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JEWISH VOICE FROM GERMANY

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MIDDLE EAST AND WORLD ECONOMY

The Implications of Conflict

We live in interesting times. The middle of this year will be remembered as a watershed moment in history; May and June 2018 have marked a turning point in world politics in several respects. Germany and Israel are particularly affected: the two countries should draw the necessary conclusion and seek closer collaboration.

In May, the U.S. moved its embassy to Jerusalem and recognized the biblical city as the capital of Israel. Germany and the EU are united in rejecting this move. That same month, the U.S. withdrew from the nuclear deal with Iran, which had been reached with the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany. The goal of the 2015 agreement was to put the brakes on Iran's nuclear weapons program. The agreement addresses only technical details and is valid for a period of ten years. The crucial political dimension – Iran's professed goal of destroying Israel – has not been addressed.

Germany and Israel should seek closer collaboration

The Shiite mullah regime has been given access to its frozen overseas assets. Iran uses the funds to continue pursuing its aggressive measures to annihilate Israel – without violating the letter of agreement.

Israel and its moderate Arab neighbor states such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE have warned against the deal to no avail. Iran's later actions have confirmed the accuracy of those warnings. Tehran has stepped up its development program for rockets – rockets that could be used as delivery systems for nuclear warheads. Iran has also become more deeply involved in the Syrian civil war. Tehran's military advisors have gone on the offensive and finally began launching attacks on Israel from Syrian soil. At the same time, the Hezbollah terrorist group and Hamas militia in Lebanon and Gaza have been encouraged to escalate their pursuits against Israel.

Upon its signing, Donald Trump called the agreement with Iran the "worst deal ever". Over European objections, he announced his opposition to the agreement. During the election campaign, he stated that he would also take action against trade imbalances with other countries. With the exception of negotiations with China, Trump's endeavors in this respect have proved largely fruitless. Trump then backed out of a joint G7 communiqué on trade. By contrast, the U.S. President arrived at an agreement with Kim Jong-un in Singapore regarding the cessation of hostilities, and accepted the North Korean dictator's pledge to disarm his nuclear arsenal.

The U.S. President is not a traditional statesman or diplomat, but simply engaging in Trump-bashing is not a viable political course. Instead, we must seek out common ground. This includes a global commitment against tariffs, which is necessary to avert a trade war under which the entire world would suffer. Europe should also pressure Tehran to abandon its policy of aggression toward Israel. War is looming on the horizon. "May you live in interesting times" is not a blessing – it is a curse.

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JERUSALEM LONGING FOR PEACE

ירושלים



Yerushalayim is Hebrew for City of Peace. In Arabic, Al Quds, The Holy One. Also revered by Christians. The metropolis is considered holy to three monotheistic religions. For thousands of years, this city has been the site of war and bloodshed. It is time for Jerusalem to find peace.

INTERVIEW

Standing with Israel

Germany stands for Israel's right to exist like no other country, says CDU General Secretary Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer in our JVJG interview. In the German debate about politics in Israel, many overlook the threat that Israel faces to its existence, notes the Christian Democratic politician, who is regarded as a potential successor to Chancellor Merkel. Kramp-Karrenbauer also says Germany must take on a greater share of international responsibility, which will also require increasing military spending.

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SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

Partners in Excellence

From 1959 on, research collaboration has smoothed the path for diplomatic relations between Germany and Israel. Over the years, the cooperation has grown continuously. For the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Germany is now its most significant research partner in Europe, second worldwide only to the U.S. Now, the two partners embark on new challenges, from cyber security to deep space radiation.

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Jewish Voice Chorus

Dear Readers,

Jewish Voice from Germany stands for diversity. This publication is not a solo endeavor, but a chorus. It sings with a variety of voices, from our editorial office to our freelancers, interview partners, and politicians of various parties. When we cover a topic of public interest, we select our authors not based on religious affiliation, but based on expertise.

Our supplement honoring the 70th anniversary of Israel opens with an article by German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas. The Jewish state is dear to his heart: "I see it as a personal duty to ensure that Germany defends Israel's existence and security." In our interview, CDU General Secretary Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer emphasizes her sense of responsibility towards Jews in Germany and the State of Israel. At the same time, she expresses criticism regarding

Israel's politics. This is also the case for European Parliament Member Arne Lietz.

We welcome criticism of the politics of the State of Israel – but not "Israelkritik", a form of criticism that calls into question Israel's right to exist. The existence of Israel is also a topic of our discussion

regarding the nuclear deal with Iran made by the permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany. We agree on the goal – Iran should be prevented from obtaining nuclear weapons. But I believe this is only possible if Tehran acknowledges the right to existence of all states, including Israel. We see ourselves as a forum for the discussion of a wide variety of views not exclusively on Jewish matters.

Best regards,
Rafael Seligmann

A forum for discussion

NUCLEAR DEAL REVISITED

Iran Must Accept Peace and Israel’s Right to Exist

Breaking up Tehran’s two-pronged strategy

By Rafael Seligmann

The advocates of a policy of peace at any cost are claiming the result of the summit meeting between President Donald Trump and North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un supports their position. They point out that Kim has agreed to halt nuclear weapons production. President Trump is boasting that it was his hardline approach that convinced Kim to cease his nuclear threats and perhaps even agree to dismantle his nuclear weapons program.

Others see the agreement between Trump and Kim as convincing evidence in support of the nuclear deal between Iran and the permanent members of the UN security council plus Germany. Donald Trump, who has just withdrawn from the deal, disagrees. He has called the agreement “the worst deal ever” – and with good reason, for the Iran deal has a fatal flaw. A political deficit. The 2015 agreement is purely technical. The mullah regime, which has been in power since 1979, stepped up its nuclear program in the 1990s. Tehran’s political goals are also dictated by religious and nationalist principles. The post-revolutionary regime regards itself

as the Shiite vanguard in the battle for supremacy over the Sunni majority in the Islamic world. Above all, however, Tehran aims to wipe the “Zionist cancer” of Israel off the map. The two strategic goals are linked. By threatening the Jewish state and purporting to spearhead the fight against Israel, Tehran seeks to attain hegemony in the ummah of the Islamic world.

Over the past few decades, it has become clear that Tehran’s activities would eventually result in the development and construction of nuclear weapons. The world powers then embarked on a program of containment. By promising to release up to \$100 bn in frozen assets and to loosen and ultimately eliminate sanctions, the P5 + 1 group induced Iran to agree to at least scale back its nuclear weapons program. However, Tehran vehemently rejected the West’s suggestion that it acknowledge Israel’s right to exist and diminish its military activity in the region. Israel and the moderate Arab states, particularly Saudi Arabia and Egypt, appealed to Washington and to European governments to put the brakes on Iran’s political and military activities as part of the deal. In vain.

Tehran insisted on maintaining its political and religious trajectory. And the western states, including Germany – whose Chancellor, Angela Merkel, described Israel’s security as part of the German state’s *raison d’être* in a 2008 address before the Knesset – acceded to Tehran’s vehement demand.

Overarching goal

The result was the nuclear deal of 2015. Iran reduced the number of centrifuges for enriching uranium and lengthened its break-out time – the time it would take to have enough uranium to manufacture a nuclear bomb – to a year. In return, frozen Iranian assets were released and sanctions were lifted – against the wishes of the affected Arab states and Israel. Iran immediately deployed the

funds to intensify its political and military activities in the Arab world. Tehran gained dominant influence in Iraq. In Lebanon, the Hezbollah militia, which receive political and military support from Iran, gained power, as did the Sunni Hamas group in Gaza. In the Syrian civil war, Iran supplied military advisors, mercenaries, and funds in support of dictator Bashar al-Assad. In Yemen, Tehran egged on the Houthis militia in their battle for dominance and encouraged their attacks on Saudi Arabia. These measures are all intended to destabilize the Sunni monarchy. At the same time, Tehran intensified its rocket program for the transport of nuclear weapons.

Iran also stepped up its attacks on the countries it has deemed enemies – Israel and Saudi Arabia. Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed

bin Salman, who is prepared to reach a settlement with Israel, is not willing to allow his country to be needled and attacked by Iran. Riyadh and the UAE are defending themselves against Iran’s attacks. Israel is responding to Iran’s attacks from Syrian soil with massive military strikes against Tehran’s outposts in Syria. The goals of the P5 + 1 deal have been stood on their head. Instead of bringing peace to the region, Tehran has been provided with the means to escalate its pursuits against Israel and Sunni countries.

The overarching goal of the nuclear deal is a good one. But it can only be realized if Iran’s leadership is compelled by the P5 + 1 to acknowledge the right to existence of all other countries. Peace is not just a mere technicality. It is a fundamental political decision, and one which Iran must also respect.

Iranian Nuclear Security Administration Headline Office / Public Domain

Moral Conviction vs. Responsibility

Tackling the dilemma behind the refugee crisis

By Frank Bernbeck

The recent odysseys of the “Aquarius” and “Lifeline” rescue ships carrying African refugees and the dispute over their docking is reminiscent of the fate of the “St. Louis”, which carried more than 900 Jewish refugees in 1939. The first human impulse is to rescue African refugees from immediate danger. The next is to provide them with durable assistance. Necessity knows no law.

Let us compare the two situations. There are differences between the situation regarding European Jews in 1939 and African refugees today. The Jews who departed Hamburg on board the “St. Louis” faced persecution and later annihilation. Their voyage, in which they were refused permission to land by Cuba and then by the U.S., is today remembered as an example of the indifference of the world to the likely fate of its passengers. The people on board later found temporary refuge in states such as Belgium, the Netherlands, and France. But when the Nazis occupied those coun-

tries, the former “St. Louis” passengers were again in great peril. More than 200 of them were murdered.

Most of the people who now hope to leave Africa for Europe are not fleeing immediate danger to life. They are seeking to improve their economic conditions. This is understandable given the pov-

1939: The “St. Louis” at Hamburg port



Public Domain

2018: The “Aquarius”



Public Domain

erty and hardship many people in Africa are exposed to. But the refugees are not risking their lives until they embark across the desert and set out on the perilous voyage across the Mediterranean in inflatable vessels and decrepit fishing boats. Still, once on the open sea, it is im-

perative that they be rescued and quickly brought to safety. With regard to the “Aquarius”, the new Italian government’s decision not to allow the ship to dock was indeed heartless, but Rome is justified in calling on Europe to address the ongoing conditions along the Mediterranean migrant route. The number of Africans who

are awarded asylum status in Europe is so low that we would be best advised to take action to prevent people from embarking on the dangerous journey across the Mediterranean.

The interplay between traffickers that lure people out onto the open sea and

well-meaning aid organizations that rescue them must come to an end. Anyone who wishes to not just provide emergency aid to African refugees but also offer them long-term assistance must also explain how these measures are to be financed and organized without placing an undue burden on the countries that take them in. In the end, we find ourselves in a conflict between an ethic of moral conviction and an ethic of responsibility. Either we provide unconditional assistance, or politicians must also consider the limits of what is feasible.

This is a worldwide dilemma and an intractable one. Some 40,000 Africans have fled to Israel. Most live in the poorer neighborhoods of south Tel Aviv, where some have come into conflict with the local community. Attempts by the Israeli government to encourage African migrants to return to their home countries by offering them cash assistance have failed. So has a plan to forcibly deport them, which was suspended by Israel’s high court. In the end, compassion won out over populism.

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ANNEGRET KRAMP-KARRENBauer

Germany Must Stand With Israel

CDU General Secretary on foreign policy, immigration, and populism

We are witnesses to a time in which the world order is being transformed and in which international relations have lost some measure of stability. How will the CDU and the German government respond?

In terms of foreign policy, we are confronted with a U.S. president who is asserting his country's national interests. This means we must defend our own interests with vigor. Where we can identify points of weakness, we must eliminate them. It is also evident that our position is stronger as part of a unified European response. This is why we must promote European unity. Domestically, we must ensure that anti-American sentiments do not gain force, irrespective of the tone emanating from the White House. We must make clear that we continue to value our transatlantic friendship. And we must make clear that this friendship is too strong and multifaceted to be threatened or undermined by the actions of a single U.S. president.

How can we prepare German society for the fact that defense spending will need to be increased?

To begin with, we must raise awareness regarding the fact that the traditional division between domestic and foreign policy no longer holds true. Everything that happens elsewhere – for example, in Syria – has a direct impact on Europe and on Germany. The second point is that Germany must overcome its restraint in terms of foreign policy – this includes our defense policy and our alliance policy as well. Our partners rightly expect us to assume greater responsibility in these areas. And assuming a greater share of responsibility will also mean increasing spending.

The AfD won 27% of the vote in Saxony. Are we running out of time to counter their radical slogans and simplistic answers?

We need to engage with this issue and wage this battle every single day. That means providing evidence that what the populists are claiming simply isn't true. And we must be very clear and unequivocal in our political engagement. For me, this means the CDU must be very forthright in pointing out what the AfD is all about, and what elements it is harboring. Those include radical elements on the far right that are anti-



Semitic, that support historical revisionism, and that are racist. We must ensure that no one will ever be able to claim they did not realize this part of what the AfD is about.



“
The German-American friendship is too strong and multifaceted to be threatened or undermined

Because of the fundamentalist-Islamic threat that became apparent in this country after 2015, Germany has suddenly begun to reflect on its Judeo-Christian tradition, which has in fact shaped this country for 1,700 years...

Because of the people who have arrived in our country since 2015, and also prior to that, we have gained a public awareness that these are people who come from a very different cultural background, tradition, and faith. This has compelled us to reflect. It is like a mirror. We can see the others in that mirror, but we also see a reflection of ourselves. The question then arises: if that's who they are, then who are we? We are being asked to define who we are. When it comes to integrating newcomers and to living together in our community, we have the right to demand that people who come to our country accept our rules and values. But this requires that we ourselves know what our rules and values actually are.

How can we raise awareness about the German-Jewish symbiosis now, 1,700 years on?

In our campaign, "From Shabbat to Shabbat", the Young Union [the party's youth organization] had a very nice approach. They established an online site in which they explained the Jewish origins of many terms that we use every day, such as "techtelmechtel" and "guter Rutch." Many people weren't aware of the



origins of those terms. It was one of those small initiatives that really managed to get people thinking and to learn something new. Our political approach is that we don't only seek to combat anti-Semitism; we also show Jewish life in Germany as it is today.

In 2008, Angela Merkel stated in an address before the Knesset that Israel's security will never be open for negotiation. Seven years later, an agreement was signed with Iran in which Israel's right to exist, as well as the right of Saudi Arabia and Egypt to exist, was not mentioned. How is this possible? Can such an agreement function as written when one of the contracting partners wants to destroy another country and has announced that intention publicly?

Of course, opinions vary on whether the deal is a good one or not. But overall, I believe that it is better to have a set of rules that acts as a check on such a development and perhaps even prevents it. Angela Merkel said that Israel's security is part of Germany's raison d'être. And that raison d'être must be made evident anytime Germany engages in political debates about current political issues in Israel. We must always make clear that there is a very good reason why Germany, in particular, must stand behind Israel's right to exist. The Iran deal is surely not the most optimal deal in the world, and I believe that improvements are urgently needed. Many people who discuss Israeli politics here in Germany tend to ignore how isolated Israel is in the region, and the threats Israel faces to its existence. We must constantly point out that many of the issues under discussion are existential questions for Israel. This is what makes Israel's situation decisively different from that of other states.

Under the circumstances, was it wise to cancel the annual German-Israeli government consultation last year in response to Israel's settlement policy?

My impression is that the new foreign minister is taking a different approach toward Israel, and that is what matters. This approach is now the correct one. The fact that one of Heiko Maas' first trips abroad as Foreign Minister was to Israel sends a very clear signal.

The U.S. has recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This has provoked massive resistance, also in Germany. But Jerusalem was already the capital of Judea in biblical times, and has been the capital of Israel for 70 years...

We continue to support a two-state solution. Whether the decision to move the U.S. embassy under the current circumstances is helpful or less than helpful in achieving this goal is a matter of debate. Personally, I would very much like to see Jerusalem, which has always been a very special city for people of many different religions, succeed in embodying its unifying character more strongly than is currently the case. I would very much like to see Jerusalem become a symbol for our ability to coexist and live side by side as people of various faiths. Quite often, this is indeed already the case despite what some newspaper headlines would have us believe.

Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer talked to JVG editors Elisabeth Neu and Rafael Seligmann at the CDU headquarters in Berlin

FOREIGN POLICY

Peace on Our Doorstep

How the EU can contribute to the peace process in the Middle East

By Arne Lietz

The peace process in the Middle East is a core issue for European foreign affairs. The EU is Israel's main trade partner and one of the major contributors to humanitarian aid in the region. U.S. President Donald Trump's decision to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem – a decision which was rightly broadly criticized by the international community – has fuelled further violence in Gaza. Since then, the EU has been increasingly vocal on its position regarding a peace process between Israel and Palestine. This has, however, not led to meaningful progress in the process. On the contrary; the EU and its Member States have been observing with growing worry how the situation has become more and more critical over the past two years.

Donald Trump's decision to withdraw existential funding of humanitarian aid to Pales-



tinians through UNRWA has increased the risk of further destabilizing the situation. Even Israeli voices, such as leading

representatives of the military, have criticized this approach as they, too, see the devastating effect it has had on the living con-

ditions of Palestinian refugees and the stability of the status quo. I am glad to have reached a broad cross-party consensus in the European Parliament while negotiating a resolution in February 2018, condemning the U.S. decision and calling on Member States to fast-track and increase their funding for UN-WRA in order to ensure continuous aid to Palestinian refugees.

Whilst Israel's right to exist lies at the core of the EU's approach to a future peace process, so does the concept of a two-state solution. Recent developments have shown that we need a much stronger push for political reconciliation between Israel and Palestine if peace in the Middle East is to be achieved. The EU should take a strong stance toward Israel with regards to compliance with international law. This would include impartial investigations of the violence and killings in the Gaza strip over the past few weeks, as well as the re-admission of hu-

manitarian aid to the region. This has to be the first priority and is supported by a European Parliament resolution passed on April 18, 2018.

In 2015, the EU made essential contributions to the conclusion of the Iran deal, an agreement which to this day is a guarantor for stability and peace in the region. The U.S. announcement to leave the deal has led to tensions and insecurity in the region. A second priority for the EU's engagement in the Middle East peace process should therefore be to make use of all diplomatic tools available in order to maintain the Iran deal. European policy makers and Member States should make it very clear to their U.S. counterparts that leaving the Iran deal will have severe consequences for transatlantic relations, and that repercussions are difficult to foresee.

During visits to Berlin, Paris, and London in June 2018, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

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Peace on Our Doorstep

► PAGE 5 has met with European leaders who were consistent in their response to Israel's approach to the potential cancellation of the Iran deal. All of them

Member States' commitment to the EU's foreign affairs agenda, and avoiding single-handed strategies by individual Member States or breaking with the EU's

more essential since the war has exceeded national interest versus the interest of rebellious groups. It has also turned into a war which is supported by many interna-

initiate a process for developing a future for reconstructing Syria. A politically stable Syrian environment will be crucial to peace and security in the whole region.

The Middle East is part of the EU's wider neighborhood, and is therefore an integral part of the EU's foreign agenda. I support this agenda which is built on respect for international law, human rights, reconciliation, and political solutions to conflicts as well as building up resilience. The peace process in the Middle East has to be supported with every diplomatic and political tool available to European policy-makers. ■

Arne Lietz is member of the European Parliament, focusing mainly on Foreign Affairs, Development, Transatlantic Affairs and Security and Defense



European Union 2016

“For the European voice to be heard on the global stage, it has to be a strong, unified voice

have called for the deal to remain in place and have reminded Netanyahu how crucial it is to the region's stability, displaying coherence with the European position in their bilateral relations.

For the European voice to be heard continuously on the global stage in the negotiations on peace in the Middle East, it has to be a strong, unified voice. The third priority for the EU's contribution to peace in the Middle East to this end includes the

common policy line in the Middle East.

This is of equal importance regarding the war in Syria. The EU has proven to be an efficient and inclusive driver of multilateral negotiations in the past. It should continue to live up to this role by reinforcing its efforts to get the different parties involved back to the negotiation table in Geneva. A political solution is the only way peace can be reintroduced to the country – this is even

tional actors, such as Russia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Israel, each with their different interests in the conflict.

At the same time, under the leadership of the United Nations and with the assistance of the European Union's political forces, the international community has to

Jews on Trump

Division or Indecision?

A breakdown of approval rating polls reveals discrepancies

By Julia Harris

Is it good or bad for the Jews? This often-asked and almost comical question has increasingly become a topic of debate in the era of Trump. The actions of the U.S. President's administration have affected how Jews around the world view him, but more so in Israel than in the U.S.

In today's ever-changing political climate, the Jewish perspective on Trump is difficult to gauge. Two of his most controversial decisions since taking office include announcing that the U.S. embassy in Israel would be moving from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and withdrawing the U.S. from the Iran nuclear deal. These deci-

over the decision to move the U.S. embassy in Israel, with 47% opposing and 46% supporting it. The decision on the Iran deal also yielded mixed reactions; 49% of Jews agreed with it, 31% disagreed, and the rest didn't know. Overall, these polls reveal that American Jews overwhelmingly do not support Trump but are divided on some of his decisions concerning Israel. Nevertheless, these opinions do not represent those of Jews in other parts of the world. Travel east to the Jewish Homeland, and the results will be vastly different.

Making an impression

Prior to the 2016 election, Israeli Jews seemed skeptical of



United States Department of State / Public Domain

the American embassy to Jerusalem, 85% of Israeli Jews support the decision; an even more consistent majority of 93% support the U.S. pulling out of the Iran nuclear deal.

These disparities are significant, raising the question of how they came to be. Those who oppose Trump point to his routinely misleading comments, racist and misogynistic remarks from the past, relationships with leaders who have expressed anti-Semitism, and his failure to denounce the Neo-Nazis whose violence in Charlottesville killed one and hospitalized many others. Trump supporters, on the other hand, draw attention to his commitment to Jewish and pro-Israel values, including his aforementioned decisions as President: many Jews became opposed to the Iran nuclear deal when Iran

called for the annihilation of Israel in the midst of talks, so for them, Trump's decision is both a relief and a triumph. Relocation of the U.S. embassy has also been a long time coming, as it had originally been promised by the Clinton administration over 20 years ago. Supporters acknowledge that Trump is imperfect, but his familial ties to Jews and the appointment of Jared Kushner as a top aide may be seen to them as redeeming.

In the end, the disagreement about Trump is a matter of values and, perhaps, slight cultural differences. Although President Trump still has more than two years left in his first term of office, the questions remain of whether support for Trump will continue to rise in Israel and decline in the States, and how this will affect his campaign for reelection. ■

THE SPUDY COLUMN

Medical Technology

Healthcare is a market with enormous potential – for service providers, industry, and last but not least, for investors. The world's population is aging, and chronic diseases are growing ever more common. Industrialized countries are spending more and more on their healthcare systems and affluent patients are increasingly willing to invest in diagnosis and therapy.

At the same time, new developments such as genetic and stem cell technology, big data, artificial intelligence, and nanotechnology are expanding the possibilities of modern medicine beyond what we could have imagined only a few years ago. Technology companies such as Apple, Alphabet, and Amazon are now also joining in. Investors who wish to get on board with these developments may elect to invest in an ETF – one, for example, that tracks the MSCI World Health Care Index.

As is the case in most business sectors, however, direct investment in innovative companies is a more interesting option, particularly for more substantial investments. The medical technology sector

is an attractive choice, in part because it is less risky than the pharmaceutical industry. A long-time engine of growth in the healthcare sector, medical technology is currently enjoying renewed momentum and dynamism due to the impact of digitalization. Apps, artificial intelligence, laser and sensor technology, mixed reality, and telemedicine are benefiting both physicians and patients, and are blurring the boundary between medicine and lifestyle trends.

But in the current gold rush, selecting the most promising investment opportunities from the wealth of startups isn't easy. Demographic developments provide a solid and sustainable basis for the medical technology sector, and one which is relatively impervious to cyclical economic trends. However, health policy decisions could create – or eliminate – mass markets for specific therapies virtually overnight. Investors risk finding themselves sidelined. For this reason, individual investors would be well advised to seek expert advice from the fields of medicine, health industry, and health policy both before and during the investment process. ■

Jens Spudy is executive partner of Spudy Family Office



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ITALY

Too Big to Fail?

Collapse of the financial system would cause devastating consequences

By Dieter Sattler

Too big to fail" was the justification given for saving the big banks during the financial crisis, since their collapse was considered to pose too much of a risk for a nation's economy. Those on the verge of bankruptcy were consequently often saved through tax means.

Now, the EU state of Italy could also prove too large to be left behind. Economic downfall for the southern-European country would have devastating consequences for the entire eurozone; the crisis in Greece would have seemed like a mild breeze in comparison. Italy's economy is the third-strongest in Europe, but its national debt of 130% of its Gross Domestic Product (twice as much as in Germany and 25% more than in France) is crushing. Rather than preventing bankruptcy with saving, the new political coalition between left-populist Five Star Movement and right-populist Lega plans to take a different approach. The administration of independent Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte announced intentions to reduce taxes, increase investments, and reduce the duration of working life. The annual costs of the planned measures are estimated at 80 to 120 bn euros. This will undoubtedly lead to even more serious debts.

Rome appears to believe the ECB and EU partners will save Italy in case of

emergency as they once did for Greece. Alternatively, politicians in Rome have threatened for Italy to leave the eurozone, which would lead to an excruciating default. The Italian Minister of European Affairs, Paolo Savona, announced this as a plan B in case the EU fails to provide aid to Rome.

Carrot and stick

The populist political coalition won't simply give into Brussels and Berlin. Similarly to U.S. President Donald Trump, the Five Stars and Lega feel not only empowered by voters but set on granting their requests. Both parties organized their campaign largely to agitate the "Euro-Diktat" of Brussels and Germany.

Chancellor Angela Merkel (CDU) and her Minister of Finance Olaf Scholz (SPD) know that it would be ineffective under these circumstances to heal Italy by issuing outside regulations. Conversely, they cannot grant Italy a blank check for recent debts and are therefore trying a carrot-and-stick approach. Merkel recently remarked that solidarity "should never lead to a debt union." At the same time, she declared her intention to cooperate: "I am prepared to discuss with the Italian government how more young people can find work." To that end, she hinted at the possibility of investment



Bel paese? The Beautiful Country in trouble

programs. Scholz supported this a few days later and mentioned a European fund for unemployment insurance in the event that a country, such as Italy, can't manage this on its own.

It is still questionable whether these relatively modest measures will really solve Italy's problems. This country has a habit of debt; Italy had only been admitted to the European Community because it had lowered its debt ratio to the required 120% of its GDP. In the early years of the euro, Italy benefit-

ted from the low interest in the eurozone and was able to stabilize its debt at 120% of its GDP. In recent years, the debt has markedly surged.

Italy shouldn't expect too much compassion from EU citizens in the north, since the private assets of Italian citizens amount to a higher value than in Germany and certainly more than in the Baltic or Eastern European countries. At this point, EU citizens are asking why they should finance the nice lives of Italians. ■



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GERMAN-ISRAELI REPARATIONS

Historic Agreement Between Adenauer and Goldmann

Payments allowed Bonn to earn reputation and Jerusalem to help survivors

By Dieter Sattler

In history, singular personalities sometimes play decisive roles. This was certainly the case with Konrad Adenauer, David Ben-Gurion, and Nahum Goldmann.

After the founding of Israel in 1948, the Jewish state was in dire need. Survivors of the concentration camps and Jewish refugees from Arab states were pouring into the country. This was the background for demanding material compensation from Germany although many survivors, who wanted nothing more to do with “German murderers,” vehemently rejected this plan.

Nonetheless, to secure the country’s existence, the Israeli government under David Ben-Gurion had little choice but to signal its willingness to negotiate with Germany. This was highly controversial in Israel. The opposition, under the leadership of Menachem Begin of the Herut Party, rejected any negotiations over “blood money” with Germany. But Ben-Gurion saw no alternative. His foreign minister Moshe Sharett described the dilemma as follows: “Two contradictory demands are being articulated by the public, side by side. One calls for no negotiations, a total boycott. The other says: demand reparations from the Germans. But these two demands cannot both be met (at the same time). We will not receive reparations if we do not negotiate with them.”

International pressure

The Israeli government ultimately decided to hold talks with the Federal Republic of Germany, which was founded in 1949. However, Israel demanded that West Germany first issue a sign of good will. This took place on September 27, 1951. German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who had already spoken out in favor of reparations in an interview shortly after taking office, made a speech before the Bundestag: “Unspeakable crimes have been committed in the name of the German people that call for restitution, both moral and material in nature. The government of the Federal Republic is prepared, jointly with representatives of the Jewish people and the State of Israel, which has opened its doors to

so many homeless Jewish refugees, to bring about a solution to the reparations problem, and so to help ease the way to spiritual settlement of infinite suffering.”

To pave the way for concrete negotiations, Adenauer went to London on December 6, 1951 for a secret meeting with Nahum Goldmann. Goldmann was President of the World Jewish Congress and head of the Jewish Claims Conference, which he had helped found earlier that year and which represented the interests of Jews in



Goldmann, Adenauer, and Ben-Gurion, with Moshe Dayan in the background

“For the first time in the history of the Jewish people, their oppressor and exploiter must return something of his spoils and pay collective compensation

David Ben-Gurion, 1952

the Diaspora. He had been instructed by Ben-Gurion to propose an amount of \$1 bn, the equivalent of 4.2 bn deutschmarks, as the basis for negotiations. After Goldmann cited that figure and explained to Adenauer that the reparations amount must bear a symbolic relationship to the immensity of the crime that had been committed, the Chancellor accepted the offer. On January 9, 1952, Ben-Gurion succeeded in passing, with a narrow majority, a Knesset resolution to commence negotiations. The debate that preceded the resolution had been marked by vehement disagreement and protests that were loud enough to be heard from outside the Knesset’s walls.

The talks commenced on March 21, 1952 in the town of Wassenaar, near The Hague. The head of the German negotiating delegation was Frankfurt University dean Franz Böhm, a man with a reputation for integrity who, like Adenauer, had resisted the Third Reich. In Wassenaar, Böhm’s brief was to play for

time, as parallel negotiations were underway in London regarding Germany’s pre-war and post-war debts. Germany hoped to delay the Wassenaar results until the extent of its financial obligations under the impending London agreement became clear.

The political strategy, advanced mainly by West German Finance Minister Fritz Schäffer (CSU) and his chief London negotiator, the later Deutsche Bank head Hermann Josef Abs, was



Jews from Yemen on their way to Israel (1949/50)

to link the two negotiations in hopes of reducing the scale of payments to be made by Germany. When Böhm emerged from the Wassenaar negotiations with a reparations amount of 3 bn deutschmarks – less than the amount that had been accepted by Adenauer as the basis for negotiations – Schäffer and Abs objected.

In May 1952, Abs tendered a low-ball offer to the Israeli negotiator. The Wassenaar negotiations were to be suspended, and Israel would receive between 100 and 200 million deutschmarks per year for three years to help bridge the gap. Israel responded with indignation: it would be immoral for the perpetrators to live better than their victims, they said.

In light of growing international pressure, Adenauer realized that his desire to rehabilitate Germany in the eyes of the world was in jeopardy. He allowed his lead negotiator, Franz Böhm, to convince him to honor his moral obligation.

On September 10, 1952, the Luxembourg Agreement was signed by Konrad Adenauer, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett, and Nahum Goldmann on behalf of the Claims Conference. The Federal Republic of Germany undertook paying the State of Israel an amount of 3 bn deutschmarks over 12 to 14 years. Another \$450 million would be paid to the Claims Conference to help support, resettle, and integrate Jewish refugees living outside Israel.

Boon for German companies

However, the Luxembourg Agreement did not become effective immediately. It still needed to be approved by the Bundestag – where it nearly failed. There were many “no” votes, both within Konrad Adenauer’s CDU/CSU parliamentary group and among his coalition partners, the FDP and the Deutsche Partei. In the end, the agreement was saved by the SPD, which voted to approve the deal en bloc on March 18, 1953. It was the Social Democrats who, under the leadership of Otto Wels, had voted against Adolf Hitler’s “Enabling Act” in 1933; now, they were unified in support of an agreement that helped Germany rehabilitate its reputation in the world. The decision also benefited German industry. The 3 bn deutschmarks were paid mainly in goods and transportation equipment. The follow-up orders were a boon for German companies.

In the end, Konrad Adenauer’s calculation, which was motivated not only by moral conviction but by political prestige and economic concerns, proved a success. David Ben-Gurion was also satisfied with the results. In a 1952 letter to Nahum Goldmann, Ben-Gurion wrote: “For the first time in the history of the Jewish people, which has been oppressed and exploited for centuries ... the oppressor and exploiter must return something of his spoils and pay collective compensation for a share of our material losses.”

The Luxembourg Agreement, which would not have come to fruition without the efforts of Nahum Goldmann, also laid the foundation for good relations between Germany and Israel. In 1960, Konrad Adenauer and David Ben-Gurion met. Diplomatic relations were established between West Germany and Israel in 1965.

As a result of this agreement, Germany has, to date, paid more than \$60 bn in reparations to Jews. In addition, Germany has contributed twice that amount in compensation for expropriations and in other benefits. However, the term “compensation” was rejected in Israel. Israelis instead use the Hebrew terms *pitzuim* (reparations) and *shilumim* (payments).

By Sarah Fantl

Balagan. This was one of the first Hebrew words I learned in Israel. A very important word, it translates roughly as “chaos” – a rather apt description for the spirit of the country. Back in Germany, the summer sky was a chaotic tangle of thunder and lightning. Here, the rocket app on my smartphone flashed its hourly updates. In and of itself, that would not be newsworthy. But that night brought some 70 rocket attacks: day-cares and residential buildings were hit; soldiers were injured. After 24 hours, a momentary quiet returned to the border at Gaza. Apart from the newspaper headlines, day-to-day life in Israel seemed much as always. Chaos is Israel’s everyday normality. The Jewish state may be celebrating its 70th birthday, but tensions are high. Many Israelis believe there will soon be war. The last war, after all, was already four years ago.

During that night, my phone was illuminated time and time again by messages from my family and friends. They wanted to know if I was all right. If I wanted to return home. What most of them don’t understand is that Israel is now my home. Not just since that moment seven months ago, when I made Aliyah, became an immigrant, and began proudly showing everyone my new passport. Rather, since the moment I first looked out of the window while landing, and was overcome by the warm and comforting feeling of returning home. Just five days later, after gaining a brief impression of the country and its people, and drawing in that chaos with every breath, I decided to make Aliyah. No one I was traveling with believed my decision. But about a year and a half later, I won the bet – and 50 euros.

The question I have been asked most, by Germans and Israelis alike, since I packed my four suitcases in November and boarded the aircraft, is: “Why?” Why did I leave a well-paying job, a beautiful apartment, my family and friends, to come here and embark on the process of building a new life in a country gripped by a wearying and seemingly never-ending conflict?

Because Israel provides me with a Jewish home and life, far away from synagogues that are under police protection, from snack-bar owners and taxi drivers who spit out the words “dirty Jewish money.” Far away from a place that elect-



MAKING ALIYAH

Laughing Hearts and Helpful Hands

A young German calls Israel her home

ed the far-right AfD to the Bundestag – a party headed by a man who just compared the Nazi dictatorship to “bird shit”. From a place where musicians shamelessly rap about the emaciated bodies of Holocaust victims – and are then honored with a major music award. And far away from a capital city in which, yet again, a young person was threatened and attacked in public because he was listening to music by Omer Adam – music that I listen to at full volume every day, much to the delight of my neighbors.

Defending our homeland

Even beyond that, there is the country itself. It’s a small country that can be crossed by car in less than seven hours – on a drive that, at some times of the year, would have you packing both your bikini and your ski gear. A country that welcomes thousands of immigrants from all over the world every year. A country that has now grown to some 8.8 million people, where a carton of rasp-

berries costs the equivalent of ten euros, but which will never run short of cheap and tasty falafel. A country where orthodox Jews study Torah while large gay pride parades take to the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. A country of startups that is ever on the move and a leader in the field of medical research. A country that shrugs its shoulders at the idea of customer service. Maybe that will have improved somewhat by next year’s Eurovision Song Contest – but even if it doesn’t, the laughing hearts, helpful hands, and strong shoulders of this country will do enough to make up for that. All this under bright blue skies, to the accompaniment of a soundtrack that blends honking horns, loud voices, the rush of the ocean, and the thwack of the ball hitting the paddle as people enjoy the national pastime, matkot. Balagan – there it is again, that word that you learn as soon as you arrive. As you begin to learn more about this country, you learn not to take everything so seriously.

Of course, Israel is not perfect. There are tensions between Jews of different national backgrounds and different levels of observance. Tensions with Palestinians are ongoing. On top of that, political scandals, the ever-rising cost of living, and constant threat are faced by the only democracy in this part of the world. This is also a hot topic in the international media, which time and time again

it continues to press forward. That is probably one of the greatest strengths of this young country: its steadfastness, its refusal to give up. Day in, and day out.

For Israel’s 100th birthday, our only real wish can be the hope for peace. But even after such a short amount of time in this country, it is already becoming clear that this hope is both innocent and naïve. So we must

“As you learn more about this country, you learn not to take everything so seriously

twists reality in favor of attention-grabbing headlines – while obdurately refusing to comprehend the conflict itself. Refusing to understand that we are not the ones doing the attacking, but the ones who are constantly forced to defend our homeland and homes. A functional, growing, vibrant, democratic home. All this in just 70 years. It is truly remarkable. What are 70 years, after all? Measured against a human lifespan, it is a venerable age. But measured against history, 70 years are nothing but the blink of an eye. A brief moment. A breath. Israel is still in its infancy, but has managed to accomplish so much, even as

content ourselves with hoping that over the next 30 years, the Jewish state will continue to grow and thrive at this breathless pace. By that time, I will have spent more of my life in Israel than in Germany, and I hope that I will look back at a life as vibrant as the country I am living in. ■

Sarah Fantl is the granddaughter of Holocaust survivor and film director Thomas Fantl. Following the completion of her training as a journalist at the Axel Springer Academy, she worked as an editor in Berlin until she decided to pack her bags and immigrate to Israel seven months ago. She now works as a freelance reporter in Jerusalem and is writing her first book on her family history

Many of the German compensations in kind to Israel arrived at the port of Haifa



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Sarah in Jerusalem



A forum with survivors at AMCHA center in Jerusalem

JEWISH CLAIMS

Caring for Holocaust Survivors

Ensuring dignity in old age

By Rüdiger Mahlo

Leah S. sits at a small wooden table in the living room of her basement flat in Tel Aviv. She continually repeats the words “bread is life” like a mantra. Since her liberation from the concentration camp in Auschwitz, she has always kept at least three loaves of bread in the house. On this sunny February morning, I join Keren, a partner agency of the Claims Conference, during a home visit with the elderly survivor. Leah originally comes from Czechoslovakia and emigrated to Israel via Hungary following her liberation. Her husband, also a survivor of the Shoah, was so deeply affected by what he experienced that he was no longer able to hold down a regular job. Leah worked as a cleaner to keep the family of five afloat. Her family could always rely on her; nowadays, the 94-year-old is no longer able to take care of herself physically or financially. She receives the regular amount of hours of care from the Israeli state health insurance Bituach Leumi, which the Claims Conference supplements with an additional nine hours per week. Leah is by no means an outlier. Almost 40% of the survivors worldwide live below the poverty line in their respective countries of residence.

Taking action

Over the past few years, the Israeli government has made every effort to improve the situation for survivors in Israel. The hours of care granted by the health insurance funds, however, fall short of the mark in many cases. The additional hours of care borne by the Claims Conference enable a tangible improvement to the care situation. In addition to the funds supplied by the Claims Conference's successor organization, the German government also provides funds to this end. Yet, in spite of these joint efforts by the state of Israel, Germany, and the Claims Confer-



“The history of reparations and rehabilitation for the victims of National Socialism has been a lengthy battle for historical truths and the alleviation of injustice

ence, it is far from sufficient when it comes to meeting all of the needs for in-home nursing and medical care among Holocaust survivors.

Many people are surprised to learn that – more than 70 years after their liberation – there are still approximately 180,000 survivors of the Shoah living in Israel alone. Some immigrated to Israel during, and especially after, the Holocaust. Hence, the Claims Conference's mission to provide survivors with a small measure of justice is not likely to end any time soon.

The history of reparations and rehabilitation for the victims of National Social-

ism has been a lengthy battle for historical truths and the alleviation of injustice. The NS era cannot simply be reduced to twelve years of factual dictatorship; this holds particularly true for the history of injustice from which persecutees suffered even after their liberation. There continued to be a number of people who adopted a mentality of shutting their eyes to, or repressing, the injustice. Having said this, there were some who also spoke out against the German “blood money” – especially in Israel. Nevertheless, those who decided to apply for compensation at that time were often subjected to degrading investigation and interrogation procedures.

of the Shoah will still be alive in the year 2035. They, too, must be able to count on our support.

An important issue for survivors in Israel and across the globe is how the world will remember the Holocaust when they are deceased. In the face of rapidly declining societies in Europe, many survivors fear that the history of the Holocaust will be distorted or denied. This is why the Claims Conference's Holocaust educational and memorial work will play a greater role in the future.

Rüdiger Mahlo is the representative of the Claims Conference in Germany

Claims Conference (2)

In light of the large number of survivors, the Claims Conference draws a great deal of its attention to survivors in Israel. In 2017 alone, the Claims Conference paid ongoing compensation pensions to 21,000 survivors in Israel. It also finances projects such as soup kitchens for survivors, funds institutions that are dedicated to providing survivors with material and social services, and renovates and develops facilities in a way that is appropriate for the elderly.

Even traumas can be portrayed as a form of continuity, since they have the ability – to this day – to leave a mark on and represent a burden for survivors of extreme persecution and violence. Especially during old age, when social bridges such as family, friends or everyday working life break away, traumatizing experiences present a burden. Zvi Steinitz, who survived Auschwitz-Birkenau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen, once said, “I was free on the outside, but on the inside, in my soul, did I really feel free?” Today, he lives in Tel Aviv and uses social services from AMCHA, one of our partner organizations in Israel. With some 20,000 people who receive assistance in psychotherapies, social activities, and through home visits, the number of survivors seeking help at AMCHA has doubled over the last ten years.

Throughout the course of negotiations with the Federal Government, the Claims Conference has consistently reported the particularly difficult living conditions of Holocaust survivors and has seen successful results. This is why the funding for home-care support for survivors has been increased time and time again over the past few years. However, the aging group of survivors also has a increasing need for support as they grow older. In 2017, our help in the area of home-care support reached approximately 35,000 survivors of the Shoah in Israel. Today, around one third of all Shoah survivors live in Israel. According to figures from the Israeli bureau of statistics, some 26,000 survivors

ENCOUNTERS

Different Generation, No Reservation

On the optimistic future of the Israeli-German Youth Exchange

By Franziska Knupper

You have read it in the papers, you have seen it on TV, yet it remains a phenomenon of our time: around 30,000 Israelis currently live, walk, eat, and sit in the apartments, streets, cafés, and bars of Berlin. Hebrew is being spoken between Hermannstraße and Kottbusser Tor, between Uhlandstraße and Rosenthaler Platz. As the State of Israel celebrates its 70th anniversary, a new generation of Israelis have returned voluntarily to the Diaspora. The third and fourth generations see the German capital in a completely different light than their ancestors do back home. To them, Berlin is a utopia, far away from Middle Eastern politics, very close to nightclubs, and cheap to live in.

“This generation lives a whole new diversity. They all have different narratives and various life plans, values and ideas,” says Christine Mähler, director of ConAct, the German coordination center for exchange projects between German and Israeli youths. This generation, Mähler continues, is more aware of the fact that they live in a colorful migration society. They know that they will have to practice complete openness in order to flourish. To her, it therefore does not come as a surprise that the number of exchange participants is constantly on the rise: “Even political disturbances in the Middle East are not able to change that,” she says. Apart from a single drop during the last Intifada, interest in the other has remained on a steady high for the last fifteen years.

Curious young pioneers

German-Israeli youth exchange is the backbone of the close relationship that the two countries have built through today. The options and programs are never-ending: the German organization Aktion Sühne-



German-Israeli youth congress

zeichen sends out volunteers to work in Israeli hospitals and social programs, and Youth Press Germany cooperates with peace activists from the Israeli “Peace Now”. Since 2014, German has also been anchored in the syllabus of four schools in the greater Tel Aviv area. But building and crafting this bridge took seven decades, from the foundation of the Jewish state to the Berlin Diaspora of today. It was a long road to travel, and success came only in baby steps.

Before diplomatic ties between the countries had even been officially established, curious young pioneers took cautious steps towards each other. A small number of students from the Socialist German Student

“It took time until German teenagers felt comfortable running around the beaches of Tel Aviv and Haifa

Union (SDS) were the first ones to enter the Holy Land in 1952. Five years later, the Protestant Student Union embarked on a one month trip to Israel, passing themselves off as a Dutch or Swiss travel group. Maybe the time was not right for them. Or as a Rudolf Weckering, one of the initiators of the visit puts it in his travel report, “The young Germans surely had posed a great imposition to many Israelis.”

It took time until German teenagers felt comfortable running around the beaches of Tel Aviv and Haifa. And politics obviously needed to catch up with the newborn interest. As a result, the Knesset created the Public Council for Youth Exchange, including members of community and sports organizations, the Youth Hostel Association as well as the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Airline El Al. In short, it included everyone who had anything

to do with young people moving around. Yet, when asking Christine Mähler from ConAct, it took Johannes Rau to mark a turning point in the history of Israeli-German youth exchange. As the first German Federal President to ever hold a speech in front of the Israeli Parliament in the year 2000, he pointed out the importance of the young ones: “I am convinced; if we pass on the memory to the youth and encourage them to meet, then we will not need to worry about the future of the relationship between Israel and Germany.”

Only one year later, Christine Mähler and her colleagues moved into their offices in Lutherstadt Wittenberg. The head of ConAct has been involved in German-Israeli youth collaboration for the last thirty years. She found a passion for this area during her teenage years: “I participated in an exchange as a young adult and have remained active ever since. It is some-

thing that has accompanied me my whole life,” she says. Since 2001, the organization has been funding and coordinating about 300 exchange programs each year with an overall number of roughly 7,000 participants from both countries. It has created some 90 new project partnerships, and on top of that, funded bilateral work aimed at professionals from several aid organizations. ConAct is the intersection where everybody from the field meets eventually. No wonder the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) has increased ConAct's budget to a new high of 2.2 million euros per year.

But it's not enough, stresses Mähler: “Each year we lack around 1.5 million euros. We refrain from turning down any applications but as they are becoming more, it means that, in the end, we will have less money for each one of them.” According to her, if ConAct is to stay effective and German-Israeli sleepovers are to be intensified, there needs to be a proper bilateral youth organization. The network has to be tighter and the funding has to flow more easily. Mähler sounds enthusiastic when speaking about such a future: “I see it as my mission to stress the uniqueness of the relationship between those two societies and to cherish it with others.”



Keren Siegen-Wittenberg



Public Domain

Land of Immigrants

From 650,000 people to 8.8 million – Israel's success story of integration

By Elisabeth Neu

A joke from the 1930s: "An immigrant arrives at the port of Haifa at the Yishuv, pre-state Israel. Having just set foot on the soil of the Promised Land, he is instantly asked: 'Have you come here because of Zionism – or because of Hitler?'"

The anecdote shows that immigration to Israel has always been both: the wish to build and live in a homeland for the Jewish people in their ancient land, and a consequence of suppression, persecution, and danger to life and limb in the land of one's birth.

Theodor Herzl, father of Zionism, penned his pamphlet *The Jewish State* (1896) under the impact of anti-Semitic rage he had experienced in France during the trial of Captain Dreyfus. According to Herzl, Jews should be able, if they so wished, to return to their historic homeland: "We shall live at last as free men on our own soil and die peacefully in our own homes."

But even before Herzl formulated his dream, there was immigration to the Land of Israel. "Whosoever there is among you of all His people, his God be with him, – let him go up," states the Book of Ezra. Moving to the Promised Land is making Aliyah, literally meaning "to go up."

From the 1880s to the 1920s, during the first, second, and third Aliyot, more than 100,000 Jews came from Russia and Eastern Europe to their biblical homeland. The reasons for their immigration were manifold: Some wanted to live a religious life in the Land of the Fathers,



Operation Solomon, 1991

and some were pioneers or adventurers. Others wanted to make their dream of a just and socialist society come true on the shores of the Mediterranean, and others were fleeing pogroms, violence, and hatred. The 1920s and 1930s saw an influx of Jews from Poland and the Soviet Union, where an increase in anti-Semitic policies was making life hard for them. The fifth Aliyah brought immigrants mainly from Germany in the 1930s as the Nazis were tightening their grip on the country, setting out on their path of annihilation by robbing the Jews of their civil rights.

During the "secret" Aliyah Bet between 1939 and 1945, more than 100,000 refugees entered Palestine. Their immigration was deemed "illegal" by the British, who at the time ruled over Palestine. Frequently, ships carrying refugees were intercepted by the British Navy and passengers were brought into detention camps. The most famous of these ships was the "Exodus"; the film based on the book by Leon Uris would later move millions to tears.

From the end of the Shoah until the founding of the state, some 100,000 survivors made their way

to Palestine, still under British rule. Caring for these deeply traumatized people was, again, a colossal task.

Consequently, between the late 1880s and 1948, the Jewish population in Palestine had grown from 50,000 to 650,000 people. On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel was founded: "The catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people – the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe – was another clear demonstration of the urgency of solving the problem of its homelessness by re-establishing in Eretz-Israel the Jewish State, which would open the gates of the homeland wide to every Jew and confer upon the Jewish people the status of a fully privileged member of the community of nations," stated the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel.

As soon as Israel had been established, Jews who for centuries had been living in countries like Iraq, Algeria, Egypt, Libya,



Operation Magic Carpet, 1949/50

were threatened, persecuted, and killed. Once flourishing communities were destroyed. The "gates of the homeland" were open for them: Around 800,000 Jews from these countries came to Israel. The enormous problems this influx of people posed for the young state were mastered in an exemplary manner and the Olim, those who had just made Aliyah, were integrated and helped build the state. Simultaneously, around half a million Holocaust survivors, mostly from Displaced Persons camps in Europe, arrived in Zion.

Never shy of spectacular action when desperately needed, Israel – still in its infancy – flew 49,000 Jews from Yemen to Zion during Operation Magic Carpet between 1949 and 1950. Having to leave the few possessions they had behind, they needed to make a new life in Israel. Similarly, in 1984 and 1985, the no-less spectacular Operation Moses brought some 8,000 Ethiopian Jews, known as Beta Israel, to Israel. And on May 24 and 25, 1991, Operation Solomon took place: 35 Israeli aircraft brought more than 14,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel. During the operation, a trusty El Al 747 made it into the annals of aviation history by carrying more than 1,100 passengers to freedom – the plane is constructed for about 600 passengers.

In the meantime, with the decline and eventual collapse of the Soviet Union from the late 1980s onward, more than 1.6 million Jews set out with Israel as their destination. This exodus would have been a unique opportunity for Germany and its Jewry, overaged and declining at the time, to renew itself. But the German government decided only to take in 250,000 Russian emigrants.

Welcoming more

Many Russian Jews who made Israel their new home were well-educated and talented. Engineers, medical doctors, and artists helped advance Israeli society. A large number of them became indispensable for Israel's growing IT-sector.

Anti-Semitic incidents in France made the number of French Olim grow rapidly over the past several years. About 40,000 French Jews have decided to turn their backs on La Douce France and make Israel their new home. It remains to be seen whether President Macron's announcement, that France would not be the same without its Jewish people, will persuade French Jews to stay there.

In recent years, another form of immigration has become an integral part of

Israeli society, even if it is not overseen by the Jewish Agency. This includes the hosts of people who come to Israel to work and help ensure a smooth day-to-day running of things: Thai women and men working in agriculture, Romanians on building sites, and Filipinos, who have become vital in ensuring that elderly Israelis are well cared for.

Over the last decade, some 40,000 immigrants from Africa have entered Israel illegally. Government attempts to enforce a return to their home countries were thwarted due to public protest and the subsequent decision made by the High Court in Jerusalem.

Israel continues to welcome immigration and ensure that its Olim quickly find their place in their new society. Sure, the integration of a vast number of immigrants in this tiny country has not always been smooth sailing, and the different groups might bear grudges against one other every now and then, as brothers and sisters sometimes do. But they are all united when it comes to standing up for Israel, which ensures their "right to a life in dignity and freedom."

INNOVATION

Embarking on New Challenges

German-Israeli science cooperation continues to grow

By Hartmut Bomhoff

With our German-Israeli Accelerator, we are combining the strengths of Israel as a cybernation with the excellent and application-oriented research of Fraunhofer," said Reimund Neugebauer, President of the Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft, earlier this year. The Accelerator program, a collaboration between the German research organization and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, bridges the gap between market needs and academic knowledge and know-



Shalom College of Engineering in Beer Sheva

“Our common duty is to use science and research to create a brighter future for humanity

how. New ideas and solutions in cybersecurity are only one example of the fruitful scientific relationship between Germany and Israel. Cooperation focuses on scientific and technological fields such as marine and geosciences, biotechnology, environmental sciences, battery research, cancer research and water technologies.

The Hebrew University was one of the first Israeli academic institutions that built relations with Germany, which is now considered its most significant research partner in Europe, second worldwide only to the U.S. Cooperation is based on scientific excellence,

bringing together top scientists in a wide range of joint research projects and a growing number of students from both countries. Among the many collaborations are the Max Planck Center for Sensory Processing of the Brain in Action, the Martin Buber Society of Fellows at the Hebrew University, several Minerva Centers, and recently, the Fraunhofer Project Center for Cybersecurity in Jerusalem.

Unique cooperation structure

Even before diplomatic relations were established in 1965, there were connections between

students and faculties at the Hebrew University and Freie Universität Berlin. Two generations of scientists have since advanced research, student exchanges, and daily cooperation. "In every interaction with Germany, there is an element of introspection," explains Menahem Ben-Sasson, former President of the Hebrew University. "We must never forget the Holocaust, its victims, and its perpetrators; yet this memory also unites us in a common duty – to remember the past, to educate accordingly, and to use science and research to create a brighter future for humanity. To this end, we will continue to grow our academic and research relations with Germany."

Over the years, all Israeli universities have strengthened their ties with Germany. The pioneering research institution, however, was the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot. In 1959, it received a delegation of the Max Planck Society, headed by Otto Hahn. The German Academic

Exchange Service, DAAD, has provided scholarships for scientific cooperation with Israel since 1960. The cooperation smoothed the path for diplomatic relations between Germany and Israel. Today, a unique cooperation structure exists including contributions from foundations and long-term programs in addition to the ministerial cooperation. Germany is Israel's most important partner in the EU research program, of which the country has been a member



Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot

since 1996. The research relationships gained a lasting momentum through the German-Israeli Science Year in 2008 and the annual government consultations held since then. The German-Israeli Research Forum was organized for the first time in 2011 to further intensify collaboration.

In Germany, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research finances five foundations and programs specifically dedicated to German-Israeli scientific cooperation. Initiated in 1964, Minerva is the largest and most multifaceted cooperation program. Germany's largest scientific research community, the Helmholtz Association, is about to open an office in Tel Aviv in fall. This office will serve as the first point of contact for existing and future partners from science, business and politics. Last year, German and Israeli scientists embarked on a new challenge around the Moon: the Israel Space Agency signed an agreement with the German Aerospace Center (DLR) to use its expertise in the examination of deep space radiation effects in conjunction with the Orion Mi mission. ■

TOURISM

Welcome to the Promised Land – ברוכים הבאים

By Lola Thiel

"Absolutely fantastic!" enthuses Lisa. The 27-year-old from Berlin has just returned from her first visit to Israel. "I'm going back as soon as I can!"

Like Lisa, a record 3.6 million tourists have made Israel their travel destination in 2017. That means more than 700,000 visitors came to the Holy Land than did the previous year. An increase of 25%!

And it's not hard to see why: where else in the world does such a small country offer such a large variety of things to do and see? Israel is home to numerous holy sites revered by three monotheistic religions and to spectacular landscapes ranging from fine beaches to soft rolling green hills, from the arid, stark desert to snow-capped mountains – all within a space of hardly more than 20,000

square kilometers. And above all: bright blue skies for most of the year!

Whether you are interested in antiquities, outdoor activities, taking a dip in the Mediterranean, bird watching, finding serenity and contemplation at the Dead Sea (the lowest point on earth), or burning the midnight oil at one of the innumerable parties in Tel Aviv, Israel offers a plethora of vacation options. Accommodations range from luxury hotels to *zimmerim*, private bed&breakfasts, from log cabins to (former) Kibuzzim guest houses. And, as Israel is a country that has to watch its scarce natural resources, eco-tourism is on the rise everywhere.

Travelling around is easy, and public transportation, whether you hop on a



coach, a train, or the famous share taxi Sherut, is smooth and efficient. And very affordable.

Then, befittingly, for the Land of Milk and Honey, there is the food. Don't miss out on stocking up at the colorful markets, the Mahane Yehuda Market in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv's Shuk HaCarmel. For lovers of spices and dried fruit, Levinsky

to Rasta musicians, while business people and scientists sit next to young families. Age? Along the range from a couple of weeks to octogenarians.

Israel is not a cheap destination. Accommodations tend to be on the pricey side as is eating out – and drinking. But worth every shekel! Lisa has already started to save up for her next visit to the Holy Land. ■



Nechama Rivlin, wife of Israel's president, with soldiers



Sacred to Jews, Muslims, and Christians: The Tomb of the Patriarchs, Hebron

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

No Alternative to Peace

By Benjamin Ludwig

Shalom, Salaam. The Israeli-Arab-Palestinian conflict has been going on for nearly a century: much longer than the State of Israel has existed, and longer than the history of the Nakba, the catastrophic flight and expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes 70 years ago. Since the early 1920s, there have only been very few years without violent clashes between Arabs and Jews, without terrorist attacks, skirmishes, battles and wars. One might be excused for thinking that Israelis, Palestinians, and Arabs feel only hatred for one another. But even the traditional greeting in this part of the world expresses the eternal desire for peace: Salaam and Shalom.

However, the shared longing for peace is not sufficient to resolve this deepening dispute. The conflict has too long a history and is too complex. What is needed to resolve the conflict are clear, stable structures that will have to be established according to international law. And, above all, shared political, economic, and social interests. The classic example is the Israel-Egypt peace process. The two countries fought three wars, resulting in grave loss of life and heavy economic burdens. When the Likud Party under Menachem Begin won Israel's 1977 elections, so-called "experts" announced that having the "chauvinist" Begin serve as head of government would increase the risk of war.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat disagreed. Sadat declared that he was ready to travel to Israel and make peace. The Egyptian head of state understood Israel's deep-seated fear for its own existence. Begin responded by inviting Sadat. In an address before the Knesset in Jerusalem, Sadat reiterated that Egypt was willing to bring an end to the war and to recognize Israel's right to exist. In return, the Egyptian president demanded Israel's complete withdrawal from all occupied territories. The Israeli government complied. In the 1979 Camp David Accords, concluded with the help of the U.S., Jerusalem commit-

ted to a complete withdrawal from Sinai and the dismantling of Israeli settlements there. Egypt, in turn, reestablished diplomatic relations with Israel. This peace has now lasted nearly four decades. The accord should serve as a model for all further peace agreements with Arab states – and with the Palestinians.

An agreement between the Jewish state and the Palestinians is undoubtedly far more complex than the agreement between Cairo and Jerusalem. The exis-

same for the Palestinians. About five million Palestinians are classified as refugees – they have now been refugees into the fourth generation.

Yet Palestinians have still been unable to commit to a unified political leadership. In the West Bank, the PLO – of which the largest faction is Fatah – is in control. Gaza is ruled by Hamas. The two organizations are also engaged in a bitter struggle with each other. Fatah is prepared to acknowledge Israel's existence in principle. Hamas

between Israelis and Palestinians has shown that the problem has no military solution. The creation of a new state, or the defense of an existing one, cannot be achieved by way of force. As anyone who has spoken to the affected peoples knows, most in the region can no longer tolerate the conflict. They are sick of fear, violence, and death. They are desperate for peace.

The foundations of an Israeli-Palestinian agreement were established long ago. There is no alternative solution that would meet the fundamental interests of both parties. Any Palestinian government that seeks popular legitimacy must insist on a sovereign state, with Jerusalem as its capital. Israel requires the recognition of its right to exist from Palestinians and the Arab states, as well as their representative, the Arab League. And Israel's capital must be Jerusalem.

Israel cannot consent to the return of five million Palestinian refugees, lest Jews become a minority in their own country. Palestinians will insist on appropriate compensation. Both Israelis and Palestinians demand security. As Egypt once did, Palestinians will demand a state within the 1967 borders and the evacuation of Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

No utopian dream

These facts provide the framework for an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Israel must withdraw from all occupied Palestinian territories and give up most of its settlements, apart from those that can be kept through localized exchanges of territory. An Arab state of Palestine will be born. Jerusalem will be the capital of both countries. Most of the descendants of the original Palestinian refugees will not be able to return to the place their parents called home. After 1945, German expellees were also not permitted to return. Palestinians who are not permitted to return will require financial compensation. A peace treaty between Israel and Palestine will need to be concluded and be subject to international monitoring.

Is this nothing but a utopian dream? By no means. The "hereditary enmity" between Germany and France was also resolved. The only alternative to peace through compromise is an unbearable continuation of violence and war. ■



Jewish settlers vs. Israeli security officers at the evacuation of Amona settlement

tence of Egypt as a state has never been called into question. Israel had only to withdraw from Sinai, which had been occupied since 1967, and vacate its Jewish settlements. There were no other territorial claims on either side.

Generations of refugees

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is incomparably more complex. Both Palestinians and Israelis call the land between the Mediterranean and Jordan their home. Their capital is Jerusalem – or Al-Quds. The Israelis have a state, the Palestinians have none. As already noted, the Palestinians mourn the flight and expulsion of some 700,000 Arabs in 1948 and 1949. Israel, for its part, notes it opened its doors to more than 800,000 Jewish refugees from Arab states such as Morocco, Iraq, and Yemen between 1949 and 1961. While the Jewish arrivals were absorbed into Israel, most Arab countries, with the exception of Jordan, still refuse to do the

and the fundamentalist-Islamist Islamic Jihad have flatly refused to accept that Jews have a right to their own state in the Middle East. Hamas believes its only option is armed struggle to destroy Israel and expel the Jews. It receives financial, political, and military support mainly from Iran, which also seeks to destroy Israel.

This complex status quo is further complicated by a long-term process of historical transformation. Biblical Jews lived mainly in Judea and Samaria, which is now the West Bank. The Palestinians, who regard themselves as descendants of the Phoenicians, lived on the coastal plain – the present-day territory of Israel. As a result, the West Bank and Jerusalem are claimed by both sides as their own. Nationalist and nationalist-religious Israelis believe that the traditional biblical homeland and East Jerusalem is theirs by right. This is rejected even by moderate Palestinians.

These contradictions should not cause us to give up hope. A century of conflict

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Dr. Tong-Jin Smith

LAYOUT
Michal Blum, Paul Siebel

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jvg@berlin.de

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THIS SUPPLEMENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE WITH SUPPORT FROM THE FEDERAL FOREIGN OFFICE AUSWÄRTIGES AMT

By Klaus D. Oehler

U.S. President Donald Trump is always good for a surprise. He has already imposed punitive tariffs on steel and aluminum, which have put a dent in trade relations. In the wake of the divisive G7 summit, Trump has announced that he will also be taking a look at the “automobiles flooding the U.S. market” – a threat that has roused ire on this side of the Atlantic. Any duties on German automobiles, Chancellor Angela Merkel has warned, will provoke a vigorous response from Germany and perhaps from the European Union as a whole. Indeed, punitive tariffs would be a blow to the German automotive industry. “I am very concerned about developments in transatlantic relations,” said Bernhard Mattes, president of the German Association of the Automotive Industry (VDA). Tariffs on steel and aluminum are already a burden, particularly for German automakers with manufacturing operations in the United States.

High-quality raw materials

German automotive manufacturers rely on high-quality raw materials – and these are not always available from U.S. suppliers, they complain. Moreover, as several of the German manufacturers have noted, they employ tens of thousands of workers in the U.S. Even today, German cars are cheaper in the U.S. than they are in Germany. For premium brands such as Mercedes, Porsche,



Nothing to Fear?

Tensions rising amid trade disputes

BMW and Audi, U.S. consumers would presumably be willing to pay a bit more. But for President Trump, the problem goes well beyond steel, aluminum and automobiles: he bristles at his country’s hefty trade deficit with Germany. In 2016, Germany exported goods to the tune of some €107 bn to the U.S., while importing just under €58 bn worth of U.S. goods in return. After posting a record deficit in 2015, the U.S.-Germany trade deficit shrank by \$10 bn the following year. However, this was because Ger-

man exports had declined – U.S. exports to Germany remained constant. As a German economic representative noted, “U.S. products are often not competitive on the global market. When have you ever seen U.S. washing machines and similar appliances for sale in Germany?” This is a problem that the U.S. President will not be able to solve by decree. The U.S. has been neglecting its infrastructure for decades. The middle class is shrinking. New internet companies are springing up in Silicon Valley, but this cannot compensate for the

loss of industrial jobs in places like Detroit, where the automotive industry is in decline. Europe and Canada have expressed grievances regarding the tariffs to the World Trade Organization (WTO). The first phase of EU retaliatory tariffs, which are now slated to take effect in July, will be imposed on €2.8 bn worth of imports from the U.S. annually. In a second step, further tariffs could be imposed on €3.6 bn of U.S. goods. These retaliatory tariffs have been designed to roughly compensate for the losses the EU will incur as a result of American tariffs. The EU will impose 25% tariffs against U.S. products such as whiskey, peanut butter, blue jeans, and tobacco products. Canada is planning tariffs worth billions on U.S. agricultural products. Mexico has already imposed punitive tariffs on a range of American agricultural products, and has initiated a dispute settlement process at the WTO. Many worry that this trade dispute might turn into an all-out trade war. Trump, however, claims to be indifferent, saying that the U.S. has nothing to fear from a trade war. With a global trade deficit of nearly \$800 bn, he tweeted, “the U.S. has been ripped off by other countries for years.” The main justification for the U.S. imposing tariffs is reducing the country’s trade deficit. Officially, however, the administration claims the tariffs are necessary to protect national security. This rationale is nothing but a pretext, say the EU and Canada, which is why they have decided to take action before the WTO.

Klaus D. Oehler is the financial editor at the daily Stuttgarter Zeitung



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BIAS

The Invention of Human Races

A new perspective on a firmly entrenched ideology

By Robert Kahn

For centuries, the term ‘race’ has served as a device for making value judgments. We see differences between people and believe we are able to detect race. This kind of classification implies another issue: It is about defining who belongs – and who does not. About 100 years ago, scientist Franz Boas (1858-1942) came up with an alternate explanation for differences in human behavior. Born into a German-Jewish family in Minden, Westphalia, Boas immigrated to the United States in 1886 and became the “Father of American Anthropology.” In his 1907 essay, “Anthropology,” Boas identified two basic questions: “Why are the tribes and nations of the world different, and how have the present differences developed?” He introduced culture as the primary concept for describing differences in behavior between human groups. In his 1963 book, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, Thomas Gossett wrote that “it is possible that Boas did more to combat race prejudice than any other person in history.”

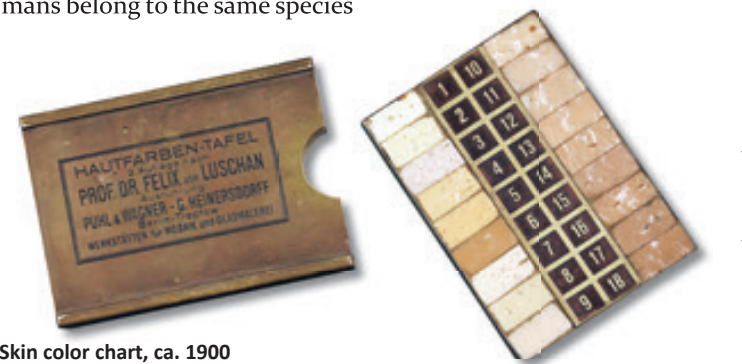
In 1950, UNESCO issued a statement asserting that all humans belong to the same species

and that “race” is not a biological reality but a myth. Although anthropologists, biologists, and geneticists have explained why biological race in humans is nonexistent, racism still abounds. In Dresden, Deutsches Hygiene-Museum (German Hygiene Museum) is investigating the implications of the term ‘race’ in contemporary societies.

How different are we?

The exhibition “Racism. The Invention of Human Races” illustrates the efforts made over the centuries to compartmentalize mankind into races and the generally ideological motivations underpinning these attempts as well as the social consequences. Its aim is to make people aware of the racist models that have been devised. “We want to discuss the arbitrary nature of such classifications,” says exhibition curator Susanne Wernsing. “Although racism may not always be blatant, it is often a hidden factor.”

While Enlightenment thinkers believed that all human beings were created equal, scientists felt compelled to explain the obvious differences between people and created categorization systems.



Skin color chart, ca. 1900



Installation “Gentlemen”: Yinka Shonibare explores Europe’s colonial legacy in Africa

This approach also asserted that certain groups of people were superior and entitled to more rights and benefits. The exhibition analyzes the scientific methods behind the development of this school of thought from the 18th century and presents images and media used to disseminate it to this day. Among the items on display are propaganda material, art that was designated ‘degenerate’ by the Nazis, exhibits from German colonial history, and contemporary artworks that expand the discussion of the racism theme.

Racism is an inhumane ideology, but at the same time an everyday occurrence that confronts many people with discrimination and violence. The color of one’s skin, one’s appear-

ance, religion, or language might cause humiliating experiences which are almost unimaginable for other sectors of a population. Racism not only hurts individuals but also violates the ideals of equality and freedom that form the basis for our democratic society. “The Invention of Human Races” investigates how this behavior uses “race” as a category to justify political, social and cultural inequality.

The combination of allegedly unrelated objects creates a new context of meaning: A box of tools belonging to an anthropologist of the 1930s, who was determined to identify features that could prove the existence of distinct races, reveals remarkable similarities to the kit used by a Belgian ghost hunter

from the same period. It’s all about phantoms: “While chasing ghosts seems completely absurd to most of us, different sciences have been seeking evidence for racial categories for more than 200 years – frequently employing a similar methodology,” explains Wernsing. The curator wants to show up these racist attitudes and ultimately defuse them. In the last exhibition room, current works by filmmakers of different generations address key issues of our present: What unites us? What separates us? How do we want to live together?

Racism. The Invention of Human Races is on display at Deutsches Hygiene-Museum Dresden until January 6, 2019

Ufa – History of a Brand

A journey through 100 years of film production

By Fanny Schlesinger

Travelling to Munich this summer? Don’t miss the exhibition that depicts the story of one of Germany’s oldest and most distinguished entertainment brands. For Ufa’s 100th anniversary, the Deutsche Kinemathek – Museum für Film und Fernsehen presents the eventful story of the company and brand in seven chapters. Founded as Universum-Film AG in 1917, Ufa is Germany’s dream factory and has made movie history, with an artistic heritage of silent classics like Fritz Lang’s “Dr. Mabuse” and “Metropolis”, for which it built Europe’s largest sound stage, and the films of German Expressionism. Hollywood icons such as Alfred Hitchcock, Billy Wilder, and later Quentin Tarantino also used Ufa’s studios in Babelsberg on the outskirts of Berlin.

‘Un film allemand,’ as the French say, has not only made cinematic history but also depicts Germany’s volatile history. In 1917, General Erich Ludendorff used the film industry as a propaganda weapon for the German Kaiser. After the war, however, the film company focused on popular genres. In 1927, it was taken over by the Scherl Group. In 1929, the Ufa introduced sound, with Josef von Sternberg’s “The Blue Angel” (1930) being considered the first German talkie, starring Marlene Dietrich. Lightweight film operettas replaced the more emotional films of the silent era. A production group, formed around Erich Pommer, which included composer Werner Richard Heymann, was an especially creative center for making sound operettas successful films. In a time of crisis, the cinema offered some diversion. In 1933, the company was well-placed to serve the goals of Joseph Goebbels’ Nazi propaganda machine. In consequence,

many of the most capable actors and film makers left the country while others were banned by the Nazi authorities. In 1945, the Red Army occupied the Ufa complex Babelsberg. The Deutsche Filmmakriegesellschaft (DEFA) was founded the following year under the authority of the Soviet Military Administration. The rest of the Third Reich film assets remained in the Western occupation zones. After its privatization in 1956 in West Germany, the company was restructured to form Universum Film AG and was taken over by a consortium of banks. Rebranded “UFA,” UFA Film &



Opening night at Berlin’s Ufa-Palast (1928)

concluding with an epilogue on the innovations of the media group, the exhibition reflects digital conversion in the 21st century.

Die Ufa – Geschichte einer Marke is on display at Kunstfoyer, Versicherungskammer Kulturstiftung, in Munich until September 16, 2018

Thriftiness: Virtue or Vice?

Germany’s long history of saving

By Gideon Wollberg

The idea of diversifying one’s financial portfolio dates back to at least the fourth century AD, when Rabbi Isaac bar Aha documented a rule for asset allocation in the Babylonian Talmud (Tractate Baba Mezi’a, folio 42a): “One should always divide his wealth into three parts: a third in land, a third in merchandise, and a third ready to hand.” Building lasting wealth starts with saving. However, Jewish wealth is a popular stereotype, and to ward off this bias, scholars attribute Jewish success in business to Jewish culture, which emphasizes literacy and education as much as it values charity. German thriftiness is another unchecked generalization. While the German habit of saving money has come to define the national character, it also serves as point of international criticism toward Germany during the eurozone crisis.

In one of its current shows, the German Historical Museum in Berlin, in cooperation with Berliner Sparkasse, takes a look not only at the financial but at the cultural roots of German saving. “In the discussion about the financial crisis, Germany, as the representative of a strict austerity policy, is severely criticized in many European countries,” says Raphael Gross, the museum’s

director. “These attacks are met with little understanding in Germany. Why is this conflict so highly emotionally charged? The historical dimension could play a role in answering this question.”

Saving has a long history in German society. The first savings bank opened in 1778 in Hamburg. By 1836, there were more than 300 of these savings banks operating in the then-German Confederation, allowing Germans to save their hard-earned income for some interest.

The exhibition puts this development in a European context. Some elements of institutionalized saving, like financial institutions providing poor relief or personal funds for bad times, existed long before the first savings bank was set up. Members of the Franciscan order established loan funds called Monti di Pietà (Mount of Piety) in many Italian cities in the 15th century. Serving as institutional pawnbrokers, they gave low-interest credit to the needy in hard times. The aim of these funds was mainly to challenge Jewish moneylenders and to oust them from this branch of business. After loan funds were established in a city, the Jewish population was often expelled. The first-ever proposal for a savings

fund was made by French financial official Hugues Delestre in 1611 at the beginning of the mercantile era.

When the first savings institutions were founded in Germany, they helped educate people to be hardworking and thrifty. The individual was supposed to benefit the community. There is also a Protestant tradition of saving and restraint. When the workers’ movement gained strength, its political opponents also recognized the importance of austerity for perpetuating existing conditions and exploited this. Their argument was that people with savings to lose were less open to revolutionary ideas. Thrift was also taught in schools. The motto of a home money box from 1900 displayed in the exhibition reads: “Without order, nothing but loads.”

Anti-Semitic stereotypes

From the founding of the German Empire in 1871, anti-Semitic stereotypes were increasingly counterposed to the idealized image of industrious, thrifty Germans. During the Weimar Republic, virtuous saving, based on creative work, was distinguished from the “money-grubbing” of Jewish capital, believed to have played a role in the hyperinflation of 1923. This thinking later became a core element of Nazi ideology. There are examples of anti-Semitic propaganda in the exhibition, but one item is even more disturbing. It is a savings card of Franz Nohel, issued by the Jewish self-



Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin

administration in Theresienstadt in March 1945. The savings plan was part of a program of deception prepared by the German authorities in the Ghetto.

After World War II, the savings of German individuals depreciated seriously due to currency reforms in both parts of divided Germany. Nonetheless, this did not prevent them from quickly starting to save substantial amounts again. Thrift and its associated moral concepts were still promoted as beneficial. Through today, saving has remained firmly entrenched in Germany, a society that takes pride in the solidity of its public finances and in its balanced budgets. “Saving is seen as the morally right thing to do, says Kai Uwe Peter, the managing director of Berliner Sparkasse, a savings bank that boasts some two million clients in the capital. “It is more than a simple financial strategy.” ■

Saving – History of a German Virtue is currently on display at the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin and runs through August 26, 2018

Historisches Archiv der Evangelischen Kirche, Schwarzenberg, Thomas G. and G. M. M.

HERITAGE

The Jewish Manor by the Sea

Forgotten: The Hausmann Villa in Kühlungsborn



Leo Baeck Institute New York | Berlin

By Hartmut Bomhoff

A photograph shows Rabbi Leo Baeck sitting with Professor Ismar Elbogen in a roofed beach chair. The caption reads, “Arendsee 1932”. Arendsee? The Baltic seaside resort had united with the neighboring areas of Fulgen and Brunshaupten to form the municipality of Kühlungsborn on April 1, 1938. At the time of its bestowal of city status by the National Socialists, it was called “a newborn from which cooling, refreshment, and relaxation grow.”

A report in the *Bayerisches Israelitisches Familienblatt* from the summer of 1931 explains the significance of Baeck’s stay in Arendsee. On June 28, 1931, he opened up the Hausmann Foundation retreat center, also known as “Judenschloss am Meer,” “the Jewish Manor by the Sea.” The villa had been bequeathed to the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, the liberal rabbinical seminary, by heirless Margarete Hausmann (1863-1929) along with further property in Berlin. At the

time, the chief rabbi of Mecklenburg, Siegfried Silberstein, compared this retreat to the biblical Miriam’s Well. A kosher kitchen belonged to the center, and Shabbat services took place regularly.

Between 1910 and 1912, the villa had been built as the residence of Berlin attorney and Judicial Council notary Wilhelm Hausmann and his wife. According to Alexander Schacht of the Historic Preservation Office, it is a masterpiece of one of Mecklenburg’s most renowned architects of the early 20th century: Alfred Krause (1866-1930). “Stylistically, the villa takes after Neo-Baroque; it represents the structural technique through its details, materials used, and technical equipment which, at the time, was state-of-the-art.”

The retreat center already had 104 guests by 1931. In order to accommodate as many guests as possible, the Hochschule also purchased Villa Horn, which had 40 newly-furnished rooms and was situated on the other side of an adjacent, large park. The main house, Villa Baltic, had lounges and recreation rooms overlooking the sea. The bliss, however, was short lived; on July 7, 1935, the *Niederdeutsche Beobachter* announced that “Arendsee will be cleansed of Jews.” On the night between July 20 and 21, the windows of the Hausmann Foundation houses were shattered.

Fading into history

“It must have been in summer 1935. There were signs when we reached the seaside that Jews were not welcome. The villa functioned as a socializing place. We did not sleep there. We stayed at a place not far from there, and as my mother did not feel well, she joined the children and went to bed early. Soon the Nazis came. We managed to run out, my mother leading the children to the railway station,” recalled Irene Jacob (née Lowenthal) of her childhood memories some years ago.



Today, the “Manor by the Sea” is still one of the representative buildings on the promenade of Kühlungsborn-West in spite of its vacancy and gradual decay. The Villa Baltic “is in historical, artistic, and urban terms, a larger-than-life structure that has influenced the town’s appearance,” explains Alexander Schacht. “If preserved and reasonably used, it could become of great interest to the public.”

The building is an emblem of German history. In 1935, it was seized by the National Socialists and turned over to the “Goebbels-Stiftung für Bühnenschaffende in der Reichstheaterkammer” (Goebbels Foundation for Performers in the Reich Theater Chamber). In 1945, the Villa was allegedly raided by Soviet soldiers. It was then awarded to the Jewish community of Mecklenburg and, in 1949, became the property of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In the GDR, the house was converted into the “Kurt-Bürger Erholungsheim,” a retreat center for workers. In 1972, it was combined with the new Kühlungsborn sea water indoor pool. Renamed as Villa Baltic, the estate – now with a restaurant and bar – was a showpiece for this socialist vacation spot.

Since the collapse of the GDR, prolonged vacancy and increased vandalism have caused structural damages to the house. Even the Jewish Claims Conference selling the property in 2003, after much debate, did not improve the situation. The investor from Chemnitz was unable to execute his plans for a hotel and wellness temple. In 2009, following lengthy negotiations, the Villa Baltic was sold to an ophthalmologist who planned to renovate the building according to monument preservation guidelines. These plans have also, to date, been unsuccessful.

The prediction made by the *Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt* – that the palace would become “a new part of Jewish life in Germany every summer since 1931” – hasn’t come true. Not much has remained aside from a folder in the New York Leo Baeck Institute archives and some photos of the historical Kühlungsborn home. When asked about the history of the “Schloss am Meer”, residents merely mention Goebbels. It would therefore be appropriate to finally rename the part of the boardwalk between the house and the sea, now trivially called “Baltic-Platz” (Baltic Square), after the Hausmann family. ■



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Learning from Evian



Eighty years ago, in July 1938, delegates from 32 countries met at the French resort of Evian. Together with representatives from relief organizations, they discussed the Jewish refugee crisis. By that time, about 150,000 German Jews, one out of four, had fled their home country, with many more still trying to obtain visas. After Germany annexed Austria in March 1938, an additional 185,000 Jews were brought under Nazi oppression, and most of them were unable to find countries willing to take them in.

Although President Franklin D. Roosevelt encouraged the international community to find a long-term solution to the problem, the United States itself refused to increase the annual admission quota from Germany and Austria even before the meeting began. During the nine-day gathering, delegate after delegate expressed sympathy for the refugees while offering excuses for not letting them in. As Golda Meir wrote many years later, “sitting there in that magnificent hall and listening to the delegates of 32 countries rise, each in turn, to explain how much they would have liked to take in substantial numbers of refugees and how unfortunate it was that they were not able to do so, was a terrible experience.”

There were concerns that refugees would use up resources meant for the poor and dispossessed, take away jobs, and threaten the stability of their host countries. Even Roosevelt warned:

“Among refugees there are some spies.” On July 13, 1938, the German newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* triumphantly commented: “No one wants them.”

While most of the refugees were denied entry to Europe and to the United States, the tiny Dominican Republic was the only country in attendance at Evian that agreed to open its doors, accommodating up to 100,000 immigrants – in exchange for huge amounts of money. In general, the ifs and buts prevailed: Brazil stated its willingness to accept only applications accompanied by a certificate of Christian baptism. Canada stated that they were only prepared to accept experienced agricultural workers, while Britain made the exception for domestic servants. However, there was no breakthrough in the immigration impasse, and whatever good the Evian Conference set out to do was buried in the sand.

Four months later, in November 1938, the Kristallnacht pogroms predicted the destruction of European Jewry trapped under Nazi rule.

Today, we must ask ourselves what the failure of Evian teaches us about the current policy debate in Europe and North America. What is our responsibility toward refugees? How do we respond to the quick rejection of immigration, albeit immigration for humanitarian reasons? As Jews, we are committed to the importance of helping others in need, and our Jewish teachings argue strongly for lenient absorption policies. Admittedly, some refugees from Muslim states might return our welcome with hostility and anti-Jewish violence. Doing good doesn’t guarantee gratitude. With the shameful legacy of Evian in mind, we must prompt our governments to achieve an agreement that finally helps people in acute need. ■

By Monika Biller

Berlin, 2018, U3: I am sitting next to my 17-year-old daughter. We are visiting from the U.S. and are taking the metro to see East Side Gallery. I glance at her proudly and then do a shocked double take: she is slightly overdressed as a tourist in her brand new pantsuit. The pantsuit shows off a low-cut neckline and a bit of her porcelain-colored cleavage. But what draws my attention is what is hanging around her neck, casually and clearly visible: a shiny silver necklace with her favorite bat mitzvah pendant. It has the shape of two hexagons that fall perfectly into place to form a Star of David, an ingenious piece of creativity (as she had been told by some of her art-loving friends from back home). I divert my eyes quickly from her necklace and stare ahead of me with a blank look. I don't dare articulate the thoughts that are growing louder in my head. I am shocked that I am shocked. Did I just ...? Should I...?

Thoughts of Neo-Nazis, anti-Semitism, fear and *Mitläufer* are going through into my head in the country where I grew up and always felt at home and safe. But now I am having trouble staying rational and I am worried because I want to protect her. I suspiciously glance around me. I discretely exam-

“ Looking, learning, and trying to make sense of the mess that history creates

ine the people sitting directly across from us to see whether anybody is noticing the pendant, but nobody is looking up. Should I say something to my daughter now? Should I whisper that the Star of David could draw curious looks at best, or maybe even anti-Semitic comments? She might sneer at me or worse, feel a rush of panic and anxiety. In one moment, all my efforts to create the foundation for a generation of a fulfilled Jewish-German identity could become cracked.

Brandishing heritage

I am wondering how common it is for people to walk around in Berlin, happily brandishing their heritage with blatantly visible Stars of David hanging from



IDENTITIES

A Necklace in Berlin

An American Jewish Christian German story

their necklaces as decorations; or by wearing Kippahs? As it turns out, it is not too uncommon as the “Berlin Kippah Attack” at the city's trendy Prenzlauer Berg district demonstrates. In a recent announcement, the German Zentralrat der Juden called for activism in the Jewish community by wearing a Kippah under the hashtag #berlinträgtkippa. It was supposed to be a statement against anti-Semitism and intolerance but the call to action was met with skepticism after a person wearing a Kippah was attacked. Anti-Semitism in Germany is back in the headlines amidst a refugee crisis and a country asserting its own culture, values and political status among other world powers.

To the dismay of many Germans, it was never completely gone, only swept under the table. Germans have spent the past 70 years educating their young about the Holocaust and the war; they accepted the blame, have paid reparations, and welcomed back survivors, their families, and more refugees than any other European country. Germans have become fiercely pacifistic as a result of the war. Nationalism and patriotic feelings are almost considered an insult to a German.

I was raised without waiving German flags or displaying any sort of national pride, painfully aware of my country's past. German history scampered ahead with a newly found identity after the Wall came down and Germany was once again an international phenomenon, this time for successfully orchestrating a peaceful revolution. And yet, after all these years, the open display of Jewishness remains a concern: schools, cultural centers and synagogues continue to be guarded by police and security

at all times. I guess Germany does not take any chances. I am frustrated and impatient with my own country but also hopeful that change will come. My daughter's heritage is split into two: a Jewish American father and a Christian German

The students' tears and disgust were genuine, and their shock was permanent. I tried to be a living German example to these kids that a German is not the equivalent of a Nazi. I have been fighting this German stereotype since entering the

Back in the Berlin metro, we are nearing our stop. We get up and wait for the train to come to a halt. The doors slide open and I can feel the warm fresh Berlin Spring breeze. As we exit the metro car, I take a deep breath and exhale in relief. It feels good to have an open door like a new beginning. I believe that my daughter could be part of this new beginning. Her generation is the world's hope to create a new dialogue about how we perceive each other. The idea of young, educated people with fresh and curious minds is like a new open door. I have learned that Berlin has become the new intellectual hub for many young native and non-native residents of all kinds of backgrounds, creative minds, and beliefs. Berlin has seen an immense increase in its population of young Israelis who enjoy professional opportunities, peace, and freedom. These younger generations are the best example of the positive effects of cultural globalization.

“ My daughter's generation is the world's hope to create a new dialogue about how we perceive each other

mother. She grew up loving both sides. To her horror, I sent cautioning emails demanding lesson plans and confronting history and Hebrew teachers, asking how they will present the Holocaust, what terms they would use to describe Germans and what movies they would watch, lest they teach fear and plant an unacceptable idea in her mind. I accompanied her class to the Holocaust Museum as a chaperone. Her fellow students were not prepared for the brutal truth of death chambers – visualized blatantly – and of old shoes from the gas chambers as reminders of Nazi crimes.

vast non-German world outside of my homeland borders 30 years ago. But I saw the students' doubts. An empathetic smile could not wipe away their suspicions. My daughter, however, will not and cannot point fingers because both stories are her stories. And now she is here in Berlin in the metro, setting herself apart from others with a small pendant and yet feeling excited about being part of the whole. It seems she is not afraid to find herself in the middle of a cultural crossfire. She is looking, learning, and trying to make sense of the mess that history creates.

They feel confident and curious, and are unafraid to move beyond their own boundaries or learn about those they perceive as different.

I follow my daughter out of the station and together, we walk to the East Side Gallery and then on to the Holocaust Memorial, her necklace glistening in the sun. She is ready to continue learning about German Jewish history, and making it “her-story.” Her unbroken spirit is getting ready to teach the world about her identity: an American, a German and a Jew and I am keeping my fingers crossed. ■



DAVID SCHORR

The Human Painter



By Rafael Seligmann

The man radiated calmness and dignity. We were eating breakfast at tables next to each other in a quiet Tel Aviv café. Normally, I would concentrate on the upcoming section of my new book and avoid a distracting conversation. Yet the timid eyes of the tall gentleman, reading the *New York Times*, observed his peers with a such gentle gaze that I

became curious. Soon, we found ourselves in animated conversation. My neighbor invited me to sit at his table.

David, as my new acquaintance was called, was a painter. He taught in Bologna, Italy and at Wesleyan University in Connecticut. He would travel back and forth between the two. But David the artist rarely talked about himself; he was far more interested in hearing from me. David was an attentive listener. What was I writing about? What did I find so remarkable about Israel? What about Germany? What moved me as a writer? His words and his eyes expressed a human sympathy and intellectual interest.

From then on, we immersed ourselves in conversations daily. They were meaningful conversations, but thanks to David's personality, they stayed light and void of tension. We shared a Shabbat dinner together. The Jewish faith was apparently not of interest to David. Still, on

Shabbat he said the Hebrew blessings over bread and wine.

David Schorr's family came from Hungary. The entrepreneurs migrated to the U.S., and David was born in 1947 in Chicago. Since childhood, he felt drawn to painting. He studied

David Schorr's art then experienced success. Dozens of exhibitions. Cartoons in the *New Yorker* and other magazines. A successful career at renowned institutions. His art was accompanied by a warm humanity, wisdom, and a constantly present fine sense of humor. We grew so close that we chose to nurture our friendship.


David invited my wife and me to stay with him on his last night in Israel. He only wanted to invite his best friends; we were curious. As we looked around in the restaurant, David laughed his quiet laugh: “I told you only my best friends in Israel would be here. That's you.”

In May, we wanted to meet with his friends Hans Gerhard Hannesen and Dieter Keller in Berlin. David had invited us to go to the opera. We never got around to it; in Bologna, David suffered a stroke, which led to his death. May the One he didn't believe in, but from whom he never was freed, have mercy on his soul. ■



With tenor Jonas Kaufmann in his studio

the subject, among others, at Yale University; there, his natural gift was cultivated. David Schorr knew that handiness is the foundation of artistic mastery. He painted representationally, filling his paintings with vibrant colors and motifs. Complete art for thinking and feeling.




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WILMERHALE 

It Was Never Important to Me to Be the First

Breaking new paths: Pioneering women in German synagogues

By Hartmut Bomhoff

One hundred years ago, Lilian (Lily) Helen Montagu (1873-1963) preached her first sermon at London's Liberal Jewish Synagogue, "Kinship with God." Ten years later, on August 19th, 1928, the British lay minister delivered the first sermon ever given by a woman from the pulpit of a German synagogue, speaking at Berlin's Reform Temple. "I think there is a pressing need for women to come down from your synagogue galleries and enter into the life of the synagogue," she urged her audience in Berlin in 1930. Montagu was the driving force behind the World Union for Progressive Judaism, and many Jewish women activists in Germany regarded her as a role model and an inspiration.

Progressive Judaism in Germany had already addressed women's equality in terms of religious practice in the early 19th century. In 1837, Rabbi Abraham Geiger said: "From now on, let there be no distinction between duties for man and woman, (...) no institu-



Cantor Svetlana Kundish

tion of the public service, either in form or content, which shuts the doors of the temple in the face of women." The question is why it took nearly a century, from 1837 to 1935 – when Regina Jonas became the first woman to earn the title of rabbi – to achieve that equality. With her ordination in Germany some 80 years ago, another important milestone was reached in Jewish history.

"It was never important to me to be the first; I wish I were the hundred-thousandth." During her lifetime, Regina Jonas was the one and only woman rabbi. The first women rabbis to be ordained after Jonas were Sally Priesand in 1972 (Reform), Sandy Eisenberg Sasso in 1974 (Reconstructionist), and Amy Eilberg in 1986 (Masorti/Conservative). The first woman to be

ordained and actually work in a rabbinical capacity within an orthodox setting is Sara Hurwitz (2009). Today, there are well over a thousand women among the approximately 5,000 rabbis in the nonorthodox movements.

Making an impact

Women are making an impact on the rabbinate today in all areas of Jewish life, a development that has only come about slowly and with much struggle. Time and time again, women have become pioneers for their gender in new places and professions. When Betty Robbins was appointed as cantor of a Reform congregation in Oceanside, New York in 1955, a spokesman said that there was no religious law, merely a tradition, against women becoming cantors. Twenty years later, Barbara Ostfeld became the first woman to be invested as a female cantor in the U.S., another landmark event.

In Germany, once the cradle of progressive Judaism, the Shoah had cut off the new understanding of women's roles in

religious life that the 1920s had brought. Until the mid-1990s, the entire rabbinate was still deemed a male profession. Only in 1995 was Rabbi Bea Wyler, who had been ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, appointed the first woman rabbi in postwar Germany. The first woman ordained in Germany after the Shoah was Rabbi Alina Treiger, a graduate of Abraham Geiger College in Potsdam (2010). Today, there are seven women rabbis among the 29 members of the General Rabbinical Conference of Germany, and recently, Abraham Geiger College invested its third female cantor, Svetlana Kundish. Born in Ukraine and later moving to Israel and Austria, she performs a variety of Jewish music. "A circle has closed," Kundish says. "Just like my great-grandfather, I stand today on a bimah and lead prayers in the synagogue, and like my grandparents, I sing Yiddish songs." The soprano serves as cantor of the Jewish Community of Braunschweig, thus becoming a woman pioneer in her profession in the German state of Lower Saxony. ■



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