

as a desire to come to an agreement with Nazi Germany, a first public hint at the willingness to entertain the pact that was to be signed in August. Despite their effort at meticulously charting developments, the German editors, perhaps following the Russian editors in this, make no reference to this moment in *Bis in den Krieg*.

Finally, the scholarly value of *Bis in den Krieg* is somewhat diminished as well because of the absence of a bibliography and very limited references to the enormous historiography about the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe. A few footnote references to this literature in the introduction of the book was evidently deemed sufficient.

In sum, although any collection of primary sources about the bloodiest of all wars is welcome in our efforts to understand how this violent conflict broke out and unfolded, this is a publication that does not add very much to what is already available (although it should be noted that the third and fourth volumes of *Deutschland und die Sowjetunion* were not yet issued in 2023; volume three—which continues the story until August 1939—has since been released), despite the considerable effort by the editors and their collaborators that went into producing it. For its size, its price is moderate, though, so it may attract a readership. Still, *Deutschland und die Sowjetunion* is (becoming) open access. It is hard to compete with that.

Notes

- [1] Alan John Percival Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (Hamish Hamilton, 1961).
 [2] Vladimir Pavlovich Naumov, ed., *1941 god*, 2 vols. (Demokratiia, 1998). There are excerpts from further relevant documents of previous years in the addenda of its second volume. In addition, another source that is revealing for the

Soviet mindset in the late summer of 1939 are the diaries of Georgi Dimitrov, the Comintern chief: Georgi Dimitrov, *Tagebücher 1933–1943*, eds. Bernhard H. Bayerlein and Wladislaw Hedeler, 2 vols. (Aufbau Verlag, 2000). Meeting with Stalin, Molotov, and Zhdanov in the Kremlin on September 7, 1939, Dimitrov heard how Stalin was pleased with the European capitalist states slugging it out; see Dimitrov, *Tagebücher*, vol. 1, 273–274.

- [3] Carola Tischler and Sergej Slutsch, eds., *Deutschland und die Sowjetunion, 1933–1941: Dokumente aus russischen und deutschen Archiven*, 6 vols. (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014–2024). Two more books (vol. 4) are to appear at least.
 [4] Kees Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896–1948* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 193–197, 431 n82. Puzzlingly, Zhdanov, even when it is true that he (unlike Stalin and Molotov) only intermittently dealt with foreign affairs, is almost entirely absent from *Bis in den Krieg*.

Esra Özyürek, *Subcontractors of Guilt: Holocaust Memory and Muslim Belonging in Postwar Germany* (Stanford University Press, 2023), 254 pp.

Reviewed by
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Has antisemitism been imported to Europe by Muslim migrants? Are European political actors instrumentalizing the critique of antisemitism for other goals? These two questions recur in academic as well as general debates about antisemitism, racism, and Holocaust memory.[1] Esra Özyürek's book engages in these debates and proposes a new approach. The text asserts that Germans have begun to employ young German Muslims as “subcontractors of guilt”

in Holocaust memory. This term suggests two key points. First, German Muslims are bearing a responsibility non-Muslim Germans should assume. Second, despite Muslim efforts to fulfil this contract, non-Muslim Germans continue to regard these Muslim subcontractors as subaltern and not really belonging to Germany.

Özyürek examines how German individuals with Muslim and Western Asian backgrounds[2] respond to “this unprecedented call to shoulder the responsibility of the German past.” She focuses on participants of memory and theatre projects “who eagerly take this weight onto their shoulders with a variety of motivations and expectations” (p. 3).

She is interested in the effects of this call on immigrants who have arrived in Germany after the crime, on Germans born after the war (migrant and non-migrant), and on the concept of guilt itself.

Her work stems from the observation that immigrants who helped to rebuild post-war Germany were not only excluded from participation, and, until 2000, even from citizenship. They could not “become part of the emotional social contract of postwar German identity,” a contract “that moved from admittance of collective guilt to collective pride at having come to terms with the past better than any other nation” (p. 9). Özyürek identifies a specific German “understanding of temporality and genealogy.” This concept positions ethnic Germans farther along the path “from antisemitism to democracy, tolerance, and empathy” than non-Germans (p. 13). Muslim men, in particular, are stigmatized as the “antithesis of these principles” (p. 17).

Özyürek argues that the German focus on Muslim antisemitism alleviates inter-

national tensions. These include the conflict between German national pride and the desire to embrace Holocaust responsibility, and the dilemma of “including Middle Eastern/Muslim immigrants from three generations into the fold of German identity and yet keeping them apart” (p. 21). As subcontractors, their position always stays precarious, their inclusion conditional.

Özyürek’s research reveals that “scores of Middle East/Muslim-background Germans do relate to the Holocaust passionately, genuinely, and with radical empathy.” They connect emphatically with the victims of the Holocaust, much more “than assumed by the national script” (p. 26).

The first chapter of the book is about the rebellion against Muslim fathers promoted by the project “Heroes” and several Muslim German intellectuals. In it, Özyürek exemplarily criticizes Ahmad Mansour and Seyran Ateş for stereotyping Muslim families as suppressing, backwards, and traditional. In her eyes, they see in Muslim minorities “troubled children who need to be monitored and disciplined” (p. 41).

The second chapter deals with the topic how the export-import theory of antisemitism between Europe and the Muslim world reveals connections between antisemitism and anti-Muslim racism. Its contribution to the state of research on the matter is, however, debatable, as will be discussed later. It is unfortunate that the shortcomings of this chapter make almost invisible the interesting remarks about the construction of nationality-specific antisemitisms and “hereditary ethnopathologies” (p. 86)—an essentialization that makes it possible to neglect the difference between antisemitism in Turkey and among Turkish-background Germans.

Chapter 3, on “wrong emotions,” examines Holocaust education projects with Western-Asian/Muslim youth, based on interviews and participant observation. It describes how these try to “make Germans out of Muslims,” but fail to do so because their underlying assumptions keep setting these minorities apart from white Germans (p. 107). Chapter 4 addresses the main topic of the book, subcontracting guilt and policing victimhood. It closely observes young migrant men from Turkish and Arab backgrounds in theatre projects. Its central thesis is that youth in these projects shall be transformed from victims to perpetrator in order to repent and thus “becoming legible within the grammar of the German political narrative” (p. 135). Chapter 5 then turns to visits to Auschwitz by youth with a migrant background “as pilgrimage and as shock therapy.”

In the conclusion, Özyürek observes the trend that externalizing antisemitism and subcontracting guilt have expanded. Nevertheless, minorities that have long been excluded from Holocaust memory have now come to play a central role in it. Other than German Jews, whom Max Czollek could ask to de-integrate from the German memory theatre,^[3] “the Muslim youth I met [...] can unsettle the memory theater [...] rather by inserting themselves [...] as actors, and then by ‘flipping the script’” (p. 206).

A strength of the book lies in its critical view on German memory culture, for example in arguing that even well-meaning education projects can fail when they continue to cling to essentializing group ascriptions. The very concept of subcontracting already is enriching and expanding the memory theatre concept and sheds new light on memory culture in a migration society.

The greatest merit of Özyürek's work, though, is the rich ethnographic description of how young Muslim-background Germans deal with Holocaust memory and their position in society. One of the most important insights of chapter 1 is a phenomenon we know from antisemitism research: the sexist positions of youth with a migrant background, which projects like “Heroes” are seeking to address, are in many cases imagined traditions—“versions of a honour culture created in Germany based on a fantasy of their culture of origin” (p. 47).

The thick descriptions in chapter 4 are exceptionally rich. Certain projects described here present disturbing confluences. They draw parallels between antisemitism in the Third Reich, historical and contemporary Islam, and the historical and present situation in Israel and Palestine. For example, one case features a young man with a Muslim background who assumes the theatrical role of a fictional Nazi who converts to Islam (pp. 141ff.).

Another deeply impressive and depressing example is the report from an event with an all-white, radical left audience that marked the presenters from the project as Muslim immigrants, arrogantly taught them correct definitions of antisemitism, and questioned their experiences, for example as victim in the Yezidi genocide (pp. 155–157).

A particularly intense section of the chapter on the Auschwitz visits describes the worries of the young travelers that they “may not be moved enough” (p. 171). Interesting as well is the observation that many for the first time were being perceived as Germans, not as Turks or Kurds or Arabs—because of being abroad and as visitors to Auschwitz. They proudly took on the iden-

tity of non-migrant Germans in Auschwitz, pressing white Germans to “witness their witnessing of the Holocaust” (p. 193) while “teach[ing] them to accept Muslim heroes into the moral compass of the German identity” (p. 194).

The book also exhibits some weaknesses. One is a tendency to make generalizations, like the homogenizing assumption of a “Christian/German” (passim) group. This neglects one-third of the population, non-religious people, and perpetuates the exclusion of non-Christians from German society. Another questionable generalization is the claim that Holocaust memory “is the foundation of postwar white German identity” (p. xi). This could be proved wrong by many historical events from the 1960s to the 1990s.[4] It is also more than questionable whether “German memory culture” has ever been “committ[ed] to antinationalism” (p. 1).

A second problem is a sometimes weak source base, particularly for the most assertive claims. In chapter 2, on “Muslim Antisemitism” and the export-import theory, Özyürek argues that “the” West established the import theory of antisemitism to stigmatize Muslims as the sole bearers of antisemitism. She claims that there is a “belief in the current absence of antisemitic sources indigenous to Europe” (p. 83, see also p. 78), but does not cite a source. It remains unknown who stated that Muslim immigrants were “the main disseminators of antisemitism in Germany” (p. 82). Furthermore, it is unclear how the research on the export of modern antisemitism from Europe to the Islamic world “implies” that Europeans “eradicated” antisemitism in Europe after this export (p. 83).

The unreliability of sources can also be seen in her portrayal of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). She claims that “the” OSCE had identified a “new” antisemitism “coming from the Arab and Islamic world” at its 2003 conference. She also asserts that one of the “primary foci” of the OSCE was to address the “Muslim failure to have learned the right lessons from the Holocaust” (p. 74). She cites the website of a third party, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), to support these suppositions, but the ADL’s conference report is no longer available there. Furthermore, OSCE documentation of the conference in Vienna contradicts her claim, in stating the opposite: “participants were urged not to regard Muslims in general, and Arabs in particular, as a cause of all anti-Semitic incidents and anti-Zionist attitudes.”[5]

Additionally, even if “the participants” of the conference really emphasized that “Anti-Semitism in Europe today is not a history lesson, but a current event,” this differs from Özyürek’s interpretation “that this antisemitism was new” (p. 75). There is a distinction between “new” and “ongoing.” Özyürek also names the 2004 Berlin Declaration of the OSCE to prove that Europe attributes antisemitism solely to immigrants and locates it “outside Western civilization” (p. 78). Even more, she suggests that “all other forms of xenophobia, racism, and discrimination [...] were made to seem less significant as threats” (p. 78). The document contains no such statement, quite the opposite.[6]

Özyürek portrays German education programs as primarily addressing Muslim antisemitism. Muslims may be disproportionately targeted by these programs, but

Özyürek's evidence is weak. She claims Frank Greuel found "that in the 2000s, antisemitism training for mainstream German youth was reduced dramatically and replaced by programs for Muslims" (p. 79). Greuel indeed states that the 18 educational projects on ethnocentrism and antisemitism among migrant youth he examined noticeably often targeted antisemitism among Muslims. He, however, does not mention any reduction or replacement of other programs.[7]

It is also not a "fact" but simply inaccurate that the 2011 German interior ministry's report on antisemitism "does not address" antisemitism by extreme right-wing, white Germans with a Christian background (p. 84). The report's whole first chapter is on this issue. By the way: one can perfectly disagree with parts of Matthias Küntzel's research on antisemitism among Muslims—but labeling him a "right-wing figure" (p. 82) without any evidence is unhelpful.

In order to support the thesis that Muslim Germans learn to take on the perpetrator role and repent, the book sometimes relies on elusive interpretations. In one case, participants of a podium *literally* said that they "grew up with antisemitism," but Özyürek paraphrases it by stating that they had confessed "having been antisemitic" (p. 151). If the book's central conceptual assumption needs such disputable support, it can be put into question. That it is "a necessary condition for entering the German social contract" "to step into the shoes of the Nazi perpetrators/bystanders or their grandchildren in order to repent" (p. 25) might be an internationally well-known trope, particularly in political debates about German reactions to Israel-related antisemitism. Whether it is an academically sound de-

scription of German society today can be doubted.

Özyürek states that by emotionally engaging with the victims of the Holocaust, Muslim Germans turned "into proxy repenting perpetrators" and took on the German responsibility (p. 163). This straight causality from empathy with the victims to perpetrator identity is not convincing in regard to descendants of the Nazi perpetrator generation, and even less so for their contemporaries with a migrant background.

Despite the mentioned limitations, Özyürek's book is an important contribution to the discussion about the place Muslims with a migrant background have in German Holocaust memory. The concept of subcontractors sheds a new light on German memory culture and the complex relations and belonging in a migrant society.

Notes

- [1] Christian Heilbronn, Doron Rabinovici, and Natan Sznajder (eds.), *Neuer Antisemitismus? Fortsetzung einer globalen Debatte*, 2nd ed. (Suhrkamp, 2019); David Feldman, *Antisemitism and Immigration in Western Europe Today. Is there a connection? Findings and recommendations from a five-nation study* (Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ) and the Pears Institute for the Study of Antisemitism, 2018); Wolf Gruner and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, "Two German Perspectives on a German Discussion," *Central European History* 56, no. 2 (2023): 278–282.
- [2] The book uses the term *Middle Eastern*, which I try to avoid here for its Eurocentric perspective.
- [3] Max Czollek, *De-Integrate! A Jewish Survival Guide for the 21st Century* (Restless Books, 2023).
- [4] The strong resistance Fritz Bauer had faced in the 1960s in his efforts to bring the perpetrators of Auschwitz to court, the opposition by German broadcasting organizations against the airing of the TV series *Holocaust* in 1979, the "Historikerstreit" in the late 1980s, or the broad mobilization against the exhibition on the war

- crimes of the Wehrmacht in 1995 are only a few of many possible counterarguments.
- [5] The quote is preceded by: "Finally, it was again stressed that intercultural and inter-faith initiatives should be supported, since they not only provide a forum for discussion and improved understanding, but may lead to greater solidarity and more effective action at the local level" (OSCE, "Consolidated Summary of the 2003 OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism," June 20, 2003, <https://www.osce.org/cio/42394>).
- [6] All it says on the matter is "Recognizing that anti-Semitism, following its most devastating manifestation during the Holocaust, has assumed new forms and expressions, which, along with other forms of intolerance, pose a threat to democracy, the values of civilization and, therefore, to overall security in the OSCE region and beyond" (OSCE, "Berlin Declaration, 2004," April 29, 2004, <https://www.osce.org/cio/31432>).
- [7] Frank Greuel, "Pädagogische Prävention von Ethnozentrismus und Antisemitismus bei Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse der DJI-Erhebung," in *Ethnozentrismus und Antisemitismus bei Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund. Erscheinungsformen und pädagogische Praxis in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft*, eds. Frank Greuel and Michaela Glaser (Deutsches Jugendinstitut e.V, 2012), 90–143.

**Marc Andre Matten and Egas Moniz
Bandeira, eds. *Globalgeschichten
aus China. Aktuelle Debatten in der
Volksrepublik, Globalgeschichte, vol.
37* (Campus Verlag, 2023), 347 pp.**

Reviewed by
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Marc Andre Matten's and Egas Moniz Bandeira's *Globalgeschichten aus China* is a pioneering contribution to the discourse on global history, offering unique insights into how Chinese historians address their

theoretical and methodological challenges. Featuring nine meticulously translated and annotated essays by prominent Chinese historians, this anthology aims to bridge the divide between Chinese and Western approaches to global historiography. In doing so, the editors challenge entrenched Eurocentric paradigms and advocate for a more multiperspectival approach to global history.

The preface to the anthology presents a comprehensive overview of the institutional, methodological, and political conditions shaping global history research in China. While the formal institutionalization of the discipline began relatively late—marked by the establishment of the Center for Global History at Capital Normal University in 2004—the editors trace its intellectual roots back to the early twentieth century. They highlight the contributions of Lei Haizong, a pioneering historian who, as early as the 1920s, critiqued Western historiographical traditions for marginalizing non-Western civilizations. Lei's critique underscores the enduring efforts of Chinese scholars to recalibrate global historiography by integrating non-Western perspectives. The editors argue that Chinese approaches to global history actively challenge Eurocentric assumptions and question the universal applicability of Western paradigms. Concepts such as "modernization," "progress," and "civilization" are deconstructed and reframed to reflect the historical trajectories of non-Western societies. This process, they contend, enriches global history as both a methodological approach and an analytical perspective.

However, the volume does not shy away from addressing the challenges facing glob-