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JEWISH VOICE FROM GERMANY

קול יהודי מגרמניה 

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HOLY DAYS

Religions and Reality

Pesach and Easter have their origins in or near Israel. Pesach, or Passover, is a holiday to commemorate and remember the liberation of the Jews from slavery in Egypt. Easter is the Christian celebration of the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, and a day of redemption.

At Pesach, Jews make matzah to remember the Exodus from Egypt. The unleavened bread commemorates the fact that Jews fleeing the Pharaoh's army were in a hurry, and did not have time to let their bread rise. To symbolize the resurrection, Christians, by contrast, employ the Lamb of God, or Agnus Dei, which is of immaculate purity.

We live today – as was the case in biblical times – in the real world. The Torah describes the suffering of slavery – and the children of Israel's lack of faith in God. Moses broke the tablets and destroyed the golden calf before the Jews finally recovered

their faith. Jesus was betrayed by his disciple Judas and crucified by the Romans. He cried out “Eli, Eli, lama asawtani?” – “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” Only then did Jesus find redemption.

After 2,000 years of exile and persecution, Jews have regained their biblical homeland. Today, Israel lives in relative peace and security. The country has achieved a kind of “cold peace” with the great Arab powers, including Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. But the enormous human and economic potential of peaceful collaboration remains to be achieved.

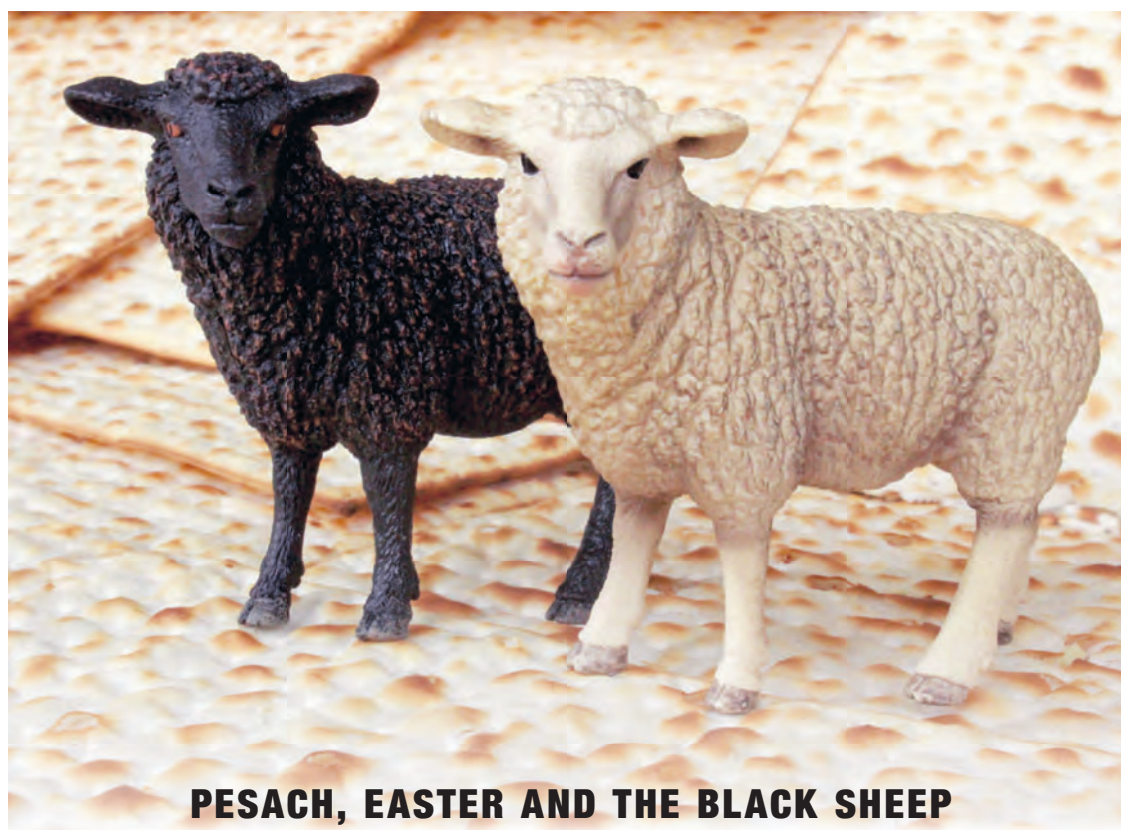
However, the relative peace

within and around Israel is no reason for complacency. The Israel-Palestine conflict is far from resolved. In this part of the world, war and violence remain the norm. In the Syrian civil war alone, more than half a million have been killed in recent years. Millions more have been injured, displaced, or forced to flee. Major powers such as Iran and Russia continue to help sustain the war with money, weapons and soldiers. The democratic and Christian nations, for the most part, are simply watching and standing by.

But even in today's age of optimized technology, war is not the only cause for human suffering. Hunger is claiming even more victims. It is difficult to imagine, but nonetheless true: of the 7.5 billion people alive today, nearly 800 million are hungry. The largest number live in Africa and Asia.

Three million children die of malnutrition and hunger every year. This is unconscionable – particularly given the fact that we possess the technology and the means to help. It is this fact that we should remember as we celebrate Pesach and Easter. However, given our human realities and international and political circumstances, it does not seem likely we will ever be entirely able to prevent war. But hunger must and can be stopped. ■

“Three million children die of malnutrition



PESACH, EASTER AND THE BLACK SHEEP

The copyright information for the title image of our previous edition ran very small. The image was taken from the book “Das Hohelied”, edited by Andreas Nachama and Marion Gardei, illustrations by Astrid Saalman, published by Hentrich & Hentrich Verlag, Berlin.

HEIKO MAAS

Jews must live in safety



Federal Minister of Justice Heiko Maas aims to have a hand in securing that Jews live safely in Germany. It is shameful that Jewish institutions in this country still require police protection, Maas tells JVG in an interview, in which he also commits himself to German-Israeli friendship. Maas sees the Social Democratic Party with Martin Schulz at the helm on track for success at the upcoming Federal parliamentary election. ▶PAGE 3

DRIP IRRIGATION

Help for Africa

To date, traditional foreign aid to developing countries tends to seep away. As a result, poverty, hunger and migration increase. Elad Levi, Africa Commercial Head of the Israeli company Netafim, calls for an innovative solution: foreign aid ought to be directly invested in the promotion of education and agriculture. Here, Israeli irrigation technology can be of valuable help. A thriving agricultural sector opens macro economic opportunities, Levi believes. ▶PAGE 10

Matzah with Lamb

Dear Readers,

Matzah, the bread of Jewish liberation, and the white lamb of Easter, the Christian symbol of the innocent Son of God – are they compatible? Yes! They are indeed compatible in the *Jewish Voice*, a publication that seeks to advocate for mutual understanding.

This mutual understanding is a necessary precondition

for the peace that we all desire. Peace, Shalom and Salaam – it is a wish worth striving for. But words alone will not bring about peace between religions and between states. Peace is an arduous process. It requires a great deal of patience as well as the willingness to seek new solutions – and to compromise. And that requires being able to engage with, and understand, the needs of the other side.

This is also what the *Jewish Voice* regards as one of its central missions. On page 2 of this issue, we describe how a window of opportunity for peace has opened between Israel and its moderate Arab neighbors. We must take advantage of this opportunity now – otherwise the window will close and

the conflicts could once again escalate.

But the wars of the future will all be fought over water – our most precious resource. We also describe

how modern technology from Israel is making it possible to reduce water use and combat hunger effectively. That way, we will be able to avoid the black sheep war and famine.

Jewish Voice

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MIDDLE EAST

Peace Now!

Window of opportunity should be used

By Rafael Seligmann

It is time for an Arab-Israeli peace deal. And it has to happen soon, because the moment is auspicious and it will not last. We currently have a “window of opportunity” – an English term that has been adopted in many languages including those of the Middle East.

An appreciation of the connection between politics and time is nothing new. In Ecclesiastes, King Solomon pointed out: “There is a time for everything, and a season for every activity under the heavens: ... a time to tear and a time to mend, ... a time for war and a time for peace.”

Solomon was by no means a naive monarch who sought peace at any cost; he was an experienced politician who understood something that many a more recent politician has refused to recognize on principle, namely that in the real world the use of force by a state can sometimes not be avoided if the outbreak of greater wars and the domination of the most ruthless are to be prevented. Considering the dilemma of good intentions in the empirical world, the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) developed the concept of an ‘ethic of responsibility’, whereby an agent considers the possible effects of his actions, and the contrasting concept of an ‘ethic of conviction’, whereby the unbending commitment to, say, peace can have catastrophic consequences. One example of the latter might be the appeasement of Nazi Germany by Britain and France in the 1930s.

The time has come for peace in the Middle East. The decisive reason for that is that the Jewish state is surrounded right now by neighbors willing to make peace: Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The exception is Lebanon, which is ruled by the Shi’ite Islamist Hezbollah.

Sadat and Begin

Relations between Israel and Egypt demonstrate the very real power of peace. Those relations were first marked by war: Since Israel was established in 1948, the two countries fought three wars – in 1948, 1967 and 1973. The hostility towards Egypt dates back 3,500

years, when the Israelites were enslaved there. In the 20th century, war and violence seemed to be the inexorable fate binding Israel and Egypt to each other – until 1977, when Egyptian President Anwar Sadat decided, on the spur of the moment, to accept an invitation from Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to come to Jerusalem. Sadat held a revolutionary address before the Knesset.

He welcomed Israel among the Arab states, which until then had all been at war with the Jewish state, but he demanded in return that Israel withdraw from all the Arab territories it had occupied in 1967 and that it make peace with the Palestinians.

cupation of Egypt’s Sinai peninsula – the only place Israel’s army had any scope to pull back.

Nonetheless, Begin’s government chose to accept Egypt’s offer. At that time, the Israelis understood that peace would make their country much safer than would strategic depth plus enmity, which would have meant the continuation of the series of wars with Egypt.

Stable treaties

For this achievement, Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat were rightly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Sadat paid for this peace with his life. An Islamist extremist murdered him in 1981. Fourteen years later, the then Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of the Labour Party was murdered in Tel Aviv by an Israeli extremist. Rabin’s “crime” was continuing to pursue Begin’s policy of ‘Land for Peace’ and signing a peace deal with

regime is open about its goals of destroying Israel and becoming the leading power in the region. Tehran wants to topple the moderate governments in Egypt and Saudi Arabia and replace them with Islamist ones.

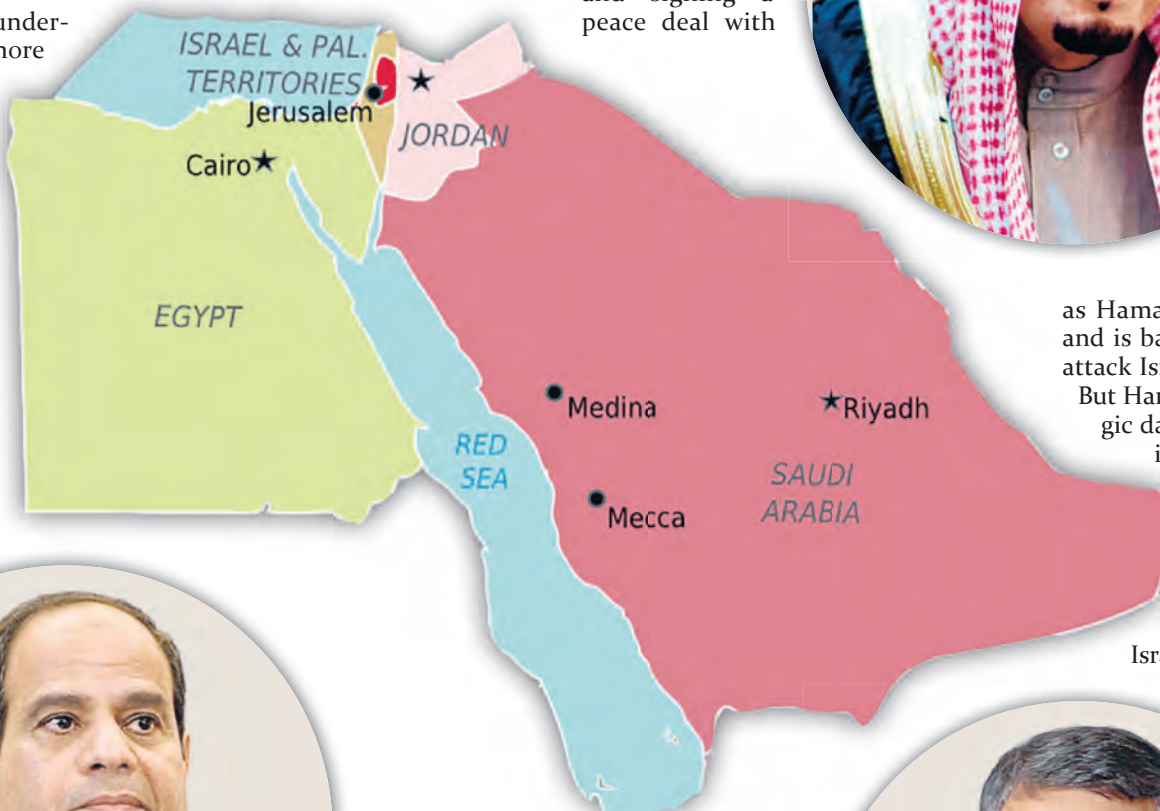
Cairo, Riyadh and Amman know that, unlike Israel, Iran represents a strategic threat. They are ready to make peace with the Jewish state. The principle is the same as it was for Sadat and Begin: land for peace. In 2002, Saudi Arabia launched its own peace initiative, tying the normalisation of relations with Israel to the creation of a Palestinian state. Saudi King Salman, who has been in power for two years, and his son, Deputy Crown Prince Mohammed bin

Salman, have also stressed their readiness for peace. They want to use their country’s economic potential to ready Saudi Arabia for the future, in line with their Agenda 2030.

Israel would be well advised to accept this offer of peace. It would not mean the sudden end of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, because Islamist forces such as Hamas, which rules the Gaza Strip and is backed by Iran, will continue to attack Israel.

But Hamas does not represent a strategic danger to Israel. What is decisive is that peace between Israel and the major Arab powers Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Jordan, whose population is 70% Palestinian, would develop its own dynamic. The atmosphere of a general Arab-Israeli peace would force the Palestinian political leadership to address the needs of its people and redirect its efforts away from a conflict with Israel that it cannot win and towards a political resolution. For its part, Israel would be well advised to withdraw from most of the Arab territory it has occupied.

As Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu recently put it in Washington, Israel does not want to rule over two million Palestinians. He should draw the consequences and form a stable coalition government with the opposition forces that are committed to peace in order to focus on the goal of creating rapprochement. Now is the moment. It must not be missed.



Israelis were ecstatic about Sadat’s offer of peace. Some ministers thought there was room for a deal whereby Israel could keep part of Sinai, but Sadat would not budge. He insisted on Israel’s full withdrawal from the peninsula.

The nationalist Begin realized that Sadat’s offer was genuine: Either Israel accepts his terms and there will be peace between the two countries, or the historic opportunity will be lost. The prime minister and his foreign minister, Moshe Dayan, chose peace and ordered a complete pullout from Sinai. It was a painful decision. Just four years earlier, in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Israel had avoided a military catastrophe thanks to the strategic depth provided by its oc-

Jordan’s King Hussein in 1994. Despite a number of crises, both treaties have proved to be stable; peace has endured until today.

Peace has never reigned eternal, especially in the Middle East. The region is currently being ravaged by several wars. The civil war in Syria has killed more than half a million people, wounded countless more and driven millions from their homes. A civil war is also raging in Yemen, where the Shi’ite Houthi militia are attempting to seize control and are also threatening Saudi Arabia.

Aggressive Islamist forces are controlled and supported by Iran. Its Shi’ite

FEDERAL MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND CONSUMER PROTECTION

It's Never Too Late for Justice

Heiko Maas on ideals, basic rights, Israel, power and triathlon

The Social Democratic Party has a new star. How do you account for Martin Schulz's success?

Martin Schulz speaks a language that people understand. And he's focusing on the right issues – many issues that fall under the rubric of “social justice,” which has the SPD breathing a huge sigh of relief. His form of political engagement, and the way he speaks, gives people the sense that he's listening to them, understands them, and is placing their concerns at the center of his political agenda.

What does Judaism mean to you?

Judaism, and especially Jewish Germany, has become an extremely important aspect of my life and my work. I first went into politics because I had grappled in a very intense way with Germany's past.

During my years as a Federal Minister, I've visited Israel more often than any other country. Despite any political differences we may have, I collaborate closely with my Israeli counterpart, Ayelet Shaked, and we've been able to launch many projects together. Judaism is thus a very important aspect of my political work; wherever I can, I work toward the goal that is my dream, which is that Jews in Germany will be able to live completely normal and ordinary lives. I think it is shameful that their schools and synagogues still require police protection.

You recently presented the results of the Rosenberg Files study in Tel Aviv. Why didn't this study of the history of the Federal Ministry of Justice get underway much earlier, for example under SPD Ministers of Justice Heinemann, Vogel, or Jahn...

That probably has something to do with the fact that until the early 1970s, many people in positions of leadership within the ministry were former Nazi Party members. But it's never too late for justice to be served. It's terrible that it took so long – but that makes it all the more important that we finally managed to undertake a thorough investigation of the topic.



JVJG (3)

Is the Israeli government willing to listen to criticism regarding the construction of settlements?

That's often viewed as interfering in their domestic affairs. Ultimately, we shouldn't be meddling in issues that are purely a matter of Israel's domestic policy. But if we don't want to lose sight of the ultimate goal, which is a two-state solution – a solution that might be made more difficult as a result of certain measures undertaken during settlement construction – I don't regard this as meddling in Israel's domestic policies. If we express objections, it's important to strike the right note.



In a speech before the Knesset in March 2008, the German chancellor said Israel's security is non-negotiable ... Two years ago, this security was indirectly the subject of negotiations by the permanent members of the Security Council plus Germany. Israel, but also Saudi Arabia and Egypt, feel themselves under threat from Iran...

I understand the skepticism on the part of Israel with respect to this nuclear deal with Iran. But this agreement was not made by individual states; rather, it reflects what the majority of the international community regards as a sensible solution. We are convinced that Israel's fears will not be realized – otherwise we would never have agreed to such a deal. Increasing Iran's isolation would not have been a viable solution – not for Israel, either.

How is Germany helping to secure Israel's existence?

Germany is an active partner when it comes to matters of Israel's defense. We also want to help represent Israel's interests in international associations and organizations. To the best of our ability, we wish to help Israel ensure that its people can live in safety.

What is the biggest danger to German democracy today?

Extremists and populists; they have no affinity for the truth. They try to pit different groups of people against one another for political advantage. Citizens against non-citizens, citizens against citizens. That is paving the way to increasing divisions within our society. Ultimately, it could mean that con-

flander are criminal acts, and they must be pursued to the fullest extent of the law. The internet is not outside the law. We also want social network providers to assume greater responsibility. Twitter removes only 1 percent of reported criminal content; Facebook removes 39 percent of such content. Google removes 90 percent of such content from YouTube, which demonstrates that we are not demanding the impossible. We have now decided to pursue legal measures: if an online provider fails to enact a functional complaint system, individual staff members could face fines up to €5 million, while the company could face fines up to €50 million.

Right-wing populists in Poland and Hungary, Brexit ... how can liberal Europe regain the upper hand?

Only with good arguments. I know this is difficult, particularly in our post-factual age. But we will not be able to solve any of the major challenges of our present day or the future, whether they be matters of environmental or climate policy, or problems that are economic, social or political in nature, purely on the level of the nation-state. This is even more the case when it comes to questions of migration. Otherwise we are doomed to fail. Even if it requires immense effort, even if we're forced to talk until we're blue in the face,

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To the best of our ability, we wish to help Israel ensure that its people can live in safety

licts and disagreements will no longer be negotiated in parliament, but battled out on the streets. All democratic forces must seek to counter this threat. Moreover, the actions of extremists cannot merely be countered in the political sphere; they are also a matter for the courts. Crimes committed in the name of extremism – against individuals as well as against the state – must be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

What about hate speech online? You are stepping up pressure on online providers.

Unfortunately, hate crimes are not being sufficiently addressed and removed online. This is first of all a legal matter. Hate speech, threats, and

I don't believe there's any alternative to international collaboration when it comes to tackling our current problems, which are all cross-border in nature.

What lessons have you learned as a triathlete when it comes to politics and to life in general?

That it's worth it to never give up. To continue on your path, even if it's sometimes painful. To keep going. And to stand up if you fall. The goal lies ahead of you somewhere – and it's waiting for you. And when you arrive at your goal, it will be extremely satisfying.

What does power mean to you?

Power isn't something to be exercised for its own sake. Power is what makes it possible to implement some of the things you believe in. Without power, that's impossible. That's why you need to have an enlightened attitude toward power. In the political sphere, claiming that you want nothing to do with power is nothing but a lie. ■



Heiko Maas spoke with JVJG editors Elisabeth Neu and Rafael Seligmann at the Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection in Berlin



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BREXIT

Nothing to Celebrate for Anybody

Ideals, security and economic interests in danger

By Claudia Schlembach

Article 50 of the EU's Lisbon Treaty has been triggered. Britain will leave the European Union. Two years now remain to negotiate an exit deal that will satisfy all parties. This is not a lot of time, given the many issues that require clarification. But it is plenty of time to do harm to the ideals of an open and enlightened international order.

The outcome of the Brexit vote was in part the result of a highly emotional debate, but it also reflected more objective reasons that have to do with the European Union itself. The perception among European citizens that the "Eurocrats" have created a bureaucratic monster that is doing an end-run around basic issues such as security and migration reflects what is, at the very least, a failure of communication on the part of the EU.

Fear of uncontrolled migration, especially from Eastern Europe, which was

ciple are not permitted to share in the economic benefits of the single market.

Leaving the single market is the biggest bomb that has been detonated by Brexit. Because all of foreign trade was regulated by the EU, Britain must now negotiate new agreements with all of its trading partners. This explains why Theresa May made haste to pay her respects to Donald Trump, who is known as a proponent of bilateral trade agreements, and to demonstrate the importance of Britain's "special relationship" to the United States – a relationship that Britain itself had placed under strain.

Perhaps Britain will be able to benefit from the Commonwealth. But when it comes to the single market, Britain faces a dearth of options. One is the Norwegian model: Norway makes a financial contribution in order to have access to the single market, but must also accept its rules and standards, among them the free movement of workers, which Brexit's supporters have already roundly vetoed. Britain

ain in the form of tariffs or other trade barriers, which would ultimately come at the expense of consumers.

For a country in which large segments of the real economy are in decline, and which is highly dependent on the financial sector, this situation is unwelcome at best. Brexit now also raises the prospect that London will quickly become less appealing as a financial center, which makes it likely that Britain will pursue an aggressive strategy to maintain its dominance. Rumors of banking deregulation and a sharp reduction in the corporate taxation rate are already rife.

Financial market signals

Indeed, financial markets responded immediately to the Brexit vote. Moody's downgrading of the UK's sovereign rating allowed France to overtake Britain as the world's fifth-largest economy. The British pound went into free-fall. Such currency volatility will naturally have an impact on the population. Certain kinds of bread will no longer be available in Britain, while Europe will be able to enjoy Scotch whisky at dumping prices. But Europe would be wise to imbibe with haste, since Scotland has its own opinion on Brexit and is searching for its own solution. And if Brexit means the restoration of what has become a nearly open border between Ireland and Northern Ireland, the political climate will also suffer as a result.

So is this all cause for celebration? We are often told that it is Britain who will "suffer more" than the EU. But how can we welcome this? After all, it was only a slim majority who voted for Brexit, and even today many in Britain are taking to the streets to demonstrate in favor of remaining in the EU.

For its part, the European Commission has already said that the UK will need to pay a €60 billion exit bill, a sum that

encompasses existing financial commitments, including pension obligations and pledges to the bloc's projects and budget. This gives the EU a strong basis for negotiations, but it would be wise not to take too great an advantage of this position of strength. €60 billion is the upper limit for the European Central Bank's quantitative-easing purchases of public and private debt – per month. These facts will also shape the course of events. Britain will suffer more at first, but no one knows what will happen ten or fifteen years from now.

But it is already possible to say what we will lose – what Europe, the idea of Europe, and Germany will lose. Europe is more than just the common market, and it should mean more than just balance sheets and wealth.

Stronger together

For one, there is the issue of security. Security was once the driving force behind European unification. Until the Ukraine crisis, this security was virtually taken for granted. Brexit will mean that the EU will lose an important security partner at the European level. The UK will, of course, also bring issues of security to the negotiating table. It remains to be seen what impact the economic situation within the UK will have on the NATO defense budget.

What else will we lose? A tough negotiator, certainly. A country that always brimmed with self-confidence, or at least presented itself as such, even when this posture was not always founded in reality. A country that, together with Germany, advocated for liberal economic policies, that objected to the "transfer union," and that had repeatedly exerted pressure on the EU regarding its terms and conditions. Brexit will thus result in a shift that will pose new challenges to the European project.

What we will also lose is our unquestioning faith in the idea that we can and should be stronger together. Of course, Britain always preferred to regard itself as a special case, engaging in tough negotiations when it came to efforts to advance European integration. Brexit thus represents an opportunity for Europe to reorient itself in important and necessary ways within the global configuration of power. PwC predicts that by 2050, China, India, the US, Indonesia and Brazil will be the world's most powerful economies. Germany will decline from fifth place to ninth. France and the UK will no longer rank among the top ten, while Russia will overtake Germany on the top-ten list. All of this will have a direct impact on security and defense decisions and policies.

Above all, however, Brexit poses the question of the role which European political culture will play on the international stage. It is a political culture that appears to no longer be robust enough to appeal to its nearest neighbors. Every force that weakens the union also weakens the structures of democracy and the rule of law. This is something that Europe should have been able to predict, and Europe should have done more to strengthen the union as such, rather than its bureaucracy and its economic rationale. Brexit offers an opportunity for Europe to do exactly that. But it is no reason to celebrate. ■

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Only a slim majority voted for Brexit, and even today many Britons are taking to the streets to demonstrate in favor of remaining in the EU

stoked by the conviction that these new arrivals were taking British jobs, ranked among the top reasons given for leaving the EU. This is one of the perennial arguments in the protectionist repertoire. However, EU regulations do not permit restrictions on free movement of workers. Until now, this principle has been a sine qua non for membership in the EU. Countries that do not abide by this prin-

could also opt for the Swiss model, which is based on bilateral agreements. This, however, would be extremely time-consuming and also create its own bureaucratic monster, since each individual state imposes different non-tariff conditions. Britain could also fall back on the "WTO option," trading only under the rules set by the World Trade Organization. This, however, would entail extra costs for Brit-

EUROPE AND AMERICA

Discontinuity and Uncertainty

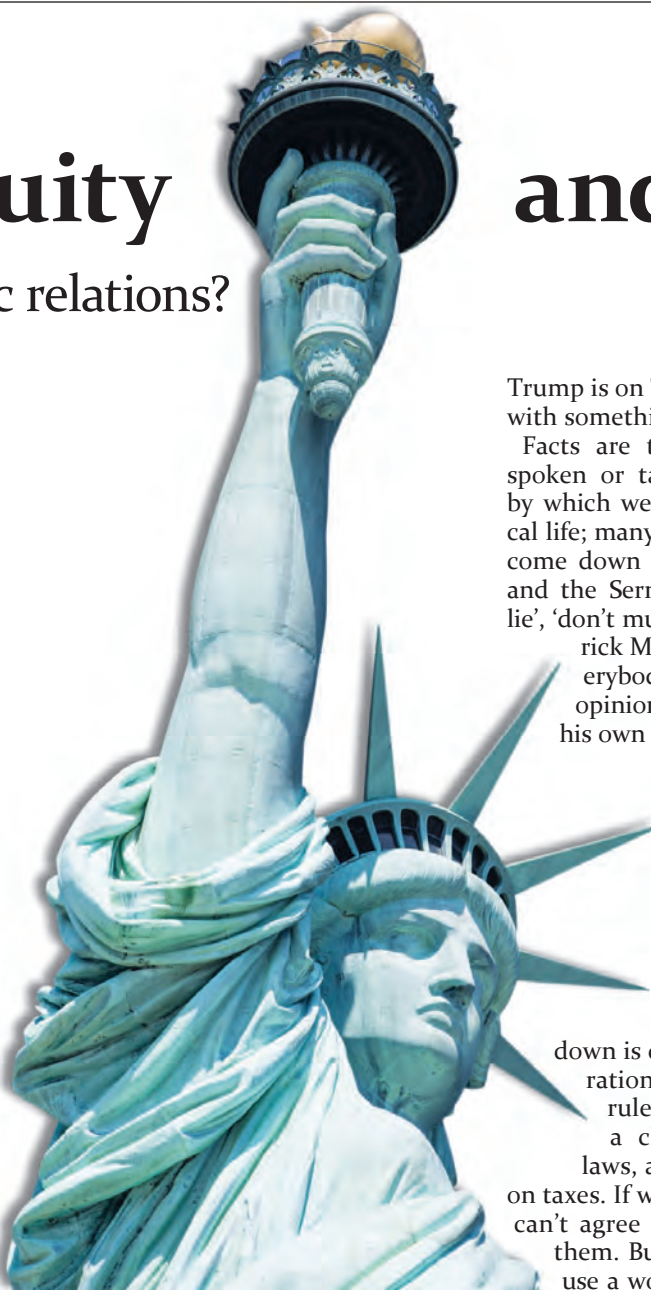
Whither transatlantic relations?

By Michael S. Cullen

In 1933, the Marx Brothers filmed *Duck Soup*. There are two scenes in which Chicolino (Chico) disputes what another person has just ascertained. Chico is nothing but logical, taking a page from Lewis Carroll: "Who you gonna believe, me or your own eyes?" The best interpretation of Marxism.

I have never read Trump's *The Art of the Deal*, and I don't intend to. Aside from the fact that it was ghost-written by a man who just jotted down Trump's exaggerations, at the end of the day, there has to be a handshake, a mazel and a broche to seal a deal. How can anyone shake this man's hand? I am not meshugge.

We know much more about Trump than we need to know. He has no humility, no sense of history, and, until the gas attack, no empathy, and craves adulation; perhaps the worst thing for other sentient beings: he has no antenna for distinguishing nutty conspiracy theories by crackpot talk-radio slobs from verifiable information. He tweets against 'fake news', but he is both purveyor and victim, and he is ignorant of that. He is no role model – kids imitate him in school, teachers tear their hair out. Mothers are also warned: when



Trump is on TV, keep the kids occupied with something else.

Facts are the result of agreements, spoken or tacit, learned or inherited, by which we regulate social and political life; many, if not most of them, have come down to us from the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount: 'don't lie', 'don't murder' are basic. Daniel Patrick Moynihan put it bluntly: "Everybody has the right to his own opinions, nobody has the right to his own facts."

Agreeing on basics

If, as we must have learned from Orwell and Huxley, there is no way to know the truth or to agree on the days of the week, that left is left and right is right, that up is up and down is down, we cannot engage in rational discourse. A king cannot rule, a minister cannot preach, a chancellor cannot enforce laws, a parliament cannot decide on taxes. If we don't agree on basics, we can't agree on anything derived from them. But back to Carroll: "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said,

in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less.' 'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean so many different things.' 'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master – that's all'."

As the *L. A. Times* wrote in early April, Trump has a "preternaturally deft grasp of his audience ... He has a remarkable instinct for discerning which conspiracy theories in which quasi-news source, or which of his own inner musings, will turn into ratings gold. He targets the darkness, anger and insecurity that hide in each of us and harnesses them for his own purposes. If one of his lies doesn't work – well, then he lies about that."

Medically speaking, we have several diagnoses and partial amnesia. The problem remains, and not only for the 62+ millions who voted for him and the others who didn't, in the US and abroad: what can be done about it? Is there a cure? And is the cure worse than the disease?

How far apart are Europe and the United States? In many cases – see NATO – they are joined at the hip. In the question of human rights, they are further apart than New Zealand from Hammerfest.

There is, for instance, the 1st Amendment, which says that

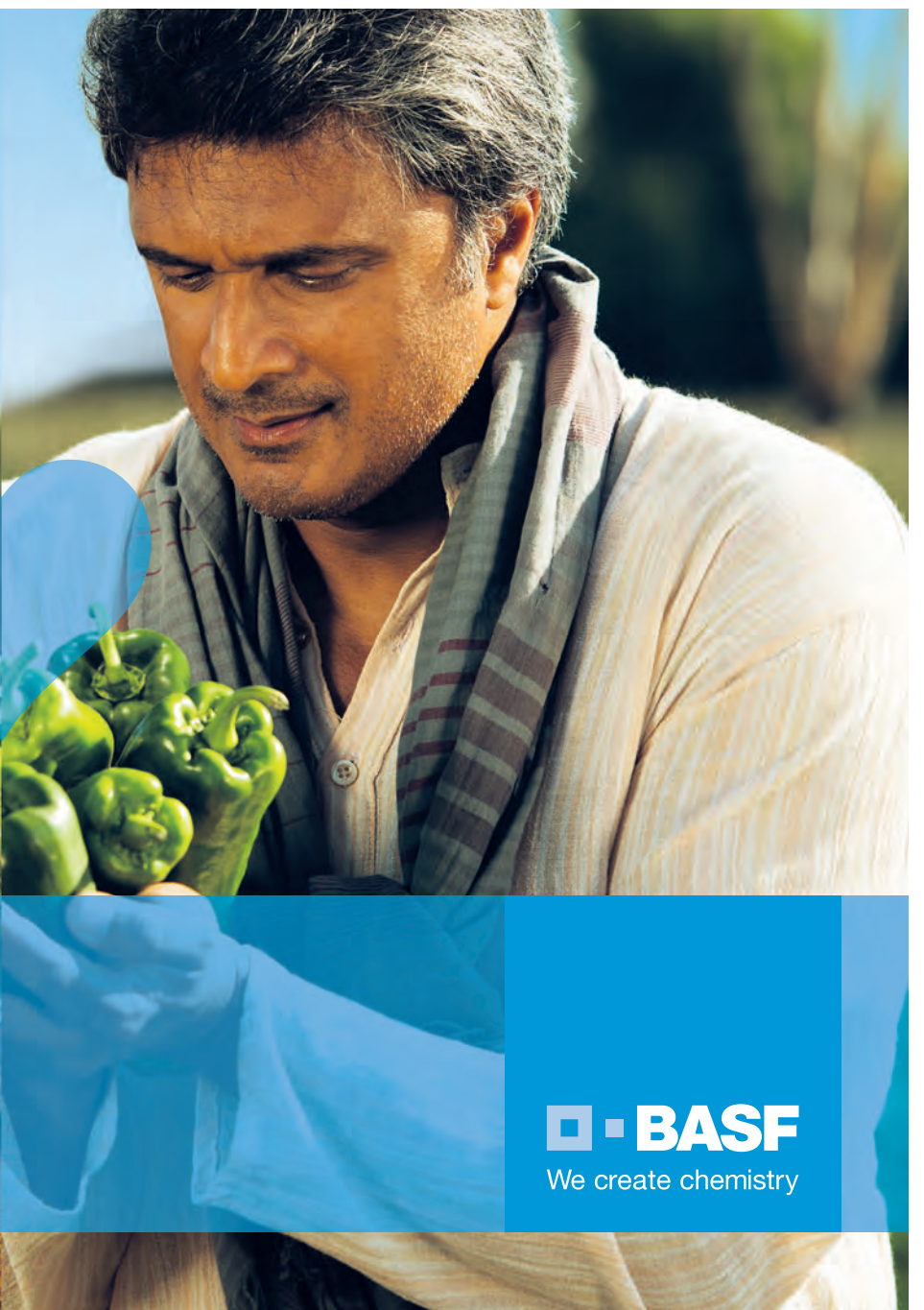
► PAGE 6

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Discontinuity and Uncertainty

◀PAGE 5 Congress has no right to abridge the freedom of the press or free speech. That right exists in Germany too, but there is an exception: it is against the law to deny the Holocaust.

In some areas, Europe is more progressive than America. For instance, capital punishment is outlawed. And Europe is anything but prude. When it comes to sex, Europe is far and away much less hypocritical than the US.

When the discussion turns to Trump, friends and acquaintances here in Berlin shake their heads – some won't even talk about him, some pity me, some challenge

considered a right. Good education is free. And Europeans have a higher standard of living. The infant mortality rate is lower and life expectancy higher. Most Europeans enjoy the same rights Americans have, and then some: freedom of speech and religion, freedom to marry, vote and have property. Moreover, Europe has stricter laws to keep water and air clean.

Then there is this anecdote that says it all: in the middle of the night, a man enters an American general store, his face contorted in pain: "I have an excruciating toothache, can you give me some strong painkiller?" "Got a prescription?" "My toothache is killing me. I can't get a prescription at this time of night!" "Sorry, without a prescription I can't give you anything stronger than Tylenol." The man explodes: "You bastard. If I had a gun, I'd shoot you." The store clerk replies: "I can sell you a gun!" Nothing like that in Europe, not by a mile.

Still: for the most part, Europeans love and admire America and Americans and wish to at least visit. This is certainly as good as it gets. Yes, it is, or perhaps "was".

What changed this outlook was 2016: first, on June 23, the Brits voted to leave the European Union. The double-whammy followed on November 8th and much of Europe became desperate. Can't everything stay the way it is? Why change a winning team? Why change horses in midstream?

Brexit means that there will be discontinuity in Europe, and certain problems that have been cooking on

the back burner will be brought up and cause headaches: Spain and Britain over Gibraltar; Scotland and England over Brexit; Cyprus divided between Greece and Turkey – to name a few.

As for the US and Europe: Both see things very differently – education and health care are the most salient, while the possibilities for pacifying conflicts are not on the same rung of the ladder either. With the possible exception of North Korea, nobody is trying to make the US less secure. While in Europe, Russia is sitting pretty on the Crimean peninsula and breathing heavy in east Ukraine and definitely working to destabilize the Baltic glaxis or to bring it back into its military and economic orbit.

For the foreseeable future, Europe may feel neglected: Trump has bigger fish to fry, in no particular order: Syria, North Korea, China, Iran, Iraq and ISIS. Not to mention the full plate at home, including the budget, energy, climate, health care, immigration, infrastructure, jobs, justice and prisons, police, guns, taxes and more.

And Trump is inconsistent: getting rid of TPP, although it would be his best card to challenge China; stoking trade wars, etc. Also he has no interest in issues important to Europe, such as education, history, the sci-

ences, space exploration, research, the environment or consumer protection. It is an illusion to think that he will take up much time with Europe, especially when there is no political or other price to pay for neglect.

To be more concrete: Even after September 24th, when Germany holds national elections, little will change in US-German relations. There is simply no vital or crucial problem that needs a well-considered and quick solution. Even Martin Schulz's election would not turn much around.

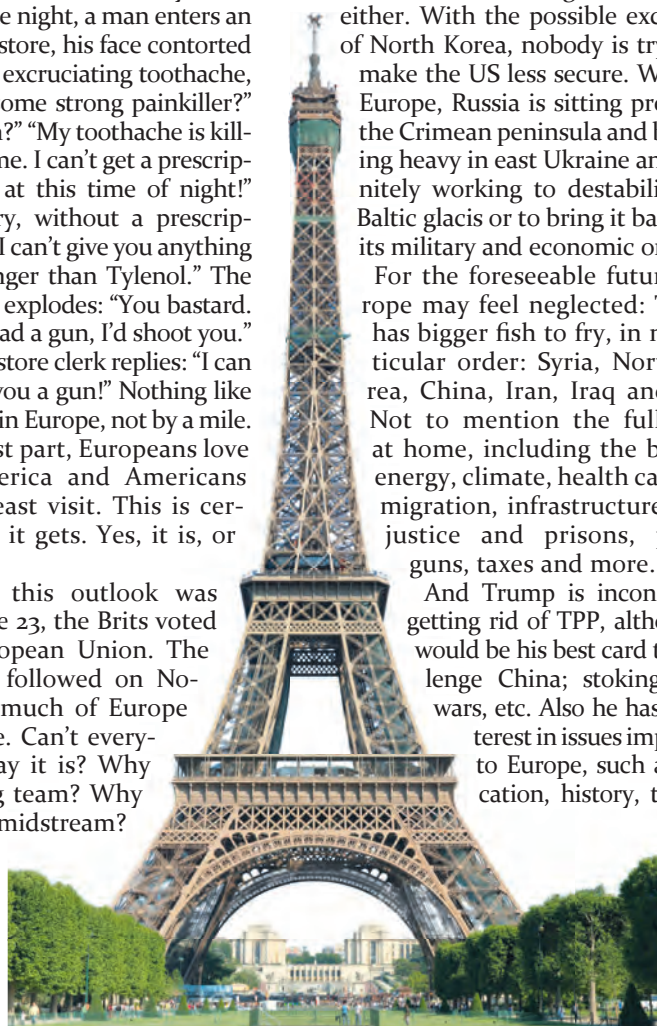
But then how will Europe, how will Germany, fare in Trump's calculations?

There are not too many topics which overlap. The most obvious is on the borders to Russia: the Baltics, Poland, and the Ukraine. The strongest suit here is Article 5 of the NATO treaty, which was invoked after 9/11. As candidate and as newly baked president, Trump blasted Germany and other NATO states for not keeping their defenses up – for a while, it sounded like "my way or the highway." In the meanwhile, things are back to Trump ante quo.

Angela Merkel remains the best Europe has to call Trump's bluffs. And her eyes are on the Ukraine and the Minsk Agreement – to countenance the Russian 'landgrab' is anathema for her and many Europeans who survived the Cold War. She is Trump's opposite: While he over-promises and under-delivers, she under-promises and over-delivers. Trump is now being called the opposite of Teddy Roosevelt, whose mantra "speak softly but carry a big stick" is widely quoted as a maxim for action. Trump acts according to the maxim: 'speak loudly and carry a small stick'.

More than a half-century ago, my parents would have read this entire article and then asked: "But is it good for the Jews?" For some Jews, yes. For others, no.

Michael S. Cullen is an American author living in Berlin since the 1960s



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**Europe may feel neglected:
Trump has bigger fish to fry**

me. Trump will ruin us all. He has his finger on the nuclear button, i.e. he can cause the world to blow up. Can he be impeached? Removed? I hear even more drastic questions, like Henry II's rhetorical question about Beckett. (Better to look it up than to print it).

Europe is very worried. For good reason: With few exceptions, 500 million Europeans have been at peace with each other for over 70 years now – one of the longest periods of peace in the history of the "old world". They credit this peace to several factors: to the generosity and good will of Americans who helped them get back on their feet after 1945; to Europeans like Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, who forged the precursor of the EU. Most Europeans have everything Americans have and more.

Europe is as big and wide as America, has better and cheaper healthcare, which is

SOCIAL MEDIA

Enlightenment 2.0

Sapere Aude initiative combats anti-Semitism

By Simon Vaut

For more and more people, social media is the most important source of information and the place where their opinions are formed. Young people in particular have largely abandoned daily newspapers and television as sources for news and information. They obtain political and social information largely via Facebook, WhatsApp and YouTube. Nine of ten teens, for example, are regular viewers of YouTube. For popular YouTubers, the secret behind their success is their authenticity: unlike television or pop stars, YouTubers establish direct contact with their fans, speak with them, and engage with them. This sense of proximity is what has led many young people to regard their YouTube idols as role models and "true friends."

But there is a problem: Jewish life in Germany remains largely invisible on social media. At the same time, these channels are being utilized very effectively by anti-Semites for propaganda purposes. Even obvious falsehoods re-

main unchallenged. With support from the German Ministry for Family Affairs, the newly founded association Sapere Aude in Berlin is now taking aim at this problem. The phrase "sapere aude" was proclaimed by the philosopher Immanuel Kant as the motto for the Enlightenment: "Have the courage to use your own understanding." This is precisely what the initiative aims to encourage in our age of digital communication, calling to life an "Enlightenment 2.0" by lending the Jewish community a voice and a presence online. With young people as its main audience, the initiative will offer a lively introduction to Jewish life in Germany. Young Muslims, in particular, will be encouraged to seek open and respectful dialogue with Jews. One of Sapere Aude's key ideas is the "Jew and me" format, which

will present short video clips of young German Jews, ranging from a Jewish event orga-

nizer to a Jewish cook who serves up kosher burgers in a hip local eatery. The underlying message takes aim against anti-Semitism in a deliberately understated way, rather than conveying it through classroom-style "frontal instruction."

Sapere Aude also seeks to provide editorial content as well as training and coaching to the authors of similar YouTube formats. The initiative will provide technical video-production training to authors, as well as training in generat-



ing content for a variety of social media formats. Because successful YouTubers can also become targets of hate speech and incitement by radicals, the initiative will also provide legal support as well as training in addressing such issues. The professional assistance offered by Sapere Aude will help enable young authors working in similar formats to provide their young target audience with an accessible and appealing introduction to what Jewish culture has been for many centuries: an integral and unwavering part of German society, marginalized though it was time and again. Today's burgeoning and diverse Jewish community life has to be protected in the context of Germany's liberal and democratic fundamental order. Using the tools of enlightenment, the initiative will thus help counter hostility and aggression, while joining forces with others who seek to courageously oppose those who would undermine the very spirit of the Enlightenment.

NAFFO

The Explainers

Middle East Peace Forum helps Germans understand the Israeli position

By Jardena Lande

In all areas of politics it is a common challenge to turn the avalanches of information into something that is comprehensible, understandable and practical for parliamentarians. This is precisely where an NGO like the Nahost Friedensforum e.V. (NAFFO) can provide valuable input and assistance to politicians.

NAFFO acts as a facilitator for information and experts. It aims to advise German policymakers on developments in the Middle East and provides them with relevant background information and expertise to understand this complex region and its problems. NAFFO aims to do this in a balanced manner and bases its work on a set of core-values, including the rule of law, secular democracy and universal human rights. The organization is open to all religious and political movements in the Middle East whose aim it is to work towards a fair peace in the region and subscribe to the principles of democracy and tolerance.

NAFFO sees the German-Israeli relationship as more than a historic responsibility. The organization views Israel as a natural partner for Germany, one who shares its democratic and liberal values and principles, and who fights on the same side in the struggle against terrorism.

Practical input

Through its diverse network and independent structure, NAFFO is in a position to assist German policymakers in ways that other institutions cannot. It delivers practical input and information on current topics tailored to politicians. NAFFO knows the relevant voices and enables a dialogue between the various parties. The approach is simple: through the provision of information and relevant conversational partners, NAFFO can help shed light onto complicated issues and assist politicians in drawing their own conclusions. This is achieved through various means, including the provision of position papers and analyses of "hot topics," one-on-one

discussions with parliamentarians, briefings and panel discussions with top experts and politicians from the region. At the heart of NAFFO's work lie regular parliamentary delegations to Israel and the Palestinian Territories. The opportunity to see the situation on the ground and to speak with the involved parties is second to none in providing an understanding for the complexity of the problems. NAFFO has also organized its own panel at the prestigious Munich Security Conference for four years in a row.

NAFFO's currency is trust. It fully understands the value of confidential conversations. Instead of aiming at publicity, it builds on a number of carefully nurtured reliable relationships.

With this foundation, the organization has successfully built a solid reputation among key stakeholders that regularly ask for input or expert-referrals. Politicians know that NAFFO stands



for serious research and analysis, balanced positions and access to top experts. Adding to its credible standing is NAFFO's structure as a membership association, composed of German citizens with diverse backgrounds. It is an independent registered charity, financed by donations from its members, many of whom are enthusiastically involved in NAFFO's activities. Parliamentarians value this interaction with engaged German citizens.

Thanks to these unique characteristics, NAFFO is in a position

to assist and inform politicians for the benefit of all parties involved. NAFFO's role is becoming even more crucial considering the recent shift in dynamics in the international arena.

Due to the unpredictability of a Trump administration in the US, the UK's decision to leave the EU, and uncertainty regarding the French presidential election this year, Germany is taking on an increasingly prominent role. Both within the European Union and globally – including the Middle East.

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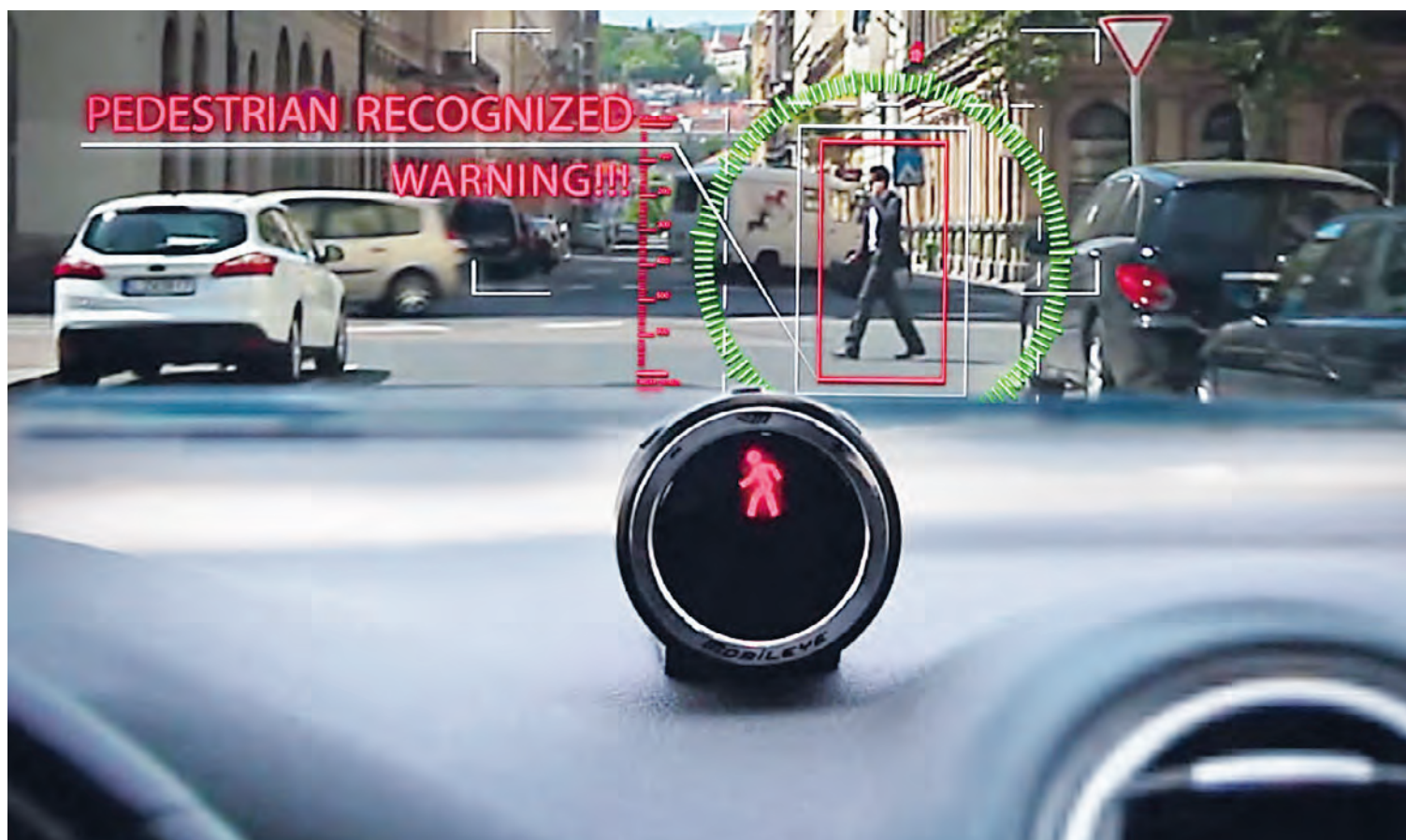


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START-UP SCENE

Magic Eyes from Israel

Self-driving cars can save lives and resources

By Lukas Hecht

Jerusalem, 13 Hartom Street. Here stands an inconspicuous office building of light brick with dark blue windows, one like many in the city. And yet this building is something special: It's home to the renowned Israeli company Mobileye; it's the place where tomorrow's technology is being developed today – Mobileye is creating a brave new world of cars that drive without drivers.

In only a few years, the company has grown from start-up to global market-leader in the field of driving assistance systems. Almost all modern cars use technology from Mobileye, with the company itself claiming a market share of 90 percent. Giants like BMW, Volkswagen, Audi and Ford are among the Israeli company's customers. In 2016, the company recorded sales of US\$ 358.2 million.

Mobileye is one of the few players on Israel's colorful start-up scene to have made the leap to the international stage.

The US chip maker Intel recently announced it would buy this small company bursting with great ideas for US\$ 15.3 bn – the largest deal in Israeli history. That makes Mobileye worth ten times more than Opel was when General Motors sold the unit to Peugeot.

What is Mobileye's secret? Who are the brains behind the

hair, Shashua has little in common with the stereotype of the hip, baby-faced tech-company founder. He is a professor of computer sciences at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a leading expert in the field of artificial intelligence. Together with experienced businessman Ziv Aviram, he founded Mobileye in 1999 and quickly made the tech

ua and his team are not just interested in making sure the robot car's artificial intelligence knows what the driver wants to do. The car must also recognize some wishes – such as reckless overtaking – come at the risk of accidents and cannot be fulfilled. And this system must work always perfectly – whether at night, in snow, fog or rain.

Three functions are vital for this. Mobileye uses sensors that interpret the field of view and filter out extraneous data – magic eyes that can locate other road users, pedestrians, for example, or cyclists and motorists. Then, there is the processing of the data to ensure the system's maps are as up to date as possible.

And lastly, there's the ability quickly to transmit data and calculate a car's handling.

There are some 35,000 road-traffic deaths each year in the US. Shashua is convinced widespread use of self-driving cars could reduce this total by two thirds. "Autonomous driving saves lives," he says. "The problem is that society accepts that people kill other people in road-traffic accidents, but won't accept people getting killed by robots. We need to learn to better deal with the existence of robotic cars. Because, put simply, the opportunities offered by the technology are limitless."

Amnon Shashua can hardly contain himself when he talks about the possibilities of Mobileye's technology: Cars that can recognize not only other vehicles, but also pedestrians and

cyclists – and react intelligently to them; drivers relaxing in rush hour, in a traffic jam or in stop-go traffic – or reclining, reading a book, working, or making a phone call. When you arrive at the office, you simply send the car home so the family can continue to use it. What sounds like science fiction is in part already possible today. Many things that motorists encounter in everyday life come from Mobileye – tracking assistants, distance monitors, or adaptive headlights. Even older cars can be retrofitted with Mobileye technology without much effort. More and more fleet managers are using it to improve driver and vehicle safety, and to save costs by, for example, boosting car efficiency.

Even the fantasy of a fully automated car could soon become real. BMW and Intel are co-operating to put robot cars on the road by 2021. "We're just waiting for the technological revolution we can already see. We know the algorithms. We're now only missing validation and testing," says Shashua.

In an e-mail to their employees, Shashua and Aviram once wrote: "We always wanted to change the world." Suddenly, they seem to be on the cusp of doing so – or they're doing it already. ■

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Artificial intelligence is the future, and the car is the ideal platform for that

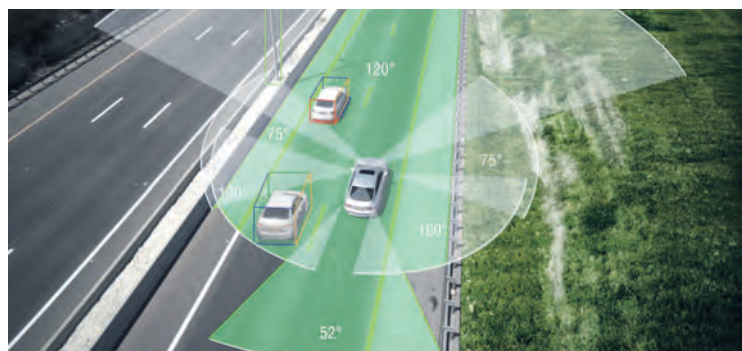
company? "We've been in this business for 17 years. All this experience means we understand the problems, the hurdles, and the pitfalls developing the technology," says Professor Amnon Shashua, the ingenious software engineer behind Mobileye. "And we know how to optimize the technology."

56 years of age, with clean-shaven face and dense black

firm from Jerusalem an internationally successful multi-billion dollar player.

Years ago, companies like Google and Apple announced their ambitions to build self-driving cars. Today, much of the hype surrounding these plans has subsided. How can Mobileye fare any better? "Artificial intelligence is the future, and the car is the ideal platform for that," says Shashua. "Mobileye is the ultimate link between car and artificial intelligence." Mobileye understands as much about artificial intelligence as tech behemoths Google and Apple. But when it comes to cars, the start-up knows more than them. After all, Mobileye works for 27 carmakers around the globe.

The company prizes safety above all else. As a result, Shash-



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US POLICY

Trump Means Business

A new agenda for the world's largest economic power?

By Christian Beuger

How sustainable is the United States' new economic policy, to the extent that it has yet been revealed? The agenda is "America First". What does Donald Trump say he wants to do in order to secure and enhance the US's status as the world's largest economic power? Immediately after the elections in November 2016, the US stock markets responded with euphoria. During his campaign Trump had promised extensive tax cuts. Though he did not present a coherent or comprehensive economic-policy program, he had a catchy slogan: "Make America Great Again!"

Trump boasted he would be "the greatest jobs producer that God ever created" and indicated he supported wage growth. He promised big tax cuts for businesses and the rich as well as for families and ordinary working people. He announced the biggest "tax revolution" since the tax reforms of President Ronald Reagan more than thirty years ago.

Trump said he wants to raise tariffs on imports and do more to shield the US economy from foreign competition in order to protect American jobs. He vowed to scrap two free-trade deals, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), and the Transpacific Partnership (TPP), and to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement. He said he would focus on bilateral trade deals with other countries.

Trump also said he wanted to radically reshape trade relations between the US and China. He accuses China of artificially depressing its currency in order to attain unfair trade advantages. As to energy and climate policies, Trump announced radical changes. He wants to ease or reverse current regulations on the environment and emissions, champion fossil fuels and revive the coal industry. He has no problem with fracking, despite the controversy over the risk it poses to the environment.

Trump vowed to invest in infrastructure and spend many billions on upgrading airports, harbors, highways and bridges or building new ones. He also vowed to slash public debt, which amounts to about US\$ 20 trillion. He calls it an "unfair



Full steam ahead to make America great again – but not cleaner

burden" on future generations. He also said he would cut red tape for businesses.

Trump vowed a massive rise in defense spending and called on other members of NATO to spend more on their own defense. He said he would spend less on military operations overseas.

Delicious moments

All these promises and proposals are what triggered the euphoria on US markets in the aftermath of Trump's election victory. The Dow (DJIA) reached a new high of 19,945 at the end of December. Even in the absence of legislation to implement these promises, the euphoria has not subsided. The Dow has remained above the 20,000 mark since February. Analysts predict Trump's policies would trigger a boom in certain industries – construction, defense, IT, banking, energy, raw materials, gold mines and more.

One of the first things Trump did after taking office in January was to pull out of TPP, which had already been signed in early 2016 but not yet ratified, and to halt talks on TTIP, which were quite close to completion. For months he has been criticizing China and Germany for their large trade surpluses with the US. That has led to some delicious moments: At the World Economic Forum in January it was Chinese President Xi Jinping of all people who spoke out in favor of free trade, exhorting the global elites gathered in Davos to commit to open markets and international co-operation and to reject protectionism and isolationism.

German politicians and business leaders are also worried about trade relations with the US. Trump's

economic advisor Peter Navarro recently described Germany's trade surplus with the US as a "serious issue". He said it would be "useful to have candid discussions with Germany about ways that we could possibly get that deficit reduced outside the boundaries and restrictions that they claim that they are under." That is a not so veiled accusation of currency manipulation and protectionism. In January Trump shocked German auto manufacturers with plants in Mexico when he said he intended to impose a 35 percent border tax on cars made in Mexico imported to the US.

As to tax, Trump has promised nothing less than a revolution. His advisors have proposed replacing the current 35 percent tax on corporate profits with a 20 percent tax on cash flow. Exports should be tax-free and imports should no longer be tax-deductible as business expenses. That would in effect mean that imports would become 20 percent more expensive and exports roughly 12 percent cheaper.

Powerful opponent

Even experts find all these ideas confusing. They have never been implemented before. The aim is to tax only what goes on within the US, tuning out everything beyond its borders. There would then no longer be an incentive for major US corporations to pile up profits in tax oases overseas. Some experts say that if other countries adopted the same approach it would mean the end of destructive tax competition between jurisdictions.

Trump may have big ambitions, but the US central bank, the Federal Reserve, could well prove to be a powerful opponent. In March the Fed hiked US interest rates and indicated there would be more rises. Clemens Fuest, the president of the IFO Institute for Economic Research in Munich, says higher interest rates are likely to cause problems in the US because it will eventually be almost

impossible to finance more debt. The Fed raising US interest rates would also cause problems for the rest of the world because other central banks would have to follow suit and raise their rates. European states and companies with high levels of debt could be plunged back into crisis.

In an interview with the German magazine *Börse Online*, the chief economist of Commerzbank, Jörg Krämer, said he considers the US president to be a committed protectionist and foresees more barriers rising rather than new impulses resulting from free-trade agreement such as the now aborted TPP and TTIP. All this could prove to be a "catastrophe" for Germany because of its export-driven economy. Krämer considers the euphoria on US markets since Trump's victory to be "short-sighted" and unsustainable. While endorsing tax cuts and infrastructure investment, he says the "Damocles sword of protectionism" is hanging over the global economy.

In an interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* newspaper, Marcel Fratzscher, president of the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) warned of a possible downward spiral in Germany should car exports to the US decline. He reckons 200,000 jobs depend on those exports.

But will all this come to pass? Trump is sure to encounter resistance to many of his initiatives – also from within his own Republican party in both houses of Congress. Europe and the rest of the world would, however, be well advised not to bank on the strength of that resistance. The G20 finance ministers meeting in Baden-Baden, Germany, in March ended with something of a shock when US Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin prevented the closing statement from including an explicit endorsement of global free trade as had been standard in earlier statements. It would seem that Trump indeed means business. ■





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DRIP IRRIGATION

Hunger Is Not A Destiny

Israeli technology can help feed the world

By Elad Levi

It does not make for sensational headlines but one global problem has been with us for ages and it impacts millions. Now, its solution is within our reach. We're talking about poverty and hunger in Africa.

A look at the facts: Some 75 percent of the world's poorest countries are located in Africa, with nearly 415 million people living in extreme poverty across sub-Saharan Africa. Nearly 50 percent of the sub-Saharan African population live on \$1.90 a day or less, and about one in three people is malnourished. Poverty is the principal cause for hunger in Africa and elsewhere.

Moreover, some 70 percent of the world's poorest people live in rural areas, and depend on agriculture and related activities for their livelihood. Half of the world's hungry population are from farming families. Every ten seconds, a child dies from a hunger-related disease, and it's estimated that about half of these children are African.

The typical approach to addressing this problem is for Western governments and aid organizations to offer African governments charities, grain, fertilizer, farming machinery, and other forms of input. Unfortunately, this formula has not been a success.

As the Africa Commercial Head for Netafim – the pioneer of drip irrigation –, I offer a different perspective to combat the food scarcity issue. My company and I know what we're talking about. After working in the West during its first 30 years of existence, Netafim is now focusing on emerging markets such as India and Africa. I have had the chance to personally see how smallholders, medium-scale growers, and large corporations operate in Africa.

Most of the aid that reaches the continent serves, in the best-case scenario, as a temporary, Band-Aid solution that rarely ever focuses on the root cause of the problem. The African water and agriculture sectors, meanwhile, continue to struggle, and growers are barely surviving as subsistence farmers, let alone thriving as commercial farmers.

This, in turn, leads many potentially productive Africans to emigrate to the West, especially to European countries. Here, they find work and send most of their earnings back home to support their families. Rather than contributing to their home economies, these emigrants are only making the wealthy countries wealthier. At the same time, the West is confronting mass immigration challenges by spending tremendous resources on refugees by building camps and helping to absorb them into society. To make matters worse, those who elect to stay at home can become potential threats both within and beyond their borders, since hunger and poverty are a recipe for radicalization. The macro trends emanating from poverty and hunger are not localized, but have a domino effect worldwide, particularly in light of ever-increasing globalization. Clearly, a lose-lose situation for both the West, and more importantly, for Africa.

Building infrastructure

We have to transform the model of traditional aid, and focus on three areas at the root of Africa's hunger problem: lack of infrastructure, lack of financing and, last but not least, misguided decision maker mindsets. African governments need to invest the financial aid they receive in infrastructure that will facilitate agriculture. In Peru, for exam-

ple, the government has channeled large sums of aid into infrastructure to make pressurized water accessible across tens of thousands of hectares of arable land. Rather than relying on charity and miracles, African countries need to create a foundation to ensure success during good and bad times. One way to achieve this is by investing in technological solutions. Netafim's drip technology is one such example. It is a proven, cost-effective irrigation method that has

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Farmers will improve their livelihoods, women will be better empowered, young people will stay in agriculture

helped agricultural sectors in Israel, India, Brazil and elsewhere to flourish by enabling growers to overcome climatic and other basic constraints.

When it comes to financing, simple financial programs and schemes need to be developed that will enable African farmers and corporations to move from subsistence farming to commercially sustainable and growing businesses. International financing institutions, aid agencies, local banks and governments have to make financing for water and agriculture easily available, without draconian collateral demands. By implementing such a responsible approach, growers will be able to leverage technological solutions that have so far been out of reach.

As for the changing of mindsets, African countries need to stop relying on aid. But

the West is also called upon to transform its aid model from charity to impact investment, whereby investments can be monitored, evaluated and measured according to financial indicators such as internal rate of return (IRR) and payback period. Rather than giving food and input, the West should be providing agriculture infrastructure and training. Instead of building refugee camps and multi-billion immigration integration programs in Europe, the West should help Africans create strong, sustainable economies.

In the 1950s, Israel developed the National Water Carrier and promoted Netafim's drip irrigation technology. By making water easily accessible to farms throughout the country, the Israeli government enabled growers to increase productivity and reduce water usage significantly. As a result, the country transformed itself from an importer of food to a world-renowned exporter of high-quality produce. India is following suit today with the introduction of micro-irrigation and community irrigation schemes that bring millions of people out of poverty, improve individual and community livelihoods, and empower women and family units. And Ethiopia has committed itself to self-sufficient sugar production by investing in the Welkite project.

I believe that a holistic solution that addresses a country's entire water and infrastructure ecosystem is required. In order to reach this solution, training/capacity building, education, as well as regional consultation centers for growers ought to be implemented. Also, farmers' commercial viability has to be increased by helping them sell produce at fair prices, monitoring prices, storing food in central locations, and ensuring that food does not rot when being transported from the field to the store. To make the most of government subsidies they have to be intelligently reallocated to areas with long-term impact such as education.

These changes will not only give everyone access to affordable, healthy food – a basic component of any successful society – but will also lead to macro changes. The economy will improve, emigration will drop, and governments will shift their focus on education and other growth-related issues. On an individual level, farmers will improve their livelihoods, women will be better empowered, young people will stay in agriculture due to easier farming techniques, and mothers will have more time to educate their children, leading to better standard of education and quality of life. Hunger and poverty need not be a destiny – they can be resolved once and for all. ■

Elad Levi is Netafim's Head of Commercial Activities & Business Development in Africa

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AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY

Baby, You Can't Drive My Car

Global diversity is a key advantage

By Klaus Dieter Oehler

Angela Merkel took it all in stride. When the new US President Donald Trump failed to extend her the usual handshake for the cameras during her state visit, the German chancellor only momentarily looked surprised. Her reaction was more evident when Trump criticized Germany's export surplus and demanded that the chancellor do more for Germany's domestic market – and buy more American cars. One of the captains of industry who accompanied Angela Merkel to Washington made an even more pointed comment: BMW CEO Harald Krüger said the company was the largest exporter of vehicles from the US, with the BMW plant in the US exporting more cars abroad than General Motors (GM) and Ford combined. Trump was astonished, and refrained from noting that the Bavarian automaker is planning to open another plant in Mexico. But when it came to US automakers, Trump made it clear he would brook no such investments. GM and Ford obediently backed down.

But a few facts about today's global automotive industry still appear to have escaped Trump's notice. For one, Trump has still failed to recognize that many American cars are not built exclusively in the US – and in some cases, are hardly built there at all. During the election campaign, the current US president had already criticized the fact that German executives seem to prefer Mercedes, BMW and Audi, while shunning Cadillac and Chevrolet. But focusing

on the automotive industry worldwide. "All technological innovations come from the luxury class; carmakers who don't have a presence in the luxury class must rely on mass production," says Peter Fuss, partner at the Stuttgart office of EY corporate consultants (formerly Ernst & Young). "In the coming years, the focus will be less on expanding production capacities in traditional areas such as engine and transmission manufacturing, and more on the development of new technologies and business models," Fuss believes. The switch to e-mobility will also transform the value chain and will further shape investment planning, his colleague Oliver Schweizer agrees. One example for this strategic difference is the US automaker General Motors, which is offloading its German subsidiary Opel and is instead focusing on selling budget models in the fast-growing markets outside of Europe. While American automakers may be turning a profit again, the EY experts note, they have not fully recovered from the impact of the fi-



Made in the US

subsidiary Opel and is instead focusing on selling budget models in the fast-growing markets outside of Europe. While American automakers may be turning a profit again, the EY experts note, they have not fully recovered from the impact of the fi-



Made in Germany

exciting three-way battle in the luxury category, while American manufacturers are competing in the mid-range.

This global diversity is one of the major strengths of the German automotive industry, says EY partner Peter Fuss. Even during the financial crisis, German automakers maintained their existing investment in research and development, as well as in modernization and the construction of new plants.

Challenges of e-mobility

Currently, however, the automotive sector is in a holding pattern. This is not because the forecast is grim – rather, it is unclear. There has been political fallout from the diesel scandal, and some cities are considering a ban on diesel engines. It's still unclear where all this will lead. According to the EY consultants, the outcome could be a renewed push in the area of electro mobility. Should this come to fruition it would raise two further, and important, questions: how quickly will this transformation be accomplished? And who will manufacture the electric motors and battery packs? Fuss believes that this development may have a noticeable impact on the value chain.

This hesitation is also apparent in the figures compiled by the EY consultants. From 2010 to 2015, the 16 largest automakers made substantial investments in either modernization or the construction of new plants, achieving a record investment of €52.5 billion in 2015. This plummeted in the following year, with investment totaling only €16.3 billion in 2016. Between 2010 and 2016, the US was responsible for the largest share of investment, with a total value of €29.5 billion. However, €26.6 billion of that total went into long-overdue modernization of manufacturing plants. New plants were mainly launched by non-US

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European fuel and emissions standards are still more stringent than in the US – but not always observed

manufacturers, including BMW and Daimler. At €23.4 billion, Germany occupied third place on this list, behind China (at €25.1 billion), whereby a significantly larger share of German investment also went to modernization and expansion measures rather than new plant construction. However, Fuss notes, among German manufacturers, plant construction tends to be an ongoing process. By contrast, nearly €20 of the €25 billion investment in China's automotive industry was devoted to the construction of new plants, with a significant share of that going to German manufacturers.

According to Peter Fuss, the automotive industry is likely to remain cautious about major investments given the current political upheavals, which include not only the new US president but also the impact of Brexit. "For the time being, carmakers will be proceeding with due caution, maintaining flexibility along their own supply chain, improving their organization, and avoiding unnecessary rigidity when it comes to location and technology," concludes Peter Fuss.

Klaus Dieter Oehler is financial editor at the daily Stuttgarter Zeitung

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Even during the financial crisis, German automakers maintained their existing investment in research and development

on German executives is beside the point: hardly anyone in Germany drives American. Some have a simple explanation for this – American cars just aren't all that good.

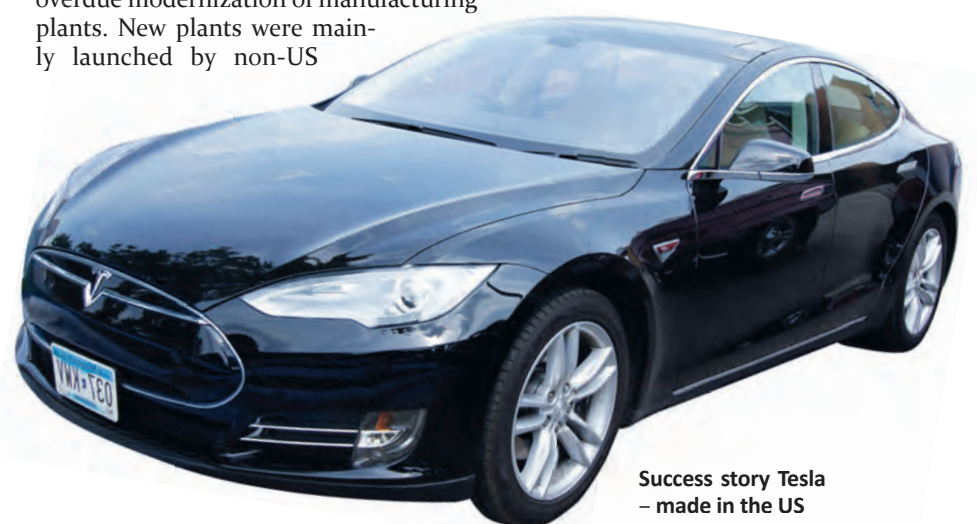
Indeed, many German drivers demand higher quality standards than their US counterparts. This in part has to do with differences in geography. US highways, which extend for many kilometers with nary a curve or bend, don't require the same level of automotive agility and stability as the historic districts of European cities, with their narrow streets and sharp corners. The diesel emissions scandal by the Wolfsburg-based Volkswagen company has done massive damage to the reputation of German carmakers in this respect. But European fuel and emissions standards are still more stringent than in the US.

According to experts, this fact will continue to determine the future of the auto-

finance crisis, during which two of the Detroit Big Three were forced to file for Chapter 11. In the wake of the crisis, Chrysler was acquired by Fiat. GM was only able to recover with a bailout worth billions, courtesy of the American taxpayers. Only Ford succeeded in righting itself largely under its own steam – although not without the help of a generous bailout. In Ford's case, according to some industry insiders, the automaker's stronger presence in Europe may also have played a role.

Technological innovations

German automakers, by contrast, have long since gone global. As a result, they were less affected by the financial and economic crisis. Daimler did overextend itself in its merger with Chrysler – a supposed "marriage made in heaven" – but is now back on a solid footing. On the Chinese market, Daimler, BMW and Audi are involved in an



Success story Tesla – made in the US

ISRAELI HI-TECH

Desert City, Cyber Dust

Beer Sheva is set to become the nation's IT R&D capital

By Franziska Knupper

It's a special morning in Beer Sheva. Here, in southern Israel, the sunlight is usually swallowed by thick desert dust. It floats in the air, seeps into everything. A layer of yellow on the windows, in your mouth, on every windshield. Yet, today, the sky is clear and blue; nothing constricts the view from Roy Zwebner's office on the fourth floor in Building Number One of the Gav Yam Advanced Technology Park. The gaze wanders over cranes, red sand dunes, a full parking lot. It is caught by the new pedestrian bridge, shaped like a pair of half-open eyes and stretching over the central railway station from the tech park to the campus of the Ben Gurion University of the Negev.

"It connects hi-tech industry and academia", explains Roy Zwebner, CEO of the Technology Park. Seven years ago, Zwebner left his start-up in Tel Aviv in order to work on the vision of turning the city of the Negev into a modern innovation hub. In only three years, seventy companies have moved into the freshly built Tech Park, including IT-giants such as Pay-Pal, WeWork, IBM, Deutsche Telekom or Wix. The buildings are supposed to be entirely filled by 2020, with the majority of companies coming from the cybersecurity or telecommunications sector. "We will be creating 10,000 to 20,000 new jobs in the south of the country", Zwebner says with a trace of pride. "Three years ago there was nothing here except sand dunes and camels. Once construction is finished we will be looking at twelve multilevel buildings."

Incentives for companies

A national initiative, comprised of the Israel National Cyber Bureau (INCB), Beer-Sheva Municipality and Ben Gurion University (BGU), promotes the city as the new national cyber center, only a hundred kilometers away from the start-up hub and Silicon Wadi of Tel Aviv. "Beersheva will not only be the cyber capital of Israel, but one of the most important places in the cyber security field in the world," declared Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at the Israeli Cyber Innovation Arena

in January 2014. The vision is to create an ecosystem that combines academic research, private industry and military, all while being in close proximity to each other. "There clearly is also the Zionist vision of making the desert bloom," adds Roy Zwebner. Already Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, coined several famous phrases addressing the country's dry south such as "The Negev offers the greatest opportunity to accomplish everything from the very beginning." Israel's desert includes sixty percent of the country's landmass but less than ten percent of its population.

It comes as no surprise that the government seeks to develop this region and creates incentives for companies to move their businesses to the Capital of the Negev. "The

international companies keen to pick up the tech-savvy soldiers upon discharge. Also the well-known Unit 8200, the army's intelligence corps unit, will be relocated from the heart of Tel Aviv to the Tech Park, freeing valuable real estate in the densely populated metropolitan area in the center. "Once these bright people finish their service down here, they can proceed to the private industry or research, with both of them right next door", explains Zwebner. And indeed, the BGU campus is only a short walk away from Roy Zwebner's brightly-lit office. The academy is highly reputed for its advancement in cyber research, rated 39th among the world's top technological universities.

The sandstone brick buildings, based on Brutalist Architecture, and an artificial river

regards the knowledge in this field as critical: "Israel is being attacked quite heavily. And the more we digitize our surrounding – for example with the Internet of Things or self-driving cars – the more cyber security becomes an integral part of our research and national intelligence. The world is changing and it also changes the way we fight."

New ecosystem

The Israel Export and International Cooperation Institute recently announced that Israel sold three billion dollars of cyber technology in exports in 2014. The institute foresees a ten percent increase in revenue of nearly 250 Israeli firms in the sector for this year. "In my opinion Israel is one of the best when it comes to cyber security,"

Shapira, mother of five children and wife of an Israeli officer, adds. "We rely on our knowledge, on our intelligence. We also gather information through cyber security, sometimes it is also pro-active security. And sometimes, nobody says it, but I guess it also comes to attacks," Shapira carefully selects her words. She seeks to remain neutral yet she admits that working in cyber defense means to be familiar with the offense just as much. "At our labs we collect and create malware to simulate attacks. Lately, we have been focusing on systems that are actually not connected to the internet," she explains.

As a researcher, she emphasizes, she is interested only in the functionality of the systems. She does not see a conflict working for the end user, the academia, as well as for any government request. She regards close collaboration between military, academy and private industry as beneficial – for everyone involved. Originally from Tel Aviv, she arrived in Beer Sheva in order to finish her doctoral thesis. "There was nothing here!", her voice pitches in excitement. "But now, let's take my son for example. He graduated in computer engineering, found a job here and is paid the same salary as he would be in Tel Aviv, yet the living costs are much lower." She pauses as to give her words the appropriate weight: "Once the technological units of the IDF move to Beer Sheva, it will create a whole new ecosystem here in the Negev." ■

Beer Sheva Bridge: Connecting hi-tech and academia



Miriam Knupper

government subsidizes entrepreneurs willing to relocate by paying thirty percent of the salaries for six years." Zwebner himself is still commuting every day from Tel Aviv; but once the region's potential will unfold, the 37-year old predicts, Beer Sheva will also be a more attractive place for people to live. Until recently, Israel's eighth most populous city has been neglected and discarded as one of the under-developed and poorer regions. "But especially with the IDF relocating several units down here, it will change the whole dynamic," he stresses.

The Israel Defense Forces are building a two-million-square-foot high-tech telecommunications center, comprised of twelve buildings adjacent to the Tech Park and BGU. The army plans to move some 20,000 soldiers south by 2021, with

simulating a desert oasis, create a futurist yet rugged atmosphere. Deutsche Telekom is right next door, having established one of its major international research centers at the university. "There are about a hundred people from the faculty working in different labs on various research projects in the field of cyber defense," explains Professor Bracha Shapira from the Software and Information Systems Department. The religious woman and computer engineer has been the head of the program right from the beginning, since it was inaugurated twelve years ago with a starting budget of three million euros. On top of that, her department has recently opened a unique Master's program of Information Systems Engineering with a focus in Cyber Space Security with around thirty students per grade. Professor Shapira

THE SPUDY COLUMN

Controlling and Reporting

Be it Brexit, Trump, Erdogan or Le Pen: It still remains to be seen what influences the current political developments and, in particular, the waves of nationalism and populism will have in the coming years on the economies of developed countries and global trade.

Yet one thing is already for sure: market uncertainty and volatility are becoming ever more prevalent, and this is only going to continue. Certain, too, is that as assets become more complex and the political and



economic situation more volatile, effective strategies for managing and monitoring assets become increasingly more important.

The current lack of trust surrounding economic stability therefore poses particular challenges for asset holders. They are hardly in a position themselves to be continuously monitoring their assets with the depth necessary while simultaneously observing the social, political, fiscal, ecological and economic situation in such a way as to be able to appropriately react to changes and reach decisions.

These tasks should in no way be underestimated, and there are many indicators that the price of doing so on one's own would be too high. The holder should also always have someone at their side who keeps a regular eye on the assets, using both a neutral and critical perspective. This largely rules out asset managers who directly influence how assets perform.

Experienced controlling and reporting specialists, in contrast, can establish a highly effective early warning system that identifies potential disruptions in a timely manner while also recognizing newly emerging opportunities early on.

This allows for a quick overview and enables holders to reach as informed a decision as possible. Asset holders are thus well placed not only to best protect their assets but potentially even to benefit from confusing conditions.

At the very latest, during uncertain times, asset holders are well advised to hand over these challenging tasks to experts, who are characterized not only by their experience and neutrality, but also by their accuracy and loyalty. ■

Jens Spudy is executive partner of Spudy Invest: www.spudy-invest.com

AUGSBURG SYNAGOGUE

Against All Odds

The Bavarian city celebrates the centenary of its Jewish hub



Franz Kimmel

By Hartmut Bomhoff

Within the framework of Jewish history, one hundred years are not a long time, and yet this hundred-year history of our synagogue is a reason to celebrate, although it is with mixed feelings,” says Rabbi Henry G. Brandt, who has been serving the Jewish Community of Augsburg since 2004. “Designed in peace and dedicated, so to speak, in shell hail, our forefathers and mothers could not have known which terrible events these walls must bear witness in its future.”

The Augsburg Temple is one of the few synagogue buildings in Germany that survived the Nazi period and that are still in use today. Although set on fire and vandalized, the synagogue was not completely destroyed in the November pogroms of 1938 because it was located across the street from a gas station; the risk of torching the synagogue would have been too great for the neighboring buildings, and a fire brigade extinguished the blaze. This spring, the Jewish Culture Museum Augsburg-Swabia is hosting a number of events to commemorate the dedication of the Great Synagogue one hundred years ago, on April 4th, 1917. The official anniversary ceremony, hosted by the Jewish Community of Swabia-Augsburg, will be held in the synagogue on June 28th. Augsburg is the third largest city in the German state of Bavaria, following Munich and Nuremberg.

On the occasion of its opening, Rabbi Richard Grünfeld praised the building as “an ornament to the city and a pride of the community.” The domed central structure was built between 1913 and 1917 after the design

by the architects Fritz Landauer and Heinrich Lömpel. After the expulsion in 1438, there had been no Jewish life in Augsburg until in 1803 Jews were once again allowed to settle in the town. Within the next hundred years, the Jewish population expanded to 1,156 in 1900, and the existing synagogue became too small for the growing community. In 1912, a representative location was found and in preparation for the construction of the new synagogue an architectural competition was announced. The community, which then numbered around 1,200 members, sought to architecturally express their sense of belonging as German citizens of Jewish faith. When the synagogue was completed, it was celebrated far beyond Augsburg as the epitome of a modern Jewish house of worship.

Architectural gem

The presence of an organ gallery still indicates that the synagogue served a proud Liberal Jewish community. The sanctuary, which seated 700 congregants, incorporates Byzantine, Oriental and Art Nouveau elements, explains Benigna Schönhagen, director of the Jewish Culture Museum: “This central room is shaped

like a Byzantine cross, with barrel vaults over each of the four cross arms, and is enclosed by a domed 95-foot high ceiling. Green-gold mosaic covers the reinforced concrete dome, a highly advanced construction for its time. Elaborate tracery windows, two rings of skylights in the dome, and four brass lamp-globes bathe the sanctuary in a hushed, mystical light. The atypical, richly iconographic decoration includes a colored mosaic above the Torah ark. Pictorial depictions of the High Holidays in five round panels on the east arch and of the Twelve Tribes on the gallery railings, as well as four stucco reliefs surrounding the dome together portray the Torah as the tree of life. The connection between the reliefs is conveyed by biblical quotes in decorative Hebrew script.” Today, the synagogue, with its grand dome, is considered one of the most beautiful in Europe and an impressive testament to Liberal Judaism.

The building saw the heyday and the destruction of the local Jewish community. Its story is closely connected with that of the family of Rabbi Ernst Jacob, who officiated in Augsburg

from 1929 until 1938. After Crystal Night in November 1938, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Dachau concentration camp. On his release the family fled to England and later settled in Springfield MO where he served as rabbi for both the traditional and the Reform congregations.

Adventure playground

The 18 newsletters “To My Scattered Community” he wrote from the United States between 1941 and 1949 were typed up twice a

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One of the most beautiful in Europe and an impressive testament to Liberal Judaism

year by one of his two sons, Walter. Rabbi Walter Jacob, who has become one of the leading Reform rabbis in the United States, serves as president of the Abraham Geiger College in Potsdam, frequently visiting his native Augsburg. Born in 1930, he grew up in the right wing of the synagogue complex, while the left wing housed the Jewish community’s kindergarten and school. “The synagogue was our adventure playground,” he recalls. “We lived shielded from the outside world, our parents did not talk about politics, and our apartment and our school were on site.” Throughout the war the desecrated synagogue was used as a “ghetto house”: the National Socialists forced Swabian Jews to live there before deporting them to concentration and extermination camps in the east.

A few weeks after the liberation, services were resumed in

the badly damaged synagogue by a handful of survivors and Jewish soldiers of the U.S. Army, among them Henry (Heinz) Landman, a native of Augsburg, who entered his home city on April 28th, 1945, with the first American troops. “When I saw the burnt out synagogue in the nearly totally destroyed city for the first time again, I realized that there was a certain connection between the two. The destroyed ‘House of God’ was the beginning of the madness, and the ruined city was the end result of the folly.”

The community was eventually reestablished, made up mainly by displaced persons, primarily from Poland. They established a small synagogue on the complex while the sanctuary of the Great Synagogue remained in desolate condition until the mid-1970s, when public funds were finally allocated for its restoration. These efforts culminated in its rededication on September 1, 1985. At the same time, in the building’s west wing, the Jewish Culture Museum Augsburg-Swabia was established as the first independent Jewish museum in the Federal Republic of Germany. Since 1991, the Jewish community of Augsburg has grown rapidly with the arrival of Jews from the former Soviet Union, reaching a peak in 2003. Today, there are about 1,400 synagogue members.





Photo courtesy picture-alliance/DUMONT Bildarchiv

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HERITAGE & IDENTITY

Cosmopolitan Classroom With A Heimische Flavor

Summer schools address various facets of Jewish culture in Berlin

JVJG

Time and again, synagogue members all over the world complain bitterly about the lack of vision amid the local Jewish leadership and about the lack of engagement of the Jewish youth. This summer, a new program of the University of Potsdam seeks to make a difference. **The Jewish Activism Summer School**, “Social Engagement in Theory and Practice,” aims to help young Jews and non-Jews to reflect on ways to effectively address collective challenges on local, national and global levels.

“It is my aim to inspire, educate and organize young Jews into *tikkun olam*, helping to repair the world,” explains initiator and creative director Jonathan Schorsch, who holds the chair in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History at the Potsdam School of Jewish Theology. “We have a phenomenal roster of instructors and will be visiting local organizations that do effective, innovative work, learning from texts, ideas and real-world examples.”

The project is designed to strengthen young adults’ intuitive urge to work toward social change and their personal desire to become responsible and engaged members of their communities. Participants will be housed in Kreuzberg, a cultural hub and hipster neighborhood of Berlin that still has a revolutionary streak.

This year, universities in Berlin are offering two more exciting

summer school courses with a Jewish flavor. The first summer program of **Yiddish Language and Literature** in Berlin will take place between August 14 and September 1, 2017. The program is organized by the Paris Yiddish Center – Medem in cooperation with the Institute of Jewish Studies at the Free University of Brussels and the Institute for East European Studies at the Free University of Berlin,

which will host the participants. The instructors are committed to preserving and transmitting Yiddish culture, as well as encouraging contemporary Yiddish creativity in its various forms. Today, hardly anyone knows that modern Yiddish literature began in Prussia, that the archives of the Jewish Labor Bund were transferred to Berlin in 1919, that in 1925, YIVO (Yidisher Visnshaftlecher Institut) was founded here, and

that many Yiddish writers in Weimar Berlin acknowledged the city in their literary works.

Berlin offers a setting that is unrivaled in its historical significance for the history of modern Jewish culture. Since 2007, the **Leo Baeck Summer University** has been a unique intellectual and cultural meeting point. A six-week summer school in Jewish studies, conducted in English at Berlin’s Humboldt University, it focuses on Jewish life in Germany from the 19th to 21st century and its relationship to other Jewish communities worldwide.

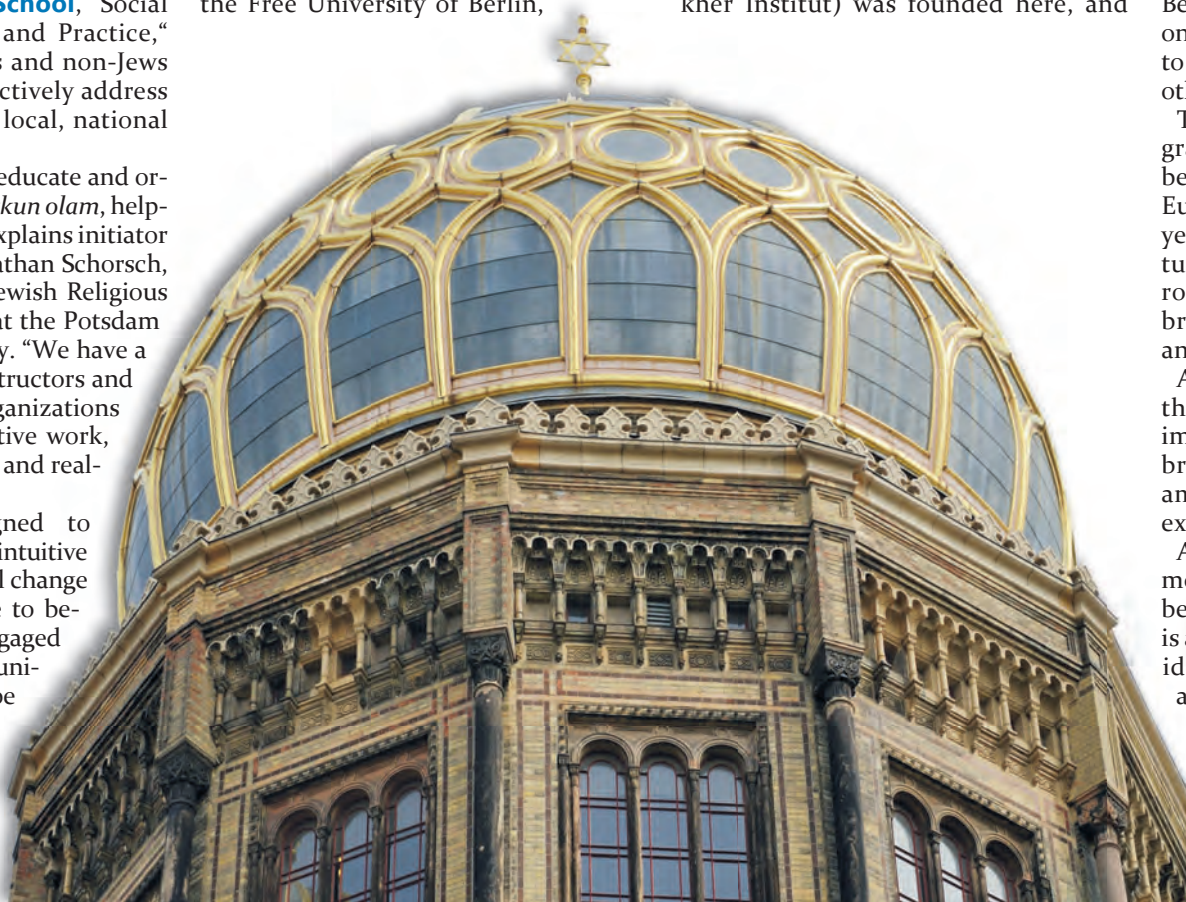
This time, the emphasis of the program is on the interaction and exchange between Jews in Germany and Eastern Europe over a period of more than 200 years. What happened when 19th century Orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe met their Reform and secular brethren in Germany? What clashes and synergies resulted?

And how has the influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union since 1989 impacted post-war Jewish life and the broader German culture? These are among the questions participants will explore from June 29 to August 11, 2017.

Against all odds, Jewish Berlin is much more than just a past phenomenon to be remembered and commemorated; it is an active part of the city’s present-day identity. These three summer courses are an exciting way to discover how Jewish traditions and experiences are interwoven with the cultural fabric of this urban magnet. ■

For more information, see:

- jassberlin.org/
- yiddishweb.com/berlin-en/
- projekte.hu-berlin.de/en/lbsu



The New Synagogue is the city’s most significant Jewish landmark

JEWISH MUSEUM

Concealed Charm

By Frank Bernbeck

Hair has long symbolized the charms of a woman. It exerted such a power of attraction on men that the men behind the three major Abrahamic religions ruled that respectable women should keep it out of sight. Judaism, Christianity and Islam all have similar ideas about female modesty. That is not very surprising, given that they all emerged within a relatively short period of time in the same region, the Middle East. Three thousand years ago, Assyrian law required upper-class married women to keep their hair covered in public.

As you enter the exhibition *Cherchez la femme. Wig, Burqa, Wimple* at the Jewish Museum in Berlin, which runs until July 2,



Jewish families on the beach, Coney Island 2011

2017, you encounter a large figure entirely covered in long dark hair, created by the Iranian-born artist Mandana Moghaddam. What those religions wanted to keep hidden is on display for all to see – including men. It makes clear

at the very start what this exhibition is really about: psychological projection on the part of men onto women. The Jewish wig, Islamic burqa and Christian wimple that figure in the name of the show stand for that common thread.

The exhibition aims to enlighten by shaking up the conventional terms of debate. When politicians talk about the Muslim head scarf and burqa, it is usually men talking about women, while the latter remain silent.

The exhibition explores prejudices and conventions of seeing and thinking. As Cilly Kugelmann, the museum’s program director at the time the exhibition was designed, explains: “The instrumentalization of religious symbols for political aims is a general phenomenon. The exhibition seeks to warn against any hasty inference from wearing certain clothes for religious reasons to terrorist acts. Close scrutiny should enhance the understanding of who it is that wears ‘religious garments’ and to what end.”

There are plenty of surprising and thought-provoking images to peruse: immigrants from Eastern Europe wearing head



Russian Orthodox service, Berlin 2014

scarves at an Orthodox Christian service, Jewish women on a beach in the United States, and contemporary fashion by both Jewish and Muslim female designers who seek to help young women find a compromise between religious duty and the freedom to be themselves. ■

Cherchez la femme: Perücke, Burka, Ordens-tracht is on show at Jüdisches Museum Berlin until July 2, 2017

WALTER BENJAMIN

Seismograph for the Turmoils of Modernity

On the German philosopher's life and writings

By Dieter Sattler

Transformation will once again emerge from what is enslaved and down-trodden – but the class that today endures this enslavement is the class of the literati.” In these early musings, written when he was just 20 years old, Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) posited that intellectuals would be the revolutionaries of his time. Later Benjamin would go on to become arguably the foremost thinker of the Frankfurt School. He was a philosopher, art critic and essayist – and the “imperfect genius” of the Freudian-Marxist collection of philosophers who centered around Max Horkheimer. After an academic career eluded him, Benjamin scraped out a precarious existence as a freelance writer – this despite the fact that Theodor W. Adorno, eleven years his junior and himself regarded as one of the unworldly prodigies of the Frankfurt School, tended to Benjamin almost like a father. As Adorno would later describe Benjamin: “I have never encountered another person whose entire existence, including his outward appearance, was so profoundly characterized by an intellectual spirit.” Despite the esteem in which he was held, Benjamin would remain a kind of “problem child” who was only loosely associated with Horkheimer’s Institute for Social Research. This also left Benjamin largely outside the largesse be-



Dani Karavan's Memorial for Walter Benjamin at Portbou

by Hannah Arendt. The messianic “Theses on the Philosophy of History” still ranks as one of Benjamin’s most moving and thought-provoking works.

The “Theses on the Philosophy of History” begins with the description of a painting that Benjamin had acquired in 1921: “There is a painting by Paul Klee called *Angelus Novus*. It depicts an angel who looks as though he were about to move away from something he is staring at. His eyes are open wide, his mouth is open, and his wings are out-

– were intertwined. Benjamin, it seems, was always more a man of letters than an academic at heart.

Like a true artist, the paths that Benjamin followed during his life were always strongly influenced and inspired by his personal encounters. People who fascinated him often opened up new horizons of thought. This was the case with the educational reformer Gustav Wyneken (who, however, would later fall into disrepute due to pedophilia) and for Gershom Scholem, who awakened Benjamin’s interest in Kabbalah, Jewish myth and Jewish messianism. The same applied to the women Benjamin loved. “I have met three different women in my life and three different men within me,” Benjamin would comment in 1939. The first of these three women was Luise von Landau, who awakened Benjamin’s interest in the idea of nobility; the second the Russian revolutionary Asja Lacis, who “electrified” Benjamin with her communism; the third was the Parisian courtesan Hélène Léger, who Benjamin venerated as a “sexual commodity.” Other important women in Benjamin’s life would certainly have included his fiancée Grete Radt as well as Dora Kellner, his wife of many years.

Benjamin had a tendency to overinflate the personal dimension and to attribute world-historical significance to the twists and turns of his own biography. This is also true of his political intentions. As was true for Adorno, some of the figures of thought that Benjamin identified as dialectic were more properly a paradox. In this new biography, as well, there are repeated discussions about whether Benjamin’s dedication to revolution was more a matter of verbal radicalism than real conviction. Indeed, Benjamin’s activist impulses remained always within the mode of language.

Literati and prostitutes

However, Lorenz Jäger decisively refutes the claim that Benjamin’s political engagement might have been less than serious in its intent. In Jäger’s words: “The intellectual engages on a political

level by working with concepts and transforming them. How else is an intellectual to work?”

Throughout his life, Benjamin remained fascinated by the topic of prostitution. From his book *Berlin Childhood Around 1900* to the essay “On Some Motifs in Baudelaire,” Benjamin continued to draw parallels between prostitutes and the fate of the “literati,” whom by 1912 he had elevated to the true revolutionaries. As Benjamin wrote in an essay dedicated to Karl Kraus: “It is, fundamentally, on the complete agreement of two forms of existence – life under the aegis of mere mind, and life under the aegis of mere sexuality – that the solidarity of the man of letters with the whore is founded, a solidarity to which Baudelaire’s existence is the most inviolable testimony.” (Walter Benjamin: *Selected Writings*, Vol. 2, Part 2, Ed. Michael W. Jennings et al, 1999) Both forms of street existence – the whore and the urban man of letters – were compelled to commodify themselves, body and soul, to survive.

Many of Benjamin’s insights are still valuable today. Perhaps his work continues to exert such fascination because, like the romantic theory of the fragment, it remained unfinished, and thus its concepts could remain unfixed. After all, it was Benjamin who said the finished work is the “death mask of its conception.” Nonetheless, the Frankfurt-based literary critic Martin Lüdke warns against the urge to over-interpret Ben-



Around 1928

jamin’s unfinished life and work. In his early academic years, Benjamin did indeed explore the idea of producing a systematic work. According to Lüdke, “The fragmentary character of [Benjamin’s] later work certainly also had something to do with his precarious circumstances after the failure of his academic career.”

Ultimately, however, Walter Benjamin’s life was a tragic one. We should therefore be all the more grateful for the “brief redemptions” that Benjamin’s writings grant to us. ■

Lorenz Jäger: Walter Benjamin: Das Leben eines Unvollendeten. Rowohlt Berlin, EUR 26.95, 395 pages

“The imperfect genius of the Freudian-Marxist philosophers of the Frankfurt School

stowed upon the inner circle by the Institute’s endowment fund. Benjamin’s years of exile in Paris, where he had fled in 1933, were particularly marked by dire poverty – and of course the fear that he would be captured by the Nazis.

The storm of history

In 1940, Benjamin left for Spain, hoping to continue onward to Portugal and then escape to the United States, where many Jewish intellectuals had already sought refuge. Wracked with fear and despair, he committed suicide in the Spanish border town of Portbou. Had he succeeded in making his way to the US, Benjamin would likely have found life there more difficult than his exiled comrades. Benjamin spoke little English and his research interests were even more specialized than those of his colleagues. Benjamin was believed to have been carrying an important manuscript with him in the suitcase that was found with him after his death. This manuscript finally reappeared years later in the US, passed along

stretched.” The angel’s gaze is directed towards Paradise, from which a storm is blowing that is pushing the angel away. It is the storm of history, which is heavy with catastrophe – a history whose path and future the angel cannot know or control – signaling a conception of history that represents a marked break with the intellectual traditions of both Marxism and the Enlightenment.

The vision that opens Benjamin’s essay is an expression of the despair and resignation that had overcome the Frankfurt School after Nazi Germany made its initial conquests. But Benjamin, who had already spent three months in a French internment camp after the war broke out in 1939, was the one who had most directly experienced its impact.

In his highly lauded new biography of Walter Benjamin, Lorenz Jäger, who has for many years been editor at the culture desk of the daily newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, deftly and knowledgeably describes how Benjamin’s personal and intellectual worlds – as might be expected from a “literatus”

TEMPLERS IN ISRAEL

Like in Old Times

Traces of German Christian pioneers in the Promised Land



The Templer settlement Sarona around 1900, now in the heart of Tel Aviv

By Gideon Wollberg

This Bethlehem is not full of pilgrims or souvenir merchants or the sound of Palestinian pop music. This is not the famous Bethlehem where Jesus is said to have been born, but Beit Lekhem ha-Glilit, Bethlehem of Galilee, a village beside an oak forest between Haifa and Nazareth in northern Israel. Its well-preserved stone houses were built by German Templers who settled here more than a century ago. They were dairy farmers and their community survived until the Second World War. Now the village is a moshav, a cooperative agricultural community, founded in April 1948. It has restaurants, art galleries, guest houses and an herb farm, and attracts tourists seeking tranquility in the countryside.

The Templers emerged from the Pietist movement in the German state of Württemberg and saw themselves as “living stones” of “a spiritual house”.

While Christians believe Jesus was born in the other Bethlehem, some archaeologists and historians think it more likely he was a native of this one near Nazareth in Galilee. Bethlehem of Judea, the city of King David, is only named as Jesus’ birthplace in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The earlier Gospel of Mark calls Nazareth his hometown.

Did the young Templers who settled in Beit Lekhem ha-Glilit in 1906 think this Arab village was the birthplace of Jesus?

Just a few kilometers away, another colony, Waldheim, was established in 1907 by people who broke away from the Templer Society in Haifa

and returned to mainstream German Protestantism. It is now called Alonei Abba. The colonists built a small church with a tower, not just a simple community centre. Nowadays, the moshav is something of a refuge for artists. The singer Shlomo Artzi was born there. The writer Meir Shalev spends time there. He wrote about the colony and its German founders in his novel *Fontanelle*.

A success story

The traces of the German colonies here in Emek Yisrael and elsewhere in Israel – Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem – are intriguing. What was the movement all about? As the Israeli historian Jakob Eisler puts it, “in the second half of the 19th century, Christians from various countries and nations wanted to resettle to the Holy Land, which had been under Turkish dominion for more than three hundred and fifty years. In the 1850s the first attempts by colonists from Wuppertal failed after eight years; attempts by colonists from Philadelphia failed after four. And another attempt at colonization by Americans from Maine between 1865 and 1867 also failed... The only Christians who succeeded in settling permanently in Palestine were the Templers from Württemberg.”

They established thriving colonies in Haifa (1868), Jaffa (1869), Sarona (1871) and Jerusalem (1873) and after Kaiser Wilhelm II’s visit in 1898 Wilhelma (1902) and then Bethlehem in Galilee in 1906.

The first German colony was in Haifa. Historian Alex Carmel writes: “In those days, Haifa was

still a miserable place, overshadowed by Acre, the district capital. Most of the 4,000 inhabitants lived crowded within the city walls. If there was anything like a fresh breeze to be felt in the small town at that time, it was the German settlers who now provided a decisive impetus for its development.”

After Haifa, further colonies were established on the initiative of Christian Hoffmann and Georg David Hardegg. The German Colony at Emek Refa’im in Jerusalem is now one of the city’s most fashionable neighborhoods. In 1871, Matthias Frank from Neuffen bought a tract of land there and built himself a house and a steam-powered flour mill. Merchants, hoteliers, craftsmen, builders and teachers soon settled there. After Hoffmann moved the Templer headquarters and college to Jerusalem in 1878, the movement was centered there.



In about 1890, the Templers built a new neighborhood in a pine forest on Mount Carmel in Haifa, with residential buildings, hotels and convalescence homes. Keller House, which had been the residence of the first German consul in Haifa, Friedrich Keller, is home to the Gottlieb Schumacher Institute for Research of the Christian Presence in Palestine in the Modern Era at the University

of Haifa. Schumacher was a Templer and an engineer and architect who left his mark on the city.

For the Jewish settlers who started arriving in greater numbers in 1882, the Templers, about three thousand in all at the time, were at first role models and living proof that it was indeed possible for Europeans to live, work and

for the two of them in 1952: “A dissertation from 1937 is lying in front of me. It tells me that the first houses in the village were built in 1900 and that the place was then called Neuhardtshof and was a German settlement. The founders of this colony had drilled a well there. [...] For years I had thought we had built and lived on the terrain of what had been a Palestinian village.”



Living proof that it was possible for Europeans to live, work and thrive in the Land of Israel

thrive in the Land of Israel. Later, the Templers’ rather universalist faith gave way to a fervent German patriotism. In the early 1930s, more and more of them turned to Nazism. During the Second World War, Britain, as Mandate power in Palestine, interned the Templers and then either sent them to Germany or deported them to Australia. The last remaining Templers had to leave the country in 1948 at the time of the foundation of the state of Israel. Nowadays, the Temple Society is based in Stuttgart.

In the early years of the state of Israel, little attention was paid to the history of the Templers. Author Peter Finkelgruen, who lives in Cologne, wrote about two old fountains beside the little house near the beach in Kfar Samir outside Haifa that his grandmother Anna had built

Kobi Fleischmann, who lives in Beit Lekhem ha-Glilit, writes in a similar vein: “We thought the Jewish settlers before 1940 and after 1945 had created the infrastructure in this area. Now we hear that Germans were here before us, and it was upon their achievements that we could build after 1948.”

The buildings in the former German Christian settlements across Israel – homes with red-tiled roofs, schools, community centres – and their cemeteries are slowly being declared heritage sites and carefully restored. Nowadays, the former Templer colony of Sarona in the heart of Tel Aviv, with its 37 buildings, is like an open-air museum. Swedish explorer Sven Hedin wrote about Sarona in 1916: “Many plants were in blossom... They mainly grow grapes, oranges and vegetables. Like in old times – in the land of milk and honey.”

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE

The German Roots of Zionism

Documenting the development from utopian dream to matter of survival

By William H. Weitzer

A Jewish homeland? A refuge from anti-Semitism! A place for Jewish religion and culture to flourish! What an idea, especially for the millions of impoverished Jews in Eastern Europe in the 19th century, subject to pogroms and the arbitrary rule of the Czar. The roots of the modern Zionist idea, however, run even deeper in the relatively affluent and assimilated communities of Jews in German-speaking lands than in the Shtetl culture of the Pale of Settlement. At the Center for Jewish History in New York, an exhibit created by the Leo Baeck Institute traces the development of Zionism among German-speaking Jews from a utopian dream to a matter of survival.

By the second half of the 19th century, Jews in the Habsburg and Hohenzollern empires were well along the path of assimilation. The cradle of Jewish Enlightenment, or Haskalah, had been Berlin, and Jews in the German sphere had taken its values to heart by learning German, reforming religious practice, and embracing secular education, or *Bildung*, as a universal value.

“If you will it,
it is no dream.”
Theodor Herzl

At the same time, romantic nationalist movements linked the struggle for liberal reforms with the idea that sovereignty was the right of free peoples united by a national heritage. German Jews were deeply involved in these movements – civil rights for Jews were among the demands of the failed revolution of 1848 – and soon Jewish thinkers began to apply similar ideas to the Jewish people. If the German people deserved self-determination in a national homeland, then why not the Jews?

These liberal and nationalist political movements contributed to the gradual emancipation of Jews in Germany and Austria, so that by the time Germany was unified in 1871, Jews across Central Europe enjoyed full rights of citizenship and prospered to an unprecedented degree.

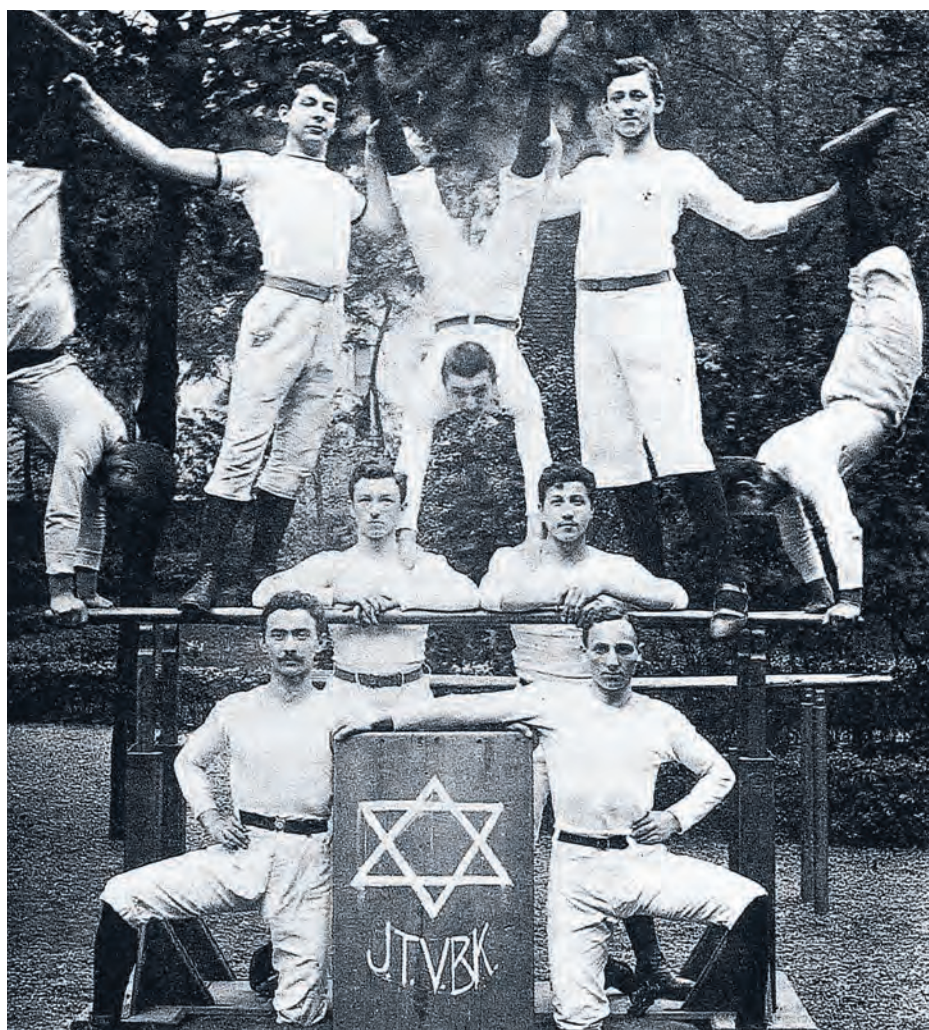
Nevertheless, two factors coalesced to stoke the dream of a different Jewish future among some intellectuals. First, the situation of Jews in Eastern Europe was little improved, and some were concerned for the welfare of their brethren in the Russian Empire. Second, and closer to home, nationalism and emancipation had failed to extinguish prejudice but rather gave rise to a more virulent strain of anti-Semitism that was typified by the wrongful conviction of French Jewish artillery captain, Alfred Dreyfus, for espionage in 1894.

Dreyfus Affair

German-speaking Jewish thinkers – messianic rabbis, socialist utopians, and Jewish cultural partisans – had already proposed a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and even coined the term “Zionism”, but the idea and the movement crystallized around the peak of the Dreyfus Affair in 1896, when the Viennese journalist Theodor Herzl published *The Jewish State*. Herzl was a typical assimilated Austrian Jew whose journalistic interests had not been particularly Jewish, or even political, but the experience of life under Vienna’s anti-Semitic mayor Karl Lueger and the false prosecution of Dreyfus galvanized him. The issue of anti-Semitism would not be solved even in the “civilized” countries of Western Europe until the Jews had a homeland, he now argued.

In the ensuing decades, Zionism would remain a primarily German-speaking movement. The early Zionist Congresses moved between Basel and a series of other German-speaking cities. German was the language of the Zionist movement and its administration was headquartered first in Vienna, then in Cologne, and finally in Berlin. The *Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland* (Zionist Union for Germany, ZVfD), founded in 1897, was a crucial source of financial support for the International Zionist movement.

As rooted in German-speaking culture as it was, the Zionist movement never found mainstream support among German Jews. Plans to hold the first Zionist Congress in Munich were scuttled when the local Jewish Community protested a movement they viewed as “antithetical to the spirit of Judaism,” according to an editorial in the local paper. “The Jew identifies with his fatherland and



Members of the Jewish athletic association Bar Kochba, Berlin, 1902

becomes absorbed by the nation in whose midst he lives,” was the official position of Jewish community leaders in Munich. Left out of the official position statement, but much discussed, was the notion that such troublemaking would only provoke the anti-Semites. The Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, or *Central-Verein*, approached Zionism with essentially the same attitude, instead of pursuing a strategy of defending Jewish civil rights in courts of law and touting the contributions of Jews to German society in the court of public opinion. The Orthodox rabbinate, except for a small minority of supporters, condemned Zionism as incompatible with the universality of the Jewish religion.

Although Zionism never became a mass movement in Germany or Austria, the early days of political Zionism were firmly rooted in the German-speaking world. Apart from ZVfD, other Zionist organizations also retained a firm, if marginal place among German-Jewish communities throughout the early 20th century. The “Blue and White” youth and sports organizations and agricultural training camps known as *Hachsharot* worked to foster a generation that was up to the challenge of Jewish nationhood, and Zionist newspapers like the Robert Weltsch’s *Jüdische Rundschau* advanced the intellectual project of Zionism.

World War I transformed the political landscape of Europe and the course of the Zionist movement as well. After the war, the

leadership shifted mainly to Eastern European leaders such as Chaim Weizmann, a British citizen of Russian origin. The end of the Ottoman Empire and the Balfour Declaration of 1917 brought an end to the dominant organizational role of German-speaking Jews, but their intellectual and or-



Certificate for planting olive trees in Palestine, pre-WWI



Recreation room of the Ahava orphanage in Haifa, 1938

Leo Baeck Institute New York Berlin (3)

ganizational legacy contributed enormously to the eventual founding of the Jewish state.

Even for committed German and Austrian Zionists, the thought of abandoning a comfortable German cultural landscape for an uncertain future in the desert held little appeal, and relatively few emigrated to Palestine through the 1920s. That changed with the rise of the National Socialists in 1933, when increasing persecution led significant numbers of German Jews to reconsider the idea of a Jewish homeland as a matter of survival. No longer just a dream, but not yet a state, Palestine had become a real place of refuge.

William H. Weitzer is Executive Director of the Leo Baeck Institute New York Berlin

CREATIVE POWERS

Music as Spiritual Resistance

Preserving humanity under inhuman conditions

By Jascha Nemtsov

Under the conditions of extreme brutal oppression, especially under National Socialism and Stalinism, with the ultimate goal of the destruction of human life, active resistance of the victims was only possible in exceptional cases. Disengaged, isolated, and robbed of elementary living conditions, men and women could express their resistance, if at all, only through their spirit. This included above all the preservation of humanity despite inhuman conditions. Although the struggle for physical survival under these circumstances should have absorbed all their energy, many of them still found the energy for spiritual activity, which in turn provided essential moral support to their resilience.

Although research about music under the conditions of dictatorship has been a part of German musicological discourse since the 1960s, the first fundamental works in this area by Joseph Wulf and Fred K. Prieberg were hardly noticed. After Germany's reunification, the topic was given new impetus. In particular, the history of the Theresienstadt ghetto, its rich cultural life, which was partly abused by the Nazis for propaganda purposes, and the works of the composers imprisoned in Theresienstadt attracted the attention of the general public. Over the past 25 years, a number of scientific publications and artistic projects, editions, television and radio productions, exhibitions and documentaries have been devoted to music from Terezin.

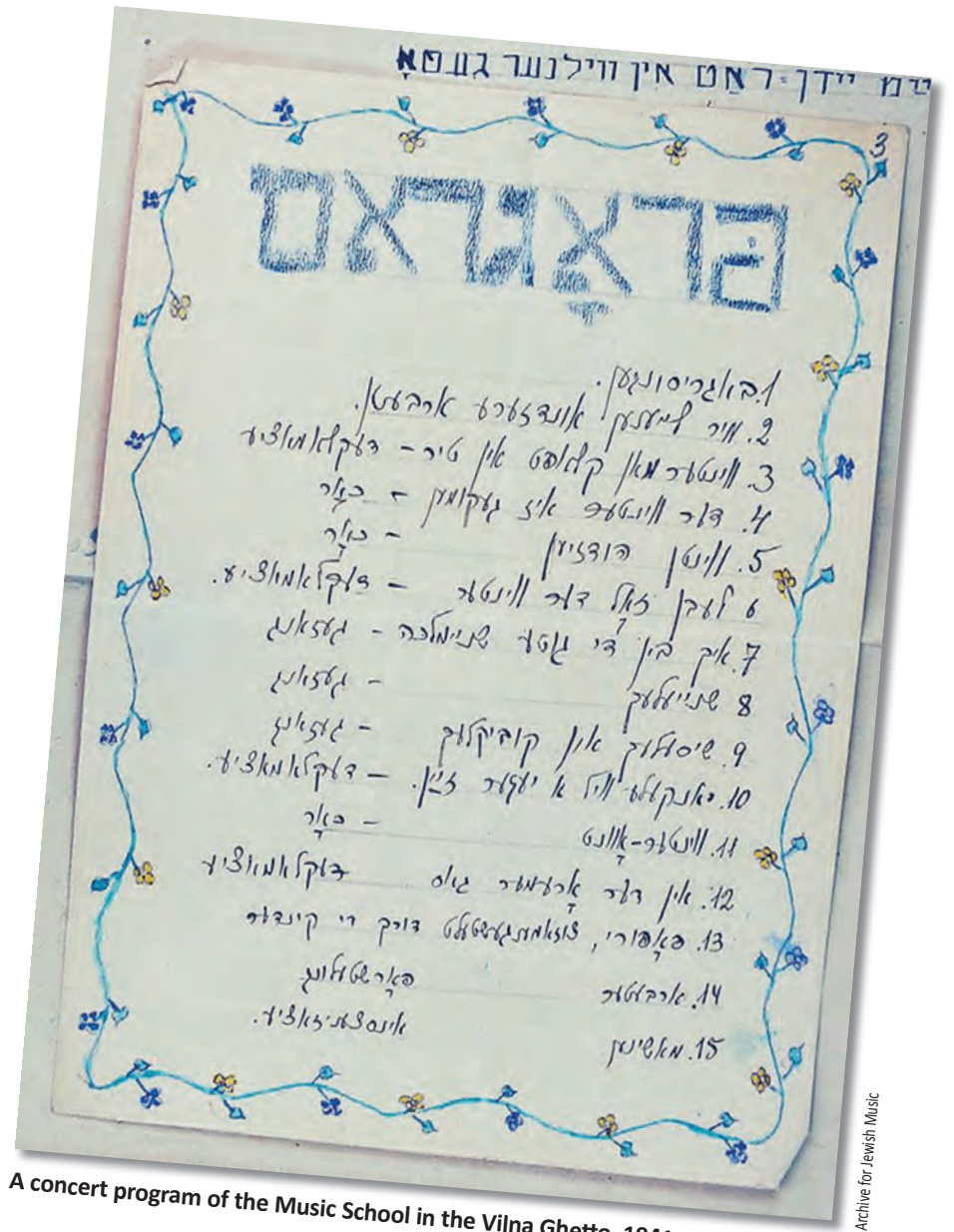
One initiative among others was the student run research group Exile Music at the Institute of Musicology at Hamburg University, which existed between 1985 and 2005, devoting itself to exploring German and Austrian Jewish musicians driven into exile by Nazi persecution. In addition to a book, publications and exhibitions, this workgroup now focuses on its online

unpublished manuscript in Polish on *Music and Singing in Fascist Concentration Camps from 1933 to 1945* as well as more than 100,000 other documents and manuscripts on the subject.

Self-assertion

Hardly explored is the musical life in the Jewish Cultural Associations [Jüdische Kulturbünde] – a kind of Jewish cultural ghetto within Nazi Germany. Founded in 1933 as a self-help organization to support Jewish artists who had lost their jobs due to the occupational ban pronounced by the government, these Jewish Cultural Associations were tolerated until 1941. Although music events organized by local Cultural Associations in some major cities such as Berlin, Frankfurt, Dresden or Hamburg are partially documented, there is still very little known about the musicians who actually shaped Jewish musical life at the time, especially in the provincial cities. Even less attention has been given to compositions created under the conditions of Nazi rule and promoted by the Jewish Cultural Associations. But the creative activity of German-Jewish composers in the 1930s, despite their persecution, was extremely rich and pro-active. Among other things a composition competition, carried out in 1936 by the Reichs Federation of Jewish Cultural Associations (Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde), is proof of that creativity.

One year after the Nuremberg racial laws were passed, when anti-Semitic measures were increasing, it was a daring undertaking to appeal to the creativity of Jewish composers. Quite unexpectedly, a total of 122 works were submitted. Apart from their quality, all these compositions were – more than anything else – testimony to the spiritual strength and cultural creativity of their creators. The first prize was awarded to Richard Fuchs from Karlsruhe for his oratorio *Vom jüdisch-*



A concert program of the Music School in the Vilna Ghetto, 1941

Archive for Jewish Music

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“It must be emphasized that Theresienstadt has increased, not reduced, my musical work, that by no means did we sit weeping at the rivers of Babylon, and that our desire for culture equalled our desire for life.”

Viktor Ullmann, 1944, murdered the same year in Auschwitz

project *Encyclopedia of Persecuted Musicians of the Nazi Era* (Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit).

One of the most important sources for music practice in concentration camps is the archive collection of Aleksander Kulisiewicz (1918–1982), which is shared between the memorial and museum Sachsenhausen and the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and has so far hardly been explored. Kulisiewicz was imprisoned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp from 1940 to 1945. His archive contains over 700 pages of the

en Schicksal (About the Jewish Fate). It was fully prepared for its premiere in 1937, which, however, had to be canceled at the last moment due to prohibition by Nazi authorities. To this day, the composition has not been performed. The manuscript lies in an archive in New Zealand.

An important chapter in the history of the spiritual resistance in the Jewish ghettos established by the Nazis in Eastern Europe is the rich cultural life celebrated and nourished within. It has yet to be systematically researched and documented, although it is known that

in the ghettos in Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin, Vilna, Kaunas, among others, concerts and other musical activities took place in the first months of their existence – and beyond. Also life in the concentration

oners. It would be an important task to continue and deepen this research.

Among the prisoners of the gulag were world-class musicians, such as Vsevolod Zaderatsky (1891–1953), who composed a cycle of 24 preludes and fugues for piano in a camp on the Kolyma River in north-eastern Siberia between 1937 and 1938. Zaderatsky was exposed to political persecution throughout his entire life in the Soviet Union; his music was outlawed by a total ban of performance. One CD anthology with piano works by Zaderatsky recorded by the author of this article, among them also the cycle of preludes and fugues, will be released in the summer of 2017.

The manifold traces of this spiritual resistance, which have largely disappeared in the past decades, are not only of aesthetic importance. They are also a testament to humanity and the European humanistic values that have been maintained in the decades of barbarism. The musical creativity under the conditions of the dictatorships can help current and future generations in search of their own cultural roots and their spiritual location, thus strengthening the foundations of our democracies. ■

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A MENTSH: MIRJAM ROSENSTEIN

In the Tradition of Judaism

By Rafael Seligmann

At first glance, Mirjam Rosenstein looks like an almost biblical figure – tall, slender, and almost fragile in appearance. Her dark-brown doe-like eyes radiate warmth and compassion. This biblical impression becomes even more apparent in a conversation. Not in an abstract time-bound sense, but rather in the sense of an affinity with the women of the Bible – the mothers of the patriarchs, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah, but also Hannah, who became mother to the prophet Samuel at an advanced age, and the judge Deborah. All of them women who were motherly and beneficent, but with a formidable will.

Mirjam Rosenstein speaks in a quiet voice that reveals her Swiss origins. She is a careful observer, but it is clear that this delicate-seeming woman knows exactly what she wants. A trained economist from Zurich, she followed her husband back home to Germany. She is mother of two children, four-year-old Raphael and

quires intensive exchange with members of parliament, with ministerial bureaucracies, and with a variety of social groups and associations.

Advocating peace

Her husband, children, career and her hobby of riding, which she has pursued since she was a young girl, as well as many trips to visit her family in Zurich, occupy much of Mirjam Rosenstein's time and emotional energy. Nonetheless, for the past several years she has still managed to pursue another endeavor, working on behalf of NAFFO, a German initiative founded in 2009 that advocates peace in the Middle East. But why yet another Jewish association? It recalls the old, self-deprecating joke: three Jews will get you five political parties, and six associations. But NAFFO expressly does not wish to be a political party, nor does it wish to be co-opted by one. It is, as its name suggests, a forum – an open platform for all who seek peace, while refus-



cellent German that he made a profound impression on his German counterparts in the realms of politics and beyond. Itzhak Ben Ari, who was born in Vienna, was known for his irresistible charm, which won him many friends, both among German politicians and the broader public. Avi Primor, a confidant of Helmut Kohl, was a born “fisher of men.” His successor Shimon Stein, who is still a trusted friend of Chancellor Angela Merkel, won over both political parties and ordinary Germans with his passionate advocacy for Israel.

A public voice

In recent years, however, Israeli diplomats in Berlin have for the most part found it unnecessary to possess a mastery of German. As a result, Israel no longer has a public voice within Germany. An Israeli representative in Berlin has stated that, in his view, it is difficult to convey Jerusalem's position in a convincing manner in Germany. This is nothing but a declaration of political bankruptcy.

Plugging this gap and promoting an understanding of Israel's needs is NAFFO's true purpose. This is a matter of patient and meticulous work rather than splashy public appearances. Mirjam Rosenstein sets about this task with thoughtfulness and charm, but also with determination. She considers it her duty as a Jew to advocate Israel and peace, especially among politicians and journalists. In so doing, she is continuing one of the humanistic traditions of Judaism. ■

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Understanding for Israel

his younger sister Lea. At the same time, Mirjam Rosenstein, who grew up in an observant Jewish home, represents the interests of a Swiss pharmaceutical company in Germany. Operating at the intersection of research, business and politics, it is demanding work which re-

ing to allow idealism to take precedence over the interests of the Jewish state. True to the motto: We want peace, and we also want a viable Jewish state.

Yes, Israel does have an embassy, both in Germany as well as in Switzerland. But the representatives of Israel have lim-

ited resources. In Berlin, for example, there is a dedicated press officer as well as an advisor who carries out public relations work. They are but two staff members; on the other side, there are the delegations of 21 Arab states and more than 30 Islamic countries. A few of them are counted among the richest countries in the world.

There is also the open secret of Israel's ineffectiveness. The government in Jerusalem presides over an unusually large cabinet. But there is one no-

table deficit: Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has no foreign minister. Netanyahu apparently believes he can manage foreign relations on his own, in passing, as it were. The reverberations of that decision are felt even in Berlin.

Ever since Germany and Israel took up diplomatic relations just over 50 years ago, Jerusalem dispatched outstanding representatives to Bonn and later to Berlin. Yohanan Meroz, a descendant of the illustrious Marcuse family, spoke such ex-

BOMHOFF RECOMMENDS

Remember Seelisberg!

Today, it has become commonplace to speak about Europe's Judeo-Christian tradition. 70 years ago, when an international conference of Jews, Protestants and Catholics gathered in Switzerland to confront the reality of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, such a statement was inconceivable. In summer 1947, from July 30th to August 5th, the International Emergency Conference on Anti-Semitism took place in the Swiss village of Seelisberg, near Lucerne. It led to the formation of the International Council of Christians and Jews.

Anti-Semitism was rampant in post-war Europe. In a missive to the confer-



expressions such as “race of God-killers” and “perfidia iudaica” should disappear from Catholic terminology.

The “Ten Principles” issued at the Seelisberg Conference were one of the

ence, the French ambassador to the Vatican, Jacques Maritain, asked for a battle against this “racial and anti-Semitic leprosy”. He emphasized that Christians should consider that Jesus was born of a Jewish virgin, that he himself was a Jew “par excellence de nature,” that the apostles and first martyrs were Jews, that many absurd

first statements following World War II, in which Christians, with the advice and counsel of Jews, began to come to terms with the implications of the Shoah. The theses were primarily directed towards Christians and stated that Jesus was a Jew, that his disciples were Jews, and that the calamity that met the Jews was not a consequence of their sinfulness or of their vicious nature. From today's perspective, these are fundamental truths which seem obvious. In 1947, this document was revolutionary.

In the context of Jewish-Christian dialogue, we stand on the shoulders of giants whose names are almost forgotten. Among the sixty-five participants of the Seelisberg conference, there were about thirty Jews whose individual stories illustrate why interfaith work was so personally important to them. Many had narrowly escaped termination. Most of Jules Isaac's fam-

ily had perished in the Shoah, Erich Bickel and Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich had fled Nazi Germany, Rabbi Zwi Chaim Taubes had fled from the Ukraine to Switzerland. Survivors and displaced persons, they realized the importance of guiding Christian teaching and preaching when referring to Jews and Judaism, thus becoming the pioneers who paved the way to the the 1965 “Nostra Aetate” declaration, in which the Second Vatican Council largely adopted the Seelisberg resolutions.

In 1947, the agenda was the defense of human rights in the light of a resurgence of anti-Semitic violence. Today, the Christian challenge is to formulate a new Christology, a Christology that provides modes to talk about Jesus appropriately without degrading Judaism. It's worthwhile to remember the Seelisberg conference and to acknowledge its achievements. ■

Next Year in Jerusalem

Making hope a reality

By Rabbi Walter Homolka

Passover, which just ended on April 18, is the first of three festivals of pilgrimage during which Jews, both during the time of the Temples and in the later Diaspora, made an annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Passover festival recalls the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, an event which also marked the emergence of the Israelites as a people. It was King Hezekiah who renewed the Passover feast, upon which “there was great joy in Jerusalem” (2 Chron 30: 25-26).

On Passover eve, we recount the Haggadah which tells the story of the Exodus and says, “Whoever is in need, let him come and conduct the Seder of Passover.

more than two thousand years. And the yearning also has an eschatological element: according to Isaiah 22, at the “end of the earth” all people will go to Jerusalem to greet the Kingdom of Peace.

It was the Viennese Rabbi Shalom of Neustadt (who died around 1415) who incorporated the *Hasal Seder Pesach*, a poetic compilation of all the rules of the Seder evening, as the culmination of the festival liturgy. From his student, Isaac of Tyrnau, who was born in Vienna, we know that initially it was customary to say “next year in Jerusalem” immediately before *Hasal Seder Pesach*. The phrase was first mentioned in Rabbi



Die Haggadah des Kindes, published in Berlin in 1933, one of the earliest European children's Haggadot

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The path to the City of Peace leads from the concrete to the abstract, from the profane to the holy

This year we are here; next year in the land of Israel. This year we are slaves; next year we will be free people.” Ever since the Middle Ages, the Seder evening ends with the phrase “Next year in Jerusalem.” This wish is an expression of a yearning that has been preserved for

Tyrnau’s “Book of Customs” (*Sefer ha-Minhagim*), suggesting that by the late 14th century it had become customary in the Duchy of Austria, the Kingdom of Hungary, and Styria.

Around the world, when Jews celebrate Passover, they conclude the

Seder with the wish “L’Shana Haba’ah B’Yerushalayim.” In so doing, we recall the journey that brought us from Egypt to Jerusalem. The Hebrew name for Egypt is Mizrayim, which can also mean “boundaries,” “limits” or “restrictions,” while Yerushalayim means “City of Peace.” The path to Jerusalem thus leads from the concrete to the abstract; from the profane to the holy.

But what do we say if we already live in Jerusalem? With the settlement of more and more Jews in the Land of Israel in the 19th century, it became traditional to end the Seder by exclaiming “Next year in the rebuilt Jerusalem.” This expression, for example, was em-

ployed in the 1920s by the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook.

However, the phrase *Yerushalayim ha-Benuyah* does not presume the construction of the Third Temple and the re-introduction of the sacrificial service. Rather it is our duty to work for a better Jerusalem, the Jerusalem of our ideals. This is the Jerusalem envisioned in Israel’s Declaration of Independence – of a state based in “freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel.” Next year in Jerusalem? If we take the social obligation articulated by the prophets seriously, we will have taken a further step toward making this hope a reality. ■



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