Federal Republic of Germany

For the Bonn government, 1988 was a relatively uneventful year, one in which some progress was made in easing tensions with the USSR, and the president of the Bundestag was forced to resign as a result of an ill-considered speech commemorating Kristallnacht. The Jews of West Germany were shaken this year by a major scandal involving the embezzlement of funds by the head of the community, though the consequences proved less damaging than originally feared.

National Affairs

Two major areas of foreign policy occupied the Bonn government in 1988: Eastern Europe, especially the USSR, and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Several steps were taken this year to ease relations with the Soviet Union, which had been seriously strained since 1986, when Chancellor Helmut Kohl (Christian Democratic Union, CDU) in a Newsweek interview compared Mikhail Gorbachev to Nazi propagandist Josef Goebbels. First, in mid-January, Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze paid a three-day visit to Bonn, where he discussed the status of West Berlin, disarmament, and various bilateral issues. Shevardnadze indicated that Gorbachev would not be able to visit Bonn in 1988, but did not exclude the possibility for a later time. Secondly, in February Lothar Späth, premier of Baden-Württemberg, met with Gorbachev in Moscow to discuss the improvement of economic relations. In the course of their meetings, which were described as very successful, the Soviets made clear that they recognized the economic importance of the West German state. Other Germans who traveled to the Soviet Union this year to meet with Gorbachev were Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of the Social Democrats (SPD), in April; Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the SPD, in May; and later that month, Economics Minister Martin Bangemann. As for Eastern Europe, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Poland and Hungary in order to strengthen relations with these countries.

The question of relations with South Africa evoked considerably more controversy within the government of the Federal Republic than did those with Eastern Europe. Differences developed during a meeting in Dakar, Senegal, in October 1987, at which German ambassadors to African states engaged in a general reappraisal of the FRG’s policy vis-à-vis Africa with Foreign Minister Genscher. The subsequent flurry of African travel and travel plans by German politicians reflected the divisions within the Kohl cabinet: In late January 1988, Bavarian premier Franz-Josef Strauss made a tour of southern Africa that began in Johannesburg and continued to Mozambique and Namibia. Strauss’s support for the South African
regime, however, was opposed by Labor Minister Norbert Blüm, who had hoped to travel to South Africa as well, but was blocked by Chancellor Kohl. Strauss's visit led to a dispute in the CDU-FDP coalition government, but criticism came from the opposition SPD and the Greens as well.

At the beginning of March, siding with the liberal elements in the cabinet, President Richard von Weizsäcker embarked on a two-week tour of various African countries, not including South Africa. In his public remarks, von Weizsäcker voiced sharp criticism of apartheid, which in turn led to more acrimony inside the federal cabinet. Later that same month, two influential politicians in the Free Democrats (FDP), Gerhard Baum and Burkhard Hirsch, made their own tour of southern Africa, and on June 14, the president of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, was received by Genscher and von Weizsäcker in Bonn.

Two domestic issues in particular occupied national attention in 1988. One was a scandal related to improper disposal of nuclear waste at the Nukem plant in Hesse; the other, the landslide victory of premier-to-be Björn Engholm of the SPD, in the traditional CDU stronghold of Schleswig-Holstein. This upset was a direct consequence of the previous election campaign, in which charges of “dirty tricks” were made against former premier Uwe Barschel, who subsequently committed suicide. Another issue was a controversial speech delivered by Bundestag president Philipp Jenninger on the 50th anniversary of Kristallnacht (see below).

In Düsseldorf, in April, Abbas Hamadei, who was associated with the Lebanese Hezbollah group accused of holding Western hostages, was sentenced to 13 years in prison. The court established that Hamadei was involved in the kidnappings of two West German businessmen in January 1987 with the purpose of stopping West Germany from extraditing his brother, Mohammed Ali Hamadei, to the United States. Mohammed was sought for hijacking an American jetliner and murdering a passenger, a U.S. Navy diver, in June 1985. Mohammed's trial opened in Frankfurt in early July.

Relations with Israel

Foreign Minister Genscher paid a weekend visit to Israel late in January, to convey to the Israeli government the feelings of the European Community (EC) about the situation in the occupied territories. The European Parliament had adopted a resolution expressing its concern “over the measures of oppression with which the Israeli armed forces react against demonstrations of the Palestinian population.”

On March 11, at the request of the Green party, the Bundestag (Federal Parliament) debated the situation in the Middle East, in light of the intifada. All parties agreed that the moderate forces on both sides had to be strengthened. At the same time, there was virtual consensus that it was unacceptable for Germans to equate the crimes of Nazism with the “brutalities committed against the Palestinians in the intifada.”
The number of German tourists to Israel in 1987 was 195,000—30 percent more than in 1986. By contrast, the number of tourists from France and Britain increased by 14 percent each in the same period.

The German-Israeli Economic Association, founded by Dr. Kurt Moosberg of Tel Aviv and Walter Hesselbach of Frankfurt, celebrated its 20th anniversary this year. The current president was Dr. Ralf Krüger.

50th Anniversary of Kristallnacht

The anniversary of the pogroms of November 9, 1938 (the term *Pogromnacht* was now preferred by many Jews and their supporters to *Kristallnacht*, which they viewed as less accurate and even offensive) was commemorated widely in the Federal Republic—at the national and local levels, by official bodies as well as by private groups and individuals. It is no exaggeration to estimate that well over 10,000 separate commemorations—from exhibits in high schools to church-sponsored events—marked the anniversary. Activities included an all-night candlelight vigil by one man and a few supporters at Berlin’s Kurfürstendamm, silent marches, street exhibits marking the sites of Jewish-owned stores and buildings that had been vandalized, discussions, and poetry readings, in addition to the big official events. (See also below, under “Jewish Community.”) The major theme of all these commemorations was taken from words of the Hassidic master, the Baal Shem Tov: “Remembrance Is the Secret of Redemption.” This motto was also used on the commemorative stamp issued for the anniversary.

The theme had been voiced in a speech by Elie Wiesel in late December 1987, in which he urged Germans to “accept the challenge of remembrance.” German writer Siegfried Lenz echoed this motif on the occasion of his being awarded the Peace Prize of the German Booksellers Association in Frankfurt with a speech entitled “Auschwitz Is in Our Custody” (*Auschwitz bleibt uns anvertraut*). The same theme underlay the demand by the churches and the Berlin Jewish community that the Kinkelstrasse in the Berlin borough of Spandau be renamed Jüdenstrasse, its name until 1938.

The central memorial event arranged by the Jewish community took place in the Westend Synagogue in Frankfurt, on November 9. Those attending included President von Weizsäcker, Chancellor Kohl, Prime Minister Walter Wallmann of Hesse, Ignatz Bubis, head of the Frankfurt Jewish community, and Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany). Kohl’s speech was repeatedly disrupted by young Jews shouting “Bitburg” and “lies.”
THE JENNINGER SPEECH

The Bundestag’s commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Kristallnacht, on November 10, was preceded by a dispute over whether or not Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Central Council, should speak to Parliament, as he had pushed for, with the support of members of the Green party. Others in the Jewish community opposed his participation, and a Bundestag committee had voted against it.

One reason why Galinski was not invited was Bundestag president Philipp Jenninger’s own keen interest in being the keynote speaker at the memorial meeting. As it turned out, Jenninger’s speech was a major fiasco that ignited a political storm and ultimately led him to resign. Jenninger tried to give a dispassionate account of the Nazi regime’s rise to power, as it was seen by the average German at the time. He described the years between 1933 and 1938 as “fascinating,” insofar as “history knows few parallels to Hitler’s political triumphs during those early years. . . . For the Germans, who had experienced the Weimar Republic as a series of humiliations in foreign policy, all this had to appear as a miracle. . . . Mass unemployment had turned into full employment, mass misery had been replaced by something like well-being for the widest strata. . . . Did not Hitler make real what Kaiser Wilhelm II had only promised—to lead Germany into glorious times? . . . And as far as the Jews were concerned: had they not in the past—as it was said then—usurped a role that was not becoming to them? . . . Was it not right to set them certain limits? . . . ” Though Jenninger was not, in fact, expressing approval or attempting to justify those views, he failed to distinguish between what he was reporting and his own opinions. As a result, most listeners misinterpreted his remarks and were outraged.

Negative reactions, which came from all parties represented in the Bundestag and from broad segments of the German political leadership and intellectuals, led to Jenninger’s resignation. Reactions abroad, especially from Jewish groups, were also critical, expressing astonishment that Jenninger, a strong supporter of Israel, would have made such a speech. Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir’s press secretary expressed astonishment, but hoped that this would remain a minor episode. After his resignation, urged by Chancellor Kohl, who was about to embark on a visit to the United States, Jenninger expressed regret at having hurt some people’s feelings. “Not everything can be said aloud in Germany,” he concluded.

One member of the Zentralrat directorate, Michael Fürst, of Hannover, dissented from the generally negative reaction, stating that he found the speech unobjectionable. Subsequently, he was forced to resign his seat in the council’s directorate and, at Galinski’s behest, was censured by its council of representatives.

Neo-Nazism and Anti-Semitism

The Frankfurt Jewish Community Center and the offices of Saudi Airlines were bombed in April. Damage to the center was estimated to be around $400,000. The chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Heinz Galinski, appealed to
federal authorities to take greater responsibility for the security needs of Jewish institutions and individual Jewish citizens.

As in other Western countries, there was a notable increase this year in activities of the extreme Right in the FRG, even involving politicians from the established parties. Both Gerhard Mayer-Vorfelder (CDU), the minister of education in Baden-Württemberg, and Defense Minister Manfred Wörner (CDU) published articles in right-wing magazines (Nation Europa and Mut). Mayer-Vorfelder was also criticized for not having considered any form of commemoration of the November 1938 pogroms in the Baden-Württemberg school system, for which he was responsible. The neo-Nazi Freiheitliche Arbeiterpartei (Free German Labor party, FAP) began publishing a new paper, Der Politische Soldat ("The Political Soldier"). The Freie Rundschau, a right-wing newspaper published in Berlin, had links to other right-wing periodicals, such as SIEG, the NPD paper Deutsche Stimme, and Nation Europa.

The Mönch-Buchversand in Koblenz was part of a publishing group closely tied to the armaments industry and the West German army (Bundeswehr). Books offered by the firm included histories of various Waffen-SS divisions that were also sold by a publishing company linked to an SS veterans' association. The firm also distributed books published by right-wing organizations, as well as publications of the Bundeswehr, including a book authored by Defense Minister Wörner.

A study conducted at the University of Dortmund found that in 1987 the quantity of printed right-wing material increased by 14 percent. According to Michael Jäger, a researcher at Dortmund, new publications on the Right contrasted sharply with traditional neo-Nazi publications, officially disavowing the Third Reich and Hitler in order to make people more receptive to their ideas. Among the noteworthy magazines directed at the more intellectual right-wing reader were Elemente (fashioned after the French éléments) and Mut.

In early March, the German police raided residences of over 80 members of Die Bewegung (the Movement), considered to be a successor organization to the National Socialist Action Front (Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten/Nationale Aktivisten, ANS/NA). This organization was also considered to be in close contact with the FAP.

On the anniversary of Rudolf Hess's death, 100 neo-Nazis, including Michael Kühnen, leader of the ANS/NA, led a demonstration in the town of Wunsiedel, where Hess is buried. The demonstration was authorized by the courts. Manfred Roeder, convicted of neo-Nazi activity in Hesse, was allowed by the authorities to continue his campaigns from jail. In Koblenz, Rudolf Koch, a school principal, was reinstated in his job by a higher court, after having been dismissed for telling students and colleagues that Auschwitz was an invention of the Americans and that no more than 40,000 Jews—if any at all—were killed under Nazism.

Another example of the leniency of West German courts in dealing with Nazi war criminals occurred in November, with the acquittal of Count Modest Korff, a former SS-Hauptsturmführer accused of having deported Jews from France to
Auschwitz. When the sentence was greeted by strong protests in the courtroom, the judge ordered the court cleared. In Dortmund, the trial of Anton Malloth was suspended because the defendant had a fatal illness. Malloth was accused of having personally killed more than ten people at the prison in the Theresienstadt concentration camp.

In Schleswig-Holstein, a former member of the Christian Democrats, Emil Schlee, had become active with the Republicans, a party established in the early '80s and headed by Franz Schönhuber, a former member of the Waffen-SS. Schlee was involved with Lyndon LaRouche's Patrioten für Deutschland. The other political parties in Schleswig-Holstein organized protests against the increase in right-wing activity. There were protests this year in Frankfurt against neo-Nazism, fascism, and racism. Over 2,500 people took part in a demonstration against a proposed meeting of the neo-Nazi NPD. The Green party, which had become active in issues related to anti-Semitism and racism, held a conference on anti-Semitism, with Heinz Galinski and the Israeli-German historian Dan Diner among the speakers. Similarly, a meeting of delegates from the OTV (Union of Public Employees) and other organizations warned against the growth of right-wing movements and stressed the importance of marches, vigils, demonstrations, and other protest activities.

On a more positive note, the Daimler Benz auto firm finally agreed to pay 20 million marks to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, the Red Cross, and other organizations, as compensation to former slave laborers. Daimler Benz also agreed to erect a monument to the memory of World War II slave laborers at its Stuttgart headquarters. Action was initiated to have the Volkswagen company pay compensation to female slave laborers in the so-called basement bunker, an underground production site at Wolfsburg.

A study on anti-Semitism in the FRG, carried out by the Allensbach Institute jointly with the Institute for the Study of Anti-Semitism at the Technical University in Berlin and commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League in the United States, found that 8 percent of the population were "committed" anti-Semites and another 7 percent were strongly anti-Semitic in orientation. Also, the respondents judged anti-Semitic were unevenly distributed across age groups: 27 percent of the oldest cohort, but only 9 percent of the 16-29-year-olds, fell into this category. Among all those questioned, 33 percent said Jews had too much influence in the world; 22 percent considered Jews partly responsible for being persecuted and hated.

In a Wickert Institute opinion poll, Jews fared somewhat better than other minority groups. The survey found 26 percent of Germans opposed to their child marrying a Jew, compared to 42 percent, a Turk, and 40 percent, a black. Similarly, 12 percent opposed having a Jew live in their building, 20 percent opposed having a Turk.

In mid-February it was learned that at least 80,000 documents had disappeared from the Berlin Document Center, the principal archive of Nazism, containing files of NSDAP members and other Nazi organizations. It was alleged that documents from the center had been sold, either to clear the records of former Nazis or to
supply the market with Nazi memorabilia. A number of arrests were made, including that of an auctioneer and several traders of militaria. The first trial in the case started in November.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

As of January 1, 1989, the 66 local Jewish communities in the Federal Republic and West Berlin had a total of 27,552 members (the 1988 figure was 27,612). A closer analysis shows that despite the slight decline this year, the general trend toward demographic normalization, pointed to last year (see AJYB 1989, p. 341), was continuing. The number of those in the 0–15 age bracket increased to 3,853 in 1988 (3,668 in 1987); and the number aged 70 and over declined to 3,866 (4,103). Losses from deaths amounted to 458 (423); from membership cancellations, 93 (41); and from emigration 297 (231). Increases through conversion were 40 (43) and from immigration, 568 (546), both virtually unchanged. There was a noteworthy increase in the birthrate, however: 108, as against 11 the previous year. By and large, the smaller communities continued to decline, whereas most of the larger communities increased slightly.

Communal Affairs

THE NACHMANN SCANDAL

In the spring, the Jewish community was hit by a scandal of unprecedented dimensions when it learned that large sums of money intended for victims of the Holocaust had been embezzled by Werner Nachmann, chairman of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany). The facts began to unfold after Nachmann's death on January 21.

Born in 1925 in Karlsruhe into an old Baden merchant family, Nachmann had emigrated with his parents to France in the late thirties, returning in 1945 to Karlsruhe, where his father, Otto, operated a firm that processed used textiles and other scrap materials. After his father's death, Werner succeeded him both in the firm and in the Oberrat der Israeliten Badens (Council of Jews of the Land of Baden), originally cofounded by Otto Nachmann. Indeed, the entire family virtually monopolized Jewish affairs in Baden, which in the postwar period had a community of only a few hundred people. Otto's wife, Hertha, founded the women's association there, and no one other than the Nachmanns was ever known to speak for the Jews of Baden. In 1962 Nachmann was elected to the directorate of the Zentralrat, and in 1969 he became its chairman.
Nachmann was instrumental in the development of the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien (College for Jewish Studies) in Heidelberg, a school that was criticized in some Jewish quarters for being geared more to non-Jewish theology students than to prospective rabbis and teachers for the Jewish community. Active on the boards of various Jewish and German-Jewish institutions, his excellent contacts with mostly conservative German politicians helped ensure the financial stability of the Jewish community and made possible the erection, with state support, of a number of Jewish community centers and synagogues. At the same time, he was often criticized for his opportunism and for what was seen as a servile attitude toward German politicians. He had made many friends in Germany, using as his slogan, "Why don't we live perfectly normally together?" Most offensive to many in the Jewish community was his defense of the former premier of Baden-Württemberg, Karl Filbinger, a fanatical Nazi who, as a military judge, had ordered the execution of German soldiers even after capitulation.

Nachmann had a clear understanding of the exculpatory role of Jews in the Federal Republic, which he used to gain advantage both for himself and the community. In a speech in 1986 he argued, "It is often forgotten that through our return [to Germany] we have helped the world to renew its trust in this democracy. Germany was thus reinstated into the association of free nations. . . . We returned as Jews and yet have become different from what we were, just as those are different who served or tolerated tyranny or who had fought it with bitter powerlessness. . . ."

The recipient of numerous honors in Germany, Nachmann had recently become a vice-president of the European section of the World Jewish Congress.

Nachmann's funeral was a national event. From President von Weizsäcker to Chancellor Kohl and the president of the Federal Constitutional Court, virtually the entire German political elite was present. The highly laudatory eulogies delivered by various notables later came to be of considerable embarrassment. ("Nachmann ensured the coexistence of Jews with Germans; . . . I mourn for an outstanding personality and a humanist whose legacy of tolerance, of reconciliation and civic responsibility is an obligation to us all."—President von Weizsäcker. "Baden Württemberg loses a personality of great merit to our land. As a committed and successful entrepreneur, he acquired a high reputation in business circles. . . ."—Premier Späth. "The captain has left the boat, it is wandering about. We have all become orphans, the Jewish community in Germany is a widow."—Former Baden chief rabbi Peter Levinson.)

THE SCANDAL ERUPTS

In March Heinz Galinski, head of the West Berlin Jewish community, was elected to succeed Nachmann as chairman of the Central Council. The theft of well over DM 30 million ($15 million) became known to Galinski and others in early April. This amount constituted the interest accrued on accounts under Nachmann's con-
trol which came from two sources: (1) a special fund of DM 400 million established in 1980 by the West German government for Holocaust victims, mostly from Eastern Europe, who had not previously filed claims; and (2) a DM 40-million fund earmarked for needs of the Zentralrat. The investigation by Treuhand, the accounting firm engaged by the Central Council, revealed that although Nachmann forwarded the principal to an account of the Conference on Material Claims Against Germany in New York, he diverted the interest thereof to his own enterprises, including one operated with a female companion in Karlsruhe. Other funds ended up in banks in France, Italy, Spain, and possibly Israel.

Although Galinski informed members of the federal government of the investigation's findings in early April, they were kept confidential and became public only on May 17, by way of a report in the weekly *Sonntagsblatt*. Ten days later, Galinski declared that trust in the Jewish community in Germany had been "put in jeopardy." How was it possible, he asked, that the Zentralrat allowed such a large account—DM 400 million—to be established outside its own supervision? At this time, the council's general secretary, Alexander Ginsburg, who was now under suspicion as Nachmann's closest associate, officially requested a leave of absence from his duties. Unofficially, it became known that he had strongly resisted being forced out of office by Galinski. Galinski promised that a full investigation would be made public when completed and that there would be "personal consequences" for anyone found culpable.

Alexander Ginsburg resigned in September, under pressure. Only in December, although no charge or accusation had been made against other individuals, did several other members of the Zentralrat offer their resignations. The basic problem, as pointed out in an editorial in the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, in May, was the council's failure to exert control over financial matters, especially since—as revealed by the Treuhand audit—its accounts had been in chaos at least since 1980, a fact that must have been known not only to Nachmann and Ginsburg but to several others as well. The Zentralrat leadership, however, appears to have decided to limit blame and investigation to the two key individuals. Galinski indicated that while the resignation of the entire directorate had been considered, it was decided that the body that shared responsibility for the developments of recent years should also be prepared to repair the damage that was caused. Galinski criticized the finance ministry in Bonn for refusing to publish its correspondence with Nachmann. (The government's role in the affair was never satisfactorily explained.) He also suggested that in the course of the current bankruptcy proceedings against Nachmann's estate, some of the money must have disappeared, probably into the pockets of relatives and former associates.

There were few immediate changes affecting the Central Council. Galinski initiated a redrafting of its constitution, and there was a realignment of forces in Nachmann's home power base, the Karlsruhe Jewish community. In Cologne, which he represented, Ginsburg was asked to resign, on September 4, by a large segment of the community. His supporters, on the other hand, praised his 30 years' service to the Cologne *Gemeinde*, the community organization. In the end, virtually
all Gemeinde representatives resigned, to make way for a new leadership, and a new constitution was to be adopted, under an interim board.

To the astonishment of many observers and in contrast to the strong statements made in the Israeli press, the West German press was extraordinarily restrained. The many politicians who had only months earlier heaped praise on Nachmann in his grave understandably now found it difficult to condemn him. Few papers even hinted at questions about his private life that had emerged or looked at Nachmann's close personal ties to conservative West German politicians. With the exception of the neo-Nazi National Zeitung, virtually no anti-Jewish overtones were expressed anywhere in the media. As a result, the Nachmann scandal was quickly buried and never became a major issue in the FRG.

Cultural and Commemorative Events

The anniversary of the 1938 pogroms was used as an occasion to rededicate a number of new or restored synagogues, such as in Darmstadt and in Bad Nauheim, or to open Jewish cultural centers, such as the new Jewish Museum in Frankfurt. (The new Freiburg synagogue had been dedicated earlier.)

On November 9, Chancellor Kohl officially opened the Jewish Museum of Frankfurt, whose first exhibit dealt with synagogue architecture. Other exhibits of note were opened in Trier, Kaiserslautern, and Bad Vilbel (Jewish Diaspora Museum), and, in the framework of Kulturwochen or Kulturtag, in Frankfurt, Munich, Duisburg (Duisburger Akzente, dedicated to the memory of 200 years of creative activity of Jewish artists, writers, and scholars), and West Berlin. Among exhibits of note in Berlin was one on the Jewish history of the borough of Neukölln, “Zehn Brüder waren wir gewesen” (“We Had Been Ten Brothers”) and one titled “Aus Nachbarn wurden Juden” (“When Neighbors Became Jews”).

Memorial plaques were placed at sites throughout the country, including Allenrod and Hungen (both in Hesse), to honor the Jewish population there; in Cologne, in memory of the former Lützowstrasse Jewish public school and the “Kinderheim”; and at the site of the former synagogue in Nuremberg.

A movement had been under way in recent years among non-Jewish Germans to preserve or recover local Jewish heritage. Numerous town historical studies called attention to traces of local Jewish history, and a number of attempts were begun to catalog all former synagogues. In Darmstadt, with a minuscule Jewish community, the synagogue was rebuilt at the initiative of a non-Jewish citizens' coalition. Another such project was under way in Hechingen (Baden-Württemberg). In Ichenhausen, Bavaria, an intercultural meeting house (Haus der Begegnung) was created at the site of a former synagogue, at the initiative of the late Werner Nachmann. Similarly, the former Freudenthal Synagogue had been turned into the “Pädagogisch-Kulturelles Zentrum Freudenthal,” an educational-cultural center. It was officially dedicated this year with a lecture by Rabbi Albert H. Friedlander, Director of the Leo Baeck Institute and School in London.

Some found it ironic that more money was available for memorializing Jews in
places where they had long ceased to live or where they lived in tiny and dwindling communities than for the support of living Jewish communities and institutions. Thus, for example, Charlotte Knobloch, president of the Munich community, made an appeal for help in implementing plans to build a new Jewish community center there, calling on the government of Bavaria as well as the community for support. “A state that gives 3 million marks for the reconstruction of the synagogue of Ichenhausen, where not even a single Jew lives, should make it a priority to build a synagogue and community center in the [Bavarian] capital of Munich,” she asserted. The Munich community had also long been demanding improved police protection for its properties and had so far been refused.

Emigré Visitor Programs

In recent years, numerous towns and cities had established programs to invite former citizens to visit the places from which they had to flee in the 1930s. Typically, these programs paid for transportation and accommodation for a week and included such events as exhibits, concerts, or plays with Jewish themes. Originally begun in cities with large prewar Jewish communities, such as Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, and Frankfurt (Berlin this year was host to 200 of its former Jewish citizens and so far had welcomed 16,000 of them), other cities and small towns had also come to adopt the idea. This year the following cities received guests: Darmstadt (on the occasion of the dedication of the synagogue, 200 invited guests); Muhlheim/Ruhr (60 invited, 17 came); Leverkusen (17 of its former 150 Jewish inhabitants); Ulm (80 plus 70 accompanying persons). Other places included Freiburg, Karlsruhe (both in October and November), Neuss, Bonn, Meckenheim, Windecken, and the state of Schleswig-Holstein.

Jewish-Christian Relations

On the anniversary of Kristallnacht, the Central Committee of German Catholics issued a declaration that said, in part, “We cannot declare, on one hand, our allegiance to a community and on the other deny responsibility for what in the name of the community was done or was not done, just by referring to our own personal innocence. . . . The secret of redemption is remembrance.”

The Federations of German Protestantism in West and East Germany adopted a joint resolution on the occasion of the upcoming anniversary of the pogroms: “Even if some individuals have paid for their deeds, if others have died, and if a new generation has grown up, we are nevertheless all responsible for the consequences of a past period of guilt.”

This year’s Brotherhood Week had as its theme “A Hope Come True: The 40th Anniversary of the State of Israel.” The keynote speaker at the central event, in Fulda, was Asher Ben-Natan, the first ambassador of Israel to the FRG. On this occasion, the Buber-Rosenzweig Medal was awarded to the German committee
coordinating an academic year-abroad program in Israel for Catholic and Protestant theology students, and the main speaker was Emil Fackenheim. Interfaith observances of Israel's Memorial Day and Independence Day were held in Cologne, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Ingelheim/Mainz, Neuwied, Siegen, and Aachen.

Debate continued concerning the proposed youth center (Jugendbegegnungsstätte) at Dachau, near Munich. The city administration there was concerned that increased attention to the site of the former concentration camp would further damage the reputation of their city.

Relations with Jews in East Germany

In February, for the first time since 1952, the leader of the West Berlin Jewish community, Heinz Galinski, was invited by his counterpart in East Berlin, Peter Kirchner, a physician, to participate in a commemoration of the so-called Fabrikaktion of February 28, 1943, when mostly younger Jews working as slave laborers in war-related industries were rounded up and transported to the east. In the fall of the year, Galinski, now having become head of the Zentralrat, met with his counterpart, Sigmund Rotstein, president of the Jewish communities of the GDR. The two agreed to intensify contacts and work more closely together.

In early June, Galinski was invited to meet Erich Honecker, chairman of the East German Council of State. Items discussed included the establishment of an international committee on the restoration of the Great Synagogue (East Berlin) and of the Weissensee cemetery (one of the largest Jewish cemeteries in Europe); coordination of plans for the anniversary of the 1938 pogroms in both German states; efforts to bring about more accurate reporting on issues related to the Middle East; and compensation for Nazi victims living outside the GDR.

Subsequently, Galinski returned to the GDR to meet with Kurt Löffler, state secretary for church affairs. Löffler, who succeeded Klaus Gysi, a part Jew, promised to ensure more balanced reporting on the Middle East in GDR newspapers and to explore possibilities for more Jews to study at the College for Jewish Studies in Heidelberg. Also discussed were preparations for a commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the pogroms and recent anti-Semitic occurrences in Leipzig. For the first time, the chairman of the Zentralrat was invited to attend an official state event in the GDR—the memorial ceremony in the East German People's Chamber (parliament) commemorating Kristallnacht.

In October, at the invitation of the East Berlin community, the Jüdische Gruppen (see AJYB 1989, p. 343) held a weekend seminar to mark the anniversary of Kristallnacht. It was the first large joint gathering of Jews from East and West Germany since 1952.
Religion

On the occasion of the publication of an autobiography by a German female convert to Judaism, Rivka Richterich (*Mehr als tausend Schritte*, “More Than a Thousand Steps”), the Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung featured a series of articles on converts to Judaism in Germany that received considerable attention. In letters to the weekly, many converts and others interested in converting pointed to the reluctance of German rabbis to conduct classes for them. Several of those who had succeeded in getting instruction, or were in the process of conversion, complained about the rejection they experienced and the feeling of being isolated within the communities.

The First International Jewish Congress for Halakhah and Medicine was held in November in West Berlin. The largest gathering of Jewish physicians to be held in Germany since World War II, it was organized by Berlin physician and financier Roman Skoblo, under the aegis of the West Berlin Organization of Jewish Physicians and Psychologists. Skoblo noted that many scholars and physicians turned down the invitation to attend because they were committed to never setting foot on German soil.

Publications


Among new works on or relating to the Holocaust were two key texts by Ernst Nolte, the revisionist historian: *Der Europäische Bürgerkrieg 1917–1945. Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* (“The European Civil War, 1917–1945: Nazism and Bolshevism’’); and *Das Vergehen der Vergangenheit. Antwort an meine Kritiker im sogenannten Historikerstreit* (“The Passing of the Past: In Response to My Critics”). Other significant books on the World War II period published this year or last year were *Dachauer Hefte #3: Opfer und Täterinnen* (“Women Victims and Female Guards in Concentration Camps”), by various contributors; Eberhard Jäckel and Jürgen Rohwer, eds., *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Entschlussbildung und Verwirklichung* (“Decision-making Processes in the Murder of Jews in
Schalom Ben-Chorin, a German-born writer living in Israel who writes in German, received an honorary doctoral degree from the University of Munich. On his 80th birthday, actor Curt Bois was nominated for the European Film Prize in Berlin for his performance in Wim Wenders' film *Himmel über Berlin* ("Sky over Berlin").

Henry Ehrenberg, an entrepreneur in the Swabian town of Knittlingen, was honored by the city with a square renamed for him. Sociologist Norbert Elias received the European Amalfi Prize awarded by the Italian Sociological Association. Eric M. Warburg received, from Atlantic-Brücke, a prize which bears his name.

Julius Carlebach, a sociologist at the University of Sussex in Brighton, England, was appointed the new head of the College of Jewish Studies at Heidelberg, filling a two-year-old vacancy. The acting director of the college during that period was the former president of Heidelberg University, Baron zu Putlitz.

Plaques were dedicated in Berlin in memory of Maximilian Harden (1861-1927), political journalist and writer, and Joseph Roth (1894-1939), novelist, essayist, and publisher. Arno Lustiger (a nephew of the cardinal of Paris) was elected chairman of the Zionist Organization of Germany. He replaced Maximilian Tauchner, who retired. Alfred Moos received the Citizens' Medal of Ulm on the occasion of the visit of former Jewish citizens to that city.

The Mendelssohn Prize was awarded in West Berlin to Helen Suzman, civil-rights and anti-apartheid activist in South Africa. Former recipients were Eva G. Reichmann of London and Sir Yehudi Menuhin. Klaus von Dohnanyi, Lord Mayor of Hamburg, received the Gold Medal of Bnai B'rith and of the local Joseph Carlebach Lodge.

Among German Jews who died in 1988 were a number of prominent and colorful personalities. Rose Ausländer, a German lyricist and poet, was born in 1901 in
Czernowitz, emigrated to the United States, returned in 1931 to Europe, lived in the States again between 1945 and 1965, and thereafter in Düsseldorf. Erich Fried, a noted poet and recent recipient of the Georg Büchner Prize, who emigrated to England from Vienna, died at the age of 67. The most political German poet in the postwar period, Fried was a fierce critic of conservative German governments and strongly attacked neo-Nazism and racism in the Federal Republic. He was also a harsh critic of Israeli policies vis-à-vis the Palestinians and a revered personality in German intellectual circles. Julius Günther, head of the Jewish community of Koblenz, died in February. Born in 1895 in the Moselle River region and a veteran of World War I, he was sent to Dachau after the 1938 pogroms, lived in Bolivia and Israel after the war, returning in 1957 to Germany and settling in Koblenz. He was elected president of the community in 1958.

Max Kaufmann, a member of the Aachen Jewish community, died in May. Born in 1909 into a Jewish merchant family in Kornelimünster near Aachen, and early active against Robert Ley, a leading Nazi, he was arrested in 1933 together with his father, but freed upon the intervention of local peasants. After serving in the French underground, he returned in 1945 to Aachen, where he helped rebuild the Jewish community.

Hans Rosenberg died in Freiburg in June, aged 84. After leaving Germany in the '30s, he taught at Brooklyn College and later at Berkeley. One of the most outstanding historians of Germany in this century, he authored several books, including the classic *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Absolutism in Prussia, 1660–1815.*

Wolf Weil was president of the community of Hof, where he died, aged 75. Born in Krakow, he escaped the Nazis with the help of Oskar Schindler. He was a cofounder of the community in Hof in 1945.

Rosi Wolfstein-Frölich died in December 1987, aged 99. A close associate of Rosa Luxemburg, she fled in 1933 to Belgium, then in 1941 to New York, later returning to the Federal Republic, where she became an active member of the SPD.

Y. Michal Bodemann
German Democratic Republic

National Affairs

The year 1988 saw two major developments in the GDR. At the international level, several steps were taken toward rapprochement with Western countries and integration into Western markets. This took place against the background of reductions of Soviet troops stationed in the GDR. Internally, the increasing frustration and impatience with the Erich Honecker government for its refusal to undertake political and economic reform could be seen in a series of unauthorized political demonstrations, massive resignations from the Socialist Unity party, and requests to leave the country. The government responded to this unrest with, on the one hand, heavy-handed procedures against those labeled as "dissidents" and, on the other, a mild liberalization in some areas of life—for example, cultural policy and travel privileges—for the rest of the population. Because the Protestant Church tried to protect many individuals and groups that became defined as opponents of the state, the social turmoil often took the form of church-state conflict. One result of this development was the retirement of Klaus Gysi, minister for church-state affairs, and his replacement by Kurt Löffler. Gysi, who was of partly Jewish descent, had favored a conciliatory policy toward the Church. He was also known as a friend of the Jewish communities.

Less visibly, but of equal importance, in 1988 close to 40,000 citizens of the GDR emigrated to the West, and 47,000 foreign workers from Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, and Cuba were employed in East German industry. These demographic changes were accompanied, predictably, by increasing tensions between "Germans" and "foreigners."

This year saw the GDR's Jewish communities emerge from their previous isolation and into the public life of the state, as ties to institutions within and outside the country were strengthened. One important precondition for many of the new developments was the government's decision to make a "humanitarian donation" of $100 million to Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. As of September 1989 the details of this payment were being negotiated by GDR foreign minister Oskar Fischer and Rabbi Israel Miller of the Conference on Material Claims Against Germany.

The government's positive Jewish policy was seen by some observers as a means to facilitate GDR trade contact with Western countries and also to strengthen the "antifascist" tradition of the Socialist Unity party in the face of the new influence and muscle-flexing of the Protestant Church and increasing neo-Nazi manifestations (see below).
Relations with Israel

The GDR was still the only Eastern Bloc state with no official ties to Israel, though contacts had recently been made at several levels, and diplomatic relations were expected to develop within the foreseeable future. Beginning in 1987, increasing numbers of East German Jews—especially individuals below retirement age—were allowed to visit relatives in Israel, though not all Jews who applied were granted travel permits.

In 1988, for the first time in memory, public lectures and discussions of Israel and Zionism took place in packed halls of the Jewish communities of East Berlin and Dresden, and a slide show about Israel was arranged at the children's summer camp. Among the Israelis who lectured in the GDR in 1988 were the political scientist and former Foreign Ministry director-general Shlomo Avineri, and Meir Marcell Faerber of the Israeli chapter of PEN.

Toward the end of the year, Dr. Peter Kirchner, president of the East Berlin Jewish community, West German Jewish leader Heinz Galinski, and World Jewish Congress president Edgar Bronfman, among others, voiced strong public criticism of the coverage of Israel and the Middle East conflict in the GDR media. The reports, they claimed, were not balanced enough; in many instances causes and effects were not distinguished, and the Middle East conflict was overreported compared to other conflicts. Reports on Israel in the GDR media were subsequently toned down.

In connection with the GDR's increasingly relaxed attitude toward Israel, in December 1988, for the first time, a delegation of GDR state functionaries, led by Hermann Falk, director of the Artists Association, visited Israel to discuss the possible participation of the Berliner Ensemble in the Jerusalem Festival in 1989.

50th Anniversary of Kristallnacht

Literally the entire population of the GDR was mobilized by the government to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the pogroms of November 9, 1938 (Kristallnacht, or, as many Jews and sympathizers preferred to call it now, Pogromnacht). On November 8, there was a special session of the Volkskammer (Parliament) to honor the Jewish victims. The speeches given were translated into five languages (including Hebrew), for the benefit of the many foreign guests, and the entire session was broadcast on GDR television.

In East Berlin, a major exhibit about Jews in Berlin (see "Culture," below) was held, and 20 smaller exhibits about Jewish life were shown in other cities. For the anniversary, many synagogues were renovated or restored, including, among others, the small chapel in the Rykestrasse Synagogue and the Jewish Old Age Home in East Berlin, the synagogue in Dresden, and the former synagogue in Größzig, which was currently being used as a museum.

Over the summer, many Jewish cemeteries were cleaned up and restored by
members of (GDR) Aktion Sühnezeichen (Operation Sign of Atonement), a Protestant group that had been working in Jewish cemeteries since the 1960s, and by university students, school classes, masons, members of the FDJ (Free German Youth, the state youth organization), and soldiers. For many years the international Jewish organizations had reproached the GDR for neglecting its Jewish cemeteries and letting them deteriorate.

On October 27, tens of thousands of members of the FDJ attended a commemoration of the November pogroms at the former concentration camp Ravensbrück. Smaller events were arranged by many organizations throughout the GDR, e.g., the Lawyers Association, the universities, the Association for the Administration of Public Monuments, and others. The Berliner Ensemble, the Deutsche Theater, the Leipzig Synagogue Choir, and other cultural institutions staged special commemorative performances. Plaques and monuments honoring the Jewish victims were unveiled in almost every city. Many special publications were issued. In October and November articles with Jewish content appeared in the media almost every day. It was difficult to assess the long-term meaning and effect of this sudden and massive national commemoration of Nazi Germany's crimes and the Jewish victims. They would undoubtedly become clearer in the course of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic in fall 1989.

**Attitudes Toward Jews**

Although *Neues Deutschland* (New Germany), the major daily newspaper, and Siegmund Rotstein, president of the League of Jewish Communities of the GDR, regularly emphasized that Nazism and anti-Semitism in the GDR had been eliminated "down to the root," the reality was more complex. Certainly, attitudes toward Jews among the increasingly restless East German population seemed to be quite varied.

The existence of a positive interest in Jews and Judaism could be observed in the long lines of people who waited for hours in the November cold and damp to see the exhibit on Jews in Berlin. In general, cultural events with Jewish content were always well attended, perhaps viewed as something a bit extraordinary. Interestingly, of the 11 GDR musicians who publicly performed Yiddish music, only 2 were Jewish. Events organized by the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation of the Protestant Church were popular, as were the Christian-Jewish workshops at the annual Protestant Church conferences, where Jews from within and outside the GDR were invited as speakers.

On the other hand, in 1988 there were many reported incidents, in several cities, in which groups of up to 40 young men shouted Nazi slogans and attacked passers-by. On most of these occasions the East German police intervened late, if at all. Those youths who were brought to trial were usually accused of "rowdiness" and "insulting the public." A major incident took place in East Berlin in late February–early March at the Jewish cemetery on the Schönhauser Allee. Over 200 tombstones
and graves were desecrated, damaged, or destroyed. The five young men responsible for this shouted Nazi slogans, and three of the five also attacked people on the street. The culprits were all given prison sentences of two-and-a-half to six-and-a-half years.

Privately, many Jews and non-Jewish antifascists expressed fears that the massive commemorations in November and the sudden priority given to Jewish projects—in a country where shortages of basic commodities were a fact of life—could cause jealousy among less privileged groups and strengthen anti-Semitic tendencies.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

Approximately 400 Jews belonged to the eight organized Jewish communities in the GDR: 200 in East Berlin, 50 in Dresden, 40 in Leipzig, 30 in Erfurt, and very small groups in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Magdeburg, Halle/Saale, and Schwerin. An additional 2,000 to 3,000 GDR citizens of Jewish ancestry did not belong to any of the Jewish communities. Although no numbers were given, applicants were waiting to be admitted to almost all the Jewish communities, and complaints were heard in East Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig that in several cases application procedures were being prolonged over several years.

Communal Affairs

Rabbi Isaac Neuman, the American rabbi sent to serve in East Berlin in September 1987, left in May, after eight months in office. He bitterly accused the board of directors of the East Berlin Jewish community of intercepting his mail, denying him a private telephone line, and generally frustrating his efforts to modernize religious observance in a rather traditional Jewish community. The board and many members of the congregation, in turn, accused the rabbi of spending too much time out of the country, not making himself available to the community, and orienting his activities toward the foreign media, rather than the congregation (they nicknamed him “the Hollywood rabbi”). Many observers close to the scene saw the rabbi’s short and tempestuous term of office as a result of personality clashes and perhaps also unrealistic expectations on many sides. Rabbi Neuman’s departure, though disappointing (his appointment was the result of several years of negotiations involving the GDR, the U.S. State Department, and the American Jewish Committee), did not damage the warm relationship between the Jewish communities of the GDR and the American and international Jewish organizations.

Within the GDR’s Jewish communities, prayer services and cultural events were better attended than in previous years. For the first time in decades, a Jewish wedding and a bar mitzvah were conducted in East Berlin; and so many children
were registered for the Jewish summer camp that some had to be turned away. Because many of the approximately 350 Jews who had in recent years begun to take an active interest in Judaism and frequent the Jewish communities considered themselves atheists, the developing Jewish consciousness took on a “national” dimension, one which had been long suppressed. Observers suggested that this development could eventually lead to demands for a redefinition of Jewishness and of the mandate of the Jewish communities in the GDR.

Warming relations with West German Jews and the international Jewish community were demonstrated in various ways. Heinz Galinski, president of the Central Council of Jews in West Germany and president of the West Berlin Jewish community, visited East Berlin and Dresden during the year. Two East German Jews attended a summer course at the College of Jewish Studies in Heidelberg (West Germany), and negotiations were initiated to set up regular exchanges of students and scholars. Arrangements were also made for Prof. Shlomo Tichauer of West Berlin to conduct a course in Jewish tradition for members of the East Berlin Jewish community. The GDR visits of Edgar Bronfman, president, and Rabbi Israel Singer, secretary general, of the World Jewish Congress, and of Ronald Lauder, former U.S. ambassador to Austria, resulted in pledges of American and WJC support for the Jewish communities of the GDR and the Honecker government’s commitment to a payment of $100 million to Jewish survivors of the Holocaust (see above). These visits also strengthened the ties of the Jews in the GDR to the international Jewish organizations and to North American Jewry.

NEW SYNAGOGUE BERLIN–CENTRUM JUDAICUM

One of the most important long-term projects undertaken to strengthen Jewish life in the GDR was the establishment in 1988 of a foundation, the New Synagogue Berlin–Centrum Judaicum. The foundation, which was under the auspices of the GDR Ministry of Culture and was to be headed by Dr. Hermann Simon, vice-president of the East Berlin Jewish community, was to be financed partly by the state and partly by private donations from within the GDR and from abroad (presumably Jewish organizations in the West). The cost of establishing the foundation was estimated at 60 million East German marks, of which the GDR had committed itself to paying at least half.

The foundation was charged with carrying out various mandates: to commemorate the Jewish victims of German fascism, to provide a place for prayer, to preserve public awareness of Jewish scientific and cultural achievements as part of the German cultural heritage, to promote the preservation of Jewish culture, and to facilitate cooperative projects on Jewish themes, within the GDR and at the international level. For these purposes, the Centrum Judaicum would contain a Jewish museum, seminar rooms, a Jewish library, a chapel, and the Comprehensive Archives of the German Jews, which had been housed since the mid-1950s in the State Archives in
Potsdam. The Centrum would also issue publications, conduct conferences, and undertake cooperative projects with other Jewish institutions.

The name "New Synagogue Berlin—Centrum Judaicum" referred to plans for the foundation to be housed in the synagogue on the Oranienburgerstrasse in East Berlin, a bombed-out edifice that was to be restored, at great expense, and was slated to become a major architectural feature of East Berlin's downtown area. The building was once Berlin's most elegant and important synagogue and the first home of Reform Judaism.

**Culture**

"Und lehrt sie: Gedachtnis" ("And Teach Them Not to Forget") was the title of the largest and most comprehensive exhibit on Jews in Berlin to date. The display of approximately 600 objects was a cooperative effort involving the GDR Ministry of Culture, the Ministry for Church-State Affairs, and the League of Jewish Communities of the GDR. Many of the objects exhibited were loaned by individuals and institutions on two continents. The collection was shown in East Berlin in October and November 1988; its core would become part of the permanent exhibit at the Centrum Judaicum.

The announced restoration of the severely damaged Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden (Comprehensive Archives of the German Jews), to be housed in the new Centrum Judaicum, would afford GDR Jews new access to their history. One unresolved question was whether these documents would be made available to the entire scholarly community or only to a handful of official chroniclers.

In January the second Festival of Yiddish Culture—a four-day program of Yiddish poetry and music—took place in East Berlin. DEFA, the GDR state film corporation, released a 60-minute documentary—*Erinnern heisst leben* ("To Remember Is to Live")—about the role of Jews in the cultural history of Berlin, and also a feature film—*Die Schauspielerin* ("The Actress")—about the persecution of Jewish actors in Germany in the 1930s. The Theater der Freundschaft, the major children's theater in East Berlin, premiered *Geheime Freunde* ("Secret Friends"), a play about the persecution of a young Jewish girl by the Nazis. The play, based on Myron Levoy's novel *Alan and Naomi* (New York, 1977), had been performed in West Germany under another title.

**Publications**

Thirty-six books of Jewish interest were published in 1988 in the GDR. Among these, six were memoirs of Jewish antifascists, three were translations of American books, three were translations of Hebrew books, and another three had been previously published in West Germany.

Among the most important were the following: Horst Busse and Udo Krause, *Lebenslänglich für den Gestapokommissar* ("Life Sentence for the Gestapo Chief"),

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