Parks, regarding signage of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 19 August 1983 addressed to Mr. Pannin of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from an unnamed author, regarding signage of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 25 August 1983 addressed to the Board of Deputies of British Jews from Mr Paul Abel of the Lettering Centre, regarding the improvement of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 20 September 1983 addressed to Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from S. G. Wardell of R. Seifert & Partners, regarding the repair of damage caused by vandalism and the improvement of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 27 September 1983, author and recipient unnamed, regarding the repair of damage caused by vandalism and the improvement of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 27 September 1983 to an unnamed recipient from Patrick Jenkin MP, Minister for the Environment, regarding the cost of repairing the damage caused by vandalism to the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 5 October 1983 addressed to Greville Janner MP, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from R. Seifert & Partners, regarding the improvement of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 14 October 1983 addressed to Arnold Morris, from the office of Richard R. Seifert & Partners, regarding the improvement of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 23 November 1983 addressed to Greville Janner MP of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Patrick Jenkin MP, Minister for the Environment, regarding the repair of damage caused by vandalism, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 28 November 1983 addressed to Patrick Jenkin, Secretary of State for the Environment, from Greville Janner MP, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, regarding sealing the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 5 December 1983 addressed to Greville Janner MP, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Richard Seifert of R. Seifert & Partners, regarding sealing the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 2 May 1984 addressed to Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Mr. G. Hook of R. Seifert & Partners, regarding the improvement of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 2 May 1984 addressed to Paul Abel of the Lettering Centre, from Mr. G. Hook of R. Seifert & Partners, regarding a quotation for the improvement of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 14 June 1984 addressed to Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from S. G. Wardell of R. Seifert & Partners, regarding the handover of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 26 April 1985 to the *Jewish Chronicle* from Mrs. E. Meleck regarding the inconspicuousness and public's misuse of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 11 July 1985 addressed to R. Seifert & Partners, from R. A. Stephenson, Bailiff of the Royal Parks, concerning the maintenance of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 1 October 1985 addressed to Arnold Morris, from the office of R. Seifert & Partners, regarding the illegibility of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 1 October 1985 addressed to Mr. G. Hook of R. Seifert & Partners, from Mr. P. M. Corne, Director of the Lettering Centre, regarding the illegibility of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 4 October 1985 addressed to Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Mr. J. Westbury regarding misuse of the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 20 November 1985 addressed to Mr .G. Hook of R. Seifert & Partners, from Mr. P. M. Corne, Director of the Lettering Centre, regarding remedial works carried out and solutions to the illegibility of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/736, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Letter dated 27 November 1985 addressed to Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Mr. G. Hook of R. Seifert & Partner, regarding solutions to the illegibility of the lettering on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/736, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Memorandum dated 9 January 1984 addressed to the Honorary Officers, Colonel Richard Seifert, Mr. Henry Morris, Dr. Jack Gewirtz and Mr. Bruce Lawson, from Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, informing the recipients that the Holocaust Memorial Garden had been vandalised,

the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Memorandum dated 30 April 1984 addressed to the Honorary Officers from Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, regarding the restoration of the inscription on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Memorandum dated 9 May 1984 addressed to the Honorary Officers and Mr. Simon Reiss, from Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, regarding the restoration of the letters on the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone and the planned application of an anti-vandal protective coating to the stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Memorandum dated 26 April 1985 addressed to Greville Janner MP, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Hayim Pinner, Secretary General of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, regarding Mrs. E. Meleck's letter of the same date to the *Jewish Chronicle*, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Memorandum dated 4 November 1986 addressed to the President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, from Ben Helfgott of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, regarding the 1987 *Yom Ha'Shoah* ceremony that was to be held at the Holocaust Memorial Garden, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/736, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Undated specification of new works to be carried out to the Holocaust Memorial Garden stone, the London Metropolitan Archives, Accession number ACC/3121/E4/913, 'Holocaust Memorial', papers owned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Archival Material for the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree at Chatsworth Park:

Photograph of the planting of the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree, from the files of the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, 30/04/95.

Photograph of Tom McCrealy Senior and Hughie Steele (Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group Chair) presenting the plaque for the Romani Holocaust Memorial Tree, from the files of the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, 30/04/95.

'The Aftermath' by Dimiter Golemanov, from the files of the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group.

Archival Material for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum:

'A Campaign to Remember: A Case For The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.051, Box 5, United States Holocaust Memorial Council: Minutes and Records Relating to Council meetings, 14 March 1984-30 January 1985.

'Address by President Jimmy Carter Made at the National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony, 24 April 1979, United States Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C.', in *Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust,* Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Executive Order, Order No.12093, The White House: President's Commission on the Holocaust, 1 November 1978', in *Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust,* Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Gay and Lesbian Campaign Pledge Card', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 200.051, Box 5, United States Holocaust Memorial Council: Minutes and Records relating to Council meetings, 1980-1985.

Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.014, Box 26, Director of the Museum, Subject files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg: Minutes and Records relating to Content Committee meetings and United States Holocaust Memorial Council meetings, 1979-1995.

Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.016.1, Box 1 of 4, Michael Berenbaum's Committee Memoranda and Reports: Minutes and Records relating to Content Committee meetings, United States Holocaust Memorial Council meetings and Academic Committee General Information, 1987-1988.

Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.016.1, Box 2 of 4, Michael Berenbaum's Committee Memoranda and Reports: Minutes and Records relating to Content Committee meetings and United States Holocaust Memorial Council meetings, 1988-1991.

Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.051, Box 5, United States Holocaust Memorial Council: Minutes and Records relating to Council meetings, 1984-1985.

Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2001.165, Reports to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council regarding European Holocaust Archives, Memorials, and Museums, 1980-

1989, 'The Fate of the Gypsies During the Holocaust', Report to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, by Gabrielle Trynauer, PhD., February 1985.

Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2002.023, Box 1, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Staff Newsletter 'Update', April 1987-present (December 1990).

Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2002.023, Box 2, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Staff Newsletter 'Update', January 1991-Summer 1993.

'Jehovah's Witness Youths in Nazi Germany', materials relating to the public programmes, 5-7 December 2000, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

Letter dated 26 May 1988 to Mr. Arthur Rosenblatt, Director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, from Father John Pawlikowski, member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.016.1, Box 1 of 4, Michael Berenbaum's Committee Memoranda and Reports: Minutes and Records relating to Content Committee meetings and Academic Committee General Information, 1987-1988.

Letter dated 19 April 1993 to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council from Jimmy Carter, former President of the United States of America, on the dedication of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.006, President Carter, April 1993 Museum Dedication.

Letter dated 9 October 1996 from President Bill Clinton, welcoming visitors to Washington, D.C., to remember the gay and lesbian victims of the Holocaust, with a covering letter noting the restrictions in the use of the President's message, from James A. Dorskind, Special Assistant to the President, Director of Correspondence and Presidential Messages, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2001.003, Letter from President Clinton Commemorating Gay and Lesbian Victims of the Holocaust, 9 October 1996.

'Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals 1933-1945', materials relating to the special exhibition, 15 November 2002-16 March 2003, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Ninety-sixth Congress of the United States of America: An Act to establish the United States Holocaust Memorial Council', 3 January 1980, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2001.125, H.R.8081.

'Remember Gay Victims', materials relating to the commemoration ceremony held by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Gay and Lesbian Campaign Committee, 10 October 1996, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust, Institutional Archives, #379/#380, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Roma and Sinti: Under-Studied Victims of Nazism', materials relating to the symposium, 21 September 2000, Institutional Archives, #379/#380, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Segment Titles', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #108 Permanent Concept and Design Files: Fourth to Third Floors.

'Speech made by President Ronald Reagan at the groundbreaking ceremony for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum', dated 15 October 1985, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.006, President Reagan, 1985 Groundbreaking.

'Statement of Mark Talisman, Vice Chairman, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, before the Senate on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies, on the 1985 Budget for the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 13 March 1984', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.051, Box 5, United States Holocaust Memorial Council: Minutes and Records Relating to Council Meetings, 14 March 1984-30 January 1985.

'Stories Untold: Gays and Lesbians During the Holocaust', materials relating to the film series, 15-19 May 1994, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'The Nazi Olympics Berlin 1936', materials relating to the special exhibition, 13 February-15 August 2000, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'The Other Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis', materials relating to the conference, 23-25 February 1987, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'The Story of Karl Stojka: A Childhood in Birkenau', catalogue of the exhibition at the Embassy of Austria, 30 April-29 May 1992, Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Victims of the Nazi Era 1933-1945: Handicapped', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Victims of the Nazi Era 1933-1945: Homosexuals', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Victims of the Nazi Era 1933-1945: Jehovah's Witnesses', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Victims of the Nazi Era 1933-1945: Poles', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

'Victims of the Nazi Era 1933-1945: Sinti and Roma', Institutional Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, #379/#380, Accession number 2002.032, Collected United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Publications.

Personal Correspondence:

Personal correspondence with David Spencer, Foreman of the Domain Department, Chatsworth Gardens, Chatsworth, Bakewell, Derbyshire, DE45 1PP, on 14 September 2006 and 10 October 2006.

Personal correspondence with Siobahn Spencer of the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, Ernest Bailey Community Centre, Office 3, New Street, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3FE, on 11 September 2006, 14 September 2006 and 23 October 2006.

Personal correspondence with the main switchboard at Chatsworth, Bakewell, Derbyshire, DE45 1PP, on 14 September 2006 and 22 September 2006.

Printed Material:

'Belsen 1945', *The New Imperial War Museum*, (London: The Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, 1989).

Buildings and Monuments in the Royal Parks, (London: The Royal Parks, 1997).

Crawford, Robert, 'A central event of the Twentieth Century', *Imperial War Museum Report*, Winter 1996/97.

Davis, Fred, *Finchley Manor: influential families,* (London: Barnet Libraries Local History Publications, 1982).

Dean, Corinna, 'Sculpture's Alchemist', *The Architect's Journal*, Martin Smith's personal files, 13 January 2000, pp.18-19.

Fritz Kormis Memorial Exhibition: Sculpture, Reliefs and Drawings, October 26-November 25 1987, (Organised by the Manor House Society, Sternberg Centre for Judaism, 80 East End Road, London, N3), catalogue accompanying exhibition of the same name.

Imperial War Museum, *Imperial War Museum London,* (London: The Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, 2000).

Imperial War Museum, *Imperial War Museum Report*, Autumn 1997-Summer 2000.

Imperial War Museum, *The Holocaust: The Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum,* (London: The Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, 2000).

Imperial War Museum, *The New Imperial War Museum*, (London: The Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, 1989).

Imperial War Museum, *The Relief of Belsen: April 1945. Eye Witness Accounts,* (London: The Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, 1991).

Levi, Primo [Stuart Woolf, trans.], *Survival in Auschwitz,* (New York: Touchstone, 1996).

London's Royal Parks: Souvenir Guide, (London: The Royal Parks, 1993).

The Holocaust Memorial in Baltimore, undated leaflet describing the redesigned memorial.

The Jewish Community Study of Greater Baltimore: Population Survey, (Baltimore: THE ASSOCIATED: Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore, 2001).

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *The Architecture and Art of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, undated pamphlet.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *The Holocaust,* (Washington: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2004).

'Two reasons, says Lord Bramall', *Imperial War Museum Report*, (Winter 1996/97).

Wiesel, Elie [Marion Wiesel, trans.], *And the Sea Is Never Full: Memoirs, 1969-*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1999).

Wiesel, Elie, *Night*, (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1981).

2004 Jewish Community Study: Full Findings, (San Francisco: Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties, 2005).

Transcript of a Radio Programme Relating to the Baltimore Holocaust Memorial:

Transcript, 'Baltimore to Tear Down Memorial to Holocaust Victims', *National Public Radio,* 08/01/96.

Newspaper Cutting Relating to the Opening of the *Crimes Against Humanity* Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum:

'A Century of Murder Most Foul', *Times2*, 07/01/03.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Holocaust Memorial Day:

'Senior Muslims tried to reverse Holocaust memorial day snub', *The Guardian*, 27/01/07.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the Baltimore Holocaust Memorial:

'Holocaust Memorial Dedicated', *The Associated Press,* 02/11/80.

'New Memorials Mark the Drive for Holocaust Memory in US', *The Boston Globe,* 29/12/97.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the Holocaust Memorial Garden:

'GARDEN IN LONDON'S HYDE PARK IS BRITAIN'S HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL', *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* 28/06/83.

'Holocaust garden', *Jewish Chronicle,* 25/03/83.

'Holocaust garden dedicated', *Jewish Chronicle,* 01/07/83.

'WHITEHALL MEMORIAL TO 11m', *The Daily Telegraph,* 22/10/79.

'Wrong day', *Jewish Chronicle,* 24/06/83.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the Members of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council:

'Leon A. Jick, 80, rabbi and scholar at Brandeis', *The Boston Globe*, 22/05/05.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the New Jersey Holocaust Memorial:

'A Memorial to Liberators is Dedicated', *The New York Times*, 31/05/85.

'Appreciating Liberty', *The New York Times,* 26/03/99.

'Bush and Dukakis Are Engaging in Early Battle Over the Jewish Vote', *The New York Times,* 29/05/88.

'Deaths Elsewhere: Nathan Rapoport', *The Washington Post*, 07/06/87.

'Domestic News', *The Associated Press,* 04/10/84.

'Ground Broken for Monument to American Liberators of Europe', *The Associated Press,* 03/10/84.

'Holocaust Observances', *The New York Times,* 10/04/88.

'Jersey Monument Captures the Spirit of the Holiday', *The New York Times,* 27/05/91.

'Liberation Medals', *Charlotte Observer* (North Carolina), 03/08/95.

'Liberty and Freedom Celebrated in Sculpture', *The New York Times,* 23/02/85.

'Nathan Rapoport, Sculptor of Works on Holocaust, Dies', *The New York Times,* 06/06/87.

'Park Monument is Begun in Jersey', *The New York Times,* 04/10/84.

'Peekskill, N.Y., Feb. 21', *PR Newswire,* 21/02/85.

'Statue to Honor Men Who Freed Nazis' Prisoners', *The New York Times*, 29/05/83.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the Opening of the *Holocaust Exhibition* at the Imperial War Museum:

'A modern dark age', *Guardian Education*, 06/06/00.

'A salutary history lesson for us all', *The Independent on Sunday*, 11/06/00.

'As long as they wanted an orchestra, they weren't going to put us in the gas chambers', *The Independent on Sunday*, 28/05/00.

'A welcome chance to learn from the horrors of the past', *The Independent*, 07/06/00.

'Bearing Witness', *The Guardian*, 02/06/00.

'Death to one side, life to another. Us in between', *The Times*, 07/06/00.

'EXHIBITING EXTERMINATION: The Imperial War Museum outlines the Holocaust horror', *The Times*, 30/05/00.

'How a nation dedicated its mind to hate', *The Mail on Sunday*, 04/06/00.

'Remembrance of things past', *The Independent,* 06/06/00.

'Their voices must be heard for ever', *The Daily Mail*, 07/06/00.

'The testament of ghosts', *The Times*, 30/05/00.

'You felt this was the end of the journey. This is where life ends', *Evening Standard*, 31/05/00.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914-1945 Memorial:

'Alarm as UK antisemities strike again', *Jewish Chronicle,* 24/08/90.

'Camp memorial unveiled', *Jewish Chronicle,* 16/05/69.

'Letter from Reginald Freeson MP (East Willesden)', *Jewish Chronicle,* 09/05/69.

Untitled article reporting the re-consecration of the sculptures, *Jewish Chronicle*, 06/09/91.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the Raoul Wallenberg Memorial:

'A story of heroism that never died', *The Times*, 26/02/97.

'Bid for memorial to hero', *Evening Standard,* 21/09/96.

'Government's £15,000 for UK Wallenberg tribute', *Jewish Chronicle*, 01/04/96.

'Posthumous acclaim for a hero of the age', *The Independent*, 12/02/95.

'West End's Wallenberg monument taking shape', *Jewish Chronicle,* 08/12/95.

Newspaper Cutting Relating to the Re-Designed Kindertransport Memorial in Liverpool Street Station:

'Kindertransport sculpture arrives at Liverpool Street', *Jewish Chronicle*, 06/10/06.

Newspaper Cuttings Relating to the San Francisco Holocaust Memorial:

'A Muted Dedication for 'Holocaust'', *The New York Times*, 04/01/86.

'Art; How A Sculptor Learned to See the Invisible', *The New York Times,* 16/08/98.

'Art: Joe Zucker Cycle', *The New York Times,* 30/08/85.

'Art People', *The New York Times,* 10/01/86.

'Art View: Collages That Wrest Dignity From The Holocaust', *The New York Times*, 15/09/85.

'Death Camp Survivors Plan Memorial Service', *The San Francisco Chronicle,* 27/01/95.

'Documentary Profiles Career of Sculptor George Segal', *Tulsa World* (Oklahoma), 08/05/01.

'Holocaust Memorial Dedicated', *The Associated Press,* 08/11/84.

'Holocaust Memorial Vandalized', *The Associated Press,* 12/11/84.

'In Public, Art Gets Timid', *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 23/12/02.

'Is the Holocaust Part of the Second World War?', *The Ottawa Citizen,* 06/12/97.

'Journey to Bitburg', *Newsweek,* 13/05/85.

'Meijer Gardens Showcase Segal', *Detroit Free Press,* 19/01/04.

'Pop-art icon Segal', *The Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), 13/06/00.

'S. F. Holocaust Sculpture Becomes Touching Experience for the Blind', *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California,* 15/02/02.

'Why Segal is Doing Holocaust Memorial', *The New York Times,* 08/04/83.

Newspaper and Magazine Cuttings Relating to the Opening of the *Belsen 1945* Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum:

'Of Man's Inhumanity', *What's On and Where to Go Weekly*, 22/05/91.

'Remembering Belsen', *Times Educational Supplement*, 30/08/91.

Obituaries for Reginald Freeson:

'OBITUARIES: Reg Freeson', *Jewish Chronicle*, 20/10/06.

'Obituaries: Reginald Freeson, February 24, 1926-October 9, 2006: Veteran Labour politician who rose from an orphanage to the Privy Council, only to be unseated by Ken Livingstone', *The Times,* 12/10/06.

'Obituary of Reg Freeson, Labour minister under Wilson and Callaghan who was deselected in favour of Ken Livingstone', *The Daily Telegraph,* 12/10/06.

'Obituary: Reg Freeson, Long-serving Labour housing minister ousted by Ken Livingstone', *The Guardian,* 11/10/06.

Obituaries for the 11th Duke of Devonshire:

'Duke of Devonshire dies at 84', *The Guardian,* 05/05/04.

'OBITUARIES: 11TH DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE; MODEST HEIR'S GIFT TO BRITAIN', *The Express,* 05/05/04.

'Obituary of The Duke of Devonshire Custodian of Chatsworth who secured the house's future and was a regular on the Turf and at Eastbourne', *The Daily Telegraph,* 05/05/04.

'Obituary: The Duke of Devonshire: Diffident and popular aristocrat whose life was spent struggling with the weight of his inheritance', *The Guardian,* 05/05/04.

'OBITUARY: THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE; RESCUER OF CHATSWORTH AND REVIVER OF THE FAMILY TRADITION', *The Independent,* 06/05/04.

'The great legacy of the grand old Duke', *Derby Evening Telegraph,* 06/05/04.

Obituary for Fred Kormis:

'MR FRED KORMIS', *The Times,* 02/05/86.

Obituary for Richard Seifert:

'Obituaries: Richard Seifert, Workaholic architect whose tall towers changed the urban skyline of Britain and Europe', *The Guardian,* 29/10/01.

Secondary Sources:

Books:

Apel, Dora, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

Arnold, Dana, *Re-presenting the Metropolis: Architecture, urban experience and social life in London 1800-1840,* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000).

Barany, Zoltan, *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethnopolitics,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Bartov, Omer, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Bauer, Yehuda, *Rethinking the Holocaust*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

Bauer, Yehuda, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978).

Bauman, Zygmunt, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, (Oxford: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, 1989).

Berenbaum, Michael, *After Tragedy and Triumph: Essays in Modern Jewish Thought and the American Experience,* (Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Berenbaum, Michael, *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,* (Boston, New York, Toronto and London: Little, Brown and Company, 1993).

Bloxham, Donald, *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Burcaw, G. Ellis, *Introduction to Museum Work: Third Edition,* (Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York and Oxford: AltaMira Press, a Division of Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997).

Cole, Tim, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler, How History is Bought, Packaged, and Sold,* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

Dannatt, Adrian, *Architecture in Detail: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, James Ingo Freed,* (London and New York: Phaidon Press Limited, 1995).

Dawidowicz, Lucy S., *The Holocaust and the Historians*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1981).

Doughty, Louise, *Fires in the Dark,* (London: Simon and Schuster UK Ltd., 2003).

Engelhardt, Isabelle, *A Topography of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust at Dachau and Buchenwald in Comparison with Auschwitz, Yad Vashem and Washington, DC,* (Brussels: P.I.E.-Peter Lang S.A., Presses Interuniversitaires Européennes, 2002).

Fahri, Moris, *Children of the Rainbow,* (London: Saqi Books, 2002).

Fein, Isaac M., *The Making of an American Jewish Community: the History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920,* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971).

Fonseca, Isabel, *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and their Journey,* (London: Vintage, 1996).

Fraser, Angus, *The Gypsies,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992).

Frederick, John, T., *William Henry Hudson,* (New York: Twaine Publishers, Inc., 1972).

Friedman, Ina R., *The Other Victims: First-Person Stories of Non-Jews Persecuted by the Nazis,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990).

Gardiner, Stephen, *Epstein: Artist Against the Establishment,* (London: Michael Joseph, 1992).

Hartman, Geoffrey H., et al., *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).

Hartman, Geoffrey H., *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust,* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996).

Hass, Kristin Ann, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial,* (Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998).

Heger, Heinz [David Fernbach, trans.], *The Men with the Pink Triangle,* (New York: Alyson Books, 1980).

Kaplan, Harold, *Conscience and Memory: Meditations in a Museum of the Holocaust,* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Kenrick, Donald and Puxon, Grattan, *Gypsies under the Swastika,* (Hertfordshire: Gypsy Research Centre and University of Hertfordshire Press, 1995).

Kushner, Tony, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1994).

Laqueur, Walter (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

Levene, Mark, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State, Volume 1: The Meaning of Genocide,* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2005).

Lewy, Guenter, *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies,* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2000).

Linenthal, Edward T., *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

Liss, Andrea, *Trespassing through Shadows: Memory, Photography, and the Holocaust,* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

Maier, Charles S., *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust and German National Identity*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Margalit, Gilad, *Germany and Its Gypsies: A Post-Auschwitz Ordeal,* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

Marrus, Michael R., *The Holocaust in History,* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1993 [first published in Canada by Lester Orpen Dennys Ltd., 1987]).

Massaquoi, Hans J., *Destined to Witness: Growing up Black in Nazi Germany,* (London: Fusion Press, 2001).

Mayall, David, *Gypsy-travellers in nineteenth-century society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Miller, Judith, *One, by One, by One: Facing the Holocaust*, (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo and Singapore: Simon and Schuster, 1990).

Milton, Sybil and Nowinski, Ira, *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials,* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991).

Mintz, Alan, *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America,* (Seattle and London: Washington University Press, 2001).

Müller-Hill, Benno, *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others in Germany, 1933-1945,* (Cold Spring Harbor: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 1998).

Novick, Peter, *The Holocaust in American Life,* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999).

Poliakov, Léon, *Harvest of Hate: The Nazi Program for the Destruction of the Jews of Europe*, (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979).

Richmond, Theo, *Konin: A Quest*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995).

Rieth, Adolf, *Monuments to the Victims of Tyranny*, (New York, Washington and London: Frederick. A. Praeger, Publishers, 1969).

Saidel, Rochelle G., *Never Too Late to Remember: the Politics Behind New York City's Holocaust Museum,* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1996).

Steinbacher, Sybille [Shaun Whiteside, trans.], *Auschwitz: A History,* (London: Penguin Books, 2005).

Struk, Janina, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence,* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2004).

Thomson, Ian, *Primo Levi*, (London: Vintage, 2003).

Vice, Sue, *Holocaust Fiction,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

Weinberg, Jeshajahu and Elieli, Rina, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington,* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1995).

Whitcomb, Andrea, *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

Winter, Walter [Struan Robertson, trans.], *Winter Time: Memoirs of a German Sinto who survived Auschwitz,* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2004).

Wollaston, Isabel, *A War Against Memory? The Future of Holocaust Remembrance,* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1996).

Wood, Marcus, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory,* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1996 [originally published by Schocken Books, 1989]).

Young, James E., *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

Young, James E., *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

Young, James E., *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998).

Chapters in Edited Books and Journal Articles:

Alpers, Svetlana, 'The Museum as a Way of Seeing', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

Ballin, Anita, 'Teaching the Holocaust at the Imperial War Museum', *The British Journal of Holocaust Education*, 3 (2) (1994), pp.184-188.

Ballin, Anita, 'The Imperial War Museum as Educator', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), pp.38-43.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'Exhibiting Hatred', *History Today*, 50 (6) (2000), pp.18-20.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'The Depiction of the Holocaust at the Imperial War Museum since 1961', *The Journal of Israeli History*, 23 (1) (2004), pp.146-156.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'The Genesis and Development of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition Project', *The Journal of Holocaust Education,* 7 (3) (1998), pp.28-37.

Baxandall, Michael, 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

Berenbaum, Michael, 'The Uniqueness and Universality of the Holocaust, in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Berkhoff, Karel C., 'The "Russian" Prisoners of War in Nazi-ruled Ukraine as Victims of Genocidal Massacre', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 15 (1) (2001), pp.1-32.

Bloxham, Donald and Kushner, Tony, 'Exhibiting Racism: Cultural imperialism, genocide and representation', *Rethinking History*, 1 (2) (1997), pp.349-358.

Bloxham, Donald, 'Britain's Holocaust Memorial Days: Reshaping the Past in the Service of the Present', in Sue Vice (ed.), *Representing the Holocaust,* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003).

Bloxham, Donald, 'On the Memory of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 4 (1) (1995), pp.74-86.

Braybrooke, Marcus, 'The Holocaust and British Museums: A Christian Response', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), pp.68-70.

Cesarani, David, 'Should Britain Have a National Holocaust Museum?', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), pp.17-27.

Charlesworth, Andrew, 'The Topography of Genocide', in Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of the Holocaust,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Conway, John S., 'Catholic Church' in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

Conway, John S., 'Protestant Churches' in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

Cooke, Steven, 'Beth Shalom: Re-thinking History and Memory', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 8 (1) (1999), pp.21-41.

Dekmejian, Hrair R., 'Determinants of genocide: Armenians and Jews as case studies', in Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Armenian genocide in perspective*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1997).

Dwork, Debórah and Jan van Pelt, Robert, 'Reclaiming Auschwitz', in Geoffrey H. Hartman (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).

Evans, Martin and Lunn, Ken, 'Preface', in Martin Evans and Ken Lunn (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997).

Fein, Helen, 'Genocide: A Sociological Perspective', *Current Sociology*, 38 (1990), pp.1-50.

Fonca, Karol, 'Kristallnacht', in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

Forty, Adrian, 'Introduction', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999).

Gallagher, Hugh Gregory, '"Slapping Up Spastics"', in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck (eds.), *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998).

Gardiner, Linda, 'ORIGIN OF THE HUDSON MEMORIAL "RIMA" HYDE PARK, LONDON', in Samuel J. Looker (ed.), *The Worthing Cavalcade: William Henry Hudson, A Tribute*, (Worthing: Worthing Art Development Scheme by Aldridge Bros., 1947).

Gutman, Israel, 'The Victimization of the Poles' in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Hall, Stuart, 'The Spectacle of the 'Other'', in Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, (London, Thousandoaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd in association with The Open University, 1997).

Hancock, Ian, 'Responses to the Porrajmos: The Romani Holocaust', in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide,* (Colorado: Westview Press, A Member of Perseus Press, L. L. C., 1998).

Hansen, Miriam Bratu, '*Schindler's List* is not *Shoah*: Second Commandment, Popular Modernism, and Public Memory', in Barbie Zelizer (ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

Hartman, Geoffrey H., 'Introduction: Darkness Visible', in Geoffrey H. Hartman (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).

Hausen, Karin, 'The Day of National Mourning in Germany', in Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith (eds.), *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemoration,* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

Hilberg, Raul, 'Gypsies' in Walter Laqueur (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

Hudson, Kenneth, 'How Misleading Does an Ethnographic Museum Have to Be?', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

Hunczak, Taras, 'The Ukrainian Losses during World War II', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Huyssen, Andreas, 'Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age', in James E. Young (ed.), *The Art of Holocaust: Memorials in History*, (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994).

Huyssen, Andreas, 'Of Mice and Mimesis: Reading Spiegelman with Adorno', in Barbie Zelizer (ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

Karp, Ivan, 'Culture and Representation', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

Karp, Ivan, 'Other Cultures in Museum Perspective', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

Katz, Steven L., 'The Uniqueness of the Holocaust: The Historical Dimension', in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997).

Katz, Steven T., 'Genocide in the 20th Century. Essay: Quantity and Interpretation-Issues in the Comparative Historical Analysis of the Holocaust', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 4 (2) (1989), pp.127-148.

Kesting, Robert, 'The Black Experience during the Holocaust', in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck (eds.), *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998).

King, Alex, 'Remembering and Forgetting in the Public Memorials of the Great War', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999).

King, Christine, 'Jehovah's Witnesses under Nazism', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'Objects of Ethnography', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

Kotzin, Chana R., 'Germany's Loss is Baltimore's Gain: Jewish Youth from the Third Reich Remake Their Lives in Baltimore', in Anita Kassof, Avi Y. Decter and Deborah R. Weiner (eds.), *Lives Lost, Lives Found: Baltimore's German Jewish Refugees, 1933-1945,* (Baltimore: The Jewish Museum of Maryland, 2004).

Kushner, Tony, Cesarani, David, Reilly, Jo and Richmond, Colin, 'Approaching Belsen: An Introduction', in Jo Reilly et al (eds.), *Belsen in History and Memory,* (London and Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1997).

Kushner, Tony, 'Oral History at the Extremes of Human Experience: Holocaust Testimony in a Museum Setting', *Oral History*, 29 (2) (2001), pp.83-93.

Kushner, Tony, 'The Holocaust and the Museum World in Britain: A Study of Ethnography' in Sue Vice (ed.), *Representing the Holocaust,* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003).

Kushner, Tony 'The Memory of Belsen', in Jo Reilly et al (eds.), *Belsen in History and Memory,* (London and Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1997).

Lautmann, Rüdiger, 'The Pink Triangle: Homosexuals as "Enemies of the State", in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck (eds.), *The Holocaust and History: the Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined,* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998).

Lautman, Ruediger, 'Gay Prisoners in Concentration Camps as Compared with Jehovah's Witnesses and Political Prisoners', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Lavine, Steven D., and Karp, Ivan, 'Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

Lenga, Ruth-Anne, 'Holocaust Education: The Search for a Suitable Pedagogy', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), pp.51-60.

Lerman, Antony, 'The Art of Holocaust Remembering', *The Jewish Quarterly,* 36 (3) (1989), pp.24-32.

Levi, Primo, 'Revisiting the Camps', in James. E. Young (ed.), *The Art of Holocaust: Memorials in History*, (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994).

Lidchi, Henrietta, 'The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures', in Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, (London, Thousandoaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd in association with The Open University, 1997).

Lüdkte, Alf, 'Histories of Mourning: Flowers and Stones for the War Dead, Confusion for the Living-Vignettes from East and West Germany', in Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith (eds.), *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemoration,* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

Lukas, Richard C., 'The Polish Experience during the Holocaust', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Macdonald, Sharon, 'Exhibitions of Power and Powers of Exhibition: An Introduction to the Politics of Display', in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

Malvern, Sue, 'War, Memory and Museums: Art and Artefact in the Imperial War Museum', *History Workshop Journal*, 49 (2000), pp.177-203.

Melson, Robert F., 'The Armenian Genocide as Precursor and Prototype of Twentieth-Century Genocide', in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide,* (Colorado, US and Oxford, UK: Westview Press, 1997).

Miles, Elisa, 'Holocaust Exhibitions On-Line: An Exploration of the Use and Potential of Virtual Space in British and American Museum Websites', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 10 (2) (2001), pp.79-99.

Moriarty, Catherine, 'Private Grief and Public Remembrance: British First World War Memorials', in Martin Evans and Ken Lunn (eds.), *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997).

Moses, Dirk A., 'Conceptual blockages and definitional dilemmas in the 'racial century': genocides of indigenous peoples and the Holocaust', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 36 (4) (2002), pp.7-36.

Moshman, David, 'Conceptual constraints on thinking about genocide', *Journal of Genocidal Research*, 3 (3) (2001), p.431-450.

Prost, Antoine, 'Monuments to the Dead', in Lawrence D. Kritzman (ed.), *Realms of Memory,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

Reading, Anna, 'Clicking on Hitler: The Visual Holocaust @ Home', in Barbie Zelizer (ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

Rosenbaum, Alan S., 'Introduction', in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997).

Rosenfeld, Gavriel D., 'The Politics of Uniqueness: Reflections on the Recent Polemical Turn in Holocaust and Genocide Scholarship', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 13 (1) (1999), pp.28-61.

Rowlands, Michael, 'Remembering to Forget: Sublimation as Sacrifice in War Memorials', in Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999).

Rubenstein, Richard L., 'Modernisation and the Politics of Extermination' in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Rubenstein, Richard L., 'Religion and the Uniqueness of the Holocaust', in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997).

Soetendorp, David, 'Keeping a Perspective on Holocaust Grieving', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), pp.61-67.

Stone, Dan, 'Memory, Memorials and Museums', in Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of the Holocaust,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Streit, Christian, 'The Fate of the Soviet Prisoners of War', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis,* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Suggitt, Mark, 'Museums for the Millennium', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 7 (3) (1998), pp.1-16.

Tyndall, Andrea, 'Memory, Authenticity and Replication of the Shoah in Museums: Defensive Tools of the Nation', in Ronit Lentin (ed.), *Re-presenting the Shoah for the Twenty-First Century*, (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2004).

Vergo, Peter, 'Introduction', in Peter Vergo (ed.), *The New Museology,* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1989).

Vitvitsky, Bohdan, 'Slavs and Jews: Consistent and Inconsistent Perspectives on the Holocaust', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Weiner, Deborah R., 'The Third Wave: German Jewish Refugees Come to Baltimore', in Anita Kassof, Avi Y. Decter and Deborah R. Weiner (eds.), *Lives Lost, Lives Found: Baltimore's German Jewish Refugees, 1933-1945,* (Baltimore: The Jewish Museum of Maryland, 2004).

Weiss, Aharon, 'The Holocaust and the Ukrainian Victims', in Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990).

Weissberg, Liliane, 'In Plain Sight', in Barbie Zelizer (ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

Wiesel, Elie, 'A Plea for the Dead', in Lawrence L. Langer (ed.), *Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Winter, Jay and Sivan, Emmanuel, 'Setting the Framework', in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Wollaston, Isabel, 'Sharing Sacred Space? The Carmelite Controversy and the Politics of Commemoration', *Patterns of Prejudice,* 28 (3 & 4) (1994), pp.19-27.

Young, James E., 'Jewish Memory in Poland', in Geoffrey H. Hartman (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory,* (Oxford UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).

Zelizer, Barbie, 'Introduction: On Visualising the Holocaust', in Barbie Zelizer (ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

Electronic Sources:

'Association of Jewish Refugees Kindertransport', <http://www.ajr.org.uk/kindertransport.htm>, February 2007.

'Audio Tours for the Holocaust Exhibition', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/upload/pdf/audiotours.pdf>, October 2005.

'Baltimore Holocaust Memorial', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/holocaust/AboutMemorial.htm>, May 2006.

'Baltimore Holocaust Sculpture', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/holocaust/AboutStatue.htm>, May 2006.

'Baltimore Jewish Council', <http://www.baltjc.org/>, May 2006.

'Biography-George Segal (1924-2000)', <http://www.segalfoundation.org/bio.shtml>, June 2006.

'Brent Parks Service', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks.nsf>, December 2004.

'Chatsworth: The Palace of the Peak',<http://www.chatsworth.org/index.htm>, September 2006.

'Crimes Against Humanity Exhibition', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/lambeth/server/show/nav.00b005009 >, October 2005.

'Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group', <http://www.dglg.org/>, September 2006.

'Film and the making of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition. By Suzanne Bardgett, Project Director of the Holocaust Exhibition', <http://london.iwm.org.uk/upload/pdf/Film_conference_paper.pdf>, October 2005.

'Former Brandeis professor Leon Jick passes away age 80', <http://my.brandeis.edu/news/item?news_item_id=103814&show_release_date=1>, November 2005.

'George and Helen Segal Foundation', <http://www.segalfoundation.org/main.shtml>, June 2006.

'Gladstone Park, Brent', <http://www.landuse.co.uk/London/Projects/pr_Gladstone.php>, October 2006.

'Gladstone Park: Fred Kormis Memorial', <http://londongardenstrust.org/features/gladstone.pdf>, November 2006.

'Gladstone Park memorial', <http://www.willesdenherald.blogspot.com/2005_06_01_willesdenherald_archive.html>, November 2006.

'Gladstone Park Restoration Project', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, December 2004.

'Gladstone Park Urban Parks Programme Restoration Progress Report No.1 September 2002', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, December 2004.

'Grant: Gladstone Park Restoration, Brent', <http://www.hlf.org.uk/templates/search_gen_outer_frameset.html>, December 2004.

'Heritage Lottery Fund', <http://www.hlf.org.uk/>, December 2004.

'Heritage Lottery Fund Urban Parks Programme Gladstone Park: Urban Parks Programme Restoration. Project Update March 2003', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, December 2004.

'Heritage Lottery Fund Urban Parks Programme Gladstone Park: Urban Parks Programme Restoration. Project Update June 2003', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, December 2004.

'Heritage Lottery Fund Urban Parks Programme Restoration of Gladstone Park. Project Update 26th November 2002', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, December 2004.

'History of Sacrifice', <http://www.remember.gov/HistoryOfSacrifice/tabid/57/Default.aspx>, August 2006.

'Holocaust Exhibition', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/server/show/nav.00b005>, October 2005.

'Holocaust Memorial Day 2004 Theme Paper: From the Holocaust to Rwanda: lessons learned, lessons still to learn', <http://www.hmd.org.uk/files/1149796746-20.pdf>, December 2006.

'Holocaust Memorial Day 2007: The Dignity of Difference', <http://www.hmd.org.uk/files/1155629096-91.pdf>, December 2006.

'Holocaust survivors tell their story at the Imperial War Museum. Suzanne Bardgett remembers the making of the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum and the important role in its making played by British survivors of the Nazi camps. Article written for Jewish Care magazine', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/upload/pdf/Jewish_care_article.pdf>, October 2005.

'Hyde Park: About the Park', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/parks/hyde_park/about.cfm>, November 2004.

'Hyde Park: Diana; Princess of Wales Memorial Fountain', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/parks/hyde_park/diana_memorial.cfm>, September 2006.

'Hyde Park: History and Architecture', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/parks/hyde_park/history.cfm>, November 2004.

'Introduction', <http://www.45aidsociety.org/index.htm>, October 2005.

'Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco, The Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties', <http://www.sfjcf.org/>, July 2006.

'Learning: History of Chatsworth and the Cavendish Family', <http://www.chatsworth.org/learning/history.htm>, September 2006.

'Learning: Ownership of the estate', <http://www.chatsworth.org/learning/estatehistory.htm>, September 2006.

'Learning: The Chatsworth estate', <http://www.chatsworth.org/learning/theestate.htm>, September 2006.

'Learning: The Chatsworth House Trust', <http://www.chatsworth.org/learning/thetrust.htm>, September 2006.

'Learning: The management of the estate today', <http://www.chatsworth.org/learning/estatemgmt.htm>, September 2006.

'London, Brent, Gladstone Park, Restoration', <http://www.hlf.org.uk/templates/search_gen_outer_frameset.html>, December 2004.

'Moral dilemmas: history-teaching and the Holocaust', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/upload/pdf/teachinghistory.pdf>, October 2005.

'New Baltimore Holocaust Memorial', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/holocaust/NewMemorial.htm>, May 2006.

'Photograph of planting in Chatsworth to remember concentration camp liberation', <http://www.dglg.org/download/gallery/Archive_Photos/Planting_in_Chatsworth_to_remember_concentration_camp_liberation.jpg>, September 2006.

'Press Release: CITEX Project Services chosen as project managers for Diana Memorial', <http://www.royalparks.orh.uk/press/archive/press_release_9.cfm>, November 2004.

'Press Release: Diana Memorial to re-open', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/press/current/press_release_49.cfm>, November 2004.

'Press Release: Memorial fountain to reflect Diana's qualities', <http://www.royalparks.orh.uk/press/archive/press_release_5.cfm>, November 2004.

'Press Release: The Diana fountain-winning design team to be announced on 31 July', <http://www.royalparks.orh.uk/press/archive/press_release_8.cfm>, November 2004.

'Programme of Work for the Restoration of Gladstone: Issued September 2003', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, November 2004.

'Public Holocaust Memorials-George Segal's Monument', <http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Visual__Artistic_Resources/Public_Holocaust_Memorials/public_holocaust_memorials.html>, June 2006.

'Restoration of Gladstone Park: Progress at 14 October, 2003', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, December 2004.

'Restoration of Gladstone Park: Progress at 17 November, 2003', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks.nsf>, December 2004.

'Sculpture in the garden', <http://www.chatsworth.org/whattodo/garden_sculpture.htm>, October 2006.

'Senator Feinstein's Biography', <http://www.feinstein.senate.gov/biography.html>, August 2006.

'The Code of Ethics: key elements' in 'Museums Association', <http://www.museumsassociation.org>, March 2005.

'The Early Years', <http://www.josephsheppard.com/Book/early.htm>, May 2006.

'The Jewish Museum of Maryland: Timeline Introduction', <http://www.jewishmuseummd.org/html/cr_timeline.html>, May 2006.

'The Jewish Museum of Maryland: Timeline 1913-1949', <http://www.jewishmuseummd.org/html/cr_timeline4.html>, May 2006.

'The Jewish Museum of Maryland: Timeline 1950-Present', <http://www.jewishmuseummd.org/html/cr_timeline5.html>, May 2006.

'The Patrin Web Journal-A Brief History of the Roma (Gypsies)', <*http://www.geocities.com/~patrin/history.htm*>, May 2007.

'The Restoration/Management Scheme', <http://www.brent.gov.uk/parks>, December 2004.

'The Royal Parks: About Us', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/about/>, November 2004.

'The Royal Parks: About Us. Publications from the Royal Parks', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/about/publications/>, November 2004.

'The Royal Parks: London's Personal Space', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk>, November 2004.

'The Royal Parks: London's Personal Space. Hyde Park', <http://www.royalparks.gov.uk/parks/hyde-park/>, November 2004.

'The United Nations' website, <http://www.un.org/english/>, January 2006.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum website, <http://www.ushmm.org>, July 2005.

'The Voice of British Jewry', <http://www.bod.org.uk/bod/>, October 2005.

'United Nations-Treaty Series', <http://157.150.195.3/LibertyX::SyPecFtT9HqEN8N981XPf4vOry6>, January 2006.

'Virtual Tours of NJ State Parks, Forests and Historic Sites: Liberty State Park', <http://www.state.nj.us/dep/parksandforests/virtual_tours/large_photos/liberty_large/p8153064.jpg>, July 2006.

'Visitors Comments', <http://www.iwm.org.uk/server/show.nav.00b005002>, October 2005.

'Watchtower', <http://www.watchtower.org/>, October 2005.

'What do we do?', <http://www.hlf.org.uk/English/AboutUs/OurBackground/Whatdowedo.htm>, October 2005.

'What is Holocaust Memorial Day?', <http://www.hmd.org.uk/about/>, January 2007.

'What to see and do: Park and Stand Wood', <http://www.chatsworth.org/whattodo/parkandwood.htm>, September 2006.

'Where does our money come from?', <http://www.hlf.org.uk/English/AboutUs/OurBackground/Wheredoesourmoneycomefrom.htm>, October 2005.

'White House Commission On Remembrance', <http://www.remember.gov/Home/tabid/36/Default.aspx>, August 2006.

'Who We Are', <http://www.remember.gov/WhoWeAre/tabid/52/Default.aspx>, August 2006.

'Who are we?', <http://www.hlf.org.uk/English/AboutUs/>, October 2005.

Films:

Century of Killing: version as at 12/02/02, (the *Crimes Against Humanity* exhibition film), Dr Mark Levene's personal files.

Purple Triangles, Martin Smith, dir, UK, 1991.

Television Programmes:

The Deaf Holocaust: Deaf People and Nazi Germany, Rachel Scarrott, dir, UK, 2005.

The World at War, Episode 20 'Genocide: 1941-1945', written by Charles Bloomberg, produced by Michael Darlow, UK, 1974.

The World at War, Episode 21 'Nemesis: Germany, February-May 1945', written by Stuart Hood, produced by Martin Smith, UK, 1974.

Unpublished Material:

Cooke, Steven John, 'The Hidden Landscapes of the Holocaust in Late Twentieth Century Britain,' July 1998, (unpublished PhD thesis, submitted through Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education to the University of Bristol, 1998).

Smith, Thomas, 'Motivation and Visitation to the Holocaust Exhibition, Imperial War Museum, London', (unpublished dissertation submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the BA (Hons) Tourism Management, Glasgow Caledonian University, May 2003).