dress these questions adequately undermines the power of his thesis.

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NEIL GREGOR. *Haunted City: Nuremberg and the Nazi Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 390. $45.00.

While the study of what is commonly called memory—how individuals, groups, institutions, and even whole nations relate to past events—has enjoyed heightened popularity for more than two decades, increasing use of the term has not been accompanied by theoretical convergence or greater conceptual clarity (see Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* [2006], chapter one). Instead we are seeing an abundance of case studies that add rich empirical detail to a growing body of work. Neil Gregor's examination of how various groups and categories of people in the Nazi flagship city of Nuremberg related to that city's Nazi past ranks among the best of these case studies with its social history approach and dense base of archival material.

Gregor examines the effects of past experiences within what he calls a "loosely tripartite model of local society" (p. 21). Gregor's first social sector is the official sphere of city government; the second is the civic realm comprising interest-based associations, institutions such as the Protestant Church, Nuremberg's Germanic National Museum, and political parties; the third sector, which is treated with less depth, is the mostly private realm of the daily lives of ordinary people in the community. Although most of the civic groups, with the exception of the church, did not allow him access to their archives, Gregor was able to reconstruct many of their activities, including those of long-defunct groups, from their interactions with city government. He has augmented the city's archival materials with press clippings and organizational periodicals, while published and unpublished memoirs give him some insight into the private realm of individual memory. Oral history does not play a role in this study, an understandable lapse given the methodological difficulty of removing distortions wrought by intervening decades of reinterpretation. Still, when Gregor uses a chance remark to explain changes in Nuremberg's Jewish community's reasons for not supporting a Holocaust memorial between 1958 and 1964 (p. 335), we see what a vital contribution oral history can make.

The book is divided into four parts, preceded by a comprehensive survey of the "memory" literature relating to Germany under Nazism. Gregor sees his empirical material as confirming Alon Confino's contention that past experiences were not merely reinterpreted and invoked to legitimize present political claims, but rather that each group was seeking to create "some kind of meaning" from its stock of past experiences (p. 125). The various groups' wrangling for commemorative and memorial representation long after the satisfaction of material demands indicates that this was indeed the case.

The chapters in part one examine the identity politics of some half-dozen groups from the period 1945–1957, including those evacuated from the city during the period of aerial bombardment, refugees and expellees from Eastern Europe, "returnees" (a euphemism for veterans held as POWs), former Nazi Party adherents, and what Gregor terms the "real" victims, as opposed to the aforementioned collateral victims. The theme of this part is that the various groups put forward competing claims to victimization. Gregor summarizes that under conditions of material scarcity "demographic realities—the presence of large numbers of former soldiers or air-raid victims against that of a tiny number of Holocaust survivors"—fostered the predominance of some narratives about the past over others. While that is undeniably correct, a broader perspective would reveal that it was the focus of the outside world, represented here by U.S. military government, on the injustice perpetrated on the tiny minority of targeted victims, that established the framework for these other groups' narratives. The two chapters in part four revisit these collateral victims in the 1960s, when they were reduced to two main groups: veterans and expellees. Gregor sees them teleologically as a "nationalist residue" that was destined to disappear, although he does not follow their stories into the 1970s.

Part two looks at four indicators of memory politics in the 1950s: associational life, monuments and memorials, commemorative events, and exhibitions at Nuremberg's famed Germanic National Museum. Gregor delineates a slow shift in the mid-1950s from soldier-focused memorialization to commemorations of civilian losses through the air raids on the city. This shift was fueled by the closure of the POW issue in 1955 and the surging reconstruction effort (p. 176). Part three extends this analysis to the 1960s, using as indicators the public reception of trials of Nazi perpetrators, exhibitions focused squarely on the Holocaust, and an annual conference series inaugurated in 1965 to "strengthen democratic consciousness" through intellectual exchange (p. 284). The latter chapters of part four muster additional evidence for funadmental change in the 1960s based on the evolving focus of municipal commemorations on West Germany's Day of National Mourning and the city's uses of Nuremberg's iconic remnant of the Nazi past, the hypertrophic architecture of the Nazi party rally grounds. These local changes during the late 1950s and 1960s confirm the results of the national studies summarized at the beginning of part three, namely West Germany's "liberalization" with regard to examining its Nazi past.

Gregor's two-pronged approach of examining the memory politics of social groups defined by their historical experience on the one hand, and by the texts generated by retrospective events on the other, offers

a model of how we can examine concretely the workings of rather nebulous group memories at the local level.

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MARGARETE MYERS FEINSTEIN. *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany, 1945–1957*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 330. $85.00.

In this book, Margarete Myers Feinstein tells the story of how Jews transitioned from liberation to emigration by looking at their physical, spiritual, and political rehabilitation. By focusing on Jewish displaced persons (DPs) during the immediate postwar years, Feinstein provides a detailed and fascinating view of the challenges Jews faced to reclaim and rebuild their lives and families. Feinstein analyzes DP documents, memoirs, oral history interviews, her own interviews with former DPs, and several hundred videotaped interviews from the Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education to paint a vivid and nuanced picture of Holocaust survivors' everyday lives as they tried to recover from trauma.

The book is organized into six chapters, beginning with an overview of DP relations with Allied personnel, international relief workers, and Germans. Additional chapters focus on the steps DPs took to rebuild their lives, including mourning the dead, reclaiming their masculinity and femininity, starting families, shaping Jewish identities, building community, and emigrating from Germany.

Feinstein discusses how DP camps were often located in former German military or workers' barracks, and overcrowding made privacy and hygiene difficult. Newlyweds shared living quarters with others; men and women were on the same floor, creating walls from sheets or blankets; and entire blocks shared bathrooms. Lacking soap, cleaning supplies, and toilet paper added to the challenge. DPs resorted to bartering on the black market for food and other supplies, creating suspicions among Germans and some Allied personnel of Jewish criminality. Allied housing policies often forced Jews into close contact with Germans, sometimes resulting in serious clashes, as the Allies favored requisitioning rooms, hotels, houses, and apartments from Nazis. Jews, Germans, and Americans agreed that emigration was the solution to the DP problem. Most Jews wanted to go to Palestine, while the British government wanted them elsewhere, and the Germans did not care as long as they left quickly.

All survivors were mourners. While liberation brought joy, it also brought sorrow, depression, and a rash of suicides, as everyone had witnessed the murder of family and friends. The majority of DPs found comfort in Jewish rituals of prayer and mourning. Memorial services forged communities from grieving individuals, reminding the Allies of their alliance against a common Nazi enemy and of their moral obligation to aid DP immigration to Palestine.

In a fascinating chapter on rediscovering bodies and redefining masculinity and femininity, Feinstein shows sensitively how sexual longing sprang from renewed physicality. The return of menstruation, the regrowth of hair, and even clothing the body symbolized a newfound sense of discovering one's sexuality and gender. Sexual relations also became political, as sex with another Jew affirmed freedom, while liaisons with Germans, particularly Jewish men and German women, could be seen as revenge and conquest. Marrying and creating Jewish families were important steps in recovery. Reproduction was viewed as a civic responsibility, essential to the revival of the Jewish people.

Child survivors were a particular challenge for international relief workers, adult survivors, and those who would care for them. These children were traumatized by feelings of abandonment and loss, hungry for missed years of education and experience, desperate for comfort from family, and fiercely independent. DPs and Allied officials occasionally had conflicting ideas of the children's needs and future and how to address them. For example, Allied personnel wanted the children to repress their past, while DPs allowed them to rework it through narratives, art, and performance.

Jewish rituals and lifecycle celebrations, particularly those emphasizing Jewish triumph over historical oppressors, helped forge a sense of community and commonality despite differences in religiosity, prewar social class, and country of origin. Yiddish emerged as the common language, and DPs confronted the past through theater productions, including Yiddish classics and new plays with fantasy reunions between lost parents and children, or through Jewish characters who became heroes rather than victims. DPs also created their own judicial system to articulate communal values and adherence to civilized codes of justice.

By establishing political institutions, Jewish DPs regulated camp life and represented DP interests to the military and international organizations, focusing first on security and locating surviving family members and then on emigration. Family was the crucial factor in determining whether to go or stay. It was often the women who determined if they would immigrate to Palestine, as many feared losing their husbands in the fight for Israeli independence. In 1948 the establishment of the state of Israel and the relaxation of U.S. immigration laws helped empty the DP camps. The idea of living in a Jewish state promised a sense of home.

Feinstein provides a birds-eye view of the private life of DPs, taking into account their agency within a larger social and political context. This book is well researched, thoughtful, and beautifully written, and it is a welcome addition to Holocaust, Jewish, and German studies.

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ESTHER VON RICHTHOFEN. *Bringing Culture to the Masses: Control, Compromise and Participation in the GDR*.