ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE CONCEPTION OF THIS BOOK would have been impossible if not for my teacher George L. Mosse (1918–99). I started thinking about the historical association of Jews and criminality in 1980, when George (Professor Mosse to me then) suggested I read Michael Gold's *Jews without Money* (1930), replete with its tales of Jewish crooks, con men, and prostitutes on New York's Lower East Side. In writing my MA thesis on Max Nordau, I was intrigued by connections between Zionism's founders and the pioneers of criminology, including the much-discussed Cesare Lombroso. Over twenty years later I finally embarked on a study of Jews and perceptions of criminality from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. The current book began as a chapter of, and then a detour from, that project (to which I hope soon to return).

A number of individuals and institutions have assisted me, although, of course, this book is solely my responsibility. I first wish to thank the colleagues and friends I have had the pleasure to know through working with George Mosse: Joel Truman, Barry Fulks, Steve Aschheim, Judy Doneson z'l, Judy Cochrane z'l, Tom August, Gloria Levine, Andy Rabinbach, Sterling Fishman z'l, Edward T. Gargan z'l, Irv Saposnik z'l, Allan Sharlin z'l, Seymour Drescher, Alex Orbach, David Weinberg, Paul Breines, Andy Bachman, Bruce Saposnik, Randall Halle, Laurie Baron, David Sorkin, Dan Pekarsky, David Biale, Chris Browning, John Efron, Geoffrey Giles,

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It is my honor and pleasure to record my debt to many students for their engagement with my work and their contribution to an unusually convivial atmosphere in the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London. At the risk of leaving out some fine students, I would like to acknowledge Lucy Glennon, Anastasia Hancock, Clara Nieto, Nick Perry, Pek Yih Senn-Tham, Helen Whatmore, Alan Swarc, Amy Shapiro, Jason Smith, Sevgi Hassan, Ciara McManus, Sylvie Tannen, James Renton, Lars Fischer, Julia Cartarius, Alan Traynor, Benjamin Behrman, Hila Baron, Paul Hanson, Jessica Coburn, Angela Debnath, Frieda Kosmin, Matthew Martinson, Samantha Smith, Maki Sugimori, Sheila Chait, John Zamet, Rhoda Atkin, Paul Dyer, Emmeline Burdett, Judith Bauernfreund, Susi Schmidt, Jonathan Lelliott, Vivianna Ravaioli, and Joanna Michlic. I wish to warmly thank my departmental colleagues—John Klier, Ada Rapoport-Albert, Tsila Ratner, Mark Geller, Helen Beer, Willem Smelik, Sacha Stern, Tali Loewenthal, and Neill Lochery—for their support and good humor. Beyond Bloomsbury, scholars who lent advice include Joanna Newman, Nils Roemer, Peter Longerich, Martin Geyer, Ian Kershaw, Nikolaus Wachsmann, and Michael Brenner. While in London, Scott Spector read parts of the manuscript and made several helpful comments.

St. John's College, Oxford, initially sponsored my research on perceptions of Jewish criminality. St. John's award of a summer Visiting Scholarship (1998) allowed me to reside at college and read in the magnificent Bodleian Library. That was followed by a research trip to New York's Public Library and the Yiddish Scientific Research Institute (YIVO), supported by the Central Research Fund of the University of London and a Research Fellowship of the British Academy. The Central Research Fund and the British Academy likewise supported my research in 2003–04, which enabled site visits to Belgium, France, and Lithuania.

Originally I intended to devote only a single chapter of a book on "Jewish criminality" to Nazism, and I assumed that I could largely rely on the body of excellent scholarship on National Socialist anti-Semitism. I learned, however, that the Jews' treatment as criminals was not exhaustively

mined. When I mentioned this fact to my colleague Alan Steinweis, he suggested that I look at the Berlin Document Collection of the YIVO archives. Upon perusing the files on "Jewish criminality" from the Institut der NSDAP zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt am Main, I found that the Nazi association of Jews with criminality—which I thought would be straightforward and inseparable from the discourse on race—was extremely complicated and not always directly tied to racism per se. There I started to see that the Nazi application of the "Jewish criminality" canard was more contagious and widespread than most historians assumed. At YIVO I also found the Nazi memorandum on Zionism of June 1944 that became the basis for chapter 5. Dr. Ernest Oliveri, distinguished as both a political scientist (of Latin American political economy) and a photographer (Pygmalion Studios), took photos from the YIVO archives of the Nazi files that were remarkably revealing about how a discourse on "Jewish criminality" was concocted. A first research trip to the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, DC, confirmed that the Nazis made abundant and varied use of the charge of "Jewish criminality" in the Third Reich. In a few days in Washington, however, I was able only to scratch the surface.

In addition to investigating the Nazi deployment of "Jewish criminality," I was interested in exploring how this charge functioned in Europe immediately after the Second World War. In the mid-1980s a seminar paper by an MA student at Ohio State University, Christopher O'Connor, confirmed that the perception of Jewish "displaced persons" as "criminals" was part of the challenge survivors faced in post–1945 Germany. His paper cited observations of Rabbi Philip Bernstein (1901–85), who was the second adviser on Jewish Affairs to the U.S. Military Government in Germany. I found this information particularly interesting, because having grown up in Rochester, New York, I was aware of Rabbi Bernstein's sterling reputation. My father, William Berkowitz (1917–95), although not one of his congregants at Temple B'rith Kodesh, was a great admirer of the Rabbi. As an "island-hopping" GI in the Pacific during the Second World War, my father thought the world of Bernstein's humanitarianism and good sense, as reflected in his advice to chaplains serving Jewish soldiers. As it turned out, Rabbi Bernstein's Nachlass in the archives of the University of Rochester, superbly organized by Walter Nickeson, became an invaluable source for the chapters dealing with DPs. I worked in Rochester in April and August 2003, while holding a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies (CAHS) of the USHMM.

Upon my presentation of the first phase of research at the annual meeting of the Association for German Studies in 2000, several colleagues offered criticisms, encouragement, and extremely helpful suggestions. The assistance of Bob Waite, of the Office of the Special Prosecutor in Washington, DC, was especially fortuitous. Andy Rabinbach, Geoffrey Giles, Christopher Browning, and Jeffrey Herf (who are among the extended Mosse-*Familie* to whom this book is dedicated) also made constructive remarks, as did Gordon Mork. Geoffrey Giles and John Efron expertly commented on research proposals I prepared for the CAHS, and John later reviewed a draft chapter with his usual razor-sharp insight.

In the summer of 2001 I arranged a tour for graduate students to Zamość and the remnants of the Operation Reinhard death camps (Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka), which were purpose-built for the mass murder of Europe's Jews. That venture was partly modeled on a study tour undertaken by Sir Martin Gilbert and a group of MA students of the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies of University College London in 1996.[1] Robin O'Neil—a former criminal investigations officer—who was writing on the transition from police practices to genocide in Belzec for his dissertation, animated both tours. Although little of the current book directly concerns the Operation Reinhard camps, throughout that tour I was struck by the prominence of policing and police-type work in the perpetration of genocide. Robin's concern for layers of deception and the distortion of accepted police practices informs this study in numerous ways.

Back in London, my resourceful PhD student Lars Fischer alerted me to several books and pamphlets in the library of the Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung at the Technische Universität (TU) in Berlin, which led me to make a trip there in the winter of 2001. Johannes Heil went beyond the call of duty in assisting me with my research at the TU and the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. A gracious invitation to address the seminar at the Moses Mendelssohn Zentrum at Universität Potsdam was extended by Joachim Schlör, who also gave me run of his wonderful library-flat in Kreuzberg. Although my subject for the seminar related only marginally to the current project, the students made a number of excellent suggestions, and a few of them provided me with references in the coming months.

At an important juncture, the Lucius Littauer Foundation funded my work in New York and at Princeton University's Mudd Library. Pamela Ween Brumberg (z'l) of the Littauer Foundation had been consistently supportive of my research for decades, and I will miss her. In November 2001 a gracious invitation to the inaugural conference of the Lithuanian Emigration Institute

of Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas opened another vista for research. That experience provided the opportunity for gaining knowledge of Einsatzgruppe 3, whose murderous sweep included the communities from which my own family originates in the Kovno region. The knowledge and assistance of Chaim Bargman (who is immortalized as "Shlomo" in the memoir *Heschel's Kingdom* by Dan Jacobson) permitted me to transcend nostalgia on a cold winter journey through the Lithuanian hinterland. I was able to return to Kovno on two other occasions, in November 2003 and June 2004; support was provided by the Central Research Fund of the University of London and the British Academy, for which I am most grateful. During the June 2004 visit, in addition to pursuing my research, I led a Kovno-based study tour for students in the "history of the Holocaust" MA seminar. That excursion was financed, in part, by donations from the Shapiro family of Houston, Texas; Joseph Maduro of Atlanta, Georgia; David Goldstein of Houston, Texas; and Bernard Friedman of Los Angeles, California, under the auspices of the American Friends of University College London. In the summer of 2004, as part of my British Academy award, I traveled to the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp memorial with my colleague and friend Steve Kale. Steve, a historian of modern France, was extremely helpful in gleaning information from the site.

The lion's share of research and writing of this book was facilitated by the Charles H. Revson Fellowship for Archival Research of the USHMM's CAHS. I was in residence at the center in the summer of 2002, and spring, summer, and early fall of 2003. For two weeks in the summer of 2005, I cocoordinated a research seminar on DPs with Dr. Avi Patt at the CAHS and was able to supplement my earlier research. In Woodside Park, Maryland, all kinds of generosity and logistical support were furnished by Leonard and Mary Arzt, and the first leg of my fellowship was enjoyed as a cat-and-house sitter for Ken and Sandi Lee.

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While a fellow at the CAHS, I had the opportunity to present work in progress at Nazareth College (Rochester, New York), Georgetown University, the George Washington University, and the University of Maryland–College Park. Scholars and students at these institutions were a great sounding board.

When I arrived at a frustrating but exciting point in my research, my exploration of the practice of "police photography" at Auschwitz, Wendy Lower, then director of Fellowship Programs of the USHMM, suggested that I contact Helen "Zippy" Tichauer. This is not the first book on the Holocaust to record the recollections and insights of Zippy, who worked in the main office at Birkenau and is an unparalleled informant about the inner workings of Auschwitz. The authors of an intriguing biography of Alma Rosé (the niece of Gustav Mahler, a distinguished violinist who led the women's orchestra at Birkenau—in which Zippy played the mandolin)—sing the praises of Zippy for her help.[2] Likewise, for this book, the assistance of Zippy Tichauer was priceless, as she was able to provide information about aspects of Auschwitz that otherwise would have remained obscure or would have been left to loose speculation. I only wish I could do justice to the extent to which Zippy has committed to memory the murderous and paradoxical world of Auschwitz, about which her knowledge and analysis have proven to be sterling.

From the end of my fellowship at the USHMM (summer 2003) through 2004, Severin Hochberg, Derek Penslar, Andy Koss, John Efron, Scott Spector, Alan Steinweis, and Patricia Heberer read and offered comments on drafts of chapters, for which I am grateful. Severin and Patricia suggested sources that turned out to be immensely instructive. I also benefited from the responses to my work at the "War, Culture and Humanity" conference at Manchester University; Wolverhampton University's colloquium on "Beyond Camps and Forced Labour" (held at the Imperial War Museum,

London); the British Association for Jewish Studies meetings at Southampton University and the University of Birmingham; the Centre for German-Jewish Studies of Sussex University conference at Chatham House, London; and the symposium of the Academic Response to Racism and Antisemitism in Europe (ARARE) of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, Paris, in cooperation with the Italian Historical Studies Center "Olokaustos" under the auspices of the UNESCO Regional Bureau (ROSTE), held in Venice in December 2003.

A fortuitous meeting with Stan Holwitz in Washington, DC, led to the publication of this book with the University of California Press. I wish to thank Stan; his associate editor, Randy Heyman; Jacqueline Volin; David Anderson; and Adrienne Harris for their dedication in seeing this project through to a timely completion. Maren Read of the USHMM Photo Archives was especially helpful in arranging copies and rights for several of the images.

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Perhaps as is appropriate for a book on perceptions of criminality, I should acknowledge some of my heists along the way. I have liberally adopted the scholarship of Anton Weiss-Wendt for the epilogue, and I have appropriated the comments of astute critics of the manuscript in preparing the final version. Should there be anything else that appears to be unaccounted, either it is inadvertent or I wish not to say.