



PROJECT MUSE®

---

## Prison Area, Independence Valley

Rob Kroes

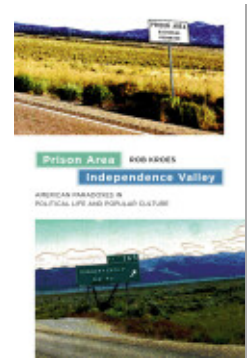
Published by Dartmouth College Press

Kroes, Rob.

Prison Area, Independence Valley: American Paradoxes in Political Life and Popular Culture.

Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2015.

Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/39664>

---

## NOTES

### *Introduction*

1. See [www.huffingtonpost.com/pierre-guerlain/democracy-in-america-it-w\\_b\\_4077088.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/pierre-guerlain/democracy-in-america-it-w_b_4077088.html).

2. Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Color Blindness* (New York: New Press, 2010); *Report of the Sentencing Project to the United Nations Human Rights Committee Regarding Racial Disparities in the United States Criminal Justice System* (Washington, DC: The Sentencing project, Research and Advocacy for Reform, August 2013), [http://sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/rd\\_ICCPR%20Race%20and%20Justice%20Shadow%20Report.pdf](http://sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/rd_ICCPR%20Race%20and%20Justice%20Shadow%20Report.pdf).

3. Samuel Bowles and Arjun Jayadev, "One Nation under Guard," [http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/02/15/one-nation-under-guard/?\\_php=true&\\_type=blogs&\\_r=0](http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/02/15/one-nation-under-guard/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0).

4. *Runaway Train* is a 1985 American film, directed by Andrei Konchalovsky. The screenplay by Djordje Milicevic, Paul Zindel, and Edwardunker was based on an original screenplay by Akira Kurosawa with uncredited contributions by frequent Kurosawa collaborators Hideo Oguni and Ryuzo Kikushima. It stars Jon Voight, Eric Roberts, Rebecca De Mornay and John P. Ryan. © 1985 Cannon Films, Inc.

5. Quoted in Jackson Lears, "Editor's Note," *Raritan: A Quarterly Review* (Summer 2013).

### *Chapter 1. The George W. Bush Administration and European Anti-Americanism*

This text originates in my retirement address delivered at the University of Amsterdam. It captures the sense of alienation of a European Americanist at the time of the George W. Bush administration. The original version was published by the *Journal of American History* 93, no. 2 (September 2006): 417–32. It was entitled "European Anti-Americanism: What's New?"

1. Jean-Marie Colombani, "Nous sommes tous Américains," *Le Monde* (Paris), September 13, 2001, 1; Thomas Jefferson, "First Inaugural Address," March 4, 1801, in *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States from George Washington 1789 to George Bush 1989*, comp. Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies (Washington, DC, 1989), 101–10.

2. President George H. W. Bush used the phrase in his September 11, 1990, address to a joint session of Congress, [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Toward\\_a\\_New\\_World\\_Order](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Toward_a_New_World_Order).

3. On this topic, see Jaap Kooijman, "Bombs Bursting in Air: The Gulf War, 9/11, and the Super Bowl Performances of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' by Whitney Houston and Mariah Carey," in Ruud Janssens and Rob Kroes, eds., *Post-Cold War Europe, Post-Cold War America* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2004), 178–94.

4. Richard Rorty, "Post-Democracy," *London Review of Books* (April 1, 2004). In a spirited response, as yet unpublished, Tomas Mastnak, currently a fellow at the International Center for Advanced Studies at New York University, took Rorty to task for ignoring recent trends in the United States.

5. "Secretary Rumsfeld Briefs at the Foreign Press Center," press brief, January 22, 2003, U.S. Department of Defense, [http://www.dod.gov/transcripts/2003/to1232003\\_to122sdfpc.html](http://www.dod.gov/transcripts/2003/to1232003_to122sdfpc.html).

6. Alfred Grosser, "Les hors-la-loi," *Le Monde*, Friday, April 18, 2003, reprinted in *Le Monde, Sélection hebdomadaire* no. 2842 (April 26, 2003): 8.

7. At this point it may suffice to refer the reader to my earlier work on the topic, in *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: Europeans and American Mass Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), ch. 1; and *Them and Us: Questions of Citizenship in a Globalizing World* (University of Illinois Press, 2000), ch. 9. See also Philippe Roger, *The American Enemy: The History of French Anti-Americanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

8. The words "agonizing reappraisal" were used by John Foster Dulles on December 14, 1953, when he said in Paris that if the French Assembly did not approve the European Defense Community treaty, "that would compel an agonizing reappraisal" of basic U.S. foreign policy toward France.

9. Michael Ignatieff, "What We Think of America," *Granta* 77 (Spring 2002): 47–50.

10. In an interview in the *Guardian* on August 27, 2003.

11. *Guardian Weekly*, May 28–June 3, 2004, 7.

12. Quoted in Michael Massing, "Unfit to Print?" *New York Review of Books* 55, 11 (June 24, 2004): 8.

13. *Ibid.*, 10.

14. See, for example, the chapter “America and the World as America,” in Ziauddin Sardar and Merryl Wyn Davies, *Why Do People Hate America?* (Cambridge: ICON Books, 2002). Similar best-selling indictments, in languages other than English, of America’s recent course in world politics and the failure of the American press to take an independent and critical position are, for example, Hans Leyendecker, *Die Lügen des Weissen Hauses: Warum Amerika einen Neuanfang braucht* [The Lies of the White House: Why America Needs a New Start] (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2004); Karel van Wolferen, *De ondergang van een wereldorde* [The Demise of a World Order] (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact, 2003); and Denise Artaud, *L’Amérique des néoconservateurs: L’Empire a-t-il un avenir?* [The America of the Neo-Conservatives: Has the Empire a Future?] (Paris: Editions Ellipses, 2004).

15. Philip Knightley, “Losing Friends and Influencing People,” *Index on Censorship* 31, 1 (January 2002): 146–55.

16. Ronald L. Inglehart, ed., *Human Values and Social Change: Findings from the Values Surveys*, International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology, vol. 89 (The Hague: Brill, 2002).

17. See Ira Chernus, [www.tomdispatch.com/index.mhtml?pid=2068](http://www.tomdispatch.com/index.mhtml?pid=2068).

18. I may refer the reader to my survey of such French views of American modernity. See Kroes, *Them and Us*, ch. 9.

19. See, for example, Annick Foucrier, *Le rêve californien: Migrants français sur la côte Pacifique (XVIIIe–XXe siècles)* (Paris: Belin, 1999).

20. See Kroes, *If You’ve Seen One, You’ve Seen the Mall*.

21. Quoted in D. Lacorne, J. Rupnik, and M. F. Toinet, eds., *L’Amérique dans les têtes* (Paris: Hachette, 1986), 61.

22. Quoted in *ibid.*, 62.

23. Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

24. Larry Siedentop, *Democracy in Europe* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 190, 195, 198.

25. I am paraphrasing the comic Rob Corddry on *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*: “It’s our principles that matter, our inspiring, abstract notions. Remember: Just because torturing prisoners is something we did, [that] doesn’t mean it’s something we *would* do.” Quoted by Mark Danner in his “The Logic of Torture,” *New York Review of Books* 51, 11 (June 24, 2004): 74.

26. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 138 (June 18, 2004): 15.

27. J. Habermas, *Der gespaltete Westen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2004). The quotation is from the interview in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

28. *Le Monde Sélection Hebdomadaire*, May 22, 2004. The French caption reads: “Tous non-américains?”

*Chapter 2. The Ascent of the Falling Man:  
An Iconic Image of 9/11*

This piece has evolved from passages in my *Photographic Memories: Private Pictures, Public Images, and American History* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2007). Ever since I have been trying to translate into language my continuing fascination with one particular image among the flood of visual material produced by 9/11. The piece has benefited greatly from critical comments by colleagues and friends, in particular Geoffrey Batchen, Kate Delaney, Mick Gidley, Jay Prosser, Derek Rubin, Robert Rydell, and Jaap Verheul.

1. Albert Boime, “The Fate of the Image-Monument in the Wake of 9/11,” in Vincent Lavoie, ed., *NOW: Images of Present Time* (Montreal: Le Mois de la Photo à Montréal, 2003), 189–204.

2. Alain Mons, *La traversée du visible: Images et lieux du contemporain* (Paris: Les Editions de la Passion, 2002), 32 (my translation).

3. *Ibid.*, 30.

4. In a piece tellingly titled “Still Life,” Laura Frost addresses the issue of, as her subtitle has it, “9/11’s Falling Bodies.” She recognizes photography’s inherent power to make time stand still, a power that inspired Polish poet Wislawa Szymborska. See Laura Frost, “Still Life: 9/11’s Falling Bodies,” in Ann Keniston and Jeanne Follansbee Quinn, eds., *Literature after 9/11* (London: Routledge, 2008), 180–207.

5. Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken, 1969), 236–37.

6. Don DeLillo, *Falling Man* (New York: Scribner, 2007), 168.

7. *Ibid.*, 221–22.

8. The firefighter is shown in the documentary film *9/11*, produced by Jules and Gédéon Naudet, two French documentary filmmakers who happened to be in New York making a film about one rookie firefighter who underwent his fire baptism on the day of 9/11. The film contains gripping footage from inside one of the burning towers, but likewise makes a stated conscious choice not to *show* the falling bodies. Instead, one hears the *thud* of their hitting the ground. *9/11, A Film by Jules and Gédéon Naudet and James Hanlon* (Goldfish Pictures, Inc., 2001).

9. Ric Burns, *New York: The Center of the World, A Documentary Film* (Boston: WGBH, 2003), Episode Eight: 1946–2003.

10. Tom Junod, "The Falling Man," *Esquire* 140, 3 (September 2003): 177–78.

11. See [www.newsday.com/news/nationaworld/wire/la-oe-drew10sep10,0,2008868.story?coll=sns-ap-nationworld-headlines](http://www.newsday.com/news/nationaworld/wire/la-oe-drew10sep10,0,2008868.story?coll=sns-ap-nationworld-headlines).

12. Junod, "The Falling Man."

13. 9/11: *The Falling Man* (directed by Henry Singer, filmed by Richard Nemeroff, using Lyle Owerko's photographs of falling people. First aired on British television network *Channel 4*, 2006). The film is available on two websites: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXnA9FjvLSU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXnA9FjvLSU); and <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-1643316699854377441#>.

14. Words quoted from the documentary 9/11: *The Falling Man*. The theme of the ethnic response to 9/11 photographs, and to the Falling Man in particular, I have explored more fully in my "Indecent Exposure: Picturing the Horror of 9/11," in Derek Rubin and Jaap Verheul, eds., *American Multiculturalism after 9/11: Transatlantic Perspectives* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 67–81.

15. One site in particular devotes itself to the memory of those who perished on 9/11: [www.september11victims.com/september11victims/VictimInfo.asp?ID=1345](http://www.september11victims.com/september11victims/VictimInfo.asp?ID=1345).

16. Jonathan Safran Foer, *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, Harcourt, 2005).

17. Devin Zuber, "Flanerie at Ground Zero: Aesthetic Counter-memories in Lower Manhattan," *American Quarterly* 58, 2 (2006): 269–99.

18. Art Spiegelman, *In the Shadow of No Towers* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004).

19. "Postmemory" is a term suggested by Marianne Hirsch in her *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). It describes the sort of memory that people form of past events they have not directly witnessed.

20. Kristiaan Versluys, "9/11 in the Novel," in Matthew J. Morgan, ed., *The Impact of 9/11 on the Media, Arts, and Entertainment: The Day That Changed Everything?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 142–43.

### *Chapter 3. Cool Hand Luck: How America Played Its Hand Entertaining the World*

#### WORKS CITED

Barlow, Joel. An oration: delivered at the North Church in Hartford, at the meeting of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, July 4,

1787. In commemoration of the independence of the United States (Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin, 1787).
- Baudrillard, Jean. *La Guerre du Golfe n'a pas eu lieu*. Paris: Galilée, 1991.  
———. *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*. Trans. Paul Patton. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- Croly, Herbert. *The Promise of American Life*. New York: Macmillan, 1909.
- De Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Foreign Affair*. Dir. Billy Wilder. Writ. Charles Brackett et al. Perf. Jean Arthur, Marlene Dietrich, and John Lund. USA: Paramount Pictures, 1948.
- Fulbright, J. William. "The Arrogance of Power." Christian A. Herter lecture, delivered at Johns Hopkins University, Spring 1966. See [www.h-net.org/~hst306/documents/fulbright.html](http://www.h-net.org/~hst306/documents/fulbright.html). Last accessed August 16, 2012.
- Kaplan, Amy. "Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today." *American Quarterly* 56, 1 (March 1994): 1–18.
- Kings of the Road [Im Laufe der Zeit]*. Dir. Wim Wenders. Writ. Wim Wenders. Perf. Rüdiger Vogler, Hanns Zischler, and Lisa Kreuzer. West Germany: Wim Wenders Productions, 1976.
- Leuchtenburg, William E. "Progressivism and Imperialism: The Progressive Movement and American Foreign Policy, 1898–1916." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 39, 3 (December 1952): 483–504.
- Maier, Charles S. *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*. Dir. John Ford. Writ. James Warner Bellah et al. Perf. James Stewart, John Wayne, and Vera Miles. USA: Paramount Pictures, 1962.
- Menand, Louis. "The Promise of Freedom, the Friend of Authority: American Culture in Postwar France." In Michael Kazin and Joseph A. McCartin, eds., *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006, 205–20.
- Muguruza, Fermin. "Big Beñat." Dir. Telmo Esnal and Asier Altuna. See [www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXuffvjs\\_Ps](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXuffvjs_Ps). Last accessed November 29, 2012.
- Pease, Donald E., and Robyn Wiegman, eds. *The Futures of American Studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Puya, feat. Connect-r. "My Americandrim." Dir. Marian Crisan. Roma-

nia: Scandalos Music, 2010. See [www.youtube.com/watch?v=xGtlounpxm8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xGtlounpxm8). Last accessed August 16, 2012.

Radway, Janice A. "What's in a Name? Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, November 20, 1998." *American Quarterly* 51, 1 (March 1999): 1–32.

Robertson, Roland. "Globalisation or Glocalisation?" *Journal of International Communication* 1, 1 (1994): 33–52.

Rydell, R. W., and Rob Kroes. *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005.

Suskind, Ron. "Faith, Certainty and the Presidency of George W. Bush." *New York Times Magazine* (October 17, 2004). See [www.nytimes.com/2004/10/17/magazine/17BUSH.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/17/magazine/17BUSH.html). Last accessed August 16, 2012.

1. For a classic elaboration of the concept of a democracy of goods, see Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). See also Lisabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003).

2. Compare Louis Menand, "The Promise of Freedom, the Friend of Authority: American Culture in Postwar France," in Michael Kazin and Joseph A. McCartin, eds., *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 213.

3. In my *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: Europeans and American Mass Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), I give many examples for a range of European countries, for the post–World War I period, particularly chapters 1 and 3.

4. It is interesting to contrast this music video with one produced more recently in Romania, by singer Puya, featuring Connect-r, called "American-drim" (American Dream). Against the backdrop of contemporary Romania, presented as a landscape of broken dreams with its democratic promise unfulfilled, the singer conjures up one tempting element after another of an imaginary America, as it feeds his dreams of "losing his identity, becoming an American." Clearly, in different parts of contemporary Europe, America still plays a number of roles, from tempting model to baneful force of alienation and dehumanization.

5. Ron Suskind, "Faith, Certainty and the Presidency of George W. Bush," *New York Times Magazine*, October 17, 2004, [www.nytimes.com/2004/10/17/magazine/17BUSH.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/17/magazine/17BUSH.html) (last accessed July 14, 2014).

6. For "empire of liberty," see Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrick-



son, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). The words “empire of reason” are from a statement in an oration on July 4, 1787, by Joel Barlow at Hartford, Connecticut, in celebration of the anniversary of the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence: “The present is an age of philosophy, and America the empire of reason. Here, neither the pageantry of courts, nor the glooms of superstition, have dazzled or beclouded the mind. Our duty calls us to act worthy of the age and the country that gave us birth. Though inexperience may have betrayed us into errors—yet they have not been fatal: and our own discernment will point us to their proper remedy.”

7. In the spring of 1966, Senator Fulbright delivered the Christian A. Herter Lecture at Johns Hopkins University on the arrogance of power. For the full speech, see [www.h-net.org/~hst306/documents/fulbright.html](http://www.h-net.org/~hst306/documents/fulbright.html). The same year, Fulbright published his book *The Arrogance of Power*, in which he analyzed U.S.-American foreign policy and criticized the justifications for the Vietnam War.

8. On the early formation of American mass culture, see R. W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922* (2005).

9. A seminal publication blazing the trail for the new American Studies is Donald E. Pease, Jr., and Robyn Wiegman, eds., *The Futures of American Studies* (2002).

10. Amy Kaplan, “Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today,” *Presidential Address to the American Studies Association*, Hartford, CT, October 17, 2003, *American Quarterly* 56, 1 (March 2004): 1–18.

11. Among the works that Kaplan so astutely summarizes here, one stands out for its dispassionate positioning of America among its imperial predecessors: Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (2007).

12. Kaplan, “Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today,” 2.

13. A classic piece is by William E. Leuchtenburg, “Progressivism and Imperialism: The Progressive Movement and American Foreign Policy, 1898–1916” (1952).

#### *Chapter 4. Musical America: Staging the U.S.A. to the Sounds of Music*

1. Thus, the February 1, 1893, *New York Times*, under the heading “Henry Smith Lynching Victim,” reported: “Another Negro burned; Henry Smith dies at the stake” before going into gruesome detail.

2. Alex Ross, *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 127.
3. David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995, 2000).
4. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991).
5. Ross, *The Rest Is Noise*, 150.
6. As told by Trevor Nunn, director of the Glyndebourne production, in the PBS television documentary “Porgy and Bess: An American Voice,” [www.pbs.org/wnet/gperfporgy/](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/gperfporgy/).
7. See <http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9B05E3DF103FEE3BBC4D52DFB366838D629EDE>.
8. See [www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b03fvds9/Arena\\_Arena\\_The\\_National\\_Theatre\\_Part\\_Two\\_War\\_and\\_Peace/](http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b03fvds9/Arena_Arena_The_National_Theatre_Part_Two_War_and_Peace/).
9. Roland Robertson, “Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity,” in M. Featherstone, S. Lash, and R. Robertson, eds. *Global Modernities* (London: Sage, 1995), 25–44.
10. See [www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXuffvjs\\_Ps](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXuffvjs_Ps) (song and lyrics by Fermin Muguruza).
11. See [www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFKa\\_gaFMIQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFKa_gaFMIQ) (song and lyrics by Puya and Connect-R).

*Chapter 5. A Spaghetti Southern: Landscapes of Fear  
in Quentin Tarantino’s Django Unchained*

1. Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Return of the Vanishing American* (New York: Stein and Day, 1968).
2. Norman Mailer, “The White Negro: Superficial Reflections on the Hipster,” *Dissent* (Fall 1957).
3. William Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936; New York: Random House, 1964), 174.
4. Louis Menand, “The Promise of Freedom, the Friend of Authority: American Culture in Postwar France,” in Michael Kazin and Joseph A. McCartin, eds., *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 213–14.
5. Nino Frank, “A New Kind of Police Drama: The Criminal Adventure,” (1946) in Alain Silver and James Ursini, eds., *Film Noir Reader 2* (New York: Limelight, 1999).
6. *Alphaville, une étrange aventure de Lemmy Caution* (dir. Jean-Luc Godard, 1965).

7. John G. Blair, “Cowboys, Europe and Smoke: Marlboro in the Saddle,” in Rob Kroes, ed., *The American West as Seen by Europeans and Americans* (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1989), 360–84.

8. I purposefully use Joseph Conrad’s metaphor of the heart of darkness. In fact, like Conrad, Tarantino uses a narrative trope that has much older roots. Like precursors from classical antiquity, such as Odysseus or Orpheus descending into Hades—a trope known as “katabasis,” or “Nekuia”—often with the point of retrieving loved ones, Django has set out on a similar mission.

9. Enzo Barboni, “Lo Chiamavano Trinità,” 1970.

10. David Denby, “Tarantino’s Crap Masterpiece, ‘Django Unchained’: Put-On, Revenge, and the Aesthetics of Trash,” *New Yorker*, January 22, 2013, [www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/culture/2013/01/django-unchained-reviewed-tarantinos-crap-masterpiece.html](http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/culture/2013/01/django-unchained-reviewed-tarantinos-crap-masterpiece.html).

11. “Quentin Tarantino: I’m proud of my flop,” [www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/starsandstories/3664742/Quentin-Tarantino-Im-proud-of-my-flop.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/starsandstories/3664742/Quentin-Tarantino-Im-proud-of-my-flop.html).

12. See <http://insidemovies.ew.com/2012/07/14/django-unchained-comic-con-panel-tarantino-talks-links-to-other-movies-don-johnson-talks-fog-horn-leghorn/>.

13. Sandy Alexandre, *The Properties of Violence: Claims to Ownership in Representations of Lynching* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 193.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. James Allen et al., *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe, NM: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000).

17. Mamie Till Bradley and Christopher Benson, *Death of Innocence: The Story of the Hate Crime That Changed America* (New York: Random House, 2003), 98, 114.

18. On this aspect, see Stephen J. Whitfield, *A Death in the Delta: The Story of Emmett Till* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 18.

### *Chapter 6. Freaks on Display: A Tale of Empathy and Ostracism*

1. Leslie A. Fiedler, *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978).

2. The album cover for *Diamond Dogs* was designed by Belgian artist Guy Peellaert. Compare Ian Buruma, “The Invention of David Bowie,” *New*

*York Review of Books* (May 23, 2013): 8–12. On the case of Michael Jackson, see “Dancing with the Elephant Man’s Bones: A Star Study of Michael Jackson,” ch. V in Raphael Raphael, *The New American Grotesque: Freaks and Other Monstrous and Extraordinary Bodies* (unpublished dissertation, University of Oregon, June 2009).

3. Susan M. Schweick, *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

4. Tanfer Emin Tunç, “Freaks and Geeks: Coney Island Sideshow Performers and Long Island Eugenics, 1910–1935,” *Long Island Historical Journal* 14, 1–2 (2001): 1–14.

5. See [www.westland.net/coneyisland/articles/freaks.htm](http://www.westland.net/coneyisland/articles/freaks.htm).

6. Such structural containment and separation within the setting of an optical regime was in line with contemporary trends in the building of prisons and animal zoos. Compare Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la Prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).

7. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

8. Roberto Bolaño, *The Third Reich* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 20.

9. William Faulkner, *Light in August* (New York: Random House, 1959), 345–46.

10. Turning Victor Hugo’s novel into a film brought a number of problems, one of which was to adapt for a visual medium like film a story whose focus was on the inner life of a character behind a mask, incapable of expressing inner emotions. On this problem, see Mireille Gamel, “L’homme qui rit à l’écran: Du bon usage de l’infidélité,” <http://groupugo.div.jussieu.fr/groupugo/03-04-26gamel.htm>.

One enduring echo of Paul Leni’s film adaptation in American mass culture is the face of the Joker in the *Batman* series of comic books, styled after Conrad Veidt’s makeup.

11. James Baldwin, “The Last Interview,” in Quincy Troupe, ed., *James Baldwin: The Legacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 193.

12. A. Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), ch. I, 21–71.

13. Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Post-memory* (Cambridge: Harvard university Press, 1997), 103.

14. Doon Arbus and Marvin Israel, eds., *Diane Arbus: An Aperture Monograph* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 1972), 15. William Todd Schultz,

*An Emergency in Slow Motion: The Inner Life of Diane Arbus* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

15. Robert Bogdan, *Picturing Disability: Beggar, Freak, Citizen, and Other Photographic Rhetoric* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2012).

16. See <http://libcom.org/library/ending-war-inventing-movement-may-day-1971>.

17. If Browning's film can be seen as an invitation to conceive of freaks as fellow human beings, the last part of its narrative seems to undermine this message. In the terrible revenge meted out to Cleo, the freaks seem to confirm the classic view of them as threatening and scary creatures. For an enlightening reading of inner contradictions in the film's story, see Joan Hawkins, "One of Us": Tod Browning's *Freaks*," in Rosemary Garland Thompson, ed., *Freakery: Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 265–76.

18. Amy Louise Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

19. For a grisly collection of such photographs, see James Allen et al., *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe, NM: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000).

20. The photograph is available on <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/gutenb/holitsch/amerikah/bilder/s367.jpg>.

21. Martin Goldsmith, *The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2000).

22. Kurt Baschwitz, *Du und die Masse: Studien zu einer exakten Massenpsychologie* (Amsterdam: Feikema, Carelsen en Co., 1938), ch. 18.

23. Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle*, 238.

24. Richard Raskin, *A Child at Gunpoint: A Case Study in the Life of a Photo* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004). Chapter II reprints and discusses all fifty-three photographs in the two surviving copies of the document. The "Dregs of Humanity" photograph is #12 from the collection.

25. B. Zelizer, *About to Die: How News Images Move the Public* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 138.

### *Chapter 7. American Responses to the Holocaust: Atrocity Photographs as Nomadic Objects*

1. Never mind that upon closer scrutiny the boy most likely squinted his eyes against the sun, which, judging by the shadow his small body casts, the boy was facing. He must have been looking at the photographer.

2. Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 104–5.

3. Werner Sollors, “Hard on the Eyes: A Photographer and His Subject,” (unpublished lecture, Amsterdam, January 17, 2011).

4. Alex Ross, *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 497.

5. Aad Wagenaar, *Settela: Het meisje heeft haar naam terug* (The Girl Has Her Name Back) (Hilversum: Just Publishers, 1995), published with an accompanying DVD, containing both the original 1944 Westerbork film and the documentary by Cherry Duyns, *Settela: Gezicht van het verleden* (Face of the Past), broadcast initially by VPRO Television in 1996.

6. Richard Raskin, *A Child at Gunpoint: A Case Study in the Life of a Photo* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004); Frédéric Rousseau, *L'enfant juif de Varsovie: Histoire d'une photographie* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 2009).

7. Jean Back and Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, eds., *The Family of Man 1955–2001, Humanism and Postmodernism: A Reappraisal of the Photo Exhibition by Edward Steichen* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2004).

8. A key role here was played by American historian Eric J. Sandeen. See his *Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

See also Eric J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

9. See Back and Linsenhoff, *The Family of Man 1955–2001*.

10. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, “Denied Images,” in Back and Schmidt-Linsenhoff, *The Family of Man 1955–2001*, 80–100. The quotation is from the introduction, p. 11.

11. Frédéric Rousseau discusses this initial Israeli reluctance in his *L'enfant juif de Varsovie*, 124ff.

12. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, “Denied Images,” 95.

13. Even a historian like Hasia Diner, while assembling an impressive array of evidence against the myth of silence on the subject of the Holocaust, overlooks Steichen's public stance. Compare Hasia Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945–1962* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

14. Anne Swartz tells the story of the response, angered or supportive, to Schechner's work in New York. Anne Swartz, “There Are Many Sides to Every Story: Alan Schechner Looks at the Holocaust,” *Fine Art Forum* (April 2002).

15. The work is presented on the following website: [www.dottycommies.com/holocaust10.html](http://www.dottycommies.com/holocaust10.html) The artist, Alan Schechner, served in the Israeli army from 1981 to 1983 with active duty both in the Occupied Territories and Lebanon. The work described here is both a “stand alone” project in itself, and also used in “Dialog,” a collaboration between Schechner and Palestinian artist Rana Bishara.

*Chapter 8. Barack Hussein Obama: Two Portrait Sketches*

1. In an interview with Gary Younge, *Guardian Weekly* (August 20, 2007). Patterson’s reflections on the lukewarm initial support for Obama’s presidential candidacy among America’s black population led him to speak of “black nativism.” See Orlando Patterson, “The New Black Nativism,” *Time Magazine*, February 8, 2007.

2. J. W. Schulte Nordholt, *Het volk dat in duisternis wandelt: De geschiedenis van de negers in Amerika* (Deventer: Van Loghumb Slaterus, 1968).

3. Obama speech, “A More Perfect Union,” Constitution Center, Philadelphia, March 18, 2008, [www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/03/18/obama-race-speech-read-th\\_n\\_92077.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/03/18/obama-race-speech-read-th_n_92077.html).

4. Letter to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862.

5. Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

6. Obama Cairo speech, video and full text, [www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/06/04/obama-speech-in-cairo-vid\\_n\\_211215.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/06/04/obama-speech-in-cairo-vid_n_211215.html).

7. September 19, 2010, [www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE68I03S20100919](http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE68I03S20100919).

8. James T. Kloppenberg, in his *Reading Obama*, looks at Obama’s writing and record of public speech to do for Obama what Obama does for himself: demonstrating the extent to which he as a politician and a statesman is rooted in an American political and intellectual tradition. See Kloppenberg, *Reading Obama: Dreams, Hope, and the American Political Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). See also Susan Schulten, “Barack Obama, Abraham Lincoln, and John Dewey,” *Denver University Law Review* 86 (2009), <http://law.du.edu/documents/denver-university-law-review/schulten.pdf>.

9. See [www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/07/24/obama-in-berlin-video-of\\_n\\_114771.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/07/24/obama-in-berlin-video-of_n_114771.html).

10. See [www.scribd.com/doc/4107132/Barack-Obama-on-Homeland-Security](http://www.scribd.com/doc/4107132/Barack-Obama-on-Homeland-Security). This is an electoral campaign document, summarizing Obama’s views of the Homeland Security counterterrorism apparatus and strategy. It contains telling policy projects that today, in the eyes of critics, seem to

be honored in the breach. Among the promises made we find the following: “Obama also would restore habeas corpus so that those who pose a danger are swiftly tried and brought to justice and those who do not have sufficient due process to ensure that we are not wrongfully denying them their liberty.”

11. Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), xiii.

12. Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Touchstone, 1992).

13. The CNN/Opinion Research Corporation poll was conducted July 16–21, 2011, with 1,018 adult Americans questioned by telephone. The survey’s overall sampling error is plus or minus three percentage points.

14. “We believe that the best of America is in these small towns that we get to visit, and in these wonderful little pockets of what I call the real America.” Greensboro, NC, October 16, 2008, <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/10/to-avoid-being-depressed-palin.html?hpid=topnews>.

15. Orlando Patterson, “Race and Diversity in the Age of Obama,” *New York Times Sunday Book Review* (August 14, 2009), [www.nytimes.com/2009/08/16/books/review/Patterson-t.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/16/books/review/Patterson-t.html). See also Patterson, “The New Black Nativism,” *Time Magazine* (February 8, 2007).

16. Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance* (New York: Times Books, 1995); Barack Obama, *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2006); “2004 Democratic National Convention Keynote Address,” delivered July 27, 2004, Fleet Center, Boston, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWynt87PaJo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWynt87PaJo).

17. See Kloppenberg, *Reading Obama*. For a similar, article-length argument, see Schulten, “Barack Obama, Abraham Lincoln, and John Dewey.”

18. Kloppenberg, *Reading Obama*, <http://harvardmagazine.com/2010/11/a-nation-arguing-with-its-conscience?page=all#>, p. 2.

19. On consensus history, see M. J. Morton, *The Terrors of Ideological Politics: Liberal Historians in a Conservative Mood* (Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1972). See also Richard H. Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s & 1950s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985).

*Chapter 9. Obama and the Paradox of American Global Power:  
Dreams of Democracy and the Imperial Imperative*

1. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Imperial Presidency* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).



2. Jennifer van Bergen, “The Unitary Executive: Is the Doctrine behind the Bush Presidency Consistent with a Democratic State? [http://writ.news.findlaw.com/commentary/20060109\\_bergen.html](http://writ.news.findlaw.com/commentary/20060109_bergen.html);

Jennifer van Bergen, *The Twilight of Democracy: The Bush Plan for America* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2004).

3. Glenn Greenwald, “Obama Wins the Right to Detain People with No Habeas Review,” May 23, 2010, [www.informationclearinghouse.info/article25517.htm](http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article25517.htm).

4. This is a point raised by Robert Naiman (“An Open Letter to Liberal Supporters of the Libya War,” [www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-naiman/an-open-letter-to-liberal\\_b\\_841505.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-naiman/an-open-letter-to-liberal_b_841505.html)), in his response to Juan Cole’s “An Open Letter to the Left on Libya,” which is generally supportive of the war ([www.juancole.com/2011/03/an-open-letter-to-the-left-on-libya.html](http://www.juancole.com/2011/03/an-open-letter-to-the-left-on-libya.html)). Naiman uses strong language and speaks of a power grab by the executive.

5. To get to this linguistic stretch President Obama had had to overrule the lawyers in the Justice and Defense departments and turn to more pliant ones in the White House and State Department. Bruce Ackerman, a professor of law and political science at Yale, said in the *New York Times* that this could open the way for “even more blatant acts of presidential war-making in the decades ahead”; see “Legal Acrobatics, Illegal War,” [www.nytimes.com/2011/06/21/opinion/21Ackerman.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/21/opinion/21Ackerman.html).

6. Following a sustained public outcry, culminating in a public letter over the signature of more than 250 top legal scholars, including Laurence Tribe, a Harvard professor who had taught Obama constitutional law, and published in the *New York Review of Books*, Manning was transferred to a more normal detention regime; see *New York Review of Books* 58, 5 (May 12–25, 2011): 62.

7. *New York Review of Books* (May 27, 2010): 17.

8. Maeva Marcus, *Truman and the Steel Seizure Case: The Limits of Presidential Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

9. Gabriel Schoenfeld, “Barack Obama: Defender of State Secrets,” *Wall Street Journal*, Thursday, September 30, 2010, 17.

10. Colin Powell’s words of praise and endorsement can still be heard on the Internet: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=T\\_NMZv6Vfh8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T_NMZv6Vfh8). It is an excerpt from NBC’s *Meet the Press*, October 19, 2008.

11. For a critical review of alternative policies, see Juan Cole, *Engaging the Muslim World* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

12. “But I’m the decider, and I decide what is best.” Words spoken on the White House Lawn, April 18, 2006.

13. For the text of Reagan's "Evil Empire Speech," see [www.nationalcenter.org/ReaganEvilEmpire1983.html](http://www.nationalcenter.org/ReaganEvilEmpire1983.html).

14. President Jimmy Carter, Commencement Speech given at Notre Dame University, June 1977, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=727>.

15. See <http://my.barackobama.com/page/content/fpccga>.

16. For an enlightening revisit of Eisenhower's farewell speech, see Andrew J. Bacevich, "The Tyranny of Defense Inc.," *Atlantic* (January/February 2011), [www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/01/the-tyranny-of-defense-inc/8342/](http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/01/the-tyranny-of-defense-inc/8342/).

17. See [www.justice.gov/iso/opa/ag/speeches/2012/ag-speech-1203051.html](http://www.justice.gov/iso/opa/ag/speeches/2012/ag-speech-1203051.html).

18. In an interview on CNN, Wednesday, September 5, 2012, Obama himself briefly went into the criteria used in drone warfare. Obama told CNN that a terror suspect had to pass five tests before the administration would allow him to be taken out by a drone. "Drones are one tool that we use, and our criteria for using them is very tight and very strict," the president said.

1. "It has to be a target that is authorized by our laws."
2. "It has to be a threat that is serious and not speculative."
3. "It has to be a situation in which we can't capture the individual before they move forward on some sort of operational plot against the United States."
4. "We've got to make sure that in whatever operations we conduct, we are very careful about avoiding civilian casualties."
5. "That while there is a legal justification for us to try and stop [American citizens] from carrying out plots . . . they are subject to the protections of the Constitution and due process."

For a brief discussion of these points see [www.wired.com/dangerroom/2012/09/obama-drone/](http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2012/09/obama-drone/)

19. Aaron B. O'Connell, "The Permanent Militarization of America," *New York Times*, Opinion pages, November 4, 2012, [www.nytimes.com/2012/11/05/opinion/the-permanent-militarization-of-america.html?page-wanted=all&r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/05/opinion/the-permanent-militarization-of-america.html?page-wanted=all&r=0).

Tom Engelhardt, *The United States of Fear* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011)

20. David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York: Random House, 1964), 3.

21. *Ibid.*, 219.

22. Tom Junod, "The Lethal Presidency of Barack Obama," *Esquire* (August 2012), [www.esquire.com/features/obama-lethal-presidency-0812](http://www.esquire.com/features/obama-lethal-presidency-0812).

23. Chalmers H. Johnson, "America's Empire of Bases," January 15, 2004, [www.commondreams.org/view/04/01/15-08.htm](http://www.commondreams.org/view/04/01/15-08.htm).

Ch. H. Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004).

### *Chapter 10. Taking Exception*

1. Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

2. "The Big Lie," *The Daily Dish*, *Atlantic* (November 9, 2010).

3. C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993); C. Vann Woodward, *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964).

4. S. M. Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1997).

5. Daniel T. Rodgers, "Exceptionalism," in Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 22–23.

6. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

7. Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); David Thelen, *The Nation and Beyond*, a special issue of *The Journal of American History* 86, 3 (December 1999). I had the good fortune to be involved in both projects.

8. Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, vii.

9. Alan Wolfe, "Anti-American Studies," *New Republic* (February 10, 2003). In his piece, Wolfe reviewed Pease and Wiegman, eds., *The Futures of American Studies*; John Carlos Rowe, *The New American Studies*; and David Noble, *Death of a Nation: American Culture and the End of Exceptionalism*.

10. Donald Pease, "Rethinking 'American Studies after US Exceptionalism,'" 22, <http://alh.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/1/19.full>.