INTRODUCTION

Philip Roth’s Political Thought

Lee Trepanier and Claudia Franziska Brühwiler

This book looks at the political thought of one of the giants of American literature: Philip Roth. Roth’s depiction of American life, which focuses on American Jewish life in Newark, New Jersey, may initially appear provincial, but his portrayal of his hometown can be seen as a microcosm of America itself: its political aspirations, its political failures, and its political self-reflection about what it means to be an American. Of course, Roth’s oeuvre transcends the subject of political thought itself, raising larger questions about the role that literature, identity, and sex play in our lives. While acknowledging that Roth’s writings ask us what it is to be human in the broadest and most complex sense of the term, this book will focus only on Roth’s political thinking.

The political themes in Roth’s works are myriad, from questions of American Jewish identity, Zionism, and American attitudes toward Israel in works like Goodbye, Columbus, Portnoy’s Complaint, and Operation Shylock to the exploration of subjects such as freedom, equality, and tolerance in Exit Ghost, American Pastoral, and I Married a Communist. Roth examines not only the topics of race, class, and gender in The Breast, The Human Stain, and Nemesis but also ideas of political progress, utopia, and corruption in The Dying Animal, Our Gang, and The Plot Against America. And Roth himself was politically active as a vigorous supporter of dissident writers in Communist Czechoslovakia. Given these themes in his
works and his role as a political activist, it is clear that one could categorize him as a political thinker.

Strangely, the scholarship on Philip Roth’s political thought is sparse. The only monograph that explicitly addresses Roth’s political thought is Claudia Franziska Brühwiler’s *Political Initiation in the Novels of Philip Roth*, which focuses on the subject of political identity. Simon Stow explores the question of whether Roth is a political thinker in his article “Written and Unwritten America: Roth on Reading, Politics, and Theory”; Anthony Hutchison investigates how Roth uses political ideology in the American Trilogy (*American Pastoral, I Married a Communist, and The Human Stain*); and Maureen Whitebrook examines Roth’s use of political identity in *Operation Shylock*. Finally, Michael Kimmage’s *In History’s Grip: Philip Roth’s Newark Trilogy* indirectly addresses political issues in Roth’s American Trilogy but from the vantage point of history and not political science.

Except for the works cited above, the scholarship on Roth has been primarily literary in nature rather than political. Some of the most prominent works are David Goodblatt’s *The Major Phases of Philip Roth*, which explores Philip Roth’s entire oeuvre as a literary project; Debra Shostak’s *Philip Roth*, which discusses various aspects of Roth’s American Trilogy; and Aimee Pozorski’s *Roth and Trauma: The Problem of History in the Later Works* (1995–2010), which appeals to a broader audience with a focus on American history. Other recent publications about Roth include Aimee Pozorski’s *Roth and Celebrity*, which explores Roth’s public persona; David Brauner’s *Philip Roth*, which focuses on the use of paradox as a rhetorical device to analyze ideological principles in his works; Pia Masiero’s *Philip Roth and the Zuckerman Books*, which concentrates on Roth’s recurring character, Nathan Zuckerman; Jane Statlander’s *Philip Roth’s Postmodern American Romance*, which discusses the impact of Roth’s Jewishness on his position within American literature; and Claudia Roth Pierpont’s *Roth Unbound: A Writer and His Works*, a critical biography of the person and his works. Finally, there are edited collections that explore Roth’s work but, again, primarily from a literary perspective: Derek Parker Royal’s *Philip Roth: New Perspectives on an American Author*; Timothy Parish’s *The Cambridge Companion to Philip Roth*; and Velichka D. Ivanova’s *Philip Roth and World Literature*.

By inviting scholars from the United States and abroad to provide an interdisciplinary and international perspective on his political thought, our book fills this void in the scholarship about Philip Roth’s works. We have invited a mixture of established and rising scholars to provide an assessment of it. By engaging his major works, these contributors explore and critique the various aspects of Roth’s work in a political context. Not only will this book remedy the deficiency in the scholarship about Philip Roth but it also will provide a broader perspective about the nature and purpose of Roth’s political thought for disciplines outside political science and countries beyond the United States.

Philip Milton Roth was born on March 19, 1933, and was the second child of Herman and Bess Roth, first-generation American Jews who lived in Newark, New Jersey, a place from which Roth would draw inspiration many of his works. During Roth’s childhood, Newark was a city filled with upward-striving immigrants, with the Jewish enclave being in the southwest corner of the city, known as Weequahic. His childhood was typical of an immigrant child in America during the 1930s and 1940s, with semi-pro baseball, and listening to the radio. However, Roth was also cognizant of his Jewish identity, not only because his family attended synagogue and went to Hebrew school but also because he experienced anti-Semitism as a child, whether listening to the tirades of Father Coughlin on the radio or observing how high his father would be allowed to climb the company ladder because he was a Jew. This sense of aspiring to be an American is not being fully accepted because of his Jewishness is a theme to which R. constantly returns in his career as a writer. He felt that he was sharing a search for a definite sense of belonging with Saul Bellow, as Roth explains with regard to the constant labeling as an “American Jewish writer”. “...book that brought him his first popular recognition, *Adventures of AJ March*, does not begin 'I am a Jew, New York-born' but rather 'I am American, Chicago-born.'”

After graduating from high school in 1950, Roth enrolled in Bucknell University and earned a degree in English. He pursued graduate study at the University of Chicago, where he received a master’s degree in English literature in 1955 and worked briefly as an instructor in the university writing program. Roth also served two years in the U.S. Army (1956 and, after his honorable discharge, wrote short fiction and criticism for various magazines. But it was with his first book, *Goodbye, Columbus* that Roth entered the American literary scene with his stories about
Introduction

and life, religious and national identity, and the consequences of the choices one makes in life in family, career, and sexual partners.10

Roth also visited Prague in the 1970s, with his first visit in 1972 introducing him to Czech history, culture, and politics and inspiring him to write stories about Kafka that were republished in Reading Myself and Others. Roth continually returned to Prague to visit Czech writers like Iv Klima, Milan Kundera, and Václav Havel until 1977, when he was declared persona non grata. During these trips, Roth smuggled money into the country to support these writers, which eventually led to PEN taking over these arrangements, and he helped get their works published in the United States. Roth’s experiences in Prague had a lasting effect on him as a writer and political activist to the extent that he dedicated The Ghost Writer to Milan Kundera, a novel that imagines a life for Anne Frank if she had survived the Holocaust.21

Besides his trips to Prague, Roth also traveled regularly to Paris, where Milan Kundera had managed to relocate, in the late 1970s, and, the early 1980s, he also traveled to Israel. Roth began a relationship with the English actress Claire Bloom and rented a writing studio in Lonc where he stayed in the winters and also renewed and made new friends with members of the British literary and cultural crowd.22 Roth and Bloom married in 1990 but separated in 1994, with Bloom writing a memoir, Leaving a Doll’s House (1996), that describes the marriage in detail with unflattering portrayals of Roth.23

During the 1980s, Roth again produced a series of novels that employed his fictional alter ego, Nathan Zuckerman: Zuckerman Unbound (1981) is about Zuckerman’s confronting infamy for the success of C novsky, a Portnoy-like book; The Anatomy Lesson (1983) is a reflect about the protagonist in pain and in middle age, contemplating enrollment in medical school; The Prague Orgy (1985) recounts Zuckerman’s journey to Prague to obtain a manuscript of unpublished Yiddish stories; and I Counterlife (1986), which includes Nathan’s brother, Henry, presents multiple accounts of their lives that contradict one another in their search meaning in marriage, family, and the role that Israel plays in the lives of Jews.24 Roth concluded the decade with a nonfictional book, The Facts Novelist’s Autobiography (1988), which traces his life from childhood to becoming a successful and respected novelist, and in which Roth and Zuckerman write letters to each other.25
In *Deception* (1990) Roth gave his own name to a protagonist who has conversations with his married English lover about their loveless, upper-middle-class marriages held together, in her case, only by a child. This book was followed by *Patrimony: A True Story* (1991), a memoir about the life and death of Roth’s father from a brain tumor. In 1993 he revised a *Philip Roth Reader* (originally published in 1980) was issued, which included selections from Roth’s first eight novels as well as stories like “Novotny’s Pain” and “looking at Kafka.” But it was *Operation Shylock: A Confession* (1993), *Sabbath’s Theater* (1995), *American Pastoral* (1997), and *I Married a Communist* (1998) that returned Roth to prominence in American literature. *Operation Shylock*, which was awarded the 1994 PEN/Faulkner Award in 1994, is about the character Philip Roth’s journey to Israel, where he discovers that his identity has been appropriated by someone proclaiming Diasporism, a counter-Zionist ideology; *Sabbath’s Theater*, winner of the 1995 National Book Award, centers on an elderly former puppeteer whose loss of his partner, Drenka, precipitates a crisis in his life; *American Pastoral*, which was honored with the 1998 Pulitzer Prize, recounts the tragic fate of Seymour “Swede” Levov during the tumultuous 1960s; and *I Married a Communist* follows the life of the Communist Ira Ringold, whose success as a radio star is destroyed by wife, daughter, and others close to him.

During the 2000s, Roth wrote *The Human Stain*, which was awarded the 2001 PEN/Faulkner Award, a story about the African American Coleman Silk, who passes himself off as white and Jewish; *The Dying Animal* (2001), the last novel of the David Kepesh’s trilogy; *The Plot Against America* (2007), a counterfactual history of the United States with a fascist government; *Exit Ghost* (2007), the last book that features Nathan Zuckerman; and a collection of previously published interviews with important twentieth-century writers entitled *Shop Talk* (2001). Roth also published four books in this decade on the theme of “four men of different ages brought down low”: *Everyman* (2006), which won the PEN/Faulkner Award, follows the life of an ordinary person’s reflection on life and death; *Indignation* (2008) tells the story of Marcus Messner, whose atheism leads to his expulsion from college and enlistment in the U.S. Army; *The Humbling* (2009) narrates the life of Simon Axler, an actor who compensates for his stage fright with a sexual relationship with a younger woman; and *Nemesis* (2010), the most recently published book of Roth’s career, which recounts the effects of the polio epidemic in the Jewish neighborhood of Newark.

**Introduction**

Philip Roth is one of the most honored American writers: his book have thrice won the PEN/Faulkner Award; twice received the National Book Award and the National Book Critics Circle Award; and also been awarded the Pulitzer Prize, the Man Book International Prize, the National Humanities Medal, as well as international prizes such as the Spanish Prince of Asturias Award and an award by the German newspaper *Welt*. He is only the third living American writer to have his works published by the Library of America, an honor previously bestowed on Eudora Welty and Saul Bellow. Along with John Updike and Saul Bellow, Roth considered one of the greatest American authors of the second half of the twentieth century. He has played a central role in American letters during his lifetime and consequently deserves attention not only as a writer but also as a political thinker.

This volume is targeted at a diverse audience of scholars interested in literature, philosophy, intellectual history, religious studies, and the social sciences. Given the many novels, short stories, essays, and works nonfiction that Roth has written, we have restricted ourselves to what we think are key developments in Roth’s political thought. We also have limits: our focus is on analyzing Roth’s works themselves as opposed to adopting a comparative analysis of his work with that of authors who have inspired him. Although we believe such a comparison is a worthy endeavor for future projects, we think that Roth’s political thought must first be present and understood on its own terms.

Roth’s writing directly engages some of the major social and political events in twentieth-century America: the Great Depression; World War II and the Holocaust; the Vietnam and Korean Wars; the quiz show scandal and anti-Communist hysteria of the 1950s; the civil rights and radical revolutionary movements of the 1960s; the corruption of the Nixon administration and political repression of Communist Czechoslovakia in the 1970s; the rise of conservatism in the 1980s and political correctness in the 1990s; the Lewinsky scandal and the War on Terror; and the prejudice and assimilation of Jewish Americans into mainstream American society as well as the ethnic, social, and economic stratification of the United States in general. These and other key events and developments in America serve as a political template for Roth’s works. With America as his canvas, Roth illuminates how the personal lives of ordinary Americans are affected and
turn affect the public events of national life—as he said himself: “America is the place I know best in the world. It’s the only place I know in the world. My consciousness and my language were shaped by America. I’m an American writer in ways that a plumber isn’t an American plumber or a miner an American miner or a cardiologist an American cardiologist. Rather, what the heart is to the cardiologist, the coal to the miner, the kitchen sink to the plumber, America is to me.”

Although Roth’s own political position is clear, as a New Deal liberal or Clinton Democrat, his fiction is not written from this vantage point, and the pieties of American liberalism are exposed for their faults and contradictions. He explores the tension between the American aspiration for perfection and the limitations, whether due to politics, prejudice, or his characters’ own poor choices, that thwart that desire. Opposed to moral absolutism of any kind, Roth’s writings serve a bulwark against the political extremism and fanaticism that sometimes haunts America. Without this critical scrutiny, perhaps even provocation, from Roth’s works, American democracy would not be able to examine itself and therefore be able to pull itself back from the brink of political madness to which it has from time to time succumbed.

This volume opens with a reprint of Philip Roth’s remarks at the 2013 PEN Literary Gala, in which Roth speaks about his experience of traveling to Prague to assist the Czech writer Ivan Klíma. Roth describes how the Czech intelligentsia who did not conform to the Communist regime were marginalized in society and had to perform menial jobs in order to survive. For Roth, totalitarianism was a regime that suppressed one’s identity in “rites of degradation,” causing an unbearable anger at oneself, one’s family, and one’s community. Yet, in spite of the humiliation the government inflicted upon its citizens, people were able to discover that they still had a reservoir of self-respect, dignity, and even humor to cope in those difficult times.

The first of our collected essays, “An ear in search of a word: Writing and the Politics of Listening in Roth’s I Married a Communist,” argues that literature can play a role of being a witness to atrocities and take actions to make suffering transformative. In her analysis of I Married a Communist, Aimee Pozorski understands the novel as an account not only of the anti-Communist agenda in the United States that affected Roth both as a writer and as a citizen but also of how this experience formed his public life, such as in the elegy he published in the New York Times that celebrated his for-
Louis Gordon examines a different type of ideology, Zionism, in "Three Voices or One? Philip Roth and Zionism." In this essay Gordon compares the Zionist views of Philip Roth the author in The Facts, Philip Roth the character in Operation Shylock, and the character Nathan Zuckerman in Counterlife. What Gordon discovers is that very little divergence exists among these three voices on the question of Zionism: all of them adopt a political progressive stance toward Israel and Zionism that is similar to the Israeli Civil Rights and Democracy Movement.

The final ideology that is examined is the American myth of progress, a faith in the infinite advancement that has continuously informed various degrees America's understanding of itself. In "Roth at Century's End: The Problem of Progress in The Dying Animal," Matthew Shipe argues that this myth is critiqued by David Kepesh's struggle to find meaning in the political and cultural changes that he has experienced in his lifetime. When the apocalypse never materializes in the new millennium, Kepesh, unlike his American compatriots, does not accept an optimistic future of an ever-expanding global capitalism and liberal democracy. He instead resigns himself to the limitations of what he can comprehend about the future as well as the past for himself and his country.

The final set of essays explores the role that the body plays in the political themes of race, class, gender, and religious identity. In "Novotny's Pain: Philip Roth on Politics and the Problem of Pain," Till Kinzel reveals to us the connection between the Novotny's pain and the body politic of the American republic in the middle of the twentieth century, signaling the nontragic nature of liberal democracy: Novotny's alienation from war and military life ceases to have any significance for him once he continues with his life. His pain consequently serves as a nonverbal bodily sign of disagreement with the noncontroversiality of the Korean War and the government proclamations that Americans are "fighting for freedom" to arouse public support.

Yael Maurer continues this theme of the body in her essay, "The Body Politic: Philip Roth's American Men," where she focuses on the Jewish male body as a site of political anxiety and possible heroic liberation in Portnoy's Complaint, I Married a Communist, and Nemesis. Whereas in Portnoy's Complaint, Roth's comical presentation of the body as both personal and political precludes the reader from feeling the protagonist's pain when he falls from his ideals, the other two novels provide us protagonists who are just as youthful as Alexander but the negation of their personal and political bodies have tragic consequences. Bucky's and Ira's fates leave them, and the reader, to try to make sense of their past, their ideals, and of history itself.

Debra Shostak's "Philip Roth and Life as a Man" also focuses on the body but from both the male and female perspectives. She also concentrates on Roth's later novels, as Roth scholarship already has explored these themes in the works of his early to mid-career. In her essay, Shostak shows how the ideological discourses of gender and sexuality deform what it means to be a human being in Roth's works. Paying attention to manhood as a type of moral achievement and bodily performance, Shostak argues that the struggles of women, in response to men, have made them grotesque human beings, too. Contrary to some claims, Shostak suggests that the place of the feminine in Roth's works recuperates Roth to some degree from the repeated accusations that he offers misogynistic representations of women.

In "The American Berserk in Sabbath's Theater," Brett Ashley Kaplan includes race and anti-Semitism with gender in her study of victimization and perpetration. For Kaplan, Jewish anxiety is about not only the fear of being a victim but also a dread of being a perpetrator of racism and sexism. Sabbath's Theater expresses this anxiety, the confusion between victimization and perpetration, through Sabbath's sexuality, especially when he compares himself to Benito Mussolini or imagines himself being buried next to a Holocaust survivor. Thus, Sabbath fears not only being a victim but also being a perpetrator of the very things that repulse him.

In the last essay of this book, "Philip Roth and the American 'Underclass' in The Human Stain," Andy Connolly examines the role that class plays, along with race and identity politics, in The Human Stain. Connolly looks at Faunia Farley's status as a maligned "white underclass" and how her social position contrasts with Coleman Silk's committed belief that he has transcended the historical boundaries established by his racial origins. Through a detailed examination of Faunia's life, Connolly shows that her inescapable sense of belonging to the underclass provides a new way of understanding the limitations that Coleman believes he has overcome.

Besides our contributors, we want to thank Stephen Wrinn and his staff at the University of Kentucky Press for guiding us through this process as well as the anonymous referees and Patrick Deneen, the series editor. We also want to express our gratitude to the University of St. Gallen and the Dr. h.c. Emil Zaugg-Fonds for providing us funds to reprint Roth's 2013 PEN
Introduction


9. Ibid., 23–27

10. Ibid., 28–30, 35–36, 75. Until 1991, when he retired from academia, Roth continued to teach creative writing and comparative literature at such places as the University of Iowa, Princeton University, and the University of Pennsylvania.

11. Ibid., 7–14.


13. Ibid., 36–45.


15. For more about Our Gang, see ibid., 69–75.

16. For more about The Breast, Dying Animal, and Professor of Desire, see ibid., 104–7.

17. For more about The Great American Novel, see ibid., 76–77; about Readin Myself and Others, see ibid., 70, 282.

18. For more about My Life as a Man, see ibid., 81–85.

19. Ibid., 111–12.


21. For more about Zuckerman Unbound, see ibid., 124–27; about The Anatomy Lesson, 128–37; about The Prague Orgy, 137–40; about The Counterlife 143–57.

22. For more about The Facts, see ibid., 160–62, 166, 176, 203, 323.

23. Ibid., 168–70.

24. For more about Patrimony, see ibid., 171–73; about Novotny’s Pain,” 29, 11

30. For more about The Dying Animal, see ibid., 23–27, 260–69; about Human Stain, 245–58; about The Plot Against America, 271–79; about Exit Ghost, 289–95; about Shop Talk, 111, 157, 273.

31. Ibid., 319. For more about Everyman, see ibid., 248–89; about Indignation, 296–302; about The Humbling, 309–11; and about Nemesis, 311–19.


33. Roth, Readings, 110.