



Introduction: The Lives and Legacies of David Cesarani

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David Cesarani's historical background in Anglo-Jewish studies and the history of migration, minorities and nationalisms meant that, whilst he recognized the horror of the Third Reich and its collaborators genocide of the European Jews during the Second World War in all of its singularity and specificity, he was also keen to historically contextualize this event within the Third Reich, the Second World War, as well as the longer history of migration, minorities, nationalism, 'race', 'anti-alienism' and genocide in Britain and internationally. This approach is not only evident in the stance he took towards Holocaust Studies in his own autobiographical essay, but it is also apparent in his biographies of Arthur Koestler (1998), Adolf Eichmann (2006) and his posthumously published portrait of Benjamin Disraeli (2016). Arguably, David's interdisciplinary interpretations of the

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significance of these historic figures is symbolic of his interconnected interests in the story of the Anglo-Jews, the development of Israel, the ebb and flow of Europe's migrants and minorities, and the history and legacies of the Holocaust. It is these themes that structure this contribution to the *Holocaust and its Contexts*.

THE LIFE OF DAVID CESARANI

In an autobiographical essay written in 2015, David Cesarani reflected on his family background, his approach to the subject of History and his role in British public life, as one of the UK's most prominent advocates of Holocaust research, education and commemoration. David was born on 13 November 1956 to Henry Cesarani and Sylvia Cesarani, née Packman. David's father, Henry, was a communist sympathizing hairdresser whose mother, Anna Teiman, had been born into a traditional Jewish family.¹ David's mother, Sylvia, was the daughter of a family of traditional Jews who had moved to the East End of London from Biała Podlaska in Poland. Sylvia had served as a secretary for left-wing publisher, Victor Gollancz, and had lived in London during the Second World War before marrying Henry Cesarani in 1951.² Initially, David explored his Jewish heritage through these left-wing points of connection. However, the marginalization of Jewish history and culture at his secondary school, Latymer Upper, and the occurrence of the June 1967 war and the 1973 Yom Kippur War, encouraged him to explore Zionism in the 1970s.

In the summer of 1974, David went to the Negev in Israel to join Kibbutz Mashabeh Sadeh. For David, 'Those six weeks in the Negev were the most exciting of my life so far and I fell madly in love with Israel.'³ While David grew increasingly critical of disrespectful attitudes towards Arab communities in Israel and the country's tendency to obfuscate the history of the destruction of Arab villages in 1948,⁴ he became increasingly fascinated by the history of the Jews, Israel and Zionism. Even though there were no courses on Jewish history at The University of Cambridge,

¹ David Cesarani, "Autobiographical Reflections on Writing History, the Holocaust and Hairdressing," in *Holocaust Scholarship: Personal Trajectories and Professional Interpretations*, eds. Christopher R. Browning, Susannah Heschel, Michael R. Marrus, Michael Shain (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 66–67.

² *Ibid.*, 70.

³ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

where he studied history, he became involved in the Union of Jewish Students and advocated for the then radical stance of ‘mutual recognition’ between Jews and Palestinians. He then pursued an MA at Columbia University (1979–1980), where he took courses on Jewish history and historiography and listened to lectures by Edward Said. This culminated in his completion of a PhD on Anglo-Jewry and the development of Zionism in inter-war Britain at St. Antony’s College, Oxford (1980–1986).⁵

David was appointed as a Montague Burton Fellow in Jewish History at Leeds University in 1983. While at Leeds, he convened symposia which attracted leading voices in the new Jewish history which was emerging at the time, and which formed the basis of David’s first book, the edited collection, *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (1990).⁶ Contributors to that volume, Tony Kushner and Bryan Cheyette, also feature in this collection. David’s interests in anti-alienism and the histories of minorities in Britain expanded with a lectureship at Queen Mary College, University of London, where he taught the history of East London and its patterns of migration and settlement, from the Huguenots to the Bangladeshis.

Later in his career, these themes would be reflected in at least three edited collections that David was involved in compiling. First, was the 1993 ground breaking book with Tony Kushner on the internment of ‘enemy aliens’ in UK camps during the First and Second World Wars, the significant intellectual legacy of which is captured by Rachel Pistol’s chapter in this volume.⁷ The second was an edited collection with Mary Fulbrook, which was an interdisciplinary exploration of citizenship, migration and the reactionary politics of radical and far right-wing movements entitled *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe* (2002).⁸ The third was David’s 2002 edited collection, *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550–1950*, a geographically wide-ranging collection which traced the post-Enlightenment emergence of ‘modern’ forms of Jewish identity.⁹

⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶ David Cesarani, ed., *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 1990).

⁷ David Cesarani and Tony Kushner, eds., *The Internment of Enemy Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain* (Oxford; New York: Routledge, 1993). See Rachel Pistol’s chapter in this volume.

⁸ David Cesarani and Mary Fulbrook, eds., *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe* (Oxford; New York: Routledge, 1996).

⁹ David Cesarani, ed., *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550–1950* (London: Frank Cass, 2002).

Thus, it was far from inevitable that David would become a historian of the Holocaust, let alone have a volume dedicated to him in this *Holocaust and its Contexts* series. David never intended to become a scholar of German history and referred to himself as having had ‘an accidental career as a Holocaust historian’.¹⁰ Earlier in the same essay, he commented:

... my approach to the Holocaust was not an outcome of fascination with German history. I was not seeking to answer the hoary questions of “why antisemitism?” or “why Germany?” My starting point was always my sense of being an alien in England, and resentment that a chapter of my life story was deemed so irrelevant to society as a whole as to be made invisible. While it had huge intrinsic value, for me, Holocaust Studies was always an adjunct to reshaping British society, culture and politics.¹¹

David’s involvement in researching, teaching and commemorating the Holocaust grew out of unpredictable career opportunities, which ‘snow-balled’ into a Holocaust specialism. However, crucially, this expertise on the Holocaust always retained an intellectual and imaginative link to his earlier work on Anglo-Jewry, Zionism and migration and minorities. So while in the same essay David later questioned the desirability of too closely conflating the history of the Holocaust with commemoration for fear of historical distortion and over-instrumentalizing the past for present-day causes,¹² in other respects the anti-hate rhetoric of organizations such as the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, reflect David’s very real public contribution to trying to reshape the discursive climate for minorities and diaspora groups in ‘British society, culture and politics’.

Furthermore, as Dan Stone has noted, these opportunities that were open to David were related to social, political and cultural shifts which had forced residual Holocaust-era issues to the surface of British and international public debates in the 1980s and 1990s.¹³ For example, David became significantly involved in Nazi war crimes research in the 1980s and 1990s, and based on the reputation that he built from this became Director of Studies (1989) and then the Director of The Wiener Library Institute of Contemporary History (1991–2000). David was also associated with the

¹⁰ Cesarani, “Autobiographical Reflections”, 83.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹² *Ibid.*, 83.

¹³ Dan Stone, “British Jewry, Antisemitism and the Holocaust: the Work and Legacy of David Cesarani: An Introduction,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 53, 1 (2019): 2–8.

Universities of Manchester (1995–1996) and Southampton (1996–2004) at this time, and this period was particularly productive in relation to his research on the Holocaust. He published edited and co-edited collections on the origins and implementation of the Nazi genocide of the Jews; bystanders to the Holocaust; the Holocaust in Hungary; and the significance of Belsen concentration camp in British history and memory.¹⁴

During these years, David was also incredibly active as a public historian. He wrote widely in the press and appeared and consulted on numerous radio and TV programmes.¹⁵ He was also historical advisor to the Imperial War Museum’s Holocaust Exhibition in the late 1990s, a delegate to the Stockholm International Forum in 2000 and, in its early years, a member of the British delegation to the International Task Force on Holocaust Research, Remembrance and Education (now known as the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, IHRA). It was this expertise that led him to be appointed as a Research Professor at Royal Holloway, University of London in 2004. Here he would become Director of the Holocaust Research Centre, building this research institute so that it became a well-established and internationally recognized centre for the study of the Holocaust and genocide. In 2005, his services to Holocaust education were recognized with the award of an OBE (Order of the British Empire).

However, if David’s rise to prominence in Holocaust Studies was in part catalyzed by being the ‘right man, in the right place at the right time’, it was also underpinned by intellectual conviction and emotional connection. Whilst working as the Director of Studies at The Wiener Library in the 1990s, David explored more fully his own personal family history in relation to the Holocaust. His mother, Sylvia’s aunt, uncle and cousin, Liza, Jankel and Bertha Packman did not survive the Second World War. Liza and Jankel had been deported from France to Auschwitz on 15 August 1942, while Bertha’s exact fate is unknown.¹⁶ Whilst an individual does not need to have a family connection to the Holocaust to feel empa-

¹⁴David Cesarani, ed., *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (London: Routledge, 1994); David Cesarani and Paul Levine, eds., *‘Bystanders’ to the Holocaust: A Re-evaluation* (London: Frank Cass, 2002); David Cesarani, ed., *Genocide and Rescue: The Holocaust in Hungary, 1944* (Oxford: Berg, 1997); David Cesarani, Tony Kushner, Jo Reilly and Colin Richmond, eds., *Belsen in History and Memory* (London: Frank Cass, 1997). The Wiener Library Institute of Contemporary History has undergone a number of name changes, including The Wiener Library for the Study of the Holocaust and Genocide, and since 2019, The Wiener Holocaust Library.

¹⁵In the 1990s, David also wrote a history of *The Jewish Chronicle*. See: David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841–1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 79–80.

thy and compassion for the victims of the Third Reich and their descendants, David's proximity to these issues no doubt gave him a valuable reservoir of experience in his community engagement work and in his role advising public organizations in relation to audience sensitivities which surround Holocaust history, education and commemoration.

As suggested by the biographical and bibliographical portrait above, central to the growth of David's expertise as a public historian and Holocaust researcher during these years was his position as a consultant to the All Party Parliamentary War Crimes Group (1987–1991) and his role as Principal Researcher on the resultant 'Report on the Entry of Nazi Criminals and Collaborators into the UK, 1945–1950'.¹⁷ This report responded to allegations by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in the 1980s that Allied countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia and Britain had permitted former Nazi collaborators to evade justice and settle and work in these countries after the war. Using documents from the UK Public Records Office (National Archives), the Report confirmed that Nazi collaborators from countries such as Latvia and the Ukraine had been able to settle in the UK after 1945. This led to the establishment of an official Home Office Inquiry, with the subsequent Hetherington-Chalmers Report (July 1989), recommending that three men resident in the UK should face criminal prosecution, while a further seventy-five should be subjected to further investigation.¹⁸ The historical reasons why these men were allowed to settle in Britain, which included Britain's postwar labour shortages and need for Cold War spies, were explored in greater depth in David's book, *Justice Delayed: How Britain became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals* (1992).

While much writing since David's death has focused on his last history of the Holocaust, *Final Solution: The Fate of Jews, 1933–1949* (and certainly reflections on this book feature extensively here in chapters by Robert Rozett, Jürgen Matthäus and Richard J. Evans),¹⁹ it is nonetheless argued in this introduction that *Justice Delayed* is the text which is most foundational to David's oeuvre. This is not only because it was his first sole authored book

¹⁷David Cesarani, *Justice Delayed: How Britain Became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals* (London: Heinemann, 1992).

¹⁸Cesarani, *Justice Delayed*, 2.

¹⁹David Cesarani, *Final Solution: The Fate of the Jews, 1933–1949* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2016).

but because it is arguably also the most well developed example of his interdisciplinary approach which combined his interests in Jewish, migration and Holocaust Studies. *Justice Delayed* weaves together the history of the Third Reich at war, with post-1945 Anglo-Jewish and international Jewish campaigns for justice alongside Britain and Europe's wider histories of migration from Eastern Europe and the Baltic States. It also takes the after-shocks of war and genocide, in this case, the issues posed by Nazi collaborators who had escaped prosecution, to be important and essential points of research, analysis and social and political action. What is more, all of this is delivered with a wry and tragic eye as to the political ineptitudes, administrative follies and blind hypocrisies of the state, in this case, the postwar British government. Bearing in mind the development of David's research background, this is a distinctly and unmistakably 'Cesarianian' approach to the history of the Holocaust. This approach has been mirrored in the diversity of themes which structure this volume.

THE LIVES OF DAVID CESARANI

This 'Cesarianian' approach is also particularly evident in David's in-depth analyses of historical figures from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. David wrote three biographies: *Arthur Koestler: The Homeless Mind* (1998), *Adolf Eichmann: His Life and Crimes* (2006) and finally, *Disraeli: The Novel Politician* (2016). Each one of these biographies refracts the life of its subject through the prisms of Anglo and European Jewish history, the historical trajectories of European and global migration, as well as considering their significance for the historical origins and development of the Third Reich and the Holocaust.

Until David's biography, writer and intellectual Koestler was best known for the anti-communist novel, *Darkness at Noon* (1940) and his Cold War anti-Soviet stance. By contrast, David's biography interpreted Koestler as symbolizing not just the Central European (as stated in Koestler's diaries), but the Jewish experience during the twentieth century.²⁰ As Robert Rozett notes in his chapter in this collection, David's reading of Koestler's life was profoundly shaped by his knowledge of European Jewish history, the Holocaust and the British government's response to

²⁰David Cesarani, *Arthur Koestler: The Homeless Mind* (London: Vintage, 1999), 4–5; 569–573.

the news of Jewish persecution during the Second World War.²¹ For example, Cesarani draws attention to Koestler's writing of the script 'Jewish Massacre', which was broadcast in 1943 by BBC radio under Jan Karski's name.²² Koestler's article 'Disbelieving Atrocities' was also published in *New York Times Magazine* (January 1944), and he organized a clandestine immigration certificate for his mother so that she could escape Nazi-occupied Hungary for Palestine.²³ In his biography of Koestler, David thus synthesizes his interests in Anglo and European Jewish history, migration studies and the Holocaust in order to paint a sober portrait (for Koestler's reprehensible treatment of women is discussed) of the experience of the 'homeless mind', the émigré and the refugee.

Although David's biographies of Eichmann and Disraeli focus much on the specific histories of, respectively, Eichmann's role in managing and organizing the Nazi's systematic extermination of the Jews of Europe, and Disraeli's Jewish heritage and its relationship to his career as a politician in nineteenth-century Britain; take a closer look and the 'Cesarianian' interdisciplinary approach is all too apparent. *Eichmann: His Life and Crimes*, is at first glance focused squarely on the history of the Third Reich, building on the then recent reinterpretation of the historiography of the perpetrators offered by Christopher Browning in *Ordinary Men*.²⁴ David interprets Eichmann as not pathologically evil, nor an unthinking 'totalitarian man', but rather as a normal man, who received his Nazi ideological education in the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) and then the Schutzstaffel (SS)

²¹ A few details about Koestler's life. He was born in Hungary and his mother was Jewish. He was educated in Vienna as a result of the political and economic impact of the First World War in Hungary. He spent the 1920s working as a journalist in Jerusalem, Paris and Berlin. He applied for membership of the German Communist Party in 1931, although later became disillusioned with Stalinism. During the 1930s, his Spanish Civil War journalism exposed Franco's links to Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Koestler was detained in Le Vernet internment camp whilst living in France on the eve of the Second World War. Following a period in the French Foreign Legion, he managed to gain entrance to the UK. Here he served in the Pioneer Corps and worked as a propagandist for the Ministry of Information. He settled in the UK, in the early 1950s and became well known as an anti-communist intellectual. His mature work became increasingly focused on exploring science and, later the paranormal. For more information, see Cesarani, *Arthur Koestler*.

²² Jan Karski was a courier for the Polish Government-in-exile during the Second World War.

²³ Cesarani, *Arthur Koestler*, 188–234. For more detail see Rozett in this volume.

²⁴ David Cesarani, *Eichmann: His Life and Crimes* (London: Vintage Books, 2005), 4. Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution* (London: Harper Collins, 1992).

and, ‘... taught himself how to be a practitioner of genocide’.²⁵ Cesarani also revises standard interpretations of Eichmann by stressing the radicalizing importance of the period January 1940 until spring 1941. This was when Eichmann was put in charge of ethnically cleansing Poles and Jews from areas of Poland annexed to the Nazi state.²⁶ Illustrating David’s concern with more recent instances of genocide, he also placed the significance of his study of Eichmann within the context of the perpetration of atrocities in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia.²⁷

However, the story of Eichmann’s life also allowed David to explore a range of topics in relation to migration, Zionism and the early history of Israel. For, in many respects, moments of emigration and exile were pivotal moments in Eichmann’s life. Eichmann’s decision to emigrate from Austria to Germany following a government crackdown against the Austrian Nazi Party led to him being appointed to the fledgling Sicherheitsdienst (SD) on 29 September 1934.²⁸ Moreover, Eichmann himself became the Reich’s feted ‘Expert on Emigration’ in the period 1938–1941. His work in Vienna following the Anschluss showcased his perfection of cruel techniques of forced emigration. As David notes, ‘He heartlessly presided over a machine that stripped Jews of their rights, robbed them and left them humiliated, impoverished refugees.’²⁹

The end of the Second World War heralded Eichmann’s own flight to Argentina, facilitated by his understanding of complex international immigration systems, the former SS officer Carlos Fuldner’s Nazi escape network and the Peron regime’s Nazi sympathizing tendencies.³⁰ Eichmann’s subsequent capture by Israeli Mossad agents and trial in Israel in the early 1960s provided David with the opportunity of exploring and analyzing a key moment in Israel’s history. David’s analysis of the Eichmann trial is most well-known for his biting critique of Hannah Arendt’s trial reports, which were first published in *The New Yorker*, before subsequently being released as *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963). Although David maintains that Arendt was perceptive about the structure and everyday working of the Third Reich, he was heavily critical of Arendt’s prejudice towards the Ostjuden and what he sees as her tendency to fit

²⁵ Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 367.

²⁶ Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 8–9 and 364.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 357.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 35–39.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 61 and 363.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 205–210.

Eichmann's personality into her totalitarian theory.³¹ That is, she portrays Eichmann as a conformist bureaucrat, in the process underplaying his personal agency and the gradual development and radicalization of his ideological antisemitism.

David's approach to Arendt on Eichmann has certainly been critiqued, primarily on the grounds that his own interpretation perhaps owes more to her than he would like to admit.³² However, what is perhaps most interesting about David's critique of Arendt's reading of Eichmann is the fact that it conjoins and links together two ideas that were sometimes held apart. David's interpretation of Arendt's view of Eichmann's personality suggests that he saw how Arendt was constructing a continuum between the ideas of 'radical evil' (*The Origins of Totalitarianism*) and 'the banality of evil' (*Eichmann in Jerusalem*).³³ This subtle understanding of Arendt's thought is important, for not all commentators have observed it. For example, in the 1960s philosopher Gershom Scholem argued that Arendt's use of the term 'banality of evil', instead of 'radical evil', marked a distinctive break, trivializing the death camps.³⁴ David might disagree with Arendt, but he treats her analysis of Nazism as both serious in intent and holistic within the context of her wider works.

David's biography of Disraeli also demonstrates his interdisciplinary approach. Disraeli was Britain's first Jewish born Prime Minister, and he served in that office twice, first in 1868 and later between 1874 and 1880. He played a pivotal role in shaping the modern Conservative Party and was a colourful character within Victorian politics. Although the figure of Disraeli seems temporally and thematically a million miles away from Koestler or Eichmann, for David part of the central significance of Disraeli's life lies in his sociological position as 'one of the last court Jews and one of the first victims of modern antisemitism'.³⁵ In *Disraeli*, David is actually,

³¹ Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 4.

³² Stone, "British Jewry, Antisemitism and the Holocaust: the Work and Legacy of David Cesarani: An Introduction," 5.

³³ Cesarani, *Eichmann*, 355–356. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958); Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (London: Penguin, 2006).

³⁴ Hannah Arendt, "Letter to Gershom Scholem, 24 July 1963," in *The Jewish Writings*, eds. Jerome Kohn and Ron H. Feldman (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 467. Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 1991), 559–560.

³⁵ David Cesarani, *Disraeli: The Novel Politician* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 236.

controversially, in agreement with Arendt.³⁶ Namely, that through Disraeli's boastfulness and self-fashioning of his own political identity as, 'a Jewish genius at the centre of a web of Jewish influence',³⁷ 'Arendt was right: Disraeli almost single-handedly invented the lexicon of modern racial antisemitism.'³⁸ As evidence of Disraeli's inadvertent influence on the formation of modern antisemitic discourse David cites Hitler and *Der Stürmer* editor, Julius Streicher's use of the Disraeli quote, 'The racial question is the key to world history.'³⁹ Therefore, like warring intellectual siblings, Arendt and Cesarani were preoccupied by many of the same themes: Jewish identity in modern societies; the rights of migrants and minorities; the role of nationalism and the terror of the Nazi state. Perhaps hers was the greatest biography he never had the chance to write.

THE LIFE OF THIS BOOK: FROM CONCEPTUALIZATION TO ORGANIZATION

This volume includes papers from a major conference held in London in April 2017, which was organized by the Pears Foundation and Royal Holloway's Holocaust Research Institute, to commemorate the work and legacy of David Cesarani. It complements the collection of journal articles dedicated to David's legacy edited by Dan Stone.⁴⁰ Appearing alongside revised versions of papers presented at this conference are specially commissioned original chapters for this volume by figures such as historian of the Third Reich, Richard J. Evans, curator at Imperial War Museums, Suzanne Bardgett, and Holocaust Memorial Day Trust representatives, Olivia Marks-Woldman and Rachel Century. It also includes lesser known archive material, such as an interview with Cesarani; a small number of re-published essays as well as a variety of personal reflections. This edited collection is thus a unique combination of chapters produced by researchers, curators and commemoration activists who either worked with, encountered, and/or were taught by the late Cesarani. The diverse

³⁶ Cesarani, *Disraeli*, 4; Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. For more on David's interpretation of Disraeli, see the Afterword by Daniel Cesarani, Bryan Cheyette and Dawn Waterman.

³⁷ Cesarani, *Disraeli*, 234–235.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 235.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁴⁰ Dan Stone., ed. *Patterns of Prejudice: British Jewry, Antisemitism and the Holocaust: The Work and Legacy of David Cesarani. A Special Issue*. 53, 1 (2019).

nature of these contributions necessarily means that there is variance in the tone of the chapters and their length.

In many cases, Cesarani's research forms the foundation from which the chapters are launched, or they provide new perspectives in relation to Cesarani's research. Other chapters reflect on Cesarani's position as a public historian, particularly in regards to Holocaust-era issues in the 1990s and 2000s, in which he played an important national and international role. Whilst celebrating Cesarani's contribution to intellectual and public life, one of the objectives of this collection is also to move beyond hagiography and instead illustrate the rich, challenging and even controversial legacies of Cesarani's scholarship. This includes its ongoing relevance to contemporary debates in Anglo-Jewish history, the study of migration, minorities and nationalisms, Holocaust history and historiography, war crimes trials and the British and European commemoration of the Holocaust.

As this is an edited collection for the 'Holocaust and its Contexts', this introduction will be followed by Robert Rozett's chapter on Cesarani's Holocaust research, which delineates Cesarani's profound intellectual contribution to the study of the history and memory of the Shoah. After Rozett's essay, the collection begins with the first section dedicated to Minorities and Nationalisms.

Linked to David's interest in Zionism and British history, David Feldman's consideration of Zionism and the British Labour Party looks at the somewhat surprising support of the political left for the establishment of Israel, and how these ideologies often brought conflict between the policies of British Labour governments and Zionist ambitions. Feldman is careful to make a distinction between concepts of antisemitism and the reality of, in many cases, the dashing of idealistic hopes by the rise of the nationalist right. Continuing this idea, and linking to themes brought up in David's 2009 book, *Major Farran's Hat: The Untold Story of the Struggle to Establish the Jewish State*, Shane Nagle takes a comparative approach to nationalism. Cesarani was a great fan of comparative histories, believing in the significance of contextualization and understanding exceptionalism, and Nagle's chapter, comparing the 1922 'massacre' of Bandon Valley in Ireland with the 1948 Tantura incident in Israel demonstrates how the historical legacies of civil wars and terrorist acts continue to shape public debate. The section is rounded off with Rachel Pistol's comparative approach to how Second World War internment in the UK has been remembered and commemorated on the Isle of Man, and how experiences differed depending on whether or not the 'enemy aliens' were deported to

Canada or Australia. Pistol's chapter builds on Cesarani and Kushner's, *Internment of Enemy Aliens in Great Britain*, which also thematically links with aspects of Larissa Allwork's chapter later in the collection.

The second section of this volume draws together a variety of challenging perspectives on the Holocaust and engages with new sources and interpretations. Richard J. Evans engages in a spirited debate with Cesarani's magnum opus, *Final Solution*, which challenges David's explanation of the decision to exterminate the Jews of Europe. Cesarani was always one to participate in thought-provoking debate, and no doubt would have had much to say in response to Evans' arguments. With the consideration of new sources, Katarzyna Person uses her chapter to expound the details of the sudden outbreak of collective urban antisemitic violence that took place in Nazi-occupied Warsaw in March 1940. Person compellingly argues how the 'Easter pogrom' is a case that still requires significant research as a means of understanding wartime group violence. Jürgen Matthäus continues the theme of exploring under researched aspects of the Holocaust, focusing on Alfred Rosenberg, Reich Minister for the Eastern Occupied Territories, who has often been considered politically negligible in comparison to other high ranking Nazi officials. Only in recent years has Rosenberg's diary become accessible to researchers, and Matthäus uses this source to confirm Cesarani's assertion of the significance of the planning phase of 'Operation Barbarossa'. Dieter Steinert then catapults the section to the end of the war and the liberation of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Steinert skilfully weaves a new story of an 'old history', detailing the work of British and American voluntary organizations in Belsen immediately after liberation, and in so doing both widens and challenges some of the long-held beliefs in this area.

Part three explores the legacies of David's contribution to the prosecution of Nazi war criminals after the Second World War, as evidenced by his contributions to the All Party Parliamentary War Crimes Group, *Justice Delayed* and his biography, *Eichmann: His Life and Crimes*. David's doctoral student, Robert Sherwood, begins this section with his analysis of the immediate postwar actions of the Allied War Crimes Investigation Teams, who had been established to investigate alleged Nazi war criminals. Through research undertaken in UK and US archives, Sherwood suggests that there were inadequacies in relation to the Allied team's engagement with fundamental rules of law and procedures for evidence collection. By contrast, Joseph Snee's chapter takes forward David's research on both the Eichmann trial and British government responses to the Holocaust

and its aftermath. Snee reviews British Foreign Office documents from the 1960s in order to show that Eichmann's trial raised uncomfortable questions for the British government about Allied responses to the Nazi mass murder of the Jews during the Second World War. This section on war crimes and their legacies concludes with Larissa Allwork's chapter on representational issues in regards to Gerhard Richter and Gustav Metzger's photographic re-appropriations and artistic reflections on Nazi criminality. Demonstrating a creative, interdisciplinary interpretative approach to David's legacy, Allwork's analysis synthesizes insights from *Justice Delayed, Eichmann: His Life and Crimes*, *The Internment of Enemy Aliens in Britain*, as well as David's sometimes overlooked edited collection on cultural memory, *After Eichmann: Collective Memory and the Holocaust since 1961* (2005).⁴¹

Allwork's concern with cultural representations provides a segue into the final part of this edited collection which concerns David's contribution as a researcher, critic and activist to the public history and commemoration of the Holocaust. David's academic contribution to the historiography of considering the significance of the post-1945 legacies of the Holocaust for the collective identities of Jewish communities and nation states, included his work on exploding the notion of a 'myth' of silence in relation to the discussion of the Holocaust in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴² He also contributed books, chapters and journal articles on the significance of Belsen in British cultural memory, the cultural impact of the Eichmann trial and self-reflective works on the discourse underpinning Holocaust Memorial Day.⁴³ Therefore, this section begins with Tony Kushner and Aimee Bunting's chapter which analyzes British testimonies in relation to the liberation of Belsen, but which also explores the narrative significance of often overlooked memoirs and writings relating to the lesser known story of the 1400 British prisoners of war at Auschwitz.

However, in compiling this edited collection, it was felt important to recognize that David was not just a commentator on post-1945 Holocaust commemoration issues, but also an active participant in creating the

⁴¹ David Cesarani, ed., *After Eichmann: Collective Memory and the Holocaust since 1961* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005).

⁴² David Cesarani and Eric J. Sundquist, eds., *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence* (London; New York: Routledge, 2011).

⁴³ David Cesarani, "Does the Singularity of the Holocaust make it Incomparable and Inoperative for Commemorating, Studying and Preventing Genocide? Britain's Holocaust Memorial Day as a Case Study," *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 10, 2 (Autumn, 2001): 40–56.

institutional and cultural partnerships that have enabled public engagement with the history and legacies of the Holocaust in the UK and internationally. As a result, this edited collection ends with three chapters that explore this facet of David's career. Suzanne Bardgett, Head of Research and Academic Partnerships at the Imperial War Museums, revisits the significance of David's advisory role during the complex process of creating the first Holocaust exhibition, launched at its London galleries in June 2000. Equally, Chief Executive of the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, Olivia Marks-Woldman, and Holocaust Memorial Day Trust Development Manager, Rachel Century, discuss how David's historical knowledge and understanding of community issues, shaped the development of this commemorative event. These insights into David's skills at working with organizations beyond academia continue to be invaluable to researchers, particularly at a time when they are increasingly expected to integrate public engagement into their research plans as part of the UK Higher Education impact agenda.

In choosing the last chapter for this collection, it was felt important that David's voice should come through loud and clear. As a result, this volume concludes with an interview that Larissa Allwork conducted with David in 2009 on post-1945 Holocaust-era issues. David's astute views on the history, benefits and often intractable challenges of Holocaust research, remembrance and education remain an invaluable source of knowledge and expertise for all who work in these fields of study and activism. This is especially true when viewed against the backdrop of the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust's alarming findings in 2019 that severe knowledge deficiencies and even denial among UK adults in relation to the Holocaust are long-standing.⁴⁴

Larissa and Rachel would also like to thank Daniel Cesarani, Bryan Cheyette and Dawn Waterman for their thoughtful and moving afterword.

⁴⁴On 27 January 2019, the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust released the results of a survey that it had commissioned market research agency, Opinion Matters to conduct of 2000 UK adults. The survey found that '5% of UK adults don't believe the Holocaust actually happened'; '64% do not know how many Jews were murdered, or grossly underestimate the number'; and '8% say the scale of the Holocaust has been exaggerated'. For more information see: "We Release Research to Mark Holocaust Memorial Day 2019," Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, 27 January 2019, accessed 22 February 2019, <https://www.hmd.org.uk/news/we-release-research-to-mark-holocaust-memorial-day-2019/>.

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