Holocaust Studies
A Journal of Culture and History

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rhos20

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Luke Summers

To cite this article: Luke Summers (26 Aug 2024): Echoes of the Shoah: British Jewry and the Bosnian War, Holocaust Studies, DOI: 10.1080/17504902.2024.2392350

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2024.2392350

Published online: 26 Aug 2024.

HOLOCAUST STUDIES
https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2024.2392350

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Echoes of the Shoah: British Jewry and the Bosnian War

Luke Summers

Department of History, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK

ABSTRACT
This article explores how British Jews responded to the Bosnian War of 1992-1995. It questions how Jewish memories of the Holocaust influenced the way the community responded to the genocide in Bosnia. Using the British Jewish press as its source base, it identifies how British Jews extensively referenced the Shoah when responding to events in Bosnia. Highlighting a lack of international action to stop the Holocaust, British Jews attached a moral imperative to military intervention in Bosnia. It probes the idea that genocide in the Balkans had an important role in the expansion, and universalization, of Holocaust consciousness in the 1990s.

KEYWORDS
Bosnian genocide; multidirectional memory; Holocaust memory; British Jews; Universalization

Introduction

In response to the genocidal Srebrenica Massacre in July 1995, *The Jewish Chronicle* – the most popular Jewish newspaper at the time – emblazoned its front page with a photo of a demonstrator comparing the actions of the Serbian government to the Nazis fifty years before. Their headline 'Jewish groups launch an emergency Bosnia appeal' was followed by an opening paragraph that informed readers that 'an unprecedented emergency appeal for Bosnian war victims was launched this week as the deepening crisis stirred the conscience of British Jewry.'[1] This article looks at how British Jews responded to the Bosnian War of 1992-1995. It focuses on how the genocide in Bosnia, the first in Europe since the Second World War, interacted with the British Jewish relationship and memories of the Shoah.

The Bosnian War lasted from 1992-1995. It was a complex inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict involving Muslims (predominantly Bosnian), Orthodox Christian communities (Serbian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin), and Catholics (Croats), as well as a small Jewish community that managed to escape early in the conflict. Whilst violence was present against all sides, the 'ethnic cleansing' of Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) was the clearest theme of the war. Increasingly understood as a genocide, and later declared one by the International Criminal Tribunal, the war's most notorious genocidal episode was the killing of 8,000 Bosniak men and boys in the town of Srebrenica in 1995. British Jews overwhelmingly supported the Bosnian Muslim community in this

CONTACT Luke Summers lukeisaacsummers@gmail.com 21 Vivian Road, E3 5RE, UK

period, with explicit comparisons made in the Jewish press between the Jewish experience during the Shoah and the contemporary Bosniak experience. The war took place amidst proposed peace between Israel and Palestine, and during the emergence of a unipolar post-Cold War geopolitical world. Intervention in the Balkans was thus possible in a way that had not been seen since the end of the Second World War. This expanded the discussion on international politics within the Jewish community beyond the Middle East. It was in this context that British Jews responded.

Solidarity between British Jews and Bosnian Muslims emerged at a time of evolving Shoah consciousness. Survivor testimony institutes were growing significantly at the beginning of the 1990s, alongside the global expansion of museums dedicated to the memorialization of the Shoah.[2] In media, the popularity of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* expanded the boundaries, somewhat controversially, of cultural depictions of the Shoah, whilst in the UK, the formation of the Holocaust Education Trust in 1988 marked renewed education on the Shoah. In 1991 the Shoah became part of the national curriculum and by the end of the decade, the Prime Minister had spoken in favor of establishing a Holocaust Memorial Day. Furthermore, writing on the Shoah had proliferated to such an extent that in Jonathan Steinberg's review of Zygmunt Bauman's *The Holocaust and Modernity* (1994), he had to plead with his readers not to 'turn the page, wearied by the thought of a review of one more book on the Holocaust.'[3] Amidst that changing consciousness, the British Jewish community was also undertaking its own evolution. In 1991, Jonathan Sacks became Chief Rabbi and called for a 'Decade of Renewal.' Ned Temko, a left-leaning *Observer* writer, became editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, the community's paper of record, in 1990. In an article on the launch of the Jewish listings magazine *New Moon* in the same year Colin Shindler, the then editor of *Jewish Quarterly,* claimed that the new magazine set out to appeal to the 'younger generation of Anglo-Jews whose needs and interests have remained unanswered by the official face of the community.'[4] Communal projects at the time, contemporaneous reports into prospects for institutional renewal, and recent sociological analysis have emphasized the transformation of British Jewry in this period.[5]

Sources & argument

This article focuses on the British Jewish communal response to the Bosnian conflict, drawing on writings published in the Jewish press. These include the *Jewish Chronicle*, *Jewish Quarterly, Jewish Socialist,* journal of *The Association of Jewish Refugees*, and papers of the *Institute for Jewish Affairs* (now the *Institute for Jewish Policy Research*). Beyond strong editorial voices, all of these publications presented more than just the opinions of their journalists. Encompassing a wide range of ideological viewpoints, some of the most insightful content came from letters published, highlighting an active readership as opposed to more passive consumers of news and opinion. Most articles examined here come from the *Jewish Chronicle* (JC), by far the most-read Jewish publication in this period.[6] A weekly paper with a then centrist leaning, the *JC* covered Bosnia regularly on its front page and published hundreds of articles on the conflict. Its content thus offers a unique perspective on debates within mainstream and centrist British Jewry in the period. By contrast, the *Jewish Quarterly* was a monthly journal that straddled the line between academic and journalistic writing. Its

articles were longer and authored by academics such as Mark Mazower and journalists like Jonathan Freedland. The journal illuminates how prominent Jewish public intellectuals grappled with the intellectual and humanitarian implications of a return to genocide in Europe. The *Jewish Socialist,* a quarterly journal that occasionally shared authors with the *Jewish Quarterly,* provides insight into left-wing Jewish perspectives. Its articles illuminate the ideological murkiness many left-wing Jews found themselves in, attempting to mediate an aversion to NATO and intervention with increasing awareness of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans all less than fifty years after the Shoah. The journal of *The Association of Jewish Refugees,* represented a communal organization founded to help those who arrived in Britain from Central Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, and their descendants. This article also looks at Jewish individuals writing from a specifically Jewish angle in the wider national press as well as papers of the Institute for Jewish Affairs, held at the University of Southampton archives to understand the material realities of Jewish aid in Bosnia.

This article is concerned with how the Bosnian Genocide played a role in the increasing relevance and universalizing discourse of the Holocaust in the 1990s. Bosnia, the first genocide in Europe since the Shoah, prompted a significant shift in the way British Jews looked at their past. The Shoah was not *just* the apotheosis of antisemitism but also a wider, *universal* lesson that showed the dangers of international passivity in the face of genocide. Although the Jewish past had always been a lesson for the Jewish present, it was now becoming informative for non-Jews too. This article probes the idea that scholars attempting to understand the boom in Shoah consciousness have insufficiently understood the role that the Bosnian genocide played in prompting this. In addition, it explores how the central tenets of Anglo-Jewish political and humanitarian activism changed in response to genocide in Bosnia. Jewish criticisms of the British state increased during the Bosnian Genocide, and it was the first example of a widespread humanitarian mobilization amongst British Jewry that mobilized for *non-Jews* – marking the expansion of the horizon of Jewish politics.

Little has been written on the relationship between Bosnia and British Jews. In his research on British Shoah memory in relation to the Kosovo War, Tony Kushner concluded that the Shoah was a 'currency for those in government and the public alike.'[7] Whilst useful, Kushner's work aligns with much of the other historiography on Britain and the Shoah that is concerned primarily with its institutionalization within a British, not a British–Jewish context. This is clear in the recent *Handbook of Britain and the Holocaust* as well as Kara Critchell's conclusion that 'the utilization of the Holocaust, and Holocaust survivors, to promote liberal democracy through universalized lessons for common humanity has formed a central part of British Holocaust commemoration in the twenty-first century.'[8] Conversely, this article aims to develop a discussion on how the Shoah has impacted British Jewish consciousness since the end of the Second World War. Whilst Geoffrey Alderman's seminal *Modern British Jewry* has been accompanied by more recent case studies, there is a dearth of historical analysis on the community in this period.[9]

In step with other memory theories referenced in this special issue, this article draws from recent work on cosmopolitan memory with inspiration from Michael Rothberg's *Multidirectional Memory* to highlight the transnationality of Anglo-Jewish responses.[10] Rothberg identifies the multiple ways Shoah memory has been directed towards

transnational and transracial solidarity in the age of decolonization. This provides a framework through which to understand what Eve Rosenhaft and Jie-Hyun Lim termed 'mnemonic solidarity,' where groups with experiences of violence in the past extend solidarity to groups experiencing it in the present.[11] Indeed, this theory develops Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider's focus on how globalization forged transnational mnemonic bonds.[12] Like Kushner, Levy and Sznaider understand the importance of conflict in the Balkans – again in the form of Kosovo – in cementing that process. Rothberg sets out to prove that 'the conceptual framework through which commentators and ordinary citizens have addressed the relationship between memory, identity, and violence is flawed.' [13] Rothberg, like Bryan Cheyette in *Diasporas of the Mind,* looks at literary and philosophical mnemonic comparison; Sznaider and Levy also focus on elite actors. This article, however, diverges from these approaches – by paying close attention to letters published in the Jewish press, it does not look at elite actors. More importantly, it is not interested in the way Jewish commentators and ordinary citizens addressed the relationship between transnational and transethnic memory, identity, and violence, rather what it means that those comparisons were being made in the first place.

Fundamentally, this article reveals how the Bosnian genocide prompted a reconsideration of the Jewish past and how Jewish history was universalized. For the first time since the Shoah, British Jews looked at the Jewish past to understand and crucially inform the universal rather than merely Jewish present. Jewish perspectives on Bosnia manifested themselves in political activism and a changing humanitarian infrastructure. In response to genocide returning to Europe, British Jews determined not to ignore the echoes of the Shoah and opened their institutions in an embrace of a post-Shoah Jewish universalism.

British Jews, Bosnian solidarity, and the evocation of the Holocaust

War in Bosnia, alongside the wider context of an increasing presence of the Shoah in public discourse, prompted a significant change in British Jewish historical consciousness during the period as British Jews reconceptualized their relationship with the past. Narratives of Jewish suffering had been deeply engrained in the British diaspora, whose distance from the rest of European Jewry was experientially vast but geographically short. Indeed, the historian Colin Shindler claimed that 'survivalism became the central purpose of Jewish existence after the Holocaust – defending Israel, bashing the anti-Semites, rescuing Soviet Jews.'[14] The novelist Frederic Raphael in *The Jewish Quarterly* paraphrased this as 'reversing the Dantesque notion of hell' where we 'do not look back on happy times while unhappy; most of us look back on unhappy times (endured by others) while in a state of luxurious sensuality'.[15] The Bosnian catastrophe, however, took place in a period in which the Oslo Accords presented proposed peace in Israel, Jews became increasingly visible in British cultural life, and the Soviet Union had collapsed. The tenets of Jewish post-war life had changed. All while the Shoah was becoming increasingly present in the Western consciousness. As Jews were finding a new place for themselves in the present, they reconsidered their shared past.

The ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims on European soil brought explicit comparison with Jewish experience fifty years earlier. The Council President of the Glaswegian Jewish community spoke in August 1992 that 'the ethnic cleansing policy should be of particular

concern to the Jewish community with its overtones of the Nazi era. We must try to save people who are in the same position as our parents' generation was.'[16] In a letter section in the *JC*, entitled 'Extermination of Bosnian Muslims,' one reader said that 'mass murder and genocide are always matters of Jewish concern, no matter who the victims are.'[17] The *JC* ran a profile on a young George Soros, the Jewish businessman, where he said:

> Bosnia struck a chord. 'My heart goes out to the people who are being raped, pillaged and murdered just because they are Bosnian Muslims. We all know what is going on in Bosnia today is genocide. I feel it particularly strongly because, as a Hungarian Jew, I was myself a potential victim of the Holocaust.'[18]

That particularly strong feeling resonated throughout the community.

The *JC*'s editorial voice in these evocations was clear. In August 1992 in a leading column labelled 'Hearing Echoes' the paper spoke of the idea that:

> Media talk of a 'new Holocaust' may, thankfully, be inexact. But the echoes are real, and must inevitably have a special power for Jews – who carry with them the terrible memory of the time, and lives, lost as the world debated and dithered over those first reports of torture, murder, and 'ethnic cleansing' in another corner of Europe a half-century ago.[19]

In January 1993 on the day of Bill Clinton's presidential inauguration, the *JC* used its leader to argue that 'Bosnia needs far more urgent attention.'[20] Three months later, the front page led with 'Bosnian conflict cited in Warsaw Ghetto Uprising commemorations.' Its editorial column entitled 'Again?' said that 'the terrible ironies are inescapable' as it noted the commemorations for the uprising. 'But several hundred miles to the south of Poland, in the Bosnian town of Srebrenica, there was a larger and more terrible reminder.'[21] This article was placed next to the Letters to the Editor section emblazoned with the title 'Gentile complicity in the Holocaust.' The *JC* could hardly have been clearer: British Jewry with its sensitivity to the spatial and temporal echoes of the Shoah had a moral imperative to act in Bosnia.

In August 1993, over a year after British Jews began making explicit comparisons between historical Jewish experience and contemporary Bosniak experience, the Board of Deputies, Britain's leading Jewish communal group endorsed a statement that had 'been prepared by a group of concerned individuals from various sections of the Jewish community.'[22] The texts read: 'The continuing news of the devastation and atrocities taking place in former Yugoslavia [has] generated a widespread concern amongst the Jewish community and in the wider UK society.' This eight-page statement urged its members to provide 'humanitarian assistance,' to those people who have arrived in this country and 'to take every step possible to demonstrate the depth of public feeling' and 'to continue to educate ourselves and others about the unfolding tragedy.' The individuals talked of the inadequacy of the humanitarian response thus far as well as how 'this war is qualitatively different from many others in apparent total disregard for international conventions.' The centrality of Jewishness to this response was particularly clear: 'As Jews we are extremely conscious that the ability of different ethnic and religious groups to live together in harmony is a mark of civilized existence. We find it intolerable that the world appears to be standing by and letting multi-ethnic Sarajevo and the rest of Bosnia be torn up.' The Board of Deputies stood alongside the opinion that there was a specific Jewish imperative to act in response to events in Bosnia.

The label of 'never again' accompanied this chorus calling for intervention. When a 19-year-old who intended to travel to Bosnia to help with the humanitarian effort was asked about her motivations by the *JC*, she replied that 'going to Bosnia is the only thing I've wanted to do since I returned from a visit to Auschwitz … I am very concerned about the issue of 'never again'.'[23] This was a view reflected internationally. Richard Goldstone, a South African Jewish lawyer, influential in legal challenges to apartheid, became part of the UN prosecution against Serbian war crimes. He spoke of how his Jewish background and visit to the site of the Nuremberg trials influenced his work: 'In that very courtroom, it had been said that never again would such atrocities be committed but 'never again' has become 'again and again.'[24] The language of repetition, tragedy, and echo all suggest that Jews had an awareness of the script of genocide in Europe that imbued them with a power not only to predict what the conflict would lead to but also an authority to stop it. 'Never again' was a Jewish call with universal consequence.

The Jewish precautionary principle

British Jews reflected on how the world was passive before and during the Shoah and thus, with the prospect of another similar genocidal experience, the world, having learned those lessons, could not sit by. 'Never again' necessitated intervention. *JC* editorials spoke of 'the vacuum of Western leadership' and called for 'an international strategy to back aid and rescue efforts for the civilian victims of Serbian aggression with a readiness to use military force, if necessary.'[25] Soros wrote in the *Times* to 'make the case for Western military intervention in the Balkans.'[26] 'Two London rabbis called on John Major to prevent the campaign of genocide being perpetrated by Serb and Croat Fascists.'[27] A Shoah survivor said that 'there was insufficient will in the West to prevent atrocities from occurring' that he contrasted with 'the Gulf War, in which the West had acted to conceitedly to bring a just solution.'[28] These examples and many others spanned the whole period of the war and made explicit links, if not comparisons, with Jewish historical suffering. This *JC* editorial summed it up better than most: 'Jews have a special reason to be haunted by the spectacle of human suffering while outside governments do nothing.'[29]

This historically conscious phenomenon can be labelled as the Jewish precautionary principle. In other words, the Jewish history of the Shoah, and its antisemitic precedents, shows us what happens when the world does nothing; we therefore ought to do *something*. The principle was mobile and mobilized. Mobile because the Bosnian War occurred during a goldilocks zone for humanitarian and military intervention. In the post-Cold War period, between intervention in the Gulf in 1990 and its climax in Kosovo in 1999, there was a geopolitical desire to do *something* in the face of crimes against humanity. At the same time, Jews were mobilizing their past for the universal present. A Jewish lack of agency in the 1940s was not only a prompt for muscular Zionism or extra security around synagogues but also a moral imperative to use Jewish power in the 1990s to help Bosnian Muslims. The case of Bosnia is the first mobilization of the Jewish past amongst a wide range of mainstream British Jewry. Rabbis, communal organizations, and letters to the *JC* all invested in the idea that the recent Jewish past was a lesson for all and not just Jews. That mobilization was a recent

phenomenon. When prominent Jews like the journalist Lucien Wolf campaigned for minority rights after the First World War they did so with a concern for Jews *amongst* minorities. After 1945, Jewish agency was invested in building the Israeli state as well as helping Jewish communities suffering elsewhere. Not only did the Bosnian war have historic parallels with Jewish experience in Europe it, also, occurred amidst a geopolitical context in which intervention was seemingly possible.

The Jewish centrist mainstream embraced this interventionist principle. The European Union of Jewish Students claimed "Never again' […] will lose all its impact if we don't act now to close [concentration] camps whilst a *Guardian* article entitled 'the Second Holocaust?' exemplified this idea further.'[30] The paper wrote 'parallels between ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and the Nazi policy of extermination have fuelled demands for intervention' and asked 'Leading British Jews to give their opinions.'[31] Greville Janner, a Jewish MP, spoke of 'separate tragedies' but argued that 'while action is dangerous it is preferable to the alternative. That is the key lesson we have learned from the Holocaust.' Similarly, Lord Weidenfeld said to 'arm largely defenceless people is a moral imperative' and that 'It seems inconceivable that western military leadership could not find an instant military solution to avoid a second Holocaust.' Matthew Kalman, a journalist, said 'the situation in Bosnia is not the Holocaust but it could be the start of it' and 'when Jews tried to escape these horrors, the community … effectively closed her borders.' The noted historian of the Holocaust David Cesarani, more sceptically noted that 'virtually the only parallel is western knowledge of evil being done and allowed to continue.' Ned Temko, the editor of the *JC,* spoke of 'never again' and that the 'crucial parallel is that hundreds upon hundreds of defenceless people are being cleansed' and 'what seems unforgivable to me – and to many Jews for whom the Bosnian tragedy inevitably has a special resonance – is that … arguments over what is or is not practical have become a rationale for doing nothing.' Western inaction, passivity, and agency are obvious themes but what is more profound is a national newspaper deciding to ask 'leading Jews' how they could direct the memory of the Jewish past to inform the European present. Not only were Jews aware of the script of genocide, but non-Jews appeared to know that too.

Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, writing prolifically for Jewish and non-Jewish audiences, eloquently evoked this principle. In one example, he employed a historical comparison and spoke of whether 'future generations could ever forgive us if we, who lived through the century of the Holocaust, did not rise up and prevent the beginnings of a second Holocaust.'[32] This was a striking example in the face of the decades of controversial scholarly debate surrounding Shoah uniqueness. In another letter to the *Times,* with other faith leaders, he questioned 'how long will actions be allowed to continue.'[33] Jewish powerlessness and international passivity during the Shoah were employed in reflection on contemporary Bosniak experience not in tentative comparison but in wholehearted embrace. The message was clear: Jews know what happens when the world does nothing, they cannot let it happen again.

The clearest example of this is Sacks' letter 'Bosnia and the Conscience of the World' published in the *Times* in August 1992.

> Our moral credibility after the Holocaust rests on a fundamental and collective commitment never again to be passive witnesses to the existence of mass exterminations, concentration

> camps and 'ethnic cleansing'. To be sure, no direct comparison can be made between events today and those which took place in Nazi Germany. But the reports emerging from Bosnia bear an uncanny resemblance, in manner if not in scale, to those which disfigured humanity half a century ago. Too little has been said about the moral impossibility of non-intervention. For have we not learned in this unspeakable century that we bear collective responsibility not only for what we do but also for what we fail to prevent. [34]

Sacks centralises *agency* ('passive witnesses,' 'moral impossibility') within the history of the Shoah; the world sat by as Jews were destroyed. Whilst emphasising the uniqueness of the Shoah, Sacks pointed out the universal relevance it extended to those experiencing ethnic cleansing. Sacks, writing in Britain's paper of record, identifies that the Shoah is a lesson for non-Jewish Europe as much as it is for Jews. Repressing those lessons – principally the passivity of the world – means that they were not being learnt. When Sacks speaks of 'lessons' he does not do so in response to a wave of genocidal antisemitism. Rather, Jews and non-Jews alike were inured to a second Shoah through repression of the experience of the first. Thus Sacks, whether one embraces uniqueness or not, periodises the Shoah *with* the Bosnian genocide, rather than, say, the specifically Jewish pogroms of the nineteenth century. He speaks of collective responsibility, drawing together the readers of the *Times* with his Jewish congregation as those who have a moral imperative to act. The Jewish past is thus presented as a lesson for all. The Shoah was no longer framed – as it was in the 1950s and 1960s – as *just* the culmination of Jew-hatred. Rather, Sacks writing as a Jewish leader but also an individual in the twentieth century, locates the Shoah as the central part of a long history of modern European genocide that occurred because it was *allowed*.

Sacks's words, as well as others explored above, support Jewish historian Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi's argument that 'memory of the past is incomplete without its natural complement – hope for the future.'[35] Similarly, David Myers suggested that Jewish historians have 'used histories' to offer solutions to the present.[36] As this article shows however, Jewish intellectuals and ordinary Jews did this, too. By writing letters to the *JC,* Jewish youth leaders communal figureheads, and 'ordinary' Jews created their own metahistories which identified Jewish traumatic history with non-Jewish suffering in the present. Of course, Jews (multi-)directed the Jewish past to inform the Jewish present. They lobbied for Holocaust Memorial Day and for the inclusion of the Shoah in the national curriculum. More profoundly however, they employed the Jewish precautionary principle in response to Bosnia. They stood as Jews, evoking their lack of agency in the past, to inform its usage in the universal present. Jewish diasporic precarity, therefore, had universal rather than merely Jewish implications.

Jewish intellectuals and Bosnia

The *JC* interviewed the historian Leon Poliakov in 1993. In this interview, he exemplifies the subtle shift that Jewish history, and crucially Jewish consciousness, had gone through. Poliakov, best known for his four-volume *History of Anti-Semitism,* first published in 1955, spoke of his 'doubt' over the impact of the Nuremberg Trials. 'Unfortunately, in light of what is happening today in Bosnia, it is clear that these trials were meaningless.'[37] Jewish historians of the Shoah had moved on from identifying the genealogy of antisemitism starting with the death of Jesus to the rise of Hitler and expanded into attempting

to draw meaning and lessons from the present in understanding the historical context of the Shoah.

In the *Jewish Quarterly,* a debate simmered amid a massive expansion in academic Shoah literature. In 'After Lemkin: Genocide, the Holocaust and History,' the historian Mark Mazower reviewed Stephen Katz's *The Holocaust in Historical Context* (1994).[38] Katz, having investigated 'massacres' in Rwanda and 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia, made the deliberately provocative claim that 'the Holocaust is the only example of true genocide.'[39] Mazower wrote in opposition: 'It is as though his investigation of Nazi mass murder has closed rather than opened his sympathies and understanding.' Mazower's perspective reflects a more cosmopolitan British Jewry and one willing to embrace their knowledge of the script of genocide for universal purposes.

> The Holocaust has been turned into a standard against which all other instances of suffering can be measured and found wanting' indeed 'every event is unique: but every event exists in a historical context. The question is: within what context should we try to understand the extermination of the Jews?

Mazower, in response to Bosnia, did not embrace Katz's historical chauvinism but rather sought to understand the Shoah from a wider perspective of European history and genocide. His most famous work *Dark Continent* (1998) emphasized the fragility of European liberal and democratic ideals. 'What context should we try to understand the extermination of the Jews?' was asked in response to images of the ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims in Europe. This was the period in which genocide studies as a comparative discipline began to emerge. In an special *Jewish Quarterly* issue labelled 'A Voice for the Voiceless: Ethnic Minorities in Today's Violent World' Mazower was joined by Mark Levene who wrote an article about ethnic violence in Bosnia contextualising it in the history of ethnic violence and genocide in the Balkans.[40] What is salient about Mazower, Levene and others' work is that they were producing novel historical analysis on the Bosnian genocide not just in academic journals but also in day-to-day Jewish publications. The relevance of Jewish experience to Bosnia was thus a *communal* response and not an academic versus popular debate.

This point is further reflective of Rothberg's work on multidirectional memory where he attempts to chart how collective memories are not 'a scarce resource' and that there is an 'interaction of different collective memories with the [public] sphere.'[41] The discursive mobilization of the Shoah amongst British Jews in solidarity, rather than in competition with Bosnian Muslims, endorses Rothberg's criticism of zero-sum memory. Rothberg concludes that 'far from being a floating, universal signifier, the Holocaust emerges in its specificity as part of a multidirectional network of diverse histories of extreme violence, torture, and racist policy.'[42] This chimes with Mazower's attempt to draw mnemonic solidarity from the Holocaust with victims of ethnic cleansing and genocide in Europe. Rothberg attaches the 'flawed' perspective on zero-sum memory with its use by 'commentators and ordinary citizens' explicitly claiming that his examples of multidirectional memory come from 'marginalized texts or in marginal moments of well-known texts.'[43] The examples of Mazower and Poliakov, however, and the wider social historical source base indicate that multi-directional Shoah memory in the 1980s and 90s ought not to be consigned to literary esoterica, but wide-ranging Anglo-Jewish opinion articulated by commentators and ordinary citizens alike.

Despite a boom in study and focus on the Holocaust in the late 1980s and early 1990s, few works centered the relevance of other genocides on Shoah consciousness.[44] Levy and Sznaider, in their seminal article 'Memory Unbound' examine Kosovo and argue that:

> it was the historical backdrop of the Balkan crisis and unsuccessful demands for NATO intervention in Bosnia that helped establish the link and thus centrality of the Holocaust as a measure stick for international politics and a transnational value system.[45]

What the authors miss, however, is who was behind this 'self-reflexive form of globalized memory.' Pulling together wide-ranging examples of President Clinton or Shoah survivor and author Elie Wiesel is useful, but Levy and Sznaider are interested in *global* processes. Indeed, even Louisa Allwork's excellent critique of Levy and Sznaider's work, is focused on the role (or lack thereof) of national and transnational governments and institutions in the cosmopolitanization and universalization of the Holocaust memory.[46] Ultimately, local, and national contexts matter for understanding Shoah consciousness. The link between the Shoah and intervention in Bosnia was not merely the work of high liberal unipolar nation-states but also reflective of the pressure within Jewish diasporic communities *in* those nation-states. Local pressure made an impact on wider cosmopolitan memory formation as *every* Jewish publication in Britain in its coverage of the Bosnia War referred to Jewish historical experience. This paralleling of Jewish history with contemporary Bosniak experience was a novel change in the way British Jews understood their recent past. The sources indicate that the community, prompted by genocide in Bosnia, began to understand the history of the Shoah as more than just another tragic episode in Jewish history whose genealogy could be drawn back to the Exodus from Egypt. It was rather a particular experience of violence that could be endured by other ethnic minorities too. The Bosnian War helped prove that Jewish experiences of the Shoah were universal in their lessons. Bosnian experience of genocide in Europe prompted a reconceptualization of the Shoah and an extension of its genealogies into non-Jewish experiences of persecution. This process provides us with a greater understanding of the process through which Shoah memory was cosmopolitanized and universalized at the end of the twentieth century.

Humanitarian mobilization

Jews in Britain mobilized to the horrors in Bosnia and were quick to identify the Jewish dimensions of the crisis through which they could channel their response. This was not just a discursive mobilization on the opinion pages of Jewish newspapers and journals, but also a mobilization involving humanitarian action. In the scholarship on Britain and the Bosnian war, little attention has been paid to the British Jewish community due to its size and ostensibly tangential relationship to the conflict.[47] Interestingly, a similar lacuna exists in regards to British Jewry and the Shoah and whilst here has been excellent scholarship on the Holocaust and Britain in regards to memorialization there is significantly less on how the Jewish diaspora has lived with the Shoah's afterlives.[48]

One of the immediate responses of British Jewry was to help the 6,000 or so Jews that lived in what was then the rump of Yugoslavia.[49] The response was channelled through existing Jewish aid agencies like the Central British Fund, which had originally been set

up in the 1930s to help bring German Jews to Britain. In October 1992, the Jewish Agency employed the 'Jewish Precautionary Principle' in their Kol Nidre appeal on the eve of Yom Kippur. Having saved 'hundreds of Balkan Jews' and brought them 'to the haven of Israel' they claimed that 'unlike 50 years ago, today Jews in peril have a vital resource. The people of Israel together with Diaspora Jewry will not hesitate to act when lives are at risk.'[50] Historical comparison was inescapable. It was, however, realized quickly amongst the Jewish press that Jews were not the victims of the ethnic violence in the conflict. A Jewish professor who had to flee from Sarajevo claimed that he was 'a Jew caught in the crossfire.'[51] This is a neat encapsulation of Bosnian Jewry's third-party status in the war. None of this is to undermine the experience of Jews in Bosnia but rather to note that British Jewry swiftly came to terms with the fact that ethnic conflict on European soil, framed as genocide was not aimed at Jews. On Christmas Day 1992, the *JC* wrote that 'the war has created a rush of people now identifying themselves as Jews. For once it is an advantage to be a Jew, and thus a neutral party in Bosnia's tribal bloodletting.'[52] A paper that circulated amongst the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs talked of a 'Montenegrin with distant Jewish heritage' who came to request membership of the Jewish community because it meant a potential escape route out of the Balkans. 'Due to the ethnic conflicts and wars, it is today a privilege to be a Jew in Yugoslavia, a very ironic situation for a Jew in Europe.'[53] Historical comparison between ethnic violence and the Shoah was inescapable, but this time Jews were not victims.

The Central British Fund (CBF) swiftly channelled support to non-Jewish victims of the war. The CBF, alongside the League of Jewish Women, called for donations in June 1993 and noted that the 'Sarajevo Jewish community's neutral status has meant that La Benevolencija has been able to distribute relief to residents of all faiths and ethnic origins.'[54] La Benevolencija was a Jewish humanitarian organization that dated back to the arrival of Sephardic Jews following their expulsion from Spain in 1492. In Leeds, regular collections of 'clothes and medical supplies' took place and in November 1993 the small Jewish community held a 'music day' to raise funds for the CBF.[55] The Leeds CBF co-ordinator commented that 'we are one of the few organizations succeeding in getting direct aid into Bosnia.' Indeed, it appears that the Leeds branch of the CBF was created in this period by a 'group of thirty-somethings concerned with social issues.' In London, the CBF ran a charity auction and dinner at Sotheby's that raised £100,000 and was attended by eminent guests such as Lord Attenborough.[56] Indeed, the wider community mobilized. Jewish expertise was employed as 'people with experience in working with Holocaust survivors helped' refugees who were 'victims of ethnic cleansing.'[57]

UK Jewish Aid (UKJAID), a voluntary organization set up in 1989 to 'channel Jewish energies to help in overseas crisis' also played a significant role.[58] It ran regular appeals in the *JC* consisting of half-page adverts taken up by headlines in capital letters with graphic photos of distressed victims of war.[59] In an advert calling for aid for Bosnia and Somalia the charity led with 'innocence has not protected these women and children. But we at UK Jewish Aid are committed to help.' A week later the charity had reached its goal. It raised money consistently through its public appeals that regularly combined concern for Bosnia alongside Somalian agricultural relief or a response to the genocide in Rwanda. In 1995 a new advert was published that led with the question and answer, 'what do you do in a crisis? You pull together.'[60] It was announced that 'fifteen national and regional Jewish refugee bodies are launching the Jewish Emergency

Aid Coalitions appeal in response to the growing refugee emergency in Bosnia. Help Bosnian Refugees Now.' UKJAID was by far the most outward-looking British Jewish charitable organization and in its work with other Jewish groups it helped to widen the range of people that were to receive Jewish aid.

The changing nature of Jewish aid is indicative of how the Bosnian War hastened the trend within Jewish infrastructure to shift away from merely helping Jews to being on hand for disasters involving non-Jewish victims. The CBF, an organization set up in 1937 to rescue Jewish children from Nazi Germany, shifted in the 1950s from a support body for German refugees to a broader-based charity ready to help wherever Jews suffered persecution or deprivation. By the mid-1990s it had become an even broader organization helping wherever crisis was in the world regardless of whether victims were Jewish. It is telling that the Central British Fund changed its interwar name to the much more global World Jewish Relief in 1995. As a corollary, it is unsurprising that UK Jewish Aid was absorbed within World Jewish Relief in 2007. The cultural transformation of Shoah memory that was occurring among British Jews was accompanied by a significant shift in Jewish humanitarian infrastructure.

Political activism

As the mnemonic and humanitarian structures of Anglo-Jewish life changed so did its politics. British Jews advocated heavily on behalf of Bosnian Muslims and whilst the institutions that did so were well established within the community, their decision to lobby for the Bosniaks was novel. In August 1993, the Board of Deputies endorsed a statement that began by noting that 'we are taking this action in the knowledge that the continuing news of the devastation and atrocities taking place in former Yugoslavia have generated a widespread concern amongst the Jewish community and in the wider UK society.'[61] One of its sections was labelled 'a public witness to government action' and it included a call for the British government to give sufficient resources to support the UN's sanction effort on Serbia and Montenegro. The document talked of the inadequacy of the humanitarian response thus far as well as the claim that 'this war is qualitatively different from many others in apparent total disregard for international conventions, and that the commitment to a war crimes' procedure to be implemented.' Its final point was dedicated the insufficiency of the British government's attempts to house Bosnian refugees. Indeed crucially, a page was dedicated to 'campaigning and lobbying,' non-violent direct action, and building alliances. Under the first section it called for Jewish readers to write to the press, write to their MPs and MEPs and noting that 'there are many ways of getting the message across to people' rallied the community to set up 'meetings in the synagogue' as well as 'leafleting, the 'soap box,' stunts and special events, [and] letter-writing stalls.' It went on to call for readers to join *Mir Sada* 'an international initiative trying to stop the fighting through direct action' as well as arguing that Jews 'should be contacting local churches, mosques, and other religious and ethnic groups, to learn from each other's perspectives and to share our concerns. We should also be trying to hear from people who have arrived in this country from the former Yugoslavia.' Not only was the Board of Deputies – the primary institution for the advocation of British Jewish interests – now advocating for Bosnian Muslims it was calling for the rest of the community to do so too.

The Board of Deputies was joined by other interest groups such as the *Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry* (the 35s) indicating that Bosnia acted as a novel prompt for Jewish advocacy groups to advocate for non-Jewish communities.[62] Traditional humanitarian structures and approaches amongst British Jewry were being slowly reorientated towards the interests of non-Jews. British Jews mobilized their traditional forms of political advocacy: communal groups such as the Board of Deputies, humanitarian groups such as The Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry and public intellectuals to advocate not just for Jewish but also Bosnian Muslims interests in the face of genocidal oppression.

This advocacy wasn't siloed to just foreign policy. In the mid-1990s, Britain started to debate prosecuting Nazi war criminals residing in the country.[63] Whilst only one was ever convicted – Anthony Sawoniuk – the process captured the imagination of the Jewish press, demonstrating how the echoes of the Shoah were present not only in responses to Bosnia but also in British culture. The Jewish past was being relived by Jews, Bosnians, and Britons alike. Labour MP, David Winnick claimed that the decision by the Metropolitan Police not to charge to the Nazi war criminal Antony Gecas 'sent a message to war criminals in Bosnia that they could 'get away with it'.'[64] The contemporary experience of Bosnia was also the contemporary experience of whether the 'Never Again' legacy of the Shoah was being fulfilled. In 1997 Szymon Serafinowicz, a former member of the collaborationist Belarusian Auxiliary Force who moved to Surrey after the war, became the first person to be tried under the War Crimes Act (1997). Whilst Serafinowicz was charged with involvement in the destruction of Jewish communities in Belarus, he was found unfit for trial because of dementia. The didactic nature (or lack thereof) of Shoah history was put in the spotlight by the *Journal of Association of Jewish Refugees* who claimed that 'Today Srebrenica and Zepa are in everybody's living room … Serb war criminals go about their grizzly business in these killing fields precisely because they know that many of their predecessors went unpunished.[65] Before the trial concluded, the *JAJR* wrote affectingly that the 'Serafinowicz trial must go ahead, both for the sake of the dead of Belarus and of the still-living in Bosnia.' In a similarly unabashed comparison, Ned Temko, the *JC* editor, came to the same conclusion whilst writing for the *Guardian*.[66]

In the early 1990s, in response to an increase in asylum seekers, John Major introduced the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Bill which intended to make it harder for asylum seekers to settle in the country. In Parliamentary debate, Conservative MPs waxed lyrical about Britain's noble history of compassionate immigration policy. According to Jacques Arnold, the Conservative MP for Gravesham, the country had a:

> Proud record regarding the granting of asylum. We have given asylum to political refugees for many centuries: we can cast our minds back to the Huguenots, the Jews from Eastern Europe and Russia at the turn of the century, continental Europeans during the last war and many others.[67]

According to Arnold, 'the Bill was compatible with that tradition.' Whilst the Jewish community agreed with the Gravesham MP's identification of historical continuity that 'tradition' was not one that many Jews looked on with great pride. Opposition to the hardening of asylum legislation was a political outcome of the discursive paralleling of the Shoah and the Bosnian Genocide.

The *Jewish Socialist* was the most vociferous opponent in the Jewish press to this piece of legislation; it regularly attacked the Government's treatment of asylum seekers. Mentions of the Bill are too numerous to list but are exemplified by Labour MP Harry Cohen's comment in the journal: 'Jews have been victims of similar racist immigration laws in the past.'[68] Other publications were also critical. In February 1993 the *JC* led with the headline 'Community leaders in new Asylum Bill plea' as it claimed that 'Jewish leaders concerned over the treatment of refugees under the proposed Asylum Bill attempted to convince the government to amend elements of the legislation.'[69] Leading lights of the Jewish centrist mainstream – the Board of Deputies President, members of the Jewish Council for Community Relations, and the respective leaders of the League of Jewish Women and the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain – met with a Home Office Minister to express their 'continued anxiety about the Bill.' There was a particular emphasis on the 'policy of … Bosnian refugees,' a continued theme in other arenas. In May of the same year, the Board of Deputies explicitly brought up the Asylum Bill with the government.[70] Later that year a Manchester Rabbi 'told a packed audience that the time had come to put pressure on governments to act over Bosnia' and the government's refugee policy.[71] In the same meeting, a Shoah survivor posited the view that 'we are gathered here because the world refused to learn the lessons we survivors were so confident would be learned.' Much of Britain's historical relationship with the Holocaust related to Jewish migration (or a lack thereof) in the 1930s. Thus, the government's hostility to Bosnian refugees drew distinct parallels to Jewish ones fifty years earlier. The expressly political lobbying that Jewish groups carried out in favor of Bosnian refugees is a clear example of how the discursive mobilization of Jewish histories of the Shoah was beginning to be channeled towards political campaigns with universal intent.

That politics, however, was sometimes unsavory. The 1990s might have been a period of European integration, third-way liberalism, and proposed peace between Israel and Palestine but it was also the era of Samuel Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' literature. Memories of the Shoah were, at points, co-opted into Islamophobia. Anti-Asylum Bill coverage in the *JC* was not monolithic, and the paper gave space to right-wing opinion on British refugee policy in the presence of the MP Winston Churchill (1940-2010). The *JC* published an interview between Churchill and Edie Friedman, the President of the Jewish Council for Racial Equality, which worked 'to engage the Jewish Community in social action in the wider society, focusing on race equality and justice for refugees and asylum seekers.'[72] Churchill spoke about his opposition to 'bogus asylum claims' and that the 'Jewish community has an interest that relations in this country stay on an even keel' and 'that a great majority of Jews would agree with me that it is important the strictest controls be placed on immigration, both legal and illegal.' Churchill then summarily signposted to his founding-membership of the Inter-Parliamentary Council Against Antisemitism.[73] Indeed, the *Jewish Socialist,* a self-professed radical journal, went as so far to say that Islamic 'fundamentalism is more of a threat than the left recognizes, and in any strategic alliance we must not leave this issue aside.'[74] Sir Alfred Sherman, a former advisor to Thatcher and increasingly a friend of the British and French far-right, wrote occasionally in the *JC* about concern over Islamic fundamentalism in Bosnia and how that related to who Jews should support in conflict.[75] Commentators on the right and far-right, found it as easy as anti-genocide campaigners to use Jewish histories of trauma, and their relevance in the present, for their own political ends.

Jewish dialogue groups countered this approach and attempted to center those whose experience of ethnic violence as a community could help reconciliation. On coverage of an interfaith event in Wembley, one Jewish attendee noted that they were 'struck by how threatened and isolated [Muslim attendees] felt, by the Western response to Bosnia, [and] by the incidents of racism they experience in their daily lives.'[76] Indeed, Edie Freidman writing in the *Jewish Quarterly* referred historic Jewish experience and paralleled it with contemporary ethnic minority experience in Britain. She used the example of how her organization JCORE became involved with the Muslim Bosnian community and how they arranged for Jewish therapists who had worked with Shoah survivors to meet refugees.[77] Bosnia, therefore, acted as a prompt amongst British Jews to reconsider the latent Islamophobia present in the moral panic over Islamic fundamentalism before 'multiculturalism' became a motif of government policy. Ultimately, much of the contents of this article completely *rejects* any paralleling of Jewish victims of the Shoah with Jewish victims of Islamic fundamentalism. Solidarity with Bosnian victims of genocide was far more prevalent than associations between Bosniaks and Islamic fundamentalist violence against Jews. Histories of the Shoah are however malleable, and provide fertile ground for the far right, a process that has increasing relevance with Israeli & American politics in the twenty-first century.

The legacy of the Shoah in discourses on persecution and crisis is a complicated one. For some, it meant 'never again' in response to hardening asylum legislation. For others, it was mobilized to mean 'never again' in response to antisemitism. By paralleling the plight of Bosniak refugees with Jewish migration struggles of the 1930s and 1940s, centrist and left-wing Jewish groups formed Jewish opposition to the tightening of asylum legislation. This discursive mobilization had political rather than mere rhetorical implications. Despite attempts by some Jewish and non-Jewish voices to instrumentalize Jewish anxieties about antisemitism to take a pro-Serb line, the *Jewish Socialist* and the *Jewish Chronicle,* alongside the Board of Deputies and a wide range of Jewish communal groups, lobbied for a liberalizing of refugee policy. The Shoah held continued relevance for discourses on persecution and crisis. This is evidence of how its legacy went beyond that. The Bosnian genocide coalesced seemingly separate themes experienced by post-Shoah British Jewry into a lively, diverse, and occasionally unsavoury political debate. The primary British relationship to the Shoah – migration – was relieved in response to asylum claims. The Shoah as the apotheosis of antisemitism was channelled, too. Finally, that mnemonic maxim of 'Never Again' was put into political action by Jewish organizations campaigning for the implementation of the War Crimes Act. Ultimately, Anglo-Jewish perspectives on Bosnia were not translated through an Orientalized Balkan paradigm of eternal conflict but rather understood as a re-emergence of ethnic conflict that had much in common with the Shoah and, thus, meant Jews had an important role in its prevention.

Conclusion

It was amidst the changing geopolitical currents and levels of Shoah consciousness in the early 1990s that British Jews configured their response to the Bosnian War. The expression of historical memory was not just a form of catharsis it also had concrete impacts on the politics that Jews articulated. The example of the Bosnian War shows

that Jews were increasingly comfortable criticizing the State on foreign policy (intervention) and domestic policy (immigration). This is a parallel with the considerably larger, and by extension more confident, American Jewish community whose activism has been identified as leading and prompting greater American intervention in the conflict.[78] It is evidence of the power, and relevance, of historical articulation in the political present. The universal didacticism of Jewish histories of trauma, of which the Shoah was central, emerged. That didacticism – often discursive – was mobilized in material and political ways. We see the formation of a cosmopolitan memory by the end of the decade, and British Jews, as a diasporic community, contributed to that. Throughout, this article has probed the possibility that the 'return' of genocide in Europe impacted British Jews in a way that has yet to be properly identified. Whilst more work could be done on the impact of genocide in Bosnia on wider transnational trends in Shoah consciousness and universalization in the 1990s, it is clear from the Jewish press that events in former Yugoslavia were a trigger towards thinking about genocide more broadly.

The Jewish precautionary principle was channelled into calls for military intervention which now feel dated. Does the Anglo-Jewish response to Bosnia appear as an anomaly? It was, after all, situated within a geopolitical context of American unipolarity, potential Israeli-Palestinian peace, and an increasing cultural presence of the Shoah. Jewish Shoah memory during this period, however, was not merely a call for military action but, rather, the moral obligation to use an agency that was denied to Jews during the Shoah. 'Never again' suggests that history, and indeed the history of the Shoah especially, must have a role in the present.

Notes

1. Simon Rocker, "B'Jewish Groups Launch an Emergency Bosnia Appeal," 1.
2. In 1991 the Jewish Museum in Berlin began construction, in 1993 the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opened and 1995 the first proposals for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin were received. See Hilary Earl and Simon Gigliotti (eds.), *A Companion to the Holocaust,* (Hoboken; Wiley, 2020) for more detail.
3. Jonathan Steinberg, "The Holocaust, Society and Ourselves," 46.
4. Colin Shindler, "New Moon's Guiding Light," 12.
5. Ben Gidley and Keith Kahn-Harris, "Contemporary Anglo-Jewish community leadership," 168–187
6. Until the *Jewish News* was established in 1997, the *Jewish Chronicle* was the only national Jewish tabloid. For more information see David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry.*
7. Tony Kushner, 'Who do you think you are kidding, Mr Sawoniuk? British memory of the Holocaust and Kosovo, Spring 1999'.
8. Tom Lawson and Andy Pearce (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Britain and the Holocaust*; Kara Critchell, 'Proud to Be British; and Proud to Be Jewish,' 86.
9. Gidley and Kahn-Harris, 'Contemporary Anglo-Jewish Community Leadership'; Irina Kudenko and Deborah Phillips, "The Model of Integration?" 1533–1549; Gavin Schaffer, "Zionism, Aliyah, and the Jews of Glasgow," 267–294.
10. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*
11. Jie-Hyun Im and Eve Rosenhaft, *Mnemonic Solidarity*.
12. Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider. "Memory Unbound," 87–106.
13. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory,* 2.
14. Colin Shindler, "New Moon's Guiding Light," 12.

15. Frederic Raphael, "The Eternally Vacuous Promises of Faith," 5.
16. Bass Cahouns, "Glasgow's Appeal for War Victims", 9.
17. "Letters: Extermination of Bosnian Muslims," 18.
18. Peter Gill, "Wall Street Crash," 18.
19. Editorial, "Hearing Echoes," 16.
20. Editorial, "Clinton's Early Tests," 14.
21. Editorial, "Again?" 16.
22. Southampton, Anglo-Jewish Archives, MS254/A9801/3/56, Board of Deputies Resolution on Yugoslavia.
23. Charlotte Seligman, "Fleurise Abandons Chigwell for Bosnia," 14.
24. Bernard Josephs, "UN Prosecutor's Warning," 1.
25. Editorial, "Support for Sarajevo," 14; Editorial, "Again?" 14.
26. George Soros, "Why Appeasement Must Not Have Another Chance," 10.
27. Anna Maxted, "Rabbis Join Bosnian 'genocide' Protest," 7.
28. Joel Jelen, "Gryn Saddened by Lack of Spiritual Progress," 23.
29. Editorial, "Support for Sarajevo," 14.
30. Southampton, Anglo-Jewish Archives, MS241/11/3/5, European Union of Students. "The Situation in the Former Yugoslavia," December 14, 1992.
31. John Ezard, "The Second Holocaust?" 22.
32. Simon Rocker, "Jewish Groups Launch an Emergency Bosnia Appeal," 1.
33. Dr Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, George Carey, Basil Hulme and Kathleen Richardson, 17.
34. Dr Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, "Letter: Bosnia and Conscience of the World," 11.
35. Yosef Hayim Yerushalm, 'Un Champ a Anathoth: Vers une histoire de l'espoir juif," 91–107.
36. David Myers, *The Stakes of History*.
37. Valerie Monchi, "History Man," 20.
38. Mark Mazower, "After Lemkin: Genocide, the Holocaust and History," 6.
39. Steven Katz, *The Holocaust in Historical Context.*
40. Mark Levene, "Yesterday's victims, today's perpetrators," 11–16.
41. Rothberg, *Multi-Directional Memory,* 3.
42. Rothberg, *Multi-Directional Memory,* 3.
43. Ibid, p.18.
44. Levy and Sznaider, "Memory Unbound," 99.
45. Ibid, 99.
46. Larissa Allwork, *Holocaust Remembrance between the National and the Transnational.*
47. For example, Carole Hodge, *Britain and the Balkans.*
48. Kara Critchell, "Remembering and Forgetting"; Tony Kushner, 364–384; Lawson and Pearce, *Britain and the Holocaust.*
49. See the following articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* at the time on the topic of Jewish evacuations Bird, "Half of Sarajevo's Jews," May 15, 1992, 36; Maxted and Kessel, "UK Government Gives," October 2, 1992, 1; Kossoff, "Bosnian Jews Evacuated to UK, 1"; "Advert, Kol Nidre Appeal," October 2, 1992, supplement ii; Southampton, Anglo-Jewish Archives, MS241/11/3/2 "Yugoslav Crisis Raises Questions about Future of Yugoslav Jewry." Intelligence Report. Institute of Jewish Affairs, August 1991.
50. "Advert, Kol Nidre Appeal," October 2, 1992, supplement ii.
51. Julian Kossoff, "Nightmare of Life in Stricken Sarajevo," 7.
52. Julian Kossoff, "Displaced and Dispossessed," 6.
53. Southampton, Anglo-Jewish Archives, MS241/11/3/3 Sekelj, Laslo. "Yugoslavia: The Process of Disintegration." *Jerusalem Letter: Jerusalem Center of Public Affairs* 273 (April 15, 1993).
54. Anna Maxted, "Charity Acts," 8.
55. Francine Cohen, "Leeds teens intensify campaign for club," 14; Francine Cohen, "Leeds CBF music day," 11.
56. Francine Cohen, "Auction helps aid agency," 12.
57. Edie Friedman, "A Matter of Numbers," 18.
58. "Advert, if you're shocked by the pictures from Somalia," 6.

59. "Advert, innocence has not protected these women and children," 5.
60. "Advert, what do you do in a crisis?" 7.
61. Southampton, Anglo-Jewish Archives, MS254/A9801/3/56, Board of Deputies Resolution on Yugoslavia.
62. Southampton, Anglo-Jewish Archives, MS241/11/1/4 Rigal, Margaret letter to Popovic couple June 1, 1994.
63. Kushner, "Sawoniuk".
64. Editorial, "War Crimes," 18.
65. Richard Grunberger, "Error and Trial," 1.
66. Temko, "The Banality of Doing Good," 27.
67. Jacques Arnold, Gravesham MP, Hansard, Asylum and Immigration Bill, HC Deb 02 November 1992 vol 213 cc21-120.
68. Harry Cohen, "Bill of Wrongs," 10.
69. Julian Kossoff, "Community Leaders in New Asylum Bill Plea," 6.
70. Jewish Chronicle Reporter, "Board Seeks International Move on Boycott," 14.
71. Joy Wolfe, "Manchester Rabbi," 6.
72. JCORE, https://hiasjcore.org/, last accessed 29th April 2024.
73. Edie Friedman, "A Matter of Numbers," 18.
74. Editorial, *Jewish Socialist* 34.2 (1995), 2.
75. Alfred Sherman, "False Parallels," 24.
76. Simon Rocker, "Wembley: A Minor Diversion?"
77. Edie Friedman, "Mobilizing Jews Against Racism," 26–29.
78. Jon Western, "Prudence or outrage?" 165–184, 181.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Luke Summers completed a master's degree in Modern British History at Wolfson College, Oxford following his undergraduate degree in History at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. His work focuses on post-war Jewish cultural history and memory studies. His interest lies in how post-war Jewish communities understood memories and histories of the Holocaust within the context of the comfort and safety of post-war life. He is increasingly drawn to the 'multidirectionality' of Holocaust memory, and how diasporic Jews think about, and mobilize, the Shoah in response to more recent genocides.

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