

Introduction

The PRESSA opened its doors in Cologne on 12 May 1928. To this day, this international press exhibition, deemed by contemporaries to be the “world’s first look at the press” is unrivalled in size and importance. By the time the last ticket had been sold that October, more than five million visitors from Germany and around the world had taken in the facilities, halls and pavilions on the Deutzer banks of the Rhine, all of which had required an unprecedented degree of time and effort to build. They were able to admire the press exhibits and cultural presentations of the many participating nations (including the members of the League of Nations), attend the exhibition’s many informative and entertaining events and see the numerous tourist attractions in and around the host city and along the Rhine.

Despite its contemporary and media-historical significance, the PRESSA has, in retrospect, hardly been studied. One might even say that it has been forgotten. On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of its inauguration, an international interdisciplinary conference was therefore organised by the Centre for European and International Studies Research at the University of Portsmouth, the Institute of “Deutsche Presseforschung” at the University of Bremen and the Bremen Society for German Press Research in order to come to terms with the PRESSA’s significance. Along with presentations on the preparation and implementation of the exhibition and its political and artistic implications, the conference also dealt with the appearance of the German-Jewish press at the PRESSA. For the first time this press had the chance to present itself, in its own pavilion no less, as part of the general press to a wider public. Analyses were consequently brought together at the conference on the history of this press and on the Jewish contribution to modern journalism and image/text media.

This conference volume aims, on the one hand, to offer an appraisal – even a critical one – of the organizational, substantive and political achievements of the PRESSA. It also strives to offer a first comprehensive review for scholarly study of this major, historically important press event. In this context, it depicts the impetus Jewish journalists gave to the modernization of the general press, and to the Jewish press in particular.

1. The PRESSA, Cologne 1928: Ambitions and Achievements

From the vantage point of 2011, we can look back on a century of sociologically and empirically based press research, whose beginning is marked by Max Weber’s “Enquête zur Erforschung des Zeitungswesens” (“Enquête on press

research”).¹ Weber’s study, first of all, was a product of his own knowledge of the different press cultures, each with their own specific characteristics. It was also partly due to his dissatisfaction with the state of press research in Germany.²

Related aspects also played an important role in the ambition behind the PRESSA, which claimed, on the one hand, to present journalism in a unified way as an intellectual, economic and technological form of creativity.³ On the other hand, the PRESSA saw itself as a manifestation of cultural ties and cooperation between nations and sought to influence the shape of international relations.⁴ The intention was to ultimately communicate to exhibition visitors that the press is a vital history-making force and that (as it was put at the time) “a press that leads” is closely related to “a press that seduces”.⁵

For the organisers, these objectives had real consequences. In the style of the period’s great industrial exhibitions, the technical aspects of the press needed to be made as accessible to laypeople as possible. At the same time, the PRESSA would utilise stylized exhibition technologies to make the displays interesting to experts.⁶ Apart from the exhibits themselves, this dual focus was supposed to be achieved with the appropriate architectural means. The organizers therefore neither decided in favour of the exhibition industry standard booth system or modular displays, which gradually convey a variety of impressions. Instead, they decided that a number of centrally located large and regularly structured rooms should follow in succession, along with adjoining subject-specific locations for the various individual groups. The latter were designed to resemble the central rooms and always lead into them again so that, together, they would form a single unit. The PRESSA’s final spatial arrangement and its largely avant-garde architecture have been vividly documented.⁷

Relatively little time was available for developing the PRESSA’s interior concept and external design. The contributions to this volume therefore describe shortfalls and improvisations, along with the objectives that were successfully met. In any case, the implementation of this elaborate project commands our respect today. In an economically difficult and still pessimistic pe-

1 Max Weber: Geschäftsbericht für die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie, in: Verhandlungen des Ersten Deutschen Soziologentages, Tübingen 1911, pp. 39-62.

2 Ibid., p. 32.

3 Emil Dovifat: [Titleless entry in:] *Prismen. Blätter für Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda*, third issue, Sondernummer Presse und Pressa, Hamburg 1928, p. II.

⁴ Mayor Dr. h.c. [Konrad] Adenauer: [Foreword, in:] *Prismen* (see note 3), p. I.

5 Emil Dovifat (see note 3).

6 Emil Dovifat: *Ausstellungstechnische Durchführung der PRESSA. Abt. I. Mit Einbeziehung von Gruppen der Abt. II., IV, u. VIII.* [1928; unpublished typwritten manuscript, 63 S., held by Kunstbibliothek Berlin], pp. 1-4.

7 PRESSA. *Kulturschau am Rhein*, published by the International Press Exhibition Cologne 1928, Berlin n.d. [1928] additional, in some instances richly illustrated articles are mentioned in the bibliographical appendix.

riod following the lost war, Cologne mayor Dr. Konrad Adenauer's approval of the exhibition gave the promoters the chance to harness the available resources and opportunities for accomplishing an extraordinary organisational and creative feat. Beyond the exhibition's technical and ideological components, the fundamental idea to demonstrate the role of the press as a democratic and enlightening instrument, that both facilitated comparisons between nations, but also their interaction, was ultimately political. The PRESSA's setting in Cologne arose from Adenauer's regional and national aspirations: he wanted to give the Rhineland an audible voice within Prussia and the Prussian-dominated republic. And with an eye toward rival Dusseldorf, he also thought Cologne's economic development should be promoted by the exhibition industry and the expected influx of visitors. Germany, above all, should be able to assume a respected position once again in Europe, and the world, for the first time since the First World War – this time, though, in a way that wasn't tied to military might, but to the civilizational and cultural achievements of a peaceful coexistence. The PRESSA, in short, should put Germany in a more sympathetic light.

2. Cultural Exhibition – Monument – Signpost

As one contemporary remarked on the PRESSA's achievement: "Through the mirror of the press, the world could see a cultural exhibition on a grand scale that was at once a monument and a signpost [...]"⁸ With forty-three states and the members of the League of Nations gathered at the Deutzer exhibition grounds on the Rhine,⁹ the world press indeed became better acquainted with itself at the PRESSA. Cultural exhibition, monument and signpost – these are the aspects that summarize the PRESSA's essential qualities. The press, again, was first supposed to be presented in its entire diversity, the result of an interplay between intellectual, technological and economic forces. Different departments were accordingly dedicated to a wide range of issues: newspapers and magazines, the book industry and art design, technical equipment and tools, the press association, the German foreign press, and press-related contexts such as "the press and transportation", "the press and art", "the press and advertising", "journalism", "the paper industry", along with "photography" and "cinematography".

The organizers were moreover not simply interested in describing the fundamental nature of the press, its development, expansion, etc., through attractively designed exhibits, but also in making a commitment to international understanding, cultural cooperation and values that could endure beyond the exhibition itself.¹⁰ The PRESSA wanted to help introduce a new era of

⁸ Kütz [Dr. Wilhelm Kütz, former Reich Interior Minister, Reich Commissioner for the International Press Exhibition Cologne 1928, in the Introduction to:] *Pressa. Kulturschau* (see note 7), p. 11.

⁹ For the installation and spatial allocation of the exhibition grounds, see A. Abel: *Rechtes Rheinufer*, in: *Pressa. Kulturschau* (see note 7), pp. 17-20.

¹⁰ Foreword, in: *Pressa, Kulturschau* (see note 7), p. [5].

rapprochement between nations,¹¹ which explains the inclusion of so many foreign governments and press corps. The goal was to bring countries and people together, whatever their differences, both spatially and spiritually. The ambition to use the press (which is ultimately a homogeneous medium) to bridge national differences is voiced in a contemporary announcement:

[...] one of the PRESSA's important tasks will be to demonstrate the press's historical development [...] and to show how closely the press of each country is tied to the development of its people. The newspaper, which is the most popular and the most effective of all means of communication, is tailored to the people's character. Every country therefore has a press which corresponds to its nature and uniqueness. The newspaper can be seen as a national business card. It is an index of its country's spiritual state, culture, civilization and economic standing; it is a barometer and a gauge of its national will.¹²

It was further noted that the international character of the PRESSA would benefit from Cologne's cosmopolitanism and its intermediary role between North and South, East and West. Last but not least, the 1925 millennial exhibition¹³ and the other trade shows that had previously been held there could also be viewed as forerunners to an international press exhibition.¹⁴ The city, for its part, would also profit from the cultural exhibition on the Rhine, specifically in the area of urban planning. Cologne would be able to extend its current location on the Rhine's left bank to its opposite side. The right bank may have resembled a disorganized suburb a year earlier, but now the exhibition project presented the chance to have a permanent facility built, and thus a modern counterpart to old Cologne.¹⁵

3. The PRESSA as a Stepping Stone for the Science of Journalism

Max Weber pointed out already in 1910 the differing circumstances that lead to the development of individual press cultures in Western Europe and the United States.¹⁶ The French, for instance, above all wanted a newspaper that was partisan and controversial. The Americans, by contrast, expected facts,¹⁷ and what-

11 Heinrich Krumbhaar: Zur Weltschau der Presse in Köln. Zeitung voran!, In: *Der Zeitungs-Verlag Fachblatt für das gesamte Zeitungswesen* (First special issue on "Pressa": "Die deutsche Zeitung" - Ihr Werden, Wesen und Wirken) XXIX / no. 19 (12 May 1928), pp. 1-2.

12 Ibid.

13 The "Millennium Exhibition of the Rhineland" which had 1925 been held in several locations in the Rhineland and was organized in Cologne grandiosely thanks to Adenauer's initiative should first and foremost attest to its historic ties with the Reich, see Harald Lönnecker's article in this volume.

14 Introduction (see note 10).

15 A. Abel, *Rechtes Rheinufer* (see note 9).

16 Max Weber: Geschäftsberichte und Diskussionsreden auf den deutschen soziologischen Tagungen (1910, 1912). Speech at the first meeting of the "Deutschen Soziologentag" (German Sociological Association) in Frankfurt, in: Marianne Weber (ed.): *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik*, Tübingen 1924, pp. 431-449.

17 Ibid.

ever opinions or comments might have been written about them were not worth the trouble reading.¹⁸ The German press, on the other hand, hadn't distinguished yet between news and opinion.¹⁹

It was these peculiar aspects of the different press cultures, and their decisive influence on European modernity, that inspired Weber to compose, "Towards a Sociology of the Press".²⁰ His aim was to address the local differences and power structures as well as the press's institutional character and cultural resonance. Weber's "Enquête zur Erforschung des Zeitungswesens", which he presented at the first sociological conference ("Soziologentag") in Frankfurt in 1910²¹ is, again, not only concerned with the national differences in the press, but also with the inadequate scientific attempt to grapple with them. Weber intended for his "Enquête" to bring together theorists and practitioners of the press, and it subsequently became an important touchstone for empirical media and communication research.

Eighteen years later, Weber's proposal would be incorporated in the concept of the PRESSA. The exhibition provided a forum for national press corps to present their individual characteristics and gave impetus to scholars to research them. This latter point brings us the PRESSA's third focus: to deal more intensively with the press's historical development and, from this basis, to explain its function and significance for the present. For active scholars, the PRESSA ushered in a new era of press research, which had been neglected for decades. The exhibition's reception in these circles was nearly euphoric:

Press research is on the march. Academic institutes have been established everywhere for the study of the press. Along with their practical objectives, they of course also have the greater task of exploring the sociology and history of the press in retrospect.²²

With the rise of these institutes, the study of the press would acquire greater importance. Germany is also accorded an especially central role here because of the historical variety of its journalistic production.²³

18 Ibid.

19 In Germany a standard distinction between these two categories of journalism was first established only subsequent to the Allied press policy after the Second World War, see Kira Bogumil: Der Unterschied. Ein Vergleich zwischen deutschem und US-Journalismus, in: *Die Welt*, 17 August 1993, p. 7. Also see on this topic Klaus Schönbach: Trennung von Nachricht und Meinung – Empirische Untersuchung eines journalistischen Qualitätskriteriums, Freiburg, Munich 1977, pp. 15-27.

²⁰ Max Weber, Geschäftsbericht (see note 16).

²¹ Max Weber, Geschäftsbericht [1911] (see note 1), pp. 39-62. See also Andreas Hepp: Netzwerke der Medien. Medienkulturen und Globalisierung, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 31-34.

²² Heinrich Krumbhaar, Zur Weltschau (see note 11), p. 3.

²³ Ibid., p. 4.

4. 1928 as a Year of Re-evaluation and Transition in the Evolution of the Press

The year 1910, the effective beginning of sociological and empirical media research, is not the only year of re-evaluation and transition in the development of the press. The end of a phase, which had already begun in the late 19th century, but was interrupted by World War I, also seems to have occurred in 1928. Evidence of this is found in the following three tables, stemming from the records of the Rudolf Mosse catalogue. They depict the evolution of newspapers in the city of Berlin from 1890-1928.

Table I

The evolution of the Berlin press (including suburbs) in the years 1890 to 1928.²⁴

Date	Number of newspapers in Berlin	Number of newspapers in the Berlin suburbs	Total
1890	38	22	60
1895	43	37	80
1905	48	18	66
1914	6	47	114
1922	54	50	104
1925	64	39	103
1928	68	46	114

As Table I demonstrates, newspaper production achieved its first peak in 1914 (here in bold) and then declined in the following years (except for the evening editions of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Deutsche Kriegszeitung*, the war did not result in any major new papers).²⁵ Production didn't again reach the same level as 1914 until 1928 (also in bold).

This trend is confirmed by a look at the publication frequency of Berlin newspapers (Table II), along with the founding years of Berlin newspapers and newspaper closures (Table III).

²⁴ Heinrich Krumbhaar, *Zur Weltschau* (see note 11), p. 16.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Table II

Weekly publication frequency of the Berlin newspapers from 1890-1928²⁶

Publication frequency	1890	1895	1905	1914	1922	1922	1927
Once	<i>Information</i>	3	7	21	13	21	24
Twice	<i>not</i>	3	1	4	4	1	2
Three times	<i>recorded</i>	1	2	-	1	-	-
Six times	<i>in catalogue</i>	19	21	22	17	26	24
More than six times		17	17	20	19	16	18
Total	38	43	48	6	54	64	68

Table III

The founding years of the Berlin newspapers and newspaper closures²⁷

	1722-1848	1848-1900	1900-1928	Total
Number of new papers	10	131	29	170
Papers still operating in 1928	2	23	25	50

If the period between 1890 and 1914 primarily marks the development of the mass press, which went hand in hand with journalism's professionalization, then the years during and after the First World War are characterised by the media's increasingly dynamic transformation.

The dissemination of knowledge and news was no longer limited to the medium of print. Acoustic mass media such as radio and records, not to mention film (at first without sound) also played an increasing role from the mid 1920s. And whereas these new mass media in the beginning were initially directed at national listeners,²⁸ the right infrastructure enabled the recording and transmission of audio signals (whether for informational or entertainment pur-

²⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Michele Hilmes: Radio-Nationen. Die Bedeutung transnationaler Medienforschung, in: M. Michael Hamper, Ursula Lehmkuhl (ed.): Radio Welten. Politische, soziale und kulturelle Aspekte atlantischer Mediengeschichte vor und während des Zweiten Weltkriegs, Berlin 2006, pp. 84-93.

poses) for quickly and powerfully creating sustainable transnational and transatlantic audiences.

5. “The Jewish accomplishments should not be allowed to hide behind a cloak of invisibility”: The Special Jewish Exhibit at the PRESSA

1928 also proved to be a year of re-evaluation and transition for the Jewish press in particular. Thanks to the initiative of the Cologne Counsellor of Justice, Max Isidor Bodenheimer, they could showcase their exhibit within the framework of the PRESSA in their own pavilion, which included a section on the past and another on the present. The latter included a display highlighting the new Hebrew press in Palestine. The Jewish pavilion was located on the “Street of Nations”, immediately next to a special Protestant exhibit that had been constructed in the form of a church.²⁹ From a rectangular base of about four feet high, a hexagonal hall arose that was topped by a tower crowned with a shining Star of David. Over the two high gates of the building was the inscription “Jüdische Sonderschau” (special Jewish exhibit), abbreviated ISOP (Jüdische Sonderschau der Pressa) and emblazoned in three languages (German, Hebrew and Yiddish). According to the *Jüdische Rundschau* this was “[...] the largest and most comprehensive [display] of Jewish writing that had ever been shown before”.³⁰ The Jewish press had committed themselves to the task of not permitting Jewish accomplishments to hide behind a cloak of invisibility (“Tarnkappe”), and to instead shed light on the Jewish incognito status (“jüdische(s) Inkognito”).³¹ At the time, Bodenheimer pointed out the great talent the Jews had for journalism. He also notes, however, that Jewish journalism’s greatest triumphs are generally in the sphere of the daily press, whereas the actual Jewish press has no influence, having been underdeveloped for many years. He further remarks that there is new interest in the idea of Jewish nationalism, although principally in Eastern Europe.³²

Bodenheimer cites the important impact of the two Hebrew newspapers, *Ha Magid* and *Ha Tsfira*, and remembers in this context how much Jewry benefited in the East from the pioneering achievements e.g. of Perez Smolenski and the journalistic brilliance of Nahum Sokolow.³³ In addition to the press in the Jewish vernacular, Yiddish, which, Bodenheimer remarks, was read mainly by the Jewish masses in Eastern Europe, there is now a considerable number of Jewish newspapers and magazines in local languages. According to Bodenheimer, a Jewish press appeared in 48 countries and 35 languages. He finally

29 The special Jewish exhibit at the Cologne “Pressa”, in: *Jüdische Rundschau*, 16 May 1928, p. 2.

30 Karl Schwarz: Die Jüdische Sonderschau der Pressa (Spezialbericht der Jüd. Sonderschau), in: *Jüdische Rundschau*, 23 May 1928, p. 6.

31 National identities at the Pressa, entertainment supplement of the *Jüdischen Rundschau*, 16 October 1928, pp. 3-4.

32 Max Isidor Bodenheimer: Die jüdische Presse, in: Pressa, Kulturschau (see note 7), pp. 125-128.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

refers to his hope that the special Jewish exhibit at the PRESSA will be a means of combating fatal prejudices.³⁴

There was a downside, however, to the public accolades.³⁵ The historian and journalist Elias Tscherikower reports in the Warsaw Yiddish journal *Di bikhervelt - kritish-biblyografisher zhurnal*³⁶ how hostilities broke out during the preparation of the Jewish exhibit between the German organizational board, chaired by Bodenheimer, and the author himself. Tscherikower was the Jewish cultural activist from Eastern Europe who had lived in Berlin since 1921 and taken on responsibility for the Yiddish section of the Jewish press exhibit. At the PRESSA, Bodenheimer and his Jewish community in Cologne, which had assumed most of the costs of the entire Jewish exhibition, offered the Yiddish press only a small exhibit space. This resulted in many of the Yiddish journalists arriving from Eastern Europe and America abruptly departing from the exhibition in disappointment. Secular Yiddish and German Jews met head on, and the New York publication *Forverts* declared that the entire special Jewish press exhibit was dead on arrival – a “maplkind” (stillbirth). According to Tscherikower, the organizers of the Yiddish section of the exhibition were deeply humiliated. They had experienced the full brunt of the German-Jewish leadership’s arrogance. “We stood there, once again, like vagabonds having to beg for handouts.”³⁷ Only after the Yiddish section’s renovation in July 1928 was the situation at least somewhat more satisfactory.

Today, this early neglect of Yiddish publications appears even more incomprehensible to us when considering that 1928 had actually been the Yiddish press’s most prolific year ever worldwide.³⁸ Forty-five per cent of all Yiddish newspapers and magazines appeared in Poland at the time. Never again, however, would there be as many Yiddish newspapers and periodicals, which makes 1928 an important watershed for the Yiddish-speaking press.

6. The Volume’s Themes and Articles

The articles collected in this volume, first of all, deal with aspects of the preparation and organization of the PRESSA itself. The second focal point concerns the Jewish contribution to modern journalism and its significance for both the general and the specific Jewish press. The articles pertaining to the volume’s third area of emphasis centre on the interplay between image and text in mod-

34 Ibid.

35 Rena Fuks: Ärger in Köln. Das Haus der jüdischen Presse, Pressa 1928 (unpublished contribution to the 6th Symposium for Yiddish Studies in Germany, University of Trier, organized by Faculty II / Yiddish Studies, University of Trier and the Department of Yiddish Culture, Language and Literature, Heinrich Heine University Dusseldorf, pp. 22-24 September 2003).

36 Elias Tscherikower: Di yidishe prese-oysshtelung in Keln, in: *Di bikhervelt. Kritish-biblyografisher zhurnal* no. 4 (July 1928) pp. 39-45.

37 Rena Fuks: Ärger in Köln (see note 35).

38 I. Anilovitch: 5 yor yidishe prese (1926-1930), in: *YIVO bleter* vol. II, no.1-2 (Vilnius, September 1931), p. 96.

ern media – including the press – and refer, to some degree, back to the previous section, as in the case of the topic of Jewish photojournalism.

6.1 The PRESSA. International Press Exhibition in Cologne, 1928

6.1.1 First, the **PRESSA** is examined as a **political and media event**. The article by Stephanie Seul (Bremen) is a spectacular start to this subject, for she is able to work out the virtues and shortcomings of the PRESSA in the public eye through a meticulous analysis of the media. Using selected articles from German, British, American, French and Italian newspapers and magazines as well as contemporary publications concerning the PRESSA, she not only manages to illustrate how the PRESSA succeeded in documenting historical and modern journalism, but also endeavoured to improve Germany's global standing and to make known the country's desire to promote international understanding. By contrast, the essay alludes to some of the shadier sides of contemporary journalism and addresses the question about the relationship between the euphoric reports on the peace-building effects of the PRESSA and the actual state and function of the press in the 1920s.

The PRESSA's peace-building mission, its aim (in the words of a contemporary) to "detoxify public opinion internationally", is also the primary topic of the next essay. By taking a close look at the League of Nations' presentation at the PRESSA and, in particular, giving a detailed reconstruction of the preparatory activities, Ute Lemke (Savoie, Chambéry) shows which political institutions and movements, interests and particulars played a role behind the scenes. It is clear that in the interwar period there were significant activities and networks in the area of the press, some of which were initiated and coordinated by the League of Nations International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle), founded in 1926, with the aim of confronting the political problems of the press and making a contribution to preserving world peace in light of the "moral disarmament of nations".

Harald Lönnecker (Koblenz) then takes up the problematic in the run-up to the overtly international PRESSA relating to the ringing undertone of national differences. After a comprehensive portrait of Paul Wentzcke, the representative of the academic organizations at the PRESSA, the author presents a detailed description of Wentzcke's connections both in the press sector and with respect to the public and political life of his time in general (mostly due to university student-organisation ties). The essay then examines a paradigmatic statement that was been made by this influential, behind-the-scenes museum and archives director. As Wentzcke remarked when preparations were underway, the PRESSA was not conceived to "entertain the masses", but rather to serve as a "part of the front line in the fight" against France and its ambitions with regard to the Rhine. Lönnecker is thus able to show how, according to the wishes of some of those involved in its preparation, the PRESSA was intended to showcase

German cultural and industrial effectiveness to the outside world and also to act as a building block for re-asserting Germany's super-power status through non-military means.

6.1.2 The unanimous verdict of the visitors and reporters to the exhibition, with its decided inclination towards avant-garde structures and presentation styles, seemed to be that the crowd-pleasing Soviet pavilion was a particularly apt symbol of modernity. For this reason, there are several articles devoted to **the PRESSA's Soviet pavilion**, which was described at the time as the "height of visual expression".³⁹ The propaganda and design of the Soviet show are the focus of the essays by Susanne Marten-Finnis (Portsmouth) and Igor Dukhan (Minsk). Although linked thematically, they differ in content insofar as the first centres on the textual practices and roots of the former Soviet press, whereas the second focuses by contrast on the visual aspects of their presentation in the pavilion.

At the PRESSA, the USSR had a forum for the first time to make their press known to an international audience. Their presentation ended up, accordingly, being incredibly intricate: the rolling assembly lines, zigzagging Cubist designs, mechanical devices and gaudy red illustrations were all intended to convey to visitors that they found themselves in the centre of progress and were surrounded by the media of tomorrow.⁴⁰ The newspaper in the Soviet Union was not just a propaganda tool or agitator of the masses, but also a promoter of the collective, as it was then called in the Soviet PRESSA brochure. This is why the Soviet press in its capacity draws a fundamental distinction between itself and both the pre-revolutionary Russian and the Western bourgeois press.⁴¹

In her essay "To get the message across" Susanne Marten-Finnis examines the declared communicative objectives of the Soviet press as well as the tradition of shared text reception. She shows that the constituent elements of the Soviet press did not, as suggested at the PRESSA, derive from the Leninist principles of the pre-revolutionary Bolshevik press,⁴² but rather primarily corresponded to the ideals of the Jewish press. Above all, they stemmed from

39 *Freiheit*, Dusseldorf, 26 May 1928.

40 *Berliner Tageblatt*, Berlin, 26 May 1928.

41 Union der Sozialistischen Sowjet-Republiken. Katalog des Sowjet-Pavillons auf der Internationalen Presse-Ausstellung. Cologne 1928 [Facs. Repr. Cologne 1981], Sergei Ingulow: Die Presse in Sowjetrussland. Ihre Lage und Arbeitsverhältnisse. Pavillon der Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken auf der Internationalen Ausstellung 'PRESSA' in Köln, Moskau 1928.

42 All of these functions were assumed by the pre-revolutionary Bolshevik Soviet press; at the time, the press was a tool for the illegal Bolshevik Party to awaken the revolutionary energy of the working masses, raise their political consciousness and unite them into revolutionary labour organizations. These are the functions that Wladimir Ilyich Lenin already defined at the dawn of the Bolshevik movement, when he claimed that "[...] the press is not only a collective agitator and a collective propagandist, but also a collective organizer [...]", see: Sergei Ingulow (see note 41), pp. 15-16.

the principles of the socialist Jewish press, as they were established and championed by the protagonists of the Jewish workers' alliance in and before 1900 in the urban centres of the Pale of Settlement. In fact, the Soviet press was not, as previously thought, Lenin's "new type of press", but rather the product of a collaboration of different revolutionary camps out of which, after 1917, the Bolsheviks had won the day. Its forms of communication, however, had already been established before 1903 in the early phase of revolutionary interaction and profited decisively from the federal press activists whose pioneering press norms and ideals they absorbed and preserved – now, however, no longer in Yiddish, but in Russian dress.

In his essay "Lissitzky's Path to PRESSA. Space-Time Concept, Montage, Show", Igor Dukhan looks closely at the visual treatment of the Soviet press for the pavilion. He focuses on El Lissitzky's return to the integrative exhibition space whose aim was to transfer utopian avant-garde concepts into real space and to thus rescue the spirit of the avant-garde by ushering it into the post avant-garde era. The exhibition of the Soviet press at the PRESSA, according to Dukhan, is not only a continuation, and, indeed, a high point of Lissitzky's search for a new exhibition design. It is also a substitute for his unsuccessful quest to discover a new kind of architecture. The exhibition also embodies an innovative montage strategy based on the evolution of Lissitzky's space-time concept and demonstrates, perhaps for the last time, a balanced representation between the personal commitment of the artist and the state propaganda efforts of the USSR.

Belonging to the treatment of Lissitzky's exhibition concept is the catalogue of the Soviet exhibition in the form of a Leporello-folding album, a typographic "movie show". In their "El Lissitzky: Publishing, Illustration and Graphic Design in the 1920s and 1930s", Albert Lemmens and Serge Stommels (Nijmegen) suggest that it is the prelude to his photo-montage work in the 1930s. While Dukhan illuminates Lissitzky's way to the PRESSA, and thus his evolution in the 1920s, Lemmens and Stommels take into consideration the artist's exhibition activities in the following creative period, the 1930s. In doing so, they, like Dukhan, come to the view that the PRESSA represents a turning point in Lissitzky's artistic process.

6.1.3. At the PRESSA, the Jewish press, which was otherwise a medium for a limited readership, was able to present itself to a wide audience for the first time. Looking back, this special **Jewish exhibit (ISOP) at the PRESSA** is an important milestone for research on the history of the Jewish press. Its preparation was under severe time constraints and had high expectations. While the PRESSA organisers, in the interest of preserving ideological neutrality, placed value on being able to present a special Jewish exhibit next to the Catholic and Protestant ones, the Cologne Zionist Max Isidor Bodenheimer, who was responsible for the presentation within the German-Jewish community, had to contend with numerous conflicting interests and ideas.

The rivalry between the cities of Berlin and Cologne came to the surface, organisationally and in substance, in the context of the two Christian PRESSA special exhibits, which contrasted Prussian Protestantism and Rhenish Catholicism. Strangely, as Johannes Schwarz (Berlin) shows in his essay, “The Jewish special exhibit at the Cologne PRESSA in the conflict between the religious ideological groups / Die Jüdische Sonderschau auf der Kölner PRESSA im Spannungsfeld der religiösen Weltanschauungsgruppen”, this tension also played out in the internal Jewish disagreement between the differing self-concepts of German-nationalism and religious-Zionism. The fact that the ISOP at the end of day largely followed Cologne’s example (organizationally and conceptually), which is also to say the Catholic model, is, according to Schwarz, above all a testament to the skill and perseverance of its promoters. This article’s examination of the preparation phase, the form of organization and the exhibition architecture of the three religious ideological groups opens up a previously unknown comparative perspective. In addition, it becomes clear how the special Jewish exhibit came into being in a time of growing anti-Semitism, tension between religions, states and nations, and in the face of internal pressures and the public eye.

Max Bodenheimer, the energetic organizer of the Jewish pavilion, was one of the most influential founding fathers of the Zionist movement, equally committed to the interests of Judaism in the “Galuth”, as in Germany and Eastern Europe – and not only through his involvement with the PRESSA. Karol Sauerland (Warsaw, Torun) highlights in his article, “Bodenheimer’s Journalistic Commitment to the Eastern Jews / Bodenheimers publizistisches Eintreten für die Ostjuden”, Bodenheimer’s political activities in the period 1914-16, the first two years of the First World War. The focus is on Bodenheimer’s desire to win the Supreme Command (“Oberste Heeresleitung”) for establishing, after the expected victory, an Eastern European confederation. A kind of buffer state with Poles, Jews, Lithuanians, Latvians, White Russians, Ukrainians and Germans would emerge between Germany and Russia. It not only would preserve national differences, but it would also have at last meant national cultural autonomy for the Jews, and the recognition of Yiddish as a viable, independent language. Even if Bodenheimer’s idea about the creation of an independent East European Jewish cultural space remained a dream, he could at least take credit for the pressure that his “Committee for the East” (“Komitee für den Osten”) exercised on the German army command: Thanks to Bodenheimer’s initiative, all official documents were subsequently published, among other languages, also in Yiddish, giving this tongue under the German occupation a previously unknown level of prominence.

Max Bodenheimer also serves as the focus for the following article by Michael Nagel (Bremen), entitled “On the Standing of German-Jewish Publishing in the General Press since the Enlightenment / Zur Position der deutsch-jüdischen Publizistik im allgemeinen Pressewesen seit der Aufklärung”. His (Bodenheimer’s) regretful remark at the PRESSA-opening that the Jewish press

was hardly taken notice of by the general public is the point of departure for a critical look at the history of this press leading up to the PRESSA, and partly beyond. The question posed here is whether the Jewish press was in fact a “ghetto press”, a strictly Jewish phenomenon. Over the course of the analysis, it becomes apparent that the Jewish press – and the German-speaking Jewish press in particular – has been part of the general press since its inception in the Enlightenment and throughout the 19th and 20th century, with evidence to be found in many substantive, conceptual and personnel-related ties. It is in the context of the general history of the press, therefore, that the necessary future research into the Jewish press should continue.

6.2 Jewish Contributions to Modern Journalism

In addition to covering the Jewish press and journalism as part of PRESSA exhibition of 1928, the subject further serves as the starting point in the present volume for illuminating the professionalization of journalism and the Jewish role in it and also for tracing the rise of an avowedly Jewish press.

6.2.1 Since research on the history of the press has also directed our attention to Judaism and the Jewish press, we know the great extent to which the Jewish emancipation movement helped form the urban and bourgeois public sphere and of the important **Jewish contribution to journalism overall**. The Jews particularly close contact to the newspaper and magazine industry was due, in the first instance, to adverse social conditions. Jewish Germans in the “Age of Emancipation” were still confronted with limited opportunities for earning a living. An alternative, though, was presented by various independent professions, which included the possibility of working at a newspaper. In this case special aptitudes were likely prized that had been nurtured by the Jewish tradition, such as an appreciation for discursive, “opinion-diverse” learning and instruction. These qualities had an impact on the style and manner of work, not to mention the enlightened attitude that remains with us today as the essential precondition and ingredient for the best journalism. “Enlightened” in this case refers to the maxims of the 18th century, relating to overcoming prejudice and religious and societal barriers, critiquing the social plight of the time, the possibility of productive argument, valuing the use of reason – and, most of all, stepping out into the public spotlight.

Demonstrating that the Jewish press was also particularly influenced by these attitudes and ideals, Anne Maximiliane Jäger-Gogoll’s essayistic survey of the “Jewish Contributions to Modern Journalism / Jüdische Beiträge zum modernen Journalismus” was very well received as the introductory evening lecture at the opening of the conference. The article shows how a press that was going through its own emancipation process during the 19th century was nonetheless able to make valuable contributions to society. These included a watchful attention to the political, social, cultural and technological changes after the “Vormärz” (pre-March) period, a commitment to the cause of democ-

racy, a broad outlook extending beyond the limits of regional and national boundaries, and an honest sense of the expectations of readers. The Jewish impact on modern journalism was set into motion by Jewish Germans, like Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne, who neither particularly viewed themselves as Jews nor wanted to be seen as such. This, accordingly, suggests two additional contributions from the era to modern journalism: esteem for the press and respect for its independence.

In his essay, “Jew and German. Heinrich Heine as a Pioneer of Modern Journalism / Jude und Deutscher. Heinrich Heine als Pionier des modernen Journalismus”, Horst Pöttker (Dortmund) puts special emphasis on coming to terms with Heinrich Heine’s role in the development of modern journalism. The author concludes that the exponent of “Junges Deutschland” (Young Germany) did not so much inspire and shape the spread of opinion in the press – newly baptised in the first half of the 19th century – as the form of sceptical liberal journalism that dealt with actual news. The article’s second line of argument contends that this very contribution to the journalism of his era, and the period that followed, had its roots to a significant extent in Heine’s Jewish background. This particular point does not stand in contradiction to Heine’s relative silence about his ancestry.

Research on the history of the press is not only animated by studies on universal manifestations or general developments in trends and styles. At its core, it also largely depends on analyses with regional and local orientation. Here the fact that an examination of the press of a certain period should imply looking at the historical context becomes especially apparent. Because of its historical and demographic trends before and after the turn of the century and its location away from the metropolitan cities of Vienna (until 1918) and Bucharest, one area that seems rather well suited to such site-specific research is the Bukovina region and its capital Czernowitz. In his article “Jewish Journalists in Czernowitz: Notes on the Profession / Jüdische Journalisten in Czernowitz: Anmerkungen zu einem Berufsstand”, which is based on intensive research into the local history, Markus Winkler (Portsmouth) shows that it was above all these particular Jewish journalists who introduced and facilitated the modernization of the city’s German-speaking – and also the specifically Jewish – press between 1894 and 1937. The Jewish contribution to shaping modern journalism is shown *in nuce*, so to speak, through an appraisal of the city and the region from a historical economic, cultural and educational perspective, an assessment of the inter-regional formation and self-understanding of the journalistic profession and its professionalization and, lastly, an evaluation of the biographical backgrounds and career paths of two of the field’s outstanding representatives.

Hedvig Ujvary (Budapest) also undertakes a localised approach, this time from a national perspective with her overview of the “Jewish Contribution to the German-Speaking Press in Hungary / Jüdische[n] Beitrag[es] zum deutschsprachigen Pressewesen in Ungarn”. After an initial review of the Hungarian presence at the PRESSA, she shows that the unique role Jewish journalists and

editors played in modern journalism in the multi-ethnic country between the 1820s and 1938 was a result of their prevailing talents and inclinations. These included multilingualism, an intercultural perspective, a passion for literature, and a discerning interest in politics and economics.

6.2.2 The intersection of **tradition and rebirth that defines the Jewish press** has been a primary focus of press historical research in recent years. The fact that this press should be understood as a part of the general press, despite its unique qualities, is confirmed once again in the first article of this section: “The Scholarly Journals of German Jewry / Die wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften des deutschen Judentums”. In portraying and analysing the journals in their development since the early 19th century, Kerstin von der Krone (London, Erfurt) shows that they belong in their form and substance to the circulating humanities journals that emerged in this period for a general readership. A shared origin may be located in the 18th century for both the popularization, or “translation”, of scientific research and the more-or-less specialized academic journals. Additionally, the broader inclination in the 19th century towards a more historicised perspective finds its first scholarly Jewish expression in the Berlin “Wissenschaft des Judentums” (Science of Judaism).

The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1837-1922 and 1938) has a special place in the history of German-Jewish Press, partly because of its long duration, and to some degree because of its conception as a kind of “Generalanzeiger” (general newspaper) for all aspects of Judaism. Remaining outside of internal Jewish politics, the paper was closely associated with mainstream journalism and also directed at non-Jewish readers. In its first fifty years, it even exerted influence on the altogether too long and cumbersome progress toward Jewish emancipation. Until the death of its founder and leader, Ludwig Philippson (1811-1889), the paper bore his signature by staying optimistically and actively engaged in finding consensus within the Jewish community, and working to overcome the legal and social obstacles of Jewish citizens. The fact that neither an in-depth study has been done for this centrally important journal for Judaism of the 19th century (both in Germany and elsewhere), or for its founder, once again demonstrates the provisional and still very incomplete state of current Jewish press research. The treatment here of individual aspects is consequently all the more welcome. In his article “A sign of the times: Baden and the shift of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* over its first ten years, 1837-1846” David Meola (Vancouver) analyses the paper’s position over its first decade, and thus also that of its publisher, in regard to the emancipation process in the Grand Duchy of Baden. In the context of the period’s stalled progress on the question of equality, the article demonstrates the paper’s shift from an initial optimism and trust in the governing institutions of the relatively liberal Grand Duchy toward a more impatient, even combative disposition.

In the following article, “Remarks on the ‘Invention’ of Foreign News in the Hebrew Press: The Revolution of *Ha-Magid* – ‘News and History’”, Gideon Kouts (Paris) also centres on the modernization of the Jewish and the German-Jewish press. The central concern here is a Hebrew-language journal published in the Prussian city of Lyck (modern Elk, Poland) that was written for a regional audience, but especially for the Russian-Jewish reading public on the other side of the border. Drawing comparisons with the style and design of the era’s pre-eminent *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* finally recommends viewing the concept of “modernization” in relative terms. For the area’s still predominantly traditional Jewish inhabitants, the press as such represented something new, as did foreign journalism in particular which could extend their horizons in unprecedented ways.

Another Hebrew-language Jewish newspaper printed in Warsaw, and its contribution to modernity, is the subject of the article from Dror Segev (Tel Aviv), entitled “Statistics, anti-Semitism and Sokolow’s distress in *Ha Tsfira* 1887-1888: a case study in editor readership relations”. The *Ha Tsfira*’s editor at the time, Nahum Sokolow, managed to mobilise his readers to contribute to a large-scale socio-economic, historical study of the current composition and history of their communities. The statistics, which were provided by readers throughout the Russian Empire, were assembled and published in the journal with the aim of refuting the anti-Semitic aspersions of the time, often “proven” with falsified statistical data. This highly productive interaction between the medium of the press and its audience reflected a novelty and yet was also based on the traditionally very close connection of the Hebrew press to its readers.

Undoubtedly, the press as a whole (thus also including the Jewish press) demonstrates a particular affinity for modernity in comparison to other areas of social, economic and political life.⁴³ While this tendency can, of course, be indicated outwardly in conspicuous ways, it is also not clear whether this is evidence of the modernity of a paper’s content or enlightened orientation.⁴⁴ In another methodically insightful article on the Hebrew-language press of the 19th century, Roni Beer Marx (Tel Aviv) suggests the possibility of such a connection in her “Advertisements, News Items and Correspondents’ Reports

43 Only a few examples are cited here: Jürgen Habermas has written on the decisive role of the press in the emergence of a critical public in the 18th century; this process started, as press historical research has shown, already in the early 17th century; the progress of science and technology since the Enlightenment is inextricably linked to their publicity, and since the 19th century, the daily press inspired more than a few avant-garde writers: Dostoevsky, Fontane and others, and later in Germany, the authors of the “*Neue Sachlichkeit*” (New Objectivity).

44 A sobering counter-example is found in the ugly growth of anti-Semitic papers since the end of the 19th century which to some degree viewed themselves as being thoroughly “modern”. Due to the collaboration of the Richard Koebner Minerva Center for German History at the University of Jerusalem and the Institute of “*Deutsche Presseforschung*” at the University of Bremen, an extensive volume will soon be published on the weighty subject of “*Judenfeindschaft und Antisemitismus in der deutschen Presse über fünf Jahrhunderte / Five hundred Years of Jew-Hatred and Anti-Semitism in the German Press*”.

as Tools for reassessing *Ha'Levanon* (1863-1882)". The magazine introduced here, which appeared first in Jerusalem and then Paris and finally Mainz, was largely addressed to an Eastern European-Jewish audience and, to date, has mostly been portrayed as "backward-orthodox". The author is able to show, on the contrary, how the paper for instance attuned its readers through the placement of certain substantive advertisements to the enlightened and modern transformation process that the majority of Western European Jews had already experienced.

Following Ludwig Philippson, the initiative to publish a German-Jewish newspaper that would occupy German Jewry's political middle was seized in 1903 by Julius Moses – journalist, doctor, member of parliament and health-policy adviser for the SPD's executive committee. Kurt Nemitz (Bremen) takes a close look at his "Journalistic and Political Engagement in the German-Jewish Press after 1900 and in the Area of Health Policy during the Weimar Republic / publizistisches und politisches Engagement in der deutsch-jüdischen Presse nach 1900 und in der Gesundheitspolitik der Weimarer Zeit." The author sees Moses's paper, the *Generalanzeiger für die gesamten Interessen des Judentums*, founded in 1902, as an attempt to give German-Jewry a reliable base for communication within the community and a clear voice to the world outside. There was an urgent need for this, as the editor at the time realized, in light of the recent anti-Jewish provisos in Germany and the pogroms in Russia. Julius Moses understands Judaism and the Jewish press not as a self-contained domain, but as "part of the whole, the entire cultural life of civilized humanity".⁴⁵ Even in his broader public life and political activity, Jewish concerns, both specific and general in nature, were continually in evidence.

In her analysis, "The End of the First World War and the Founding of the First Republic in the Mirror of the Vienna Jewish Press / Das Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges und die Gründung der Ersten Republik im Spiegel der Wiener jüdischen Presse", Eleonore Lappin-Eppel (Vienna) shows that the Jewish press did not dwell on internal issues, but rather always dealt with opinions and trends outside of Judaism, including when its hand was forced from the mid 19th century by the evil of anti-Semitism. The author's article convincingly demonstrates what the events of the fateful year of 1918 meant for the Austria-Jewish citizens, what hopes and fears they entertained in the capital of the disintegrating Danube monarchy and what the political arguments were that the local Jewish press strove to provide in offering advice and guidance.

Dieter Hecht (Vienna) goes into greater detail about the last ten years of the Austrian interwar period with his article, "*Die Stimme. Jüdische Zeitung* (1928-1938)". As result of its thematic orientation, political stance, and its staff's personal associations, the Jewish Viennese weekly the author analyses

45 Verus [pseud., Julius Moses]: Die jüdische Presse, in: *Generalanzeiger für die allgemeinen Interessen des Judentums*, no. 1, vol.4. Sept. 1902.

viewed itself as the official organ of the Zionist national committee for Austria, and a successor to Robert Stricker's *Wiener Morgenzeitung* and Theodor Herzl's *Welt*. The many corresponding photos to the text can be identified as a modern design element. Also especially noteworthy here is the relatively large proportion of participating female journalists.

In her article, "The new Midrash: the Jewish Press in Argentina", Liliana Ruth Feierstein (Heidelberg) once again confirms that the Jewish press often depicted in richer detail and with a more differentiating perspective than other sources the internal state and living conditions of its readers. It also had a finely tuned barometer for discerning the social and political maturity – or immaturity – of the majority non-Jewish population. Presenting an overview with detailed knowledge of the subject, the author sketches the basic outlines of the Argentine-Jewish press between about 1910 and the end of the 1980s, while highlighting the main papers. Among the central concerns she identifies were the articulation and preservation of Zionist-socialist ideals, integration (in particular of fellow Jewish-immigrant citizens) into mainstream Latin American life, the cultivation of Jewish culture, including its depiction to non-Jewish readers, and the establishment of a strong international and cosmopolitan "Argentine-Jewish voice", even in times of dictatorship.

Marion Brandt (Gdansk), in turn, presents a local study on the "Self-Understanding of the Danzig Jews in the Mirror of their Community Paper (1933-1939) / Selbstverständnis der Danziger Juden im Spiegel ihres Gemeindeblattes (1933-1939)". Because of the special political status of Danzig as a "free city", the paper could continue publishing, even following Germany's ban on the Jewish press in the wake of its November pogrom in 1938. In fact, it did so with the approval of the Danzig Senate, which had been predominantly National Socialist since 1933 – with the understanding, however, that it would offer logistical support for the Jewish community's collective emigration or, more accurately, expulsion. Nevertheless, an analysis of the paper's lead articles, before this period and after 1933, shows that the editors were working to overcome the Zionist-assimilationist rift within the community and to engender a new openness towards East European Jewish culture. Until 1936, they took a stand in confrontational articles against the local persecution of Jews taking place outside the German Reich's "legal" sanction.

6.3. Text and Image. Illustration-Photography-Film

The inclusion of illustrations, which proceeded from the further evolution of technology and its economic preconditions, had considerable influence on the modernization of the press. Portions of images can already be found in some journals from the late 17th century. In the early elaborately designed, universal scientific journals read by the bourgeois-academic elite, engravings facilitated understanding of particular technical and scientific texts, and had sometimes made possible any comprehension at all. The proliferation of illustrations first

occurred in the 19th century through virtually all forms of journalism, and especially the newspaper, which contributed in this context to the growth of the mass press. Some of the related issues that have become important topics of research include: the emphasis and the interplay of text and image in communicating joint messages; the effect on the reader (who now also becomes the viewer) of the shift between factual information and allusion; and the connection and interaction with contemporary viewing habits and perspectives on art. The *PRESSA* in 1928 represents excellent terrain for such study, for the press exhibits announced with very different framing, shading and colouring techniques the development and contemporary state of photojournalism. Indeed, the press was itself a photo subject of particular fascination.

The first article in this section is written by Malgorzata Maksymiak (Be'er Sheva, Trier), a distinguished expert on early multilingual Zionist journalism. She examines the “Visual Development of the Zionist Press 1885-1914 / graphische Entwicklung der zionistischen Presse 1885-1914”. The article’s main title, “The Image in Zionism – Zionism in the Image / Bild im Zionismus - Zionismus im Bild”, fittingly outlines a major concern of the respective editors and journalists: to communicate visualizations to readers which themselves transcend genre and media, and which, as constants, become recognizable emblems of the Zionist movement. Particular attention is paid here to analysing the striking contrast between the supposed authenticity of the photograph and the different methods used in the process of interpretation. This is, of course, something that goes beyond the nascent Zionist movement to characterize ideologically motivated journalism of all kinds.

Michael Berkowitz (London) presents another example of the considerable impact Jewish journalists had on the modernization of the general press in his article, “Jews and Photojournalism: between Contempt, Intimacy, and Celebrity”. In this instance, however, it is the photographers, and particularly press photographers, who, because of their obviously unique skills, were able to emerge as vanguards of their profession from the turn of the century until the 1920s. Their work was characterized by an intimate familiarity with the latest techniques, a delicate proximity to their subject matter, especially in the case of portraits, an analytical understanding for the symbolism inherent in given communicative situations, such as political gatherings, and revealing looks behind the scenes. This kind of photographic art in the service of enlightenment hints at its close relationship to Jewish tradition and thought.

A similar unmasking of apparently familiar, everyday images is undertaken by Susanne Böhme-Kuby (Venice) in her article, “‘Deutschland, Deutschland über alles’. A Picture Book by Kurt Tucholsky and Numerous Photographers. Assembled by John Heartfield (Berlin 1929) / Deutschland, Deutschland über alles. Ein Bilderbuch von Kurt Tucholsky und vielen Fotografen. Montiert von John Heartfield (Berlin 1929)”. The nationalist, militarist and conservative popular myths of the Weimar period are here initially identified with their memorable symbolism. Then, in the next instant, they are robbed of their hol-

low magnificence and exposed to mockery using visual editing techniques, such as montage, collage, and pointed sarcastic commentary. The resemblance here to the period's critical, muckraking press is obvious.

By the end of the crisis-ridden Weimar years, this critical press had lost all too much of its influence. After the transfer of power, the ministry of "Volksaufklärung", in association with the many willing opportunists and converted in the country's news industry, stifled the enlightened and modern impetus behind political journalism in Germany, Austria and the occupied territories. First and foremost, they expelled journalists in the newsrooms who were either Jewish or, in accordance with the racial laws, identified as such. As recent studies reveal, the "zero hour" at the end of the period of "Gleichschaltung" in 1945 hardly meant a direct return to the critical and impartial journalism that distinguished the notable journals of the Weimar period. Many writers and readers, although not all, were still stuck in the dark logic of the previous twelve years under the Nazis. The last article in this section, and thus for the volume itself, is entitled "Janus and the Moral Confession – GW Pabst's Film 'The Trial' (Austria 1948): between contemporary Reception and Film-Theory Criticism / Janus und das moralische Bekenntnis – G.W. Pabsts Film 'Der Prozess' (Österreich 1948)". Author Johannes Hofinger (Salzburg) examines the dual sense of the post-war film by a former hanger-on in the Nazi cultural industry. The film centres on the actual historical ritual murder trial of Tisza-Eszlar (Southern Hungary, 1882), while also portraying Jewish figures and Jewish life. The verdict of the contemporary Austrian press is, as the film itself, marred by racism toward the Jews. Only recent film criticism, however, has been able to identify the persistent blind prejudices in these anti-Semitic images.

6.4. Bibliography of PRESSA, Cologne 12 May–14 October 1928

The contributions to this volume only speak to a few selected aspects of the big international press exhibition of 1928. For investigating further into the event, Stephanie Seul (Bremen) and Johannes Schwarz (Berlin) have put together a bibliographic overview of articles from the period, as well as the regrettably few recent studies that have been done.

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The Editors