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The Future of the German-Jewish Past: Memory and the Question of Antisemitism

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**THE FUTURE OF THE
GERMAN-JEWISH PAST**

THE FUTURE OF THE GERMAN-JEWISH PAST

Memory and the Question of Antisemitism

Edited by

GIDEON REUVENI AND

DIANA FRANKLIN

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*This book is dedicated to the memory of Professor Edward Timms OBE—
scholar, mentor, friend, and founder of the Centre for
German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex.*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS BOOK WAS conceived as part of the anniversary celebrations for the Centre for German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex. The center was initially set up in 1994, but officially inaugurated by Lord Richard Attenborough, who was Sussex University's chancellor, in 2000. The purpose of the center is to study the contribution of German-Jewish communities to modern life and to research the experiences and achievements of German-Jewish refugees and their families. Financial support has come from a range of educational trusts, including Steven Spielberg's Righteous Persons Foundation and the Anne Frank-Fonds, as well as individual donors, most of whom were first- or second-generation German-Jewish refugees. The founding director of the center was Professor Edward Timms, a preeminent authority on the Austrian satirist Karl Kraus and a defining scholar of Austrian and German-Jewish studies. For Timms the mission of the center was not only historical, but also contemporary and critical. In his autobiography, *Taking up the Torch* (2010), he noted that racial prejudice constitutes a continuing political danger and that German-Jewish studies may serve as a model for understanding the challenges of multiethnic societies in present-day society. This insight regarding the relevance and contemporary significance of the German-Jewish experience continues to inspire the work of the center and to a large extent comprises the common thread connecting the twenty contributions in this volume. Edward Timms died at the age of eighty-one on November 21, 2018. This book is dedicated to his memory.

Several people helped us to bring this volume to fruition. We would like to thank the Centre for German-Jewish Studies' London-based Advisory Board for their advice and encouragement with this and all our other current projects. Nicola Glucksmann,

Lilian Levy, and Yvonne Crampin have assisted us in preparing the manuscript for publication. The two anonymous reviewers of the volume made some excellent suggestions, which helped us to shape our ideas about the book. At Purdue University Press we found a supportive team that believed in this project from the outset. We would like to extend our sincere gratitude to each author whose work has been included in the ensuing pages. Their insights have enriched the field of German-Jewish studies and we are most grateful to them for helping us to initiate this discussion on the future of the German-Jewish past.

THE FUTURE OF THE GERMAN-JEWISH PAST STARTS HERE

GIDEON REUVENI

P ONDERING THE FUTURE of the German-Jewish past is not a new concept. When struggling for their rights, many German Jews reflected on the past with growing dismay, envisioning a bright future for the period after emancipation. Before the First World War it was mainly Zionist thinkers who dominated the debates about the future of the Jews.¹ Swayed by the conviction that there were no prospects for Jews in (mainly Eastern) Europe, they campaigned for a so-called national rebirth of the Jewish people in what was conceived as the place of Jewish origin—the Land of Israel. After the upheavals of the First World War and during the times of uncertainty and rapid change that ensued, the need to discuss the future prospect of German Jewry seemed even more pressing. Between the end of the Great War and the rise of National Socialism in 1933, expectations of German Jews oscillated between, on the one hand, hopes for renewal and on the other hand, gloomy prophecies of disintegration. What is certain is that despite the upheavals and conflicting visions for the future, most German-speaking Jews could not imagine Germany without Jews.² This applies all the more to the so-called Jewish “prophets of the past,” the German-Jewish historians.³ Thus, for example, in the first issue of the revived *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* in 1929, the historian Raphael Strauss (1887–1947) called for a review of German-Jewish historiography by acknowledging all aspects of Jewish history in Germany.⁴ His plan for a more comprehensive German-Jewish historiography was based on the observation that scholarship in this field was divided between two main groups, each driven by different interests and methods of research. According to Strauss, the first group comprised Jewish scholars who were predominantly interested in intellectual study or *Geistesgeschichte*, while the other group comprised mainly

non-Jewish scholars dealing with social and economic aspects of Jewish life from the past. Strauss's concept of a comprehensive German-Jewish historiography was thus designed to bring together different groups of scholars—Jews and non-Jews alike—combining their diverse methods and research interests in order to create what Leopold Zunz (1794–1886) had referred to as an all-encompassing science of Judaism.⁵ This vision of interdisciplinary or “connecting” Jewish studies in Germany corresponded to the Jewish demand for recognition and the long-standing desire to belong to the majority non-Jewish society.

After the Holocaust, in the first volume of the newly founded *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (LBIY), Bernard Dov Weinryb (1905–1982) wrote his own vision of the prospects for German-Jewish history, confirming many of Strauss's contentions.⁶ While Weinryb accepted Strauss's initial observation regarding the division of research between two groups of researchers, he attacked the narrow approach of both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars that focused predominantly on the question of the Jews' place within their German host society. For Weinryb, the general tendency of German-Jewish historiography to overstress Jewish/non-Jewish relations had come to a close with the Second World War. “Today,” he wrote, “the return to internal Jewish history and thus ‘to clear figures’ and ‘non-illusionistic’ pictures seems to be a logical result of the new situation.”⁷ Based on this observation, Weinryb moved away from Strauss's notion of a comprehensive history and the ideal of “connecting” histories. Instead he proposed that German-Jewish history should deal with Jewish life in Germany within the confines of its own space or what he called “social field.” Shifting the center of gravity of German-Jewish history back to the Jewish sphere was supposed to undermine the overemphasis on Jewish/non-Jewish relations and to separate research once and for all from the so-called “contribution” approach to German-Jewish relations, and for that matter from the “symbiosis” paradigm as well. Moreover, as opposed to the so-called *Kleinarbeit* (microhistory) approach to Jewish history of the period between the World Wars, Weinryb suggested placing German-Jewish history within “a large-scale synthetic narrative of Jewish history” that would underpin general trends and parallels in the history of the Jews in different places.⁸

More than a half a century after these programmatic outlines were designed, research on German-Jewish history has become a more diverse and sophisticated field of study than it was at the beginning of the twentieth century. The “contribution,” as well as the “symbiosis” conceptualization of German-Jewish history are now matters of the past. A more carefully nuanced and refined approach to the interplay between Jews and other Germans dominates scholarship today. No doubt this revision is linked to the emergence of a new, so-called post-émigré generation of Jewish and non-Jewish scholars working in the field.⁹ Until very recently, the study of the German-Jewish past was still informed by the assumption that German-Jewish history came to a close

with the Holocaust. For most historians of the émigré generation, German-Jewish history was seen as similar to the history of Jews in Spain up to the expulsion in 1492. Recalling Simon Rawidowicz's famous essay entitled: "Israel: The Ever-Dying People," first published in Hebrew at the onset of the greatest catastrophe in Jewish history, Michael Brenner reminds us in his contribution to this volume that there was "hardly a generation in the Diaspora that did not consider itself the final link in Israel's chain."¹⁰ According to Brenner, Jewry has indulged so much in the fear of its end that its constant vision of the end has helped it to overcome every crisis, to emerge from every threatening end as a living unit, though much wounded and reduced.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and German reunification, we were suddenly faced with a different reality in which the Jewish community in Germany became the fastest growing in Europe. To what extent the reinstating of Jewish life in Germany can serve as a connecting link between the present and the past of the German-Jewish experience is a question that scholars have begun to ponder in recent years. At the beginning of the new millennium, two special issues of the *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* were dedicated to this subject and to other questions about the future prospects of German-Jewish studies.¹¹ Both collections underpin the importance of continuity in German-Jewish history, suggesting a reading of the German-Jewish experience as a constant interplay between destruction and reconstruction of community.¹²

While previous collections focused on historiography, mainly targeting an exclusive audience of professional scholars, this volume is more ambitious in its scope and stimulating in its approach. It gives voice to a diverse group of people from differing backgrounds who have an interest in the past and future of the German-Jewish experience as a field of study. Moreover, since the publication of the last *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* collection in 2009, social and political realities have shifted dramatically and we seem, yet again, to have arrived at the stage when we are compelled to look back and reexamine the German-Jewish past. I would like to mention a few developments that have prompted this revision.

In the United States under Trump, and in the United Kingdom since the unfortunate vote to leave the European Union, a growing number of Jews are seeking to reclaim their parents' or grandparents' German identities. For some, acquiring German or Austrian citizenship is a symbolic act of reclaiming a bit of the humanity that was stolen from their families by the Nazis, as for example in the case of Nicola Glucksmann in this volume. Despite the longing to redress the past, Glucksmann conveys in her personal reflections the ambivalence that seems to define her experience of the German-Jewish legacy of her family. Yet for most British and American Jews, it is mainly anxiety about the growing xenophobic and antisemitic sentiments in their home countries as well as the opportunities the European Union offers, particularly to younger people, that prompts them to apply for German or Austrian passports. The precarious situation

in Israel has encouraged many Israeli Jews to become German or Austrian nationals and, after the expansion of the European Union in Eastern Europe, an increasing number of Israelis have started reclaiming Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, and other passports of the new European Union member states. It is indeed ironic that German and Austrian citizenships provide an “exit” or a “backup plan” for Jews living in countries that originally provided a safe haven when fleeing from Nazi Germany. It seems that the German state is encouraging this proclivity. Pondering the question of Jewish migration in postunification Germany, Hannah C. Tzuberi notes in her contribution that since Germany’s readmission into the circle of “civilized states” involved a commitment to overcome the past, the “return of Jews” was thought to provide evidence of just that. Nationalizing descendants of German-Jewish refugees and the lenient, if not welcoming policy toward Jewish migration from the former Soviet Union, Israel, and the United States appears to intertwine with a nation-building project that renders Jews, present and absent, an inherent part of a collective German identity.

Germany’s acceptance of its direct responsibility for the Holocaust has strengthened its friendship with Israel and has led to a deep commitment to combat antisemitism and rebuild Jewish life in Germany. This effort has also included substantial investment in Jewish studies, making Germany and Austria important places for (academic) Jewish learning. As we approach the time when there will be no firsthand experience of the horrors of the Holocaust, there is great concern about what will happen when that sense of responsibility turns into history. One possible prospect is that the taboo against open antisemitism will be lifted as collective memory fades. There are alarming signs in the rise of the Far Right, which includes blatantly antisemitic elements already visible in public discourse. The attack on the synagogue in the East German city of Halle on October 9, 2019 marked a significant escalation in right-wing violence against Jews in Germany. The Covid-19 pandemic has been seized by the Far Right, who have been prominent in demonstrations of the so-called *Querdenken 711* (lateral thinking) movement, directed against government measures attempting to combat the disease. But it is mainly the radicalization of the otherwise moderate Muslim population that seems to make German and other European societies less tolerant and less inhibited about articulating antisemitic attitudes.¹³

This volume deals with the formidable challenges created by these developments. It is conceptualized to offer a variety of perspectives and views on the topic, and authors were encouraged to develop their own approach to the question about the future of the German-Jewish past. The thread that seems to align this somewhat eclectic miscellany of texts is the recognition of the intrinsic value of the German-Jewish past and the importance of studying it for the future. Revisiting and carrying forward the discussions about the future of the German-Jewish past is not merely a theoretical matter, but also a practical one. It calls for a reevaluation of how the history of Jews in German-speaking

lands should be studied in an age in which interest in this history is radically changing, if not dwindling. Frank Mecklenburg reminds us in his contribution that while in the past the *Yekkes* (Jews of German-speaking origin) dominated German-Jewish studies both as scholars and the recipients of its products, very few first-generation *Yekkes* now remain to attend lectures and events on German-Jewish topics or to read the many publications that this field of study still yields.

Today we are faced with the challenge of engaging younger audiences who come from diverse backgrounds and whose interest in the topic predominantly derives from the “relevance approach” to the German-Jewish experience. Even in Germany, the German-Jewish community shows no particular interest in this history, and the study of the German-Jewish past is dominated by non-Jewish scholars and is part of German identity politics. The predisposition to engage with Judaism without Jews is best represented in an institution like the Jewish Museum Berlin. For Alan Posener, the Jewish Museum Berlin epitomizes the high point of German-Jewish reconciliation efforts and German philosemitism.¹⁴ The museum has portrayed Jews just like ordinary Germans, providing information about the contributions of individual Jews, but does not say much about what constitutes Jewish difference in the German context. According to Posener, this approach has made the Jewish Museum Berlin less Jewish and more of a Museum of Tolerance. Even after the opening of the museum’s new permanent exhibition in August 2020, Posener did not change this view.¹⁵

Michal Friedlander’s chapter provides unique—insider—insights on the challenges and constraints the Jewish Museum Berlin team of curators encountered while preparing the museum’s new permanent exhibition. According to Friedlander, the new exhibition aims to redress the previously imbalanced approach to the German-Jewish past. We learn that the new exhibition is committed to demonstrating the entangled histories of Jews and other Germans, but that it is supposed to be much more “Jewish” than the former exhibition. Friedlander valiantly questions what precisely that involves and how the Jewish Museum Berlin defines what is Jewish. This created a challenge for the primarily non-Jewish museum team.

While representing the German-Jewish past as a paragon of integration and acculturation is part of an ongoing effort to forge a German identity based on inclusion and multiculturalism, from a Jewish perspective the image of the alleged assimilationist German Jew has also yielded somewhat peculiar, if not disturbing, consequences. Discussing the question of Jewish conversion in postwar Germany, Sandra Anusiewicz-Baer, in her chapter, shows how internalizing this image of a non-Jewish German Jew has created an inferiority complex among Jews living in Germany today. She claims that the Jewish leadership in Germany seems to take a back seat in all questions about Judaism, delegating decision-making powers over identity issues, such as conversion, to Orthodox rabbis from outside Germany. In Israel too, Orthodox Judaism

calls the shots in all matters Jewish, including the politically fraught question of who is a Jew according to Israeli law. According to Moshe Zimmermann, the consolidation of Orthodox Judaism as a leading force in Israeli politics and, as a result, the transformation of Israel into what he sees as an illiberal democracy is best encapsulated by the country's official reading of Jewish history. In Israel, Zimmermann explains, the German Jew is seen as the embodiment of the liberal/intellectual/peace-seeking/upper-middle-class Ashkenazi (European) Jew who ended up in the country only as a result of the collapse of the German-Jewish assimilationist model. As a result, in Israel's search for a usable past, there is no place, at least not a constructive one, for German-Jewish history. Looking at German-Jewish writers, the Israeli scholar Galili Shahar reaches a similarly gloomy conclusion in his chapter. According to Shahar, the German-Jewish author is neither "Western" nor "Eastern," but rather an in-betweener who experiences permanent self-estrangement. What future, Shahar asks, can be imagined based on such distorted experiences of the past?

Two other essays deal with what this volume calls the "German-Israeli complex." Hannah C. Tzuberi's chapter, which I briefly alluded to earlier, explores the place Jews have in the construction of German identity, while Dani Kranz discusses the convoluted feelings of attraction and repulsion toward Germany among Israeli Jews living there. She notes that while most Israeli migrants to Germany had an affiliation to Germany and Europe transmitted to them from their families, their reasons for leaving Israel vary. According to Kranz, Israelis in Germany cannot escape the past and, for many of them, coming to Germany is a way of coming to terms with the "memory luggage" they accumulated while growing up in Israel.

The interplay between the personal, the historical, and memory is the main thread that connects the essays in the first section of the book. Both Glucksmann and Posener write as descendants of German-Jewish refugees. Trauma, loss, and ambivalence about any form of belonging is omnipresent in their reflections on the future of the German-Jewish experience. As we learn from Sheer Ganor's chapter, such reactions are not untypical among families of German-speaking Jews. Ganor observes that if parents succeeded in instilling German-Jewishness within their children, it was in the form of a remembered and constructed heritage, not as a lived reality. A striking manifestation of this shift, from living experience (in Central Europe) to remembered history (in exile), is the fact that nowadays the most comprehensive collections and archives dealing with the German-Jewish past are located outside German-speaking countries. One of the places that holds such an archive is the Centre for German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex. Since its foundation in the mid-1990s, the center has acquired archival family papers from people who came as refugees from Nazi persecution to the United Kingdom. Although the life trajectory of these families is similar, each of their stories is unique, relating in different ways the dramatic passage of integration,

expulsion, and new beginnings in their place of sanctuary. The papers these families kept illustrate and confirm what we know about the past, but sometimes they also question prevailing historical narrative.¹⁶

Forced to flee Germany after National Socialism assumed power, German-speaking Jews were scattered around the globe, creating a distinct diaspora group that, at least initially, struggled to maintain a distinctive German-Jewish identity. One such story is that of a German Jew named Fritz Pinkuss, as discussed in Björn Siegel's essay. Leaving Germany in 1936, Pinkuss became the chief rabbi of the Congregação Israelita Paulista, São Paulo where he proceeded to implement ideas and traditions in his work from Germany. Pinkuss was also involved in ongoing efforts to promote German-Jewish reconciliation, for which he received the highest honors from the Federal Republic of Germany. Yet, despite his strong ties with Germany, similarly to the majority of German-speaking Jews, Pinkuss remained in Brazil, choosing not to return to the place he formerly considered his homeland.¹⁷

Taking into account the dispersion of German Jews raises challenging questions about the nature and future of German-Jewishness in the diaspora. From a historiographical perspective, looking at German Jews as a diaspora group implies that beyond the so-called "connecting approach"—which calls for research to put more emphasis on similarity and interconnectedness instead of focusing on difference and separation—and the "contribution approach" that celebrates the involvement of German Jews in the cultural life of their host countries, as well as the more recent "continuity approach" that focuses on postwar Jewish life in Germany and Austria, what we may define as the "relevance approach" of the German-Jewish experience is becoming more predominant. Thus, for example, Mathias Berek discusses in this volume the German-Jewish philosopher Moritz Lazarus's (1824–1903) notion of a "thin blanket of culture" that protects European society from the destructive forces that threaten modern civilization. According to Berek, lessons from the German-Jewish past might add important patches to this fragile covering blanket. A different manifestation of the "relevance approach" can be found in Guy Miron's chapter. The rich German-Jewish historiography, Miron argues, should serve as a source of inspiration for the exploration of other hyphenated Jewish experiences, especially in Muslim countries. According to him, deploying the all too familiar German-Jewish concepts such as "assimilation," "acculturation," and perhaps even "co-constitutionality" in research on Jews living in the Middle East may free this historiography from the simplistic Arab-Jewish dichotomy and help to develop more subtle models to interpret the process of Jewish integration and acculturation in Islamic societies.

Although exclusion and anti-Jewish sentiments feature in many of the contributions to this book, only two essays address antisemitism as their main topic. Lisa Silverman looks at the concept of Jewish difference as a conceptual framework that might explain

the persistence of antisemitism. She writes that while the view that Jews played a major role in the creation of culture in modern Central Europe is far from new, research has only recently begun an in-depth probe of the role that the socially constructed category of the “Jew” played beyond prejudices and antisemitism. As a result, Silverman argues, the study of the Jewish past is still biased, to a large degree, in favor of the constructed Jew as a figment of the antisemitic imagination, displacing responsibility for the consequences of focusing solely on antisemitism. It is interesting to juxtapose Silverman’s reflections with Klaus Hödl’s call to overcome the binary view of the interplay between the “Jewish” and “non-Jewish,” so ingrained in Jewish historiography. Without undermining the notion of difference, Hödl proposes that research should put more emphasis on entanglement, rather than simply focus on dissimilarity.

It feels very much as though research on antisemitism is at an impasse and, despite all efforts to understand anti-Jewish sentiment, time and again we seem to be caught off guard in the face of antisemitic attacks, dubbing them “new antisemitism.”¹⁸ In his chapter, Anthony D. Kauders offers a fresh impulse to research on antisemitism based on psychological theories that, as he notes, have always informed the study of antisemitism. Kauders suggests that revisiting the psychology of Jew-hatred and the search for alternative (social) psychological models will allow a better understanding of antisemitism as a social phenomenon.

Several other chapters explore new prospects for the study of the German-Jewish past. Liliane Weissberg reflects on the relationship between genre and authorship in the context of the German newspaper feuilleton. She notes that while the paper’s news section looked to the past and reported about what had already happened, feuilleton articles aimed to describe the present situation and look forward, thus comprising a fertile source for the study of future expectations of German Jews. In his chapter, Joachim Schlör highlights the significance of material culture in our quest to preserve and explore German-Jewish culture, both in Germany and in the diaspora. Schlör observes that talking and writing about “belongings,” owned and then lost, became a means of reassertion for surviving family members and friends, enabling exiles to grapple with questions of belonging. And finally, according to Kerry Wallach, the future of the German-Jewish past is digital. By 2024, she asserts, college courses will serve primarily *post-Millennial students*, a new generation born after the year 2000. Often referred to as “Generation Z,” these young people are “digital natives,” and the way they communicate and consume information will influence the ways in which scholars, institutions, and cultural producers choose to present their work. Wallach presents some stimulating ideas on how the study of the German-Jewish past will have to change in order to survive in the digital age.

The twenty chapters in this book do not comprise a single narrative, nor offer a roadmap to the future of German-Jewishness. They invite readers to ponder the polysemy of this history and to reflect on the nature of the relationship between the “German”

and the “Jewish.” It becomes apparent that the construction of the “German-Jewish” juncture is in constant flux and means different things to different people depending upon time and place. On a very basic level, most of us associate German-Jewishness with Jews living in or originating from German-speaking countries. I would suggest that we should expand this somewhat narrow view of the concept of German-Jewishness based on the idea of origin, and develop a more inclusive approach driven by the notion of experience.¹⁹

National Socialism and the Holocaust rendered Germany a particular place in modern Jewish memory and self-understanding. But this is not a mere abstract matter allied to Jewish identity politics: Germany played a decisive role in the reconstruction of Jewish life after the Holocaust. On September 10, 1952, the State of Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany signed a reparations settlement, also known as the Luxembourg Agreement, according to which West Germany was to pay Israel the costs for “the heavy burden of resettling so great a number of uprooted and destitute Jewish refugees from Germany and from territories formerly under German rule.”²⁰ For the young Israeli state facing major existential challenges, the three billion marks (worth approximately 7.5 billion dollars in 2020) West Germany agreed to pay Israel as “global recompense for the cost of the integration . . . of [Jewish] refugees” constituted a Marshall Plan that boosted Israel’s struggling economy. Since most of this aid was given in the form of German goods and investments in infrastructure that also utilized German know-how, one palpable outcome of the Luxembourg Agreement was the entanglement of the developing Israeli economy with the growing German industry in ensuing years.²¹

The agreement between Germany and Israel also acknowledged the right of Holocaust survivors to claim personal compensation for deprivation of liberty and losses of livelihood and property resulting from Nazi persecution. The majority of these survivors were not of German origin and compensation claims came from all over the world. In German archives there are around five million such claims that were made from the beginning of the 1950s, and the process is still ongoing. The claims contain testimonies as well as supporting evidence of all kinds, providing ample information on Jewish life before, during and after the Holocaust. Not only European Jews, but also North African Jews who lived under Nazi occupation made claims for personal indemnification, most of which were initially rejected by the German authorities.²² During the first wave of personal compensation claims made in the 1950s and 1960s applications were submitted in German and German Jews—lawyers, notaries, physicians, and translators—played decisive roles as mediators between non-German-speaking survivors and the German authorities. The German state registered all claimants and those who were successful in getting reparations became part of the German welfare system.²³ Most of them had to remain in regular contact with German officials for the rest of their lives, reporting to the German authorities about changing personal and family

circumstances. This collection of documents comprises one of the most comprehensive, still untapped, Holocaust-related archives. While scholars have studied the political, legal, and economic implications of the reparation agreement, primarily depicting it as a successful reconciliation model, research has only recently started to appreciate the full bearing of personal indemnification on survivors and their families.²⁴ This shift toward the personal experience of reparation also divulges the omnipresence of Germany, German bureaucracy, and the German language in the lives of Holocaust survivors and their families. In other words, the scope and range of the German-Jewish experience is much broader than so far presumed.

The inexhaustible richness of the German-Jewish interrelationship explains its attractiveness for scholars, students, and the public. While this book has done scarcely more than set out some preliminary markers for future thinking, it comprises a centerpiece of the anniversary celebrations of the Centre for German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex. When the center was first set up in the mid-1990s, German-Jewish studies hardly featured at British universities, even though Britain, in proportion to its size, had received more refugees from Nazi Germany than any other country. In those early days, Edward Timms, the founding director of the center, recalled: “To insist on the centrality of Exile and Holocaust studies has been regarded as bad form in certain circles.”²⁵ In November 2018 Edward Timms died and we dedicate this book to his memory. Since the center’s inception it has benefited from the financial support of a number of German-Jewish refugees who were keen to ensure that the legacy of their parents’ and grandparents’ achievements in what they regarded as the period of German-Jewish “symbiosis” were not overlooked or forgotten. Thanks to them, the center has grown from strength to strength, actively contributing to scholarship on the unique history of German-speaking Jews and engaging audiences from beyond the ivory towers of academia in its diverse activities. The Centre for German-Jewish Studies is currently going through a period of transformation and growth, and together with fellow scholars and Friends of the Centre, we look forward to addressing changes in contemporary culture, politics, and society while continuing to pose new questions about the German-Jewish past in the years to come.

NOTES

1. Prominent examples include: Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (London: William Heineman, 1895); Arthur Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart: Eine sozialwissenschaftliche Studie* (Berlin: Calvary, 1904); Alfred Nossig, *Die Zukunft der Juden: Sammelschrift* (Berlin: Komitee der gedenkfeier, 1906); Felix Theilhaber, *Der Untergang der deutschen Juden. Eine volkswirtschaftliche Studie* (Munich: E. Reinhardt, 1911).

2. With Germany, I mean here German-speaking countries. For such future visions of German Jews before 1933 see for example Moshe Zimmermann, "Die aussichtslose Republik—Zukunftsperspektiven der deutschen Juden vor 1933," *Menora: Jahrbuch für Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte* (1990): 152–183; idem., "Zukunftserwartungen deutscher Juden im ersten Jahr der Weimarer Republik," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* (1997): 55–72.
3. Michael Brenner, *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
4. Raphael Strauss, "Zur Forschungsmethode der jüdischen Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 1 (1929): 4–12.
5. For extensive bibliography on Zunz see <http://www.jewish-archives.org/nav/classification/11219>.
6. Bernard D. Weinryb, "Prolegomena to an Economic History of the Jews in Germany in Modern Times," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 1 (1956): 279–306.
7. *Ibid.*, 284.
8. *Ibid.*, 285.
9. On this notion see David Sorkin, "The Immigration Synthesis on the German-Jewish History," *Central European History* 34, no. 4 (2001): 531–559; as well as his "Beyond the Émigré Synthesis," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 44 (2000): 209–210; Andreas Daum, Hartmut Lehmann, and James J. Sheehan, eds., *The Second Generation: Émigrés from Nazi Germany as Historians* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016).
10. Simon Rawidowicz, "Israel: The Ever-Dying People," in *State of Israel, Diaspora, and Jewish Continuity*, ed. Benjamin C. I. Ravid (Hanover: New England University Press, 1998), 53–54.
11. Two special issues of the *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* were dedicated to the question about the future of German-Jewish studies. One was published in 2000, the other in 2009.
12. On this approach see also Konrad H. Jarausch and Michael Geyer, *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
13. Günther Jikeli, *Muslim Antisemitism in Europe: Why Young Urban Males Say They Don't Like Jews* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).
14. See also Thomas Lackmann, *Jewrassic Park: Wie baut man (k)ein Jüdisches Museum in Berlin* (Berlin: Philo Verlag, 2000).
15. Alan Posner, "Die Leerstellen im Jüdischen Museum," *Die Welt* (19.08.2020).
16. For more information on the Sussex German-Jewish archive see <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/cgjs/archive>.
17. On Jewish remigration to Germany after 1945 see the special section on the topic in vol. 49 of the *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (2004).
18. See for example Alvin H. Rosenfeld, ed., *Deciphering the New Antisemitism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), as well as *American Historical Review* 123, no. 4 (2018),

which features a Roundtable titled “Rethinking Antisemitism” that challenges scholars to reflect on the concepts, epistemologies, narratives, methodologies, and theories that animate our approach to the topic.

19. For an interesting discussion on the tension between Jews in Germany and German Jews see Jeffrey M. Peck, *Being Jewish in the New Germany* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006).
20. The *Luxembourg Agreement* is also available at the online project 100(0) key documents of German history in the twentieth century: https://www.1000dokumente.de/index.html?c=dokument_de&dokument=0016_lux&object=context&st=&l=de.
21. Jacob Tovy, *Destruction and Accounting: The State of Israel and the Reparations from Germany, 1949–1953* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2016).
22. Hanna Yablonka, *Off the Beaten Track—the Mizrahim and the Shoah* [in Hebrew] (Beer Sheva: Chemed Books, 2008).
23. In order to get compensation some Holocaust survivors from Eastern Europe were even asked to prove their belonging to the German culture. For a detailed discussion of this Kafkaesque procedure see José Brunner and Iris Nachum, “Vor dem Gestz steht ein Türhüter: Wie und warum israelische Antragsteller ihre Zugehörigkeit zum deutschen Sprach- und Kulturkreise beweisen mußten,” in *Die Praxis der Wiedergutmachung: Geschichte, Erfahrung und Wirkung in Israel und Deutschland*, ed. Norbert Frei, José Brunner, and Constantin Goshler (Göttingen: Walstein Verlag, 2009), 387–324.
24. For a pioneering account see Susan Slyomovics, *How to Accept German Reparations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).
25. Edward Timms, *Taking Up the Torch: English Institutions, German Dialectics and Multicultural Commitments* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2011).

CONTRIBUTORS

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Mathias Berek is a research associate at the Center for Research on Antisemitism, Technische Universität Berlin. After studying cultural philosophy and history, communication, and media studies, he acquired his PhD at the University of Leipzig in 2008 with a theoretical work on collective memory and the social construction of reality (published 2009). Recently, he has led a DFG-funded project on German-Jewish philosopher Moritz Lazarus at the Institute for the Study of Culture at the University of Leipzig, and the Minerva Institute for German History, Tel Aviv University, resulting in a monograph with Wallstein (2020): *Moritz Lazarus. Deutsch-jüdischer Idealismus im 19. Jahrhundert*.

Michael Brenner is professor of Jewish history and culture at the University of Munich and Seymour and Lillian Abensohn Chair in Israel Studies at American University in Washington, D.C. He is the international president of the Leo Baeck Institute and an elected fellow of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and the Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana in Mantua. Brenner has authored eight books on Jewish and Israeli history, translated into twelve languages. His most recent publication is *In Search of Israel* (2018).

Sheer Ganor is an assistant professor of history at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. She is currently working on a book manuscript titled *In Scattered Formation: Displacement, Alignment and the German-Jewish Diaspora*, which deals with everyday experiences of displacement and their significance in shaping and affirming cultural identities among refugees from Nazi Germany.

Diana Franklin is the manager of the Centre for German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex. Her work involves editing research papers and the center's biannual newsletter, and organizing the center's events (notably Holocaust Memorial Day). She worked closely with Professor Edward Timms to found the center in 1995. Diana's father and grandparents came to England from Furth in 1936, and she feels a strong connection with her European heritage.

Michal Friedlander is head of the Judaica department at the Jewish Museum Berlin. She is the author of numerous articles on different aspects of Jewish material culture and the co-editor of *10 + 5 = Gott – Die Macht der Zeichen* (2004), and *Kosher & Co. – Über Essen und Religion* (2010). In 2013, she co-curated "The Whole Truth—Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Jews," an exhibition that sparked international debate. Friedlander's current research focuses on the concept of the Jewish object.

Nicola Glucksmann is the younger daughter of German-Jewish child refugees. In 1939, at age thirteen, her mother's life was saved by a passage on one of the last Kindertransports. Nicola's parents met at Stootley Rough, a boarding school for German-Jewish children, from where they went on to marry and raise a family in northwest London. Formerly a documentary filmmaker, Nicola is now a psychotherapist in private practice. Her own three children have, she would suggest, shown admirable fortitude and good humor in the face of inherited trauma and the invisible shadows of their grandparents' past. Her contribution is for them.

Klaus Hödl is a historian at the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Graz. He has published on Jews in Eastern Europe and the "Jewish body," new approaches to Jewish historiography, and Jews in popular culture. His most recent book, *Entangled Entertainers*, was published by Berghahn in 2019.

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Frank Mecklenburg received his PhD from the Technical University, Berlin. Before becoming a German-Jewish historian he studied mathematics, physics, and computer science. Since 1996 he has been the director of research and chief archivist of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. He has published several books and many articles on diverse topics such as German prison reform in the nineteenth century, migration, German Jews in exile, as well as on topics relating to his work in the archive.

Guy Miron is the vice president for academic affairs at the Open University of Israel and teaches Jewish history. He is also the director of the Centre for Research on the Holocaust in Germany at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. His research focuses on modern German and Hungarian-Jewish history, Holocaust studies, and Jewish historiography. His publications include the books *German Jews in Israel—Memories and Past Images*, (Hebrew, 2004); *The Waning of the Emancipation, Jewish History, Memory, and the Rise of Fascism in Germany, France, and Hungary* (English and Hebrew versions, 2011). His current research deals with time and space in the German-Jewish experience under the Nazi regime.

Alan Posener, the son of a Jewish émigré from Berlin, was born in 1949 and grew up in London, Kuala Lumpur, and West Berlin. Posener worked as a Communist organizer before becoming a teacher in 1977. Later, he worked as a writer, translator, journalist, and rock singer. In 2000, Posener joined the newspaper *Die Welt*, where he still works. Posener has written biographies of such diverse figures as Elvis Presley, William Shakespeare, and the Virgin Mary; a polemic against Pope Benedict XVI; and a defense of the European Union. Alan Posener is married with one daughter and two granddaughters.

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Joachim Schlör is a cultural historian with research interests in urban history and the history of German-Jewish migration. He received his PhD from Tübingen University in 1990 and his Habilitation from Potsdam University in 2003. Since 2006 he has been professor for modern Jewish/non-Jewish relations at the University of Southampton. He is the editor of the journal *Jewish Culture and History* and co-editor, with Johanna Rolshoven, of the online journal *Mobile Culture Studies*. His latest book is *Escaping Nazi Germany: One Woman's Emigration from Heilbronn to England* (2020).

Galili Shahar is professor of comparative literature and German studies at Tel Aviv University. His work is dedicated to research and teaching of German, Jewish, and Hebrew literature. Since 2013 he has served as a director of the Minerva Institute for German History and as the head of the study program in Arab-Jewish literature and culture. His publications include articles on Goethe, Hölderlin, Kleist, Kafka, Franz Rosenzweig, and Walter Benjamin. His most recent book, *The Stone and the Word: On Paul Celan's Poetry*, was published in 2019.

Björn Siegel studied Jewish history and culture at the University of Munich and Tel Aviv University. His PhD thesis on the Viennese *Israelitische Allianz* was published in 2010. Following his PhD he joined the Franz Rosenzweig Minerva Research Center in Jerusalem and then worked as DAAD lecturer at the Centre for German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex. Currently he works as researcher at the Institute for the History of the Germany Jews (Hamburg), focusing on his new book projects: *The Ship as a Place in Jewish Migration: Between Europe and Palestine 1920–1938* and *Fritz Pinkuss: A Modernizer on Both Sides of the Atlantic*.

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Moshe Zimmermann’s academic research focuses on the history of German Jews, German-Jewish relations, and antisemitism. He is the author and editor of more than twenty-five books and over 100 articles in leading academic journals. In 2005, he was part of a group of historians commissioned to examine the history of the German Foreign Service during the Nazi period and how it came to terms with its past after 1945. Zimmermann is the recipient of many prestigious awards including the Humboldt Prize, the Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm Prize, the Dr. Leopold Lucas Prize, and the Theodor Lessing Prize for Criticism.