Postwar Periods. Spain 1939–Germany 1945: A Comparative Approach Introduction

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The following special issue unites the contributions made by history, German literature, and romance literature researchers from Spain, Germany, and Israel during the inaugural conference of the project Postwar Periods. Spain 1939–Germany 1945: A Comparative Approach, which took place between February 21 and 23, 2024, at Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf. We would like to thank Laia Arañó Vega and Olívia Gassol Bellet, editors of *Dictatorships & Democracies. Journal of History and Culture* (published by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya and the Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer), as well as Francesc Vilanova i Vila-Abadal for making it possible to publish the results of our inaugural conference in the form of the following dossier. The project, which is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), intends to explore a novel interdisciplinary and transnational approach to the Spanish and German postwar periods, aiming to integrate non-European and Jewish perspectives. The project's aim is to sound out open questions within four thematic fields.

1 Historical Context: Society and Economy

The postwar periods of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War in Germany had distinct starting points: the triumph of a Francoist regime

in Spain in 1939 and the defeat of the principal European fascist regime in Germany in 1945. The lines between the Spanish Civil War, the Second World War, and the respective postwar periods become blurred as one looks at these periods from the perspective of the privations suffered by the German and the Spanish populations—as does, for example, the historian Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco (2020) for Spain. One of the resulting open questions of the interdisciplinary conference ¿Ha terminado la Guerra Civil? España 1939–1953 and its following dossier (Hennigfeld et al. 2020) was to define the temporal extension of the period denominated as "postwar". A comparative analysis of the Spanish and German postwar periods and their economic and social consequences now allows us to abandon the strict national perspective and understand the European dimension of these two postwar periods.

While the effects of the early phase of the Cold War on German society are broadly discussed (Pike 1993; Davidson 1999), its reverberations within Spanish culture and society are yet to be analyzed from a transnational perspective. Within cultural studies, the comparative volume *Deutsche und Spanier – ein Kulturvergleich* (Mecke et al. 2012) includes two essays (by Collado Seidel and Gimber) that focus on the German and Spanish postwar societies. Apart from these essays, detailed comparative research on the postwar periods of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War in Spain and in Germany is yet to be conducted. Other recent transnational approaches to the postwar period in Europe tend to omit Spain (e.g., Ota Konrád et al. 2022). The articles in this section sound out the European dimensions of the German and Spanish postwar periods and analyze the reverberations of the early phase of the Cold War within Spanish society.

The Postwar Period in West Germany

According to Walther L. Bernecker, the end of the Second World War marked the end of European autarchy and of the unity of European and world history. The so-called "German question" (Deutsche Frage)—that is, how Germany should be reorganized on a territorial and national level—was at the center of political debates during the postwar period. Spanish travelers such as the diplomat Miguel de Lojendio and the poet

Carlos Barral were shocked by the conditions they encountered in a postwar Germany characterized by a demolished infrastructure, destroyed housing, a scarcity of food, malnutrition, and a lack of heating fuel. Although the Allied forces initially agreed that the four main aims to be followed were decentralization, demilitarization, denazification, and democratization, agreeing on specific measures to reach these goals turned out to be extremely difficult. The division of Europe and, along with this, the division of Germany into two blocs started to become apparent. The monetary reform of 1948 was only carried out within the three Western occupation zones. The different political forces led to the founding of five political parties (KPD, SPD, SED, CDU, and FDP). Within the process of denazification, the narrative of German collective guilt eventually lost ground to the pragmatic aim of reorganizing the state and—seen from the perspective of the three Western Allies—pushing back the influence of the USSR. In the American occupation zone, 13.7 percent of Germans were categorized as "major offenders" (Hauptschuldige), but in the British zone only 1.3 percent were. Eventually, denazification was left to the Germans themselves, and so, ultimately, 90 percent of the German population was categorized as "followers" (Mitläufer) or "exonerated persons" (Entlastete).

The Postwar Period in Francoist Spain

Joan Maria Thomàs begins by highlighting the differences between the German and Spanish postwar periods. The German postwar period begins in 1945 with a clear break: the unconditional surrender of the Hitler regime. While the beginning of the Spanish postwar period is clear (1939), the end is not. Is it marked by the end of food rationing in 1952, or by the agreement with the United States and the concordat with the Vatican, both of which took place in 1953? The Spanish postwar period, however, also begins with a defeat, namely that of the half of the Spanish population that had fought on the Republican side. The Francoist policy of aiming for economic independence from the democratic countries, derogatorily called "the plutocracies", led to malnourishment and hunger crises in Spain. Thomàs does not agree with the thesis that the regime consciously tried to punish the Republican parts of the population by

means of food rationing, since the food shortage also affected supporters of the regime. In order to verify his position, Thomàs quotes for the first time from a paper that documents the results of a meeting held by Franco and various ministers in 1941.

According to Thomàs, a discontinuity between the Spanish Civil War itself and the postwar period lies in the fact that the percentage of incarcerated citizens continuously diminished after the war. He sees this as a reaction of the regime to malnutrition, the spread of diseases, and high death tolls.

2 Continuities and Blind Spots: German-Spanish Relations

Strong relations between Spain and Germany continued to exist in the postwar years and beyond. Some of the German Nazi officials protected by the Franco regime in 1945 kept their businesses running or founded new ones and served as intermediaries with companies from the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). In 1960, Germany and Spain signed an official labor recruitment agreement (Anwerbeabkommen), which served as a source of cheap laborers for Germany and resulted in the migration of many Spaniards there. The bilateral diplomatic relations between postwar Spain and Germany have been analyzed within the disciplines of history and cultural studies (Collado Seidel 1991; Bernecker 2007; Aschmann 2014). Nevertheless, continuities in the economic relations between Spain and Germany from the preceding Fascist period have not been studied extensively. Moreover, the continuing ties within the weapons industry and military pose a crucial desideratum, as Schüler-Springorum (2010) and Hennigfeld (2020) have suggested. The contributions in this section sound out the aspects of German-Spanish relations that have not yet been studied, and they take into consideration the continuities of economic and commercial relations between Spain and Germany from the preceding Fascist period.

Persisting German Economic Presence in Francoist Spain

Carlos Collado Seidel shows that the aim the Allies pursued via the so-called Operation Safehaven—that is, eradicating the German economic

presence and influence in Francoist Spain—failed owing to the personal ties between the two countries and their economic interests.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Germany had been economically present in Spain within four sectors: the chemical and pharmaceutical industry (Bayer, Hoechst, BASF, Schering, and Merck), electrotechnics (AEG and Siemens), banking (Dresdner Bank and Deutsche Bank), and insurance. As a result of its involvement in the Spanish Civil War, Germany was able to extract and export raw materials that were of value to the military. (This work was carried out by Hisma and Rowak.) During the Second World War, the Third Reich leading in the field of technological transfer to Spain, and bilateral commerce between the countries reached new highs. When the Second World War ended, the Allies feared that Spain, seen as a fascist country, might become a place where German Nazis could regroup and reorganize. In the last days of the war, the Franco regime accepted large deposits of money and gold that German companies sent to Spain in a bid to prevent the Allies from confiscating it. In addition, many Spaniards served as straw men for German companies. The Allies were forced to rely on Spain's collaboration in identifying German capital within the country.

In this process, Spain saw its chance to nationalize companies that were important to its economic interests. However, since the Spanish economy was in financial difficulties, former German directors were encouraged to solicit the acquisition of these companies. An example is the Nazi Kurt Werthwein, who took over Aceros y Metales S.A., a subsidiary of Rheinmetall. Collado Seidel states that great amounts of German capital were illegally invested in Spain.

After 1952, the process of eradication gradually came to a halt. In the following years, diplomatic relations between Madrid and Bonn were initiated, beginning with economic negotiations. Spain opened up to foreign capital, and Germany regained its visible economic presence and influence in Spain.

Concealed Continuities within German Popular Culture in the Early Federal Republic of Germany

In her article, Ursula Hennigfeld analyzes heterostereotypical images associated with Spain in general and Mallorca in particular within West German popular culture in the 1950s and 1960s. According to Hennigfeld, the analysis of popular songs, novels, films, and travel guides can provide an insight into the processes of collective identity formation, shedding light not only on the wishes and longings of the West German citizens but also on the continuities of National Socialist ideology. Thus, the products of popular culture she selects for study testify to the German suppression of memory diagnosed by scholars such as the psychoanalysts Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich and the sociologists Harald Welzer and Samuel Salzborn.

From the beginning of the 1930s, Mallorca became a popular vacation destination for Germans and a refuge for numerous German immigrants. Nevertheless, at the same time, a local National Socialist group was active in Mallorca, and the island became a National Socialist place of longing, having been depicted in Hans Richter's novel *Die Frau zwischen Noch und Schon* (*The Woman Between Still and Already*, 1933). The trend of the popular kitsch novel set in Mallorca and the clichés associated with Spaniards ("proud, unpunctual, and envious", "sexually attractive women") remained the same after the end of the National Socialist regime. Hennigfeld gives numerous examples of the almost unbroken continuities within the music, film, and tourism industries. The products of popular culture analyzed in this article, which are aimed at former soldiers and war widows as well as at young tourists searching for noncommittal flirtation, contain a double coding. More than mere harmless evasion, they point towards the continuities of National Socialist ideology and to that which is explicitly ignored: the Holocaust and the German war crimes committed by the Condor Legion. According to Hennigfeld, putting an end to this Spanish-German history of guilt can only be achieved by remembering, working through, and recognizing patterns in order to successfully interrupt them.

3 The Renewal of Jewish Communities

One of the main challenges faced by both Germany and Spain after the Second World War was their reintegration into the community of nations. In order to mark its break from the Third Reich, the Federal Republic of Germany needed to promote reconciliation with the Jewish people in its policies and diplomatic relations. Spain, in order to create distinctions between itself from the defeated Axis powers, offered an exaggerated depiction of itself as the country that had done the most to help to save Jewish lives during the Second World War. Thus, Spain gradually allowed Jewish life to reemerge and Jewish community institutions to be built. Francoist Spain also tried to form diplomatic ties with the State of Israel, but once its efforts failed in the late 1940s, it opted for a pro-Arab foreign policy while still cultivating ties with the Jewish people.

While the discipline of Judaic studies has produced various publications that analyze the lives of Jews in postwar Germany (Zielinski 2002), there is only a rather scarce bibliography on Jews in Francoist Spain. The articles in this section explore the image of Jews and Judaism in the early postwar period in Europe, focusing on Germany and Spain. In addition, they trace Jews' individual and collective experiences in these countries until the 1970s, and they examine these countries' negotiations with the young Jewish state.

Jewish Life in Francoist Spain

Taking the biographies of four Jewish businessmen—Andrés Zala, Ernesto Koplowitz, Isaac Salama, and Max Mazin—as an example, Raanan Rein illustrates the renewal of Jewish life during the early years of Francoism. Zala, who had connections to the Hilton family, opened the first Hilton hotel in a European capital, Madrid, in 1953—the same year Spain signed a military agreement with the United States. Ernesto Koplowitz Sternberg married the daughter of the Marquis of Cárdenas, who was one of the close confidants of Franco's wife, Carmen Polo. The Salama family, among the richest in Spanish Morocco, actively supported the 1936 uprising and adroitly combined private and commercial contacts. One of Max Mazin's

business partners was Diego Luis González Conde y de Borbón, who provided him with access to the royal family. Even though Luis Carrero Blanco was openly anti-Semitic, he was part of Mazin's network, just as Franco's wife was. In 1961, Mazin founded Jewish-Christian Friendship (Amistad Judeo-Cristiana) to further secure the rights of Jews living in Spain. This club even organized a memorial event (unique among Jewish organizations) to pay tribute to Pope John XXIII upon his death. The emergence of Jewish life in Francoist Spain during the 1950s and 1960s proved to be ambivalent and multifaceted, and it reveals influential capitalists' complex, interreligious connections with the Franco regime.

Jewish Life in Postwar West Germany

In his article, Guy Miron divides the postwar period into three different phases: the immediate postwar period from 1945 to 1948; the years 1948 to 1950, which brought decisive changes for Jews living in Germany; and the period between 1950 and 1970. The first phase was marked by the arrival of the so-called displaced persons (DPs), who had not lived in Germany before the war. In 1945, they received a prominent visitor: Ben-Gurion, who toured the DP camps in the American occupation zone. And in 1948, Rabbi Leo Baeck visited the Jews in the DP camps in the British occupation zone.

Between 1948 and 1950, most of the DP camps were closed, and the Americans for the most part lost interest in the future of Jews living in Germany, though figures such as John J. McCloy expressed hope that a normalization of Jewish life would be achieved. The disillusioned DPs representatives such as Peisach Piekatsch stated that there was no place for Jews in postwar Germany.

The third phase of the postwar period began with the founding of the Central Council of Jews in Germany (Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland) in 1950 and the signing of the Reparations Agreement between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1952. In spite of this agreement, Israel only issued passports that allowed travel to all countries except Germany, and it announced that Israeli citizens planning to settle in Germany permanently would not be allowed to return to Israel. The presence of

Jews in Germany during these years was thus characterized by various parties as illegitimate and abnormal. It was not until 1965 that the FRG and Israel established diplomatic relations and Ludwig Erhard officially declared the postwar period to be over. Around 1970, the late postwar phase ended for Jewish communities in Germany, but, according to Miron, some elements of the postwar period persist to this day.

4 The Postwar Era in Literature and the Arts

In both Spain and Germany, postwar cultural and societal changes and the complex social situation were reflected within literary production. In Spain, under the reign of a fascist regime that controlled and censored every form of cultural expression, the values of the winners dominated the cultural sector. Within literary studies, there are numerous publications on German postwar literature (Peitsch 2009; Butzer 2012). Studying the transnational memory of postwar Europe via arts and literature is an urgent subject for current literary studies (Augustin 2020). Nevertheless, until this day, a comparison between German and Spanish postwar literatures proves to be a great desideratum. Transnational studies tend to focus on other European countries (Holt 2020). Further, some studies reflect on gender and the cultural significance of women in postwar Germany (e.g., Paulus 2012) or postwar Spain (e.g., Conde Peñalosa 2004), but a comparative analysis has not yet been published. The contributions in this section study German and Spanish postwar literature from a transnational perspective, and/or focus on lesser-known authors and their literary production, which is not part of the so-called canon. They also analyze ideological and cultural production by, for, and on women, and they examine the negotiation of gendered imageries of society and of the nation as well as gender roles and power relations during the postwar period.

German and Spanish Poetry Written by Female Authors in the Postwar Period

The central thesis of Jenny Augustin's essay is that in the immediate postwar period in Spain and West Germany, poetry in particular names

the horrors of war and makes the complex structure of concealment, repression, and silencing visible. She examines poems by three Spanish (Carmen Conde, Acacia Uceta, and Ángela Figuera) and three German authors (Marie Luise Kaschnitz, Hilde Domin, and Nelly Sachs) whose lives are characterized by censorship, exile, return, and late literary recognition of their works. In a first step, Augustin demonstrates that the ideal of the silent homemaker and wife, as propagated in the sixteenth century by Juan Luis Vives or Fray Luis de León, for example, was revived under Francoism. In the FRG, National Socialist gender-role models were largely preserved. Patriarchal patterns dominated public discourse in postwar Spain as well as in postwar West Germany, as one can see in magazines such as *Y. Revista para la mujer* and *Blatt der Hausfrau* (later known as *Brigitte*). These patriarchal patterns were opposed by the Spanish female poets, who founded the *tertulia* Versos con faldas in 1951 to offer women a literary platform. How the authors wrote against suppression, silence, and concealment is illustrated using the topicality of "silencio". In the postwar period, female authors such as Hilde Domin played an important mediating role between the literary scenes in Spain and early West Germany. With regard to literary research in general, the aim is to (re)integrate the voices of female authors of the Spanish and German postwar periods into the literary corpus and anthologies in order to obtain a complete picture of the postwar literary period.

Max Aub's and Jean Améry's Unheard Offers for Dialogue

In her article, Marisa Siguan takes a comparative look at two exiled authors, Max Aub and Jean Améry (alias Hans Maier). Aub dedicated his literary writing to the perspective of the losers, while Jean Améry dedicated his to the survivors of the National Socialist concentration camps, who were treated with indifference by the majority of society in the postwar period. Despite all the differences between German and Spanish exile, Siguan emphasizes the absence of a dialogue between Germany and Spain and the respective exiles. Max Aub Mohrenwitz, born in Paris to Jewish parents, defined himself as Spanish and made exile the leitmotif of his writing. Following Claudio Guillén's definition, Siguan characterizes

Aub's lifelong exile as uprooted (*destierro*) and out of step with time (*destiempo*). Aub defines the central task of the postwar period as being to thoroughly analyze, document, and commemorate the war—especially those possibilities that were not realized. For the writer and essayist Jean Améry, a return to his lost homeland was also impossible. In his oeuvre, he focuses on how his own identity was destroyed by imprisonment, torture, and the concentration camp. Opposing the idea of collective guilt, Améry argues for a precise analysis of the war period, systematic education and awareness raising among Germans, and the perpetrators' assumption of responsibility and legal punishment. He divides German postwar society into three groups: the National Socialist elite, the masses, and the intellectual resistance. Siguan's thesis is that the offers for dialogue expressed by Aub and Améry in their works unfortunately remained unheard by the postwar societies of Germany and Spain.

"Posguerra" in the Diary Written by Rafael Cansinos Assens

The diary of the Spanish poet, literary critic, essayist, and translator Rafael Cansinos Assens, written in 1943—but not published until 2023—is the focus of Santiago Navarro Pastor's article. Unlike Cansinos Assens's diaries from earlier years, which are partly written in German, English, or French or in Arabic characters, this diary (like those of the following years) is written exclusively in Spanish. Interestingly, Cansinos Assens speaks of "postwar" (posguerra) as early as 1943, but he makes it clear that he does not mean the end of the war, but rather its extension and an interim phase. In his diary entries, he clearly denounces the repression, ideological indoctrination, and censorship apparatus of the Franco regime. Deep disappointment and skepticism characterize his entries dedicated to everyday political events. Cansinos Assens's diaries represent an important first-person document for studying, including in relation to the Second World War, the years immediately following the Spanish Civil War.

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