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# Looking beyond the victims: descendants of the perpetrators in *Hitler's Children*

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## ABSTRACT

*Hitler's Children* (Chanoch Ze'evi, 2011) is the first Israeli documentary dedicated to the topic of descendants of Nazis. This article analyzes cinematic and ethical choices in mediating a notably painful subject for Israeli audiences. It claims that the emphasis on reconciliation and the focus on descendants who acknowledge and express remorse for their parents' roles in the Holocaust set a cinematic tenor of confession and guilt. The similar perspectives shared by the five descendants interviewed for the film marginalize the conflictual and complex responses of descendants of perpetrators which have been discussed in research, culture, and other films.

## KEYWORDS

Holocaust cinema; Holocaust documentary; Israeli cinema; Holocaust commemoration; second generation; third generation

## Introduction

Holocaust documentaries have been produced in Israel since 1945. Up until the late 1980s, these films dealt mainly with the Holocaust as a collective trauma, and the voices of individual survivors were rarely heard. Beginning in the late 1980s, socio-political and cultural upheavals in Israel changed the documentaries' focus.<sup>1</sup> Survivors became the protagonists, confronting their personal memories and the effects of the trauma on themselves and their children. These cinematic representations were part of a wider Israeli perspective that examined the Holocaust through the victim's point of view. Since the late 1990s, however, Israeli cinema has attempted to broaden Holocaust representations and to address the perpetrators' perspectives and the ways in which their actions affected the lives of their descendants.

As a case study of these changes, this article analyzes *Hitler's Children* (Chanoch Ze'evi, 2011), the first Israeli documentary to turn the spotlight on the perpetrators' adult children. The introduction places Ze'evi's film in the wider context of the transformation of Israeli Holocaust documentaries. The article also analyzes the director's cinematic and ethical choices in mediating a notably painful subject for Israeli audiences. It eventually claims that the director's conciliatory approach in focusing on a particular group of descendants who acknowledge their parents' roles in the atrocities and express remorse has set a cinematic tenor of confession and guilt. The similar perspectives shared by the five

descendants interviewed for the film marginalize the conflictual and complex responses of the children of perpetrators that emerged in research, culture, and other films on the familial legacy of Nazi criminals.

## Cinematic-historical context

The Holocaust has found wide expression in Israeli documentary cinema since before the State's founding. From 1945 until the 1960s, documentaries emphasized the Zionist lessons of the Holocaust and focused on the transformation of a nation of survivors from 'ashes to renewal' (for example, *Our Way of Life*).<sup>2</sup> Historical and socio-political events that began in the 1960s and carried on through the 1980s caused a gradual weakening of the hold of Zionist ideology, and Holocaust consciousness in Israel slowly began to broaden.<sup>3</sup> Documentaries produced during that era began to deal with the Holocaust and related issues with more complexity (for example, *Like a Phoenix* and *The 81st Blow*).<sup>4</sup> Radical changes in the depiction of the Holocaust and Holocaust survivors have taken place from the 1980s onward, boosted by an increasingly pronounced role of second-generation Holocaust survivors in this process. Many documentaries began portraying Holocaust survivors as the protagonists by focusing on their post-trauma and often by examining the relationships between survivors and their children (for example, *Because of that War*; *Choice and Destiny*; and *Pizza in Auschwitz*).<sup>5</sup>

From the late 1990s, third-generation Holocaust survivors increasingly became involved in Israeli Holocaust documentary productions,<sup>6</sup> broadening the topics of investigation, and dealing with the perpetrators and the ways in which Nazi offspring cope with their parents' pasts. This shift in focus is evident in Ra'anana Alexandrowicz's *Martin* (1999), in which the director interviews elderly Germans who lived in Dachau during WWII and knew what was happening in the camp. In *Kleiner Rudi* (2006), director Michelle Stein-Teer tries to uncover the truth about what the people of her grandfather's town of Norden knew about when the Jews were sent to their deaths. In Yael Reuveny's *Farewell, Herr Schwartz* (2013) the director interviews the people of Schlieben who lived near the Schlieben-Berga concentration camp, and in *Out of the Forrest* (2004) directors Yaron Kaftory Ben-Yosef and Limor Pinhasov Ben-Yosef interview the people of Punar who lived near the mass killing site and whose parents entertained and fed the shooters. In *The Flat* (2011) director Arnon Goldfinger investigates a family secret regarding the friendship between his grandparents and a Nazi couple, both pre- and post-Holocaust. During the course of his search, Goldfinger meets with the daughter of the Nazis, who refuses to acknowledge the fact that her father had been a high-ranking Nazi officer.<sup>7</sup> Vanessa Lapa's *The Decent One* (2014) is the first Israeli documentary completely dedicated to the perpetrator's perspective. In the film, the director exposes Heinrich Himmler's thoughts, feelings, and intimate relationships through hundreds of his private letters and diaries.<sup>8</sup>

## Hitler's children

*Hitler's Children* is the first Israeli documentary to be based on the testimonies of the descendants of perpetrators. Family members of Hans Frank, Rudolf Hess, Heinrich

Himmler, Hermann Göring, and Amon Göth disclose the ways in which they cope with their feelings of guilt and responsibility for the their forefathers' deeds.

Of his plan to document the stories of Nazi children to an Israeli audience, and to present their dilemmas and pain, Ze'evi said, 'I've had sleepless nights and I was wondering if it was the right thing to do.'<sup>9</sup> He was well aware that it would be a problematic project, but in his opinion it was also vital that any discussion of the Holocaust include these voices.<sup>10</sup> In his view, by shifting the focus onto the perpetrators' offspring, he was actually telling the Jewish story, since the Holocaust 'did not happen in a vacuum. Somebody did it, made decisions, executed them [...] this realization that someone had done this, consciously, has to be part of the story.'<sup>11</sup> But, contrary to his stated objective, the film does not engage with the people who were directly involved but with their offspring, who have to deal with a past they were not responsible for.

Gerd Bayer, who explores the nature of Holocaust depiction by third-generation Holocaust survivors, maintains that the concept of 'after postmemory' awareness should be applied from the third-generation onward. He bases this argument on Marianne Hirsch's definition of postmemory,<sup>12</sup> describing it as a type of consciousness that combines recollection of the past with a more general discussion of the moral conclusions regarding the Holocaust for future generations. This type of awareness presumes that the public possesses historical knowledge of the Holocaust, and enables members of the third-generation to engage with the trauma from different perspectives. It therefore bridges the gap between the receding historical trauma and the effects of the Holocaust on the present.<sup>13</sup>

Ze'evi's film is a third-generation outgrowth of this new layer of memory. In turning the spotlight on the families of Nazis, Ze'evi assumes that viewers have already been introduced to the history of the Holocaust and therefore mentions the atrocities only in passing. Ze'evi makes the assumption that the path is open to a discussion of the Holocaust's impact on descendants of the Nazis, since their crimes have already been exposed, documented, researched, and studied worldwide.<sup>14</sup> Now it is time to combine the past with an outlook of its moral effects on the present and the future.

### Cinematic minimalism

Psychologist Dan Bar-On's book *Moreshet Hashtika (Legacy of Silence)* was the first attempt by an Israeli scholar to study in Hebrew the descendants of perpetrators. Bar-On integrated his own story into the book, sharing his difficult personal experiences (including the death of his son) and recounting his journeys to Germany. The psychologist places himself in the center of his experiences during and after his interviews with the children of Nazis. Ze'evi, however, chose to leave himself out of the frame. In *Hitler's Children*, Ze'evi's voice is not heard. The only subjects seen and heard are the descendants themselves and Jewish-Israeli journalist Eldad Beck, who lives in Germany and joins Rainer Hess on his visit to Auschwitz.

Ze'evi explains that he deliberately chose to remain off-frame because the descendants' stories were so powerful that he did not want to distract by focusing on his own relationship with them. Had he inserted himself into the film, he would have had to tell two stories, 'and one always comes at the expense of the other.' Moreover, in a narrative as extensive as the Holocaust, he did not see his own story as worthy.<sup>15</sup> An observational

cinematic mode is also apparent in the American documentary *Inheritance* (James Moll, 2006), which discusses the life of Monika Hertwig (Amon Göth's daughter) and the way she has dealt with her family's past and her encounter with Holocaust survivors whose lives were affected by her father. In the German documentary *Two or Three Things I know about him* (Malte Ludin, 2005), and in the American-Austrian documentary *The End of the Neubacher Project* (Marcus J. Carney, 2007) the directors chose a different cinematic approach to discuss the familial responses to the Nazi past of their father – a cinematic approach that Renov called 'domestic ethnography,' in which the director films family members or people with whom he or she shares a close relationship. In these films the documentarist is both observer and participant, and the interviews reflect the interviewer and not just his subjects.<sup>16</sup>

Ze'evi's decision to assign central stage to the descendants of perpetrators is also reflected in his choice of cinematic minimalism, which sharpens the focus on the interviewees themselves. There are no props and no reenactments; no shots of cattle cars, gas chambers, or atrocities. Instead, there are mainly 'talking heads' interspersed with scenes of the interviewees' daily lives. This filmmaking choice echoes another Israeli Holocaust documentary that was a maverick in its time, *Because of that War*, which tells the story of two survivor families – the parents of well-known singer Yehuda Poliker and of fellow music producer and songwriter Yaacov Gilad. This was the first documentary to devote the lion's share of screen time to the survivors' narratives and to discussions on second-generation secondary trauma. Ben-Dor states that her intention was not 'to direct' but to reflect the reality she encountered during the filming. Instead of using archival footage or illustrations, the director focused on the four interviewees, which were filmed mainly at their homes or in the musicians' studios. The minimalistic cinematic language is composed mostly of interviews in medium shot, to which Ben-Dor added a few old photos. Scenes either contain conversations or document the musicians rehearsing their album. Film critics claimed that the film's success was due to its asceticism; that its strength lies in its simplicity. The director succeeded in transferring a sense of the trauma and its effects on second-generation identity without Holocaust-era film clips or shocking photographs of mass graves. The memory speaks for itself, and the style is direct and restrained.<sup>17</sup>

These cinematic choices echo a controversy that has existed since the aftermath of WWII concerning the representation of the Holocaust through art and through documentaries; namely, how can unspeakable, un-representable trauma be documented? What can and what cannot be shown?<sup>18</sup>

Claude Lanzmann's nine-hour film about the Holocaust, *Shoah* (1985), brought this issue to the fore in that it included numerous testimonies by Holocaust survivors, perpetrators, and bystanders while intentionally refraining from using materials taken by the Nazis and relying solely on present-day footage. This film, which took eleven years to make and compiles 350 h of footage obtained in fourteen countries, does not contain a single image of a dead body. Lanzmann was against the use of Nazi material, which he called 'images without imagination.'<sup>19</sup> He argued that since there are no Nazi film reels documenting what happened in the gas chambers, those images that do exist can provide no more than a dismal, superficial report on what truly happened during the Holocaust. Lanzmann, who was against trivialization of the Holocaust in fiction films, also disapproved of montages containing archival images with voice-over commentary

in documentary films since he felt that these would lift the sources out of context and impose a certain interpretation on the viewer. He maintained that the Holocaust can only be *told*, and not *shown*. Lanzmann believed that the answer was to collect testimonies, even though this would also be an incomplete solution. He famously remarked that if he found a reel showing what happened in the gas chambers, he would burn it.<sup>20</sup>

Lanzmann suggested guidelines to govern the ethics of documentary filmmaking in general, and Holocaust documentaries in particular; a stance that was approved by some and met by opposition by others. One of Lanzmann's biggest opponents was the director and film theorist Jean-Luc Godard, who argued that the Holocaust can be approached cinematically if the filmmaking methods are highlighted and if the director is self-aware to the extent of reflexivity, producing a kind of cynical, deconstructive cinema. This type of film does not allow the spectator to become submerged in the images, but rather constantly engages in disillusionment, by walking the fine line between cinema, philosophical treatise, and video art. Lanzmann's film was dismissed by Godard, who said the film 'did not show anything.' Unlike Lanzmann's opposition to using archival footage, in his *Historie(s) du cinema* (1988) (which was not a Holocaust film but rather a film about cinema) Godard flooded the frame with Holocaust archival footage and argued that he would have shown a Nazi reel of the gas chambers.<sup>21</sup>

In *Hitler's Children*, Ze'evi embraces the Lanzmann perspective of cinematic minimalism in his avoidance of voiceover and archival footage and his concentration on presenting interviewees' stories. But as Lanzmann himself was aware, even these methods do not guarantee a total picture.<sup>22</sup> In my opinion, as I shall show below, Ze'evi's film represents a partial picture due to the witnesses he has selected, the cinematic unity of their inherited guilt and confessions, and the avoidance of visually depicting other perspectives of struggle with the past.

### Confessions and guilt: five interviews which tell one story

Like a few other Holocaust documentaries, such as *Two or Three Things I Know About Him* or Yael Hersonski's *A Film Unfinished*, *Hitler's Children* begins with scenes that depict the opening of an archive. The archivists enter the room, remove a painting of Hitler and a box that resembles a coffin, and transport these artifacts, via elevator, to an upper floor. From these scenes, Ze'evi cuts to an interview with Bettina Göring, Hermann Göring's niece. Her first statement is 'Yes. I resemble Hermann Göring.' This editing hints at Ze'evi's attempt to open the 'Pandora's box' of his subjects' lives. The mysterious box dragged from the basement and into the light mirrors his efforts to bring the sensitive topic of dealing with the Nazi past into the open.

Research indicates similarities between second-generation Holocaust survivors and perpetrators' offspring: both groups grew up in the shadow of past trauma they were not a part of but that molded their lives. They are marked by the continued presence of the Holocaust past, stamped by its legacy. However, the critical difference between these two groups is guilt.<sup>23</sup>

Research also acknowledges the various and contradictory ways that perpetrators' offspring deal with the familial past. Bar-On discovered that the coping mechanisms of the perpetrators' children he interviewed were multi-faceted. Some denied the facts, while others acknowledged them; some continued to admire their fathers, and others

developed an antagonism towards their parents; some accepted the 'collective silence,' while others tried to break it.<sup>24</sup> Bar-On and genocide researcher Israel Charny's analysis of interviews with the children of Nazis enabled them to identify seven excuses made by Nazis' descendants: 'the Holocaust did not take place'; 'the Jews did it to themselves'; 'Auschwitz was not a death camp'; 'the Germans suffered as well'; 'my family members did not take part in the atrocities or were forced into it'; and finally, 'my family member took part in the atrocities (or were part of the horrors), but I'm not sure I would have done anything differently.'<sup>25</sup>

There is an ongoing debate among scholars regarding the responses of Nazi offspring to the familial past. From 1997 to 2000, the German social psychologist Harald Welzer surveyed forty first-, second-, and third-generation German families and showed how family members in twenty-six of these cases altered the history of their families during the Nazi period. Welzer termed it 'cumulative heroism.' Even though they had heard about the atrocities from their grandparents and parents, they only remembered stories unrelated to these incidents. The children and grandchildren clung to every clue, even the most negligible ones, in order to invent their own versions of the past, in which the family members who lived in the Nazi era were good and innocent.<sup>26</sup> Alexander von Plato maintains that in the transgenerational discourse, one can find many instances of indifference, suspicion, and disbelief.<sup>27</sup> Norbert Frei asserts that many children of perpetrators turned against their parents' generation of silence and demanded that Germany's collective memory of the Holocaust change.<sup>28</sup> Erin McGlothlin's research of second-generation literature points out the various contradictory ways that descendants of perpetrators write about their complex relationship with the familial Nazi past and the tremendous burden they bear, tainted as they are by their parents' violent pasts. According to her, the parents' rejection of guilt, which takes the form of amnesia, puts a tremendous burden on the children; an inherited guilt that resists resolution.<sup>29</sup>

These complex findings are also acknowledged in documentary films. In *Two or Three Things I know About Him*, the director represents the various conflicting and contradictory approaches in his family towards the past, what Erin McGlothlin calls 'reproduce, reject, conceal and uncover.'<sup>30</sup> The lack of acknowledgement of parents' actions is reflected in the Israeli documentary *The Flat*. Director Arnon Goldfinger meets with Edda, the daughter of Leopold von Mildenstein, a Nazi officer who was a friend of Goldfinger's grandparents before and after WWII. The scenes depict a complex portrait of a seemingly sweet lady, who also happens to be the daughter of a Nazi and who refuses to acknowledge her father's past, and proclaims 'my father did not do it.' Instead, she stands by the story that her father was a journalist who left for the USA during WWII. Even when Goldfinger presents her with documents proving that von Mildenstein was a high-ranking Nazi who acted against the Jews during WWII, she maintains her denial, claiming that these accusations are false. Her husband, Harold, supports her and tries to undermine the historical facts from a different angle as he 'explains' to Goldfinger that not all Nazis were 'bad' and that many belonged to the party because they had to, and they 'did nothing except wearing a pin showing their party membership.'

As opposed to the denial expressed by these children of Nazis, the interviews of Nazi offspring in *Hitler's Children* are confessional monologues that express shame and guilt. The interviewees all acknowledge their parents' deeds and show remorse in various ways. The distinction between confession and other modes of expression or self-disclosure

lies in the existence of guilt.<sup>31</sup> The origins of confession are religious, and traditionally confession took place in front of a priest, who, as a representative of the deity, granted the penitent atonement and forgiveness. Voluntary secular confession does not require forgiveness, but the relief it provides may be considered equivalent to the forgiveness offered by Catholic clergy. Unlike religious confession, which takes place behind closed doors, filmed confessions expose the penitent to the world. The camera serves as a catalyst for declarations of guilt, both encouraging it and turning it into a cathartic and exhibitionistic act at one and the same time.<sup>32</sup>

Only after each interview begins, does Ze'evi insert slides, which briefly explain the role of each interviewee's Nazi relative in WWII. This editing technique is an attempt to introduce viewers to the innocent descendants before learning the truth about their infamous relatives. The descendants are therefore not pre-judged according to the heinous actions of their predecessors, and indeed, the first impression viewers receive is of affable, polite, and even miserable individuals. Most of the confessions are filmed in medium shot and close-up, which generates empathy and brings viewers closer to their pain and remorse. Differences can be seen in the various ways they deal with the inherited guilt: Bettina Göring has changed her surname to that of her first husband and moved to a secluded place in the USA where she lives an isolated life; Monika Hertwig and her brother have decided to undergo sterilization so that they will not 'give life to other Göths';<sup>33</sup> Katrin Himmler (his great niece) has married a Jewish-Israeli man from a family of Holocaust survivors and lives with him in America. She writes about Himmler's murderous brutality and also lectures around the world; Rainer Hess, the grandson of Rudolf Hess, is shown touring the Auschwitz museum and his grandfather's house, looking shocked and tearful; Niklas Frank, the son of Hans Frank, who was the governor of occupied Poland, dedicates his life to lecturing throughout Germany about his father, and his life as his father's son. In the meetings, he reads from the books he wrote about his family and deliberately uses foul language when describing his Nazi parents.

The representation of these ways of dealing with the past echo McGlothlin's definition of Nazi descendants for whom the Holocaust represents a mark of Caine – an unresolvable force which remains an ever-present shackle, binding the children of perpetrators to their parents' crimes. This metaphorical mark finds no referent in personal experience, since they are 'marked' by deeds they have not themselves committed. McGlothlin writes that after committing his sin, Caine lived in a suspended state; he was not able to 'do penance, be forgiven, [or] carry on with his life,' since the past was neither forgotten nor forgiven.<sup>34</sup> Even though the descendants have committed no crimes, their familial pasts will never be forgotten. Some have moved to other countries (Himmler and Göring). Their penance will not offer familial absolution, but it helps them manage their feelings of guilt.

Ze'evi's choice of interviewees, and the empathetic cinematic language which he uses, focuses the viewers' attention on the descendants' remorse, projecting a fairly positive and homogenous perspective on the shame and guilt of Nazi descendants. This angle simplifies what is actually quite a complex mix of attitudes.

The interviewees do acknowledge that other attitudes towards the past still thrive in Germany and in their families. Hess says he bears the burden, not only of his grandfather's history but also of his father's; a harsh and brutal man, who never abandoned Nazi ideology and continued to believe in the Third Reich. Hess notes that since his parents' divorce,

he has had no contact with his father. Göring and Hertwig discuss the silence that their families choose as a response to their pasts. Himmler relates that her marriage to a Jew resulted in the termination of contact with some members of her family. Frank speaks about the different ways in which his siblings coped with the knowledge about their father; particularly his eldest sister, who became a Holocaust denier, emigrated to South Africa because she was enamored with the Apartheid regime, and supported her father throughout her life. His second-born sister did not want to become any older than their father at his death and committed suicide at the same age. Another brother declared Niklas a liar, while the only brother who supported Niklas stated that he did not want to have children, so that the 'Frank' name would disappear from the earth. Frank in particular has a very negative opinion of the German people. He maintains that he is 'lucky' because he knows the full truth about his father, while other Germans his age, whose family members were 'less notorious,' will have to live with doubts regarding their families. 'All the Germans were a part of it ... unfortunately I don't trust us Germans,' he remarks bitterly. His determination to discuss the past with audiences throughout Germany is a weapon he uses in the war against what he sees as specific German personality traits. In his view, these characteristics are still embedded within German society and make him fearful of what his countrymen are capable of doing today, especially with regard to minorities.

But in my opinion, even though the interviewees discuss contradictory responses of other family members, the fact that the film is dedicated to the remorse of these five descendants, without visually representing other responses, ultimately marginalizes other attitudes.

Ze'evi also tries to highlight a sense of ambiguity and complexity in his concluding scene. During his tour through Auschwitz, Hess happens upon a group of Israeli high school students who are participating in an educational tour. The Israeli guide introduces the group to Hess, and encourages the students to ask him questions. One student asks how Hess deals with his familial past, and what he would do if he were to meet his grandfather. Hess's emotional and tearful answer ('I would kill him myself') prompts a Holocaust survivor who has been accompanying the high school group to reach out and comfort him. The survivor tells him that he has spent several years lecturing to German youth and explaining to them they are not to blame for their forefathers' sins. Young Israeli students who approach Hess after the conversation are shown hugging and comforting him.

The German members of the production team wanted to end the film with this scene, or alternatively a scene in which Israeli journalist Elad Beck and Hess visit an Israeli beach together. Ze'evi refused, and the scene ultimately remained on the editing room floor. Ze'evi explained:

There are stories which don't have an end [...]. There are people who are still suffering from this story, and I certainly don't have the right to tell them the story is over. There were very humane people here in Israel too, who desperately want to show that we love everyone and also wanted the film to end there [at Auschwitz], but for me it was important for the end to be different.<sup>35</sup>

Instead of concluding the film on a saccharine note, Ze'evi uses Beck as a mouthpiece, concluding the film with the following words: 'We Jewish-Israelis crave these people who feel

guilty, who ask our forgiveness because we want to find a good ending to this historical period. But not every story has a good ending, and sometimes there is no closure. This specific story has no closure.<sup>36</sup> This was Ze'evi's way of introducing critical perspectives into the film. The editing choice of the final scene was aimed at strengthening the sense of complexity. But isn't it too little, too late?

## Conclusion

John Grierson coined the term 'documentary' in 1926 and described the ways the director creatively (dramatically, poetically, and more) treat actuality.<sup>37</sup> In 1935, Paul Rotha called it 'the creative dramatization of actuality.'<sup>38</sup> The question of 'truth' in documentary cinema has been debated ever since. It is argued that documentary films do not represent reality but rather use components of the 'real world' to tell a story. Subjective decisions when directing, filming, and editing compress reality into a narrative. A documentary is not a reflection *of* reality but a story *about* reality. Documentaries do not therefore represent a genuine reflection of reality but rather the end product of an artistic process. Cinematic texts create a story from a specific perspective that does not necessarily mirror the truth but instead reflects the filmmaker's subjective point of view.<sup>39</sup> Among the many scholars who have engaged in defining the meaning of a documentary and its connections to truth, authenticity, and reality, Carl Plantinga states that 'both fiction and nonfiction film are creative in their manipulation of their materials.'<sup>40</sup> David LaRocca claims that there is no difference between film and documentary film, since 'all film is fiction film.'<sup>41</sup>

Ze'evi's narrative broadens the borders of Israeli Holocaust remembrance and documentary by inserting the perspective of the perpetrators' offspring into the cinematic narrative. It thus represents an extremely important first cinematic attempt at helping Israeli audiences confront this sensitive topic. But the fact that the film focuses on five interviewees who express the desire to atone for their forefathers, sins poses a problem. The Nazi descendants mentioned as having other responses are never interviewed nor represented, even in still pictures. They remain nameless, faceless people. Thus, in my opinion, even though the narrative addresses contradictory responses of other family members, the fact that the film highlights guilt and remorse amongst specific Nazi descendants marginalizes the varied facets of this complex phenomenon.

## Notes

1. See Steir-Livny, *Two Faces*, 96–147; Porat, *Smoke-Scented Coffee*, 357–78; Ofer, "We Israelis Remember, But How."
2. Zimmerman, *Don't Touch*, 27–215; Gertz, *Different Chorus*, 78–102; Steir-Livny, *Two Faces in the Mirror*, 7–68.
3. There is a dispute among researchers over the historical, political, and social events that changed Holocaust consciousness in Israel. They present various events such as the Kastner trial, the Eichmann trial, the period before the Six-Day War, the Yom Kippur War, the political change of 1977, and more. See Segev, *The Seventh Million*; Shapira, *New Jews, Old Jews*; Yablonka, *Survivors of the Holocaust*; Yablonka, *The State of Israel vs. Adolf Eichmann*; Zertal, *Hauma veba-Mavet*; Porat, *Smoke-Scented Coffee*.
4. Gertz, *Different Chorus*, 78–102. Steir-Livny, *Two Faces in the Mirror*, 69–95.

5. Loshitzky, "Post-memory Cinema"; Friedman, "The Double Legacy"; Friedman, "Witnessing for the Witness"; Gertz, *A Different Chorus*, 78–102; Steir-Livny, *Two Faces in the Mirror*, 96–147.
6. I use the terms 'second-generation Holocaust survivors' and 'third-generation Holocaust survivors' not just as biological terms but more widely as cultural terms, which describe the generations that were born after 1945. See Milner, *Torn Past*, 19–35; Steir-Livny, *Is It OK to Laugh About It?*, 35–50.
7. This film is discussed by Charlotte Schallie elsewhere in this volume.
8. Steir-Livny, *Our Holocaust*.
9. Hopper, "Not Monsters, Men."
10. Ze'evi, *Hitler's Children*.
11. Izikovich, "Descendants of Prominent Nazi Officials."
12. Hirsch, "Past Lives."
13. Bayer, "After Post-Memory."
14. McGlothlin, *Second-Generation*, 38
15. Hopper, "Men, not Monsters."
16. Prager, *After the Fact*, 151–70.
17. Steir-Livny, *Two Faces in the Mirror*, 124.
18. Deuelle-Luski and Wolkstein, "On a Film Unfinished." For more information on the various genres of international Holocaust films and the problematic nature of the different representations see Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust*.
19. Saxton, "They Both Hate Spielberg," 106–24.
20. Ibid.
21. Heywood, "Holocaust and Image".
22. Felman, "Film as Witness"; Felman and Laub, *Testimony*; Loshitzky, "Holocaust Others"; Rozenbaum, *Hitler*, 221–7.
23. McGlothlin, *Second-Generation*, 1–42.
24. For example: Bar-On, *Legacy of Silence*; Bar-On, "Descendants of Nazi Perpetrators," 55–74; Bar-On, "The Use of a Limited Morality," 415–27; Bar-On and Gaon, "We Suffered Too," 77–95; Bar-On, Ostrovsky, and Fromer, "Who am I," 97–118.
25. Bar-On and Charny, "The Logic," 3–20.
26. Welzer, "Cumulative Heroization," 198–215.
27. Von Plato, "Where are the Children," 221–7.
28. Frei, "Parallel Universes?," 216–20.
29. McGlothlin, *Second-Generation*.
30. Ibid.
31. Gurevich and Arev, "Trauma, Guilt, Forgiveness"; Aharoni, "Self-Documentation"; Duvdevani, *First Person, Camera*.
32. Duvdevani, *First Person, Camera*.
33. The fear of inherited sin, transfer of evil, and the will to stop it by not having children is also expressed in literature by the children of perpetrators. See McGlothlin, *Second-Generation*, 26–7.
34. Ibid., 26.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Grierson, "First Principles of Documentary (1932–1934)."
38. Rotha, "Some Principles," 148.
39. For example, Forsyth, *Grierson*; Barnouw, *Documentary*; Barsam, *Nonfiction Film*; Corner, *The Art*; Nichols, *Introduction*; Renov, *The Subject*; Warren, *Beyond Document*; Aston and Gaudenzi, "Interactive Documentary."
40. LaRocca, 7.
41. Ibid.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Notes on contributor

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