

JEWES IN TODAY'S GERMANY

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OVER a period of five decades after the Second World War, demographers who specialized in comparative Jewish populations studies noted that German Jewry was an ageing community with a very low birth rate — a community on the way to the disappearance predicted for European Jewry by Bertrand Wasserstein in his *Vanishing Diaspora*.¹ But in 2002 there were in Germany more than 180,000 Jews or persons of Jewish origin and 87 per cent of that total had come to settle in Germany since 1989. German Jewry now ranks as the third largest in Western Europe, after France and the United Kingdom. That recent large wave of immigration has entailed some social problems and the necessity of making social adjustments on the part of the newcomers as well as of the native population of the host society. Inevitably, the questions raised since the Holocaust (henceforth in this paper more accurately referred to as the *Shoah*) about relations between Jews and Germans have been re-examined.

My aim in this paper is to begin with an overview of the rebuilding of a Jewish community in Western Germany and of the situation of Jews in East Germany after the Second World War. I will then deal with the problems which have arisen since the major wave of immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

The renewal of the German Jewish Community (1945–1989)

At the end of the Second World War, 14 million Displaced Persons were roaming in Europe. Germany had been defeated and was disintegrating, but the country was peopled by refugees.² The Allied military commanders (American, British, French, and Russian) were gathering homeless millions and settling them provisionally into camps. Hitler and his lieutenants had decreed that Germany would be *judenfrei* (free of Jews) but by June 1945 there were some 50,000 Jews in the country — survivors of concentration and extermination camps — and their numbers were rapidly increasing. By the summer of 1947, there were 182,000 Jewish Displaced Persons in West Ger-

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many; three-quarters of them were natives of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. Some of them had settled in cities (Berlin and Munich mainly) joining German Jews who had remained hidden during the Second World War; but the majority had sought refuge in the camps for Displaced Persons, especially in those established by the American military authorities. From the beginning, there were conflicts between Jewish and non-Jewish Displaced Persons, especially among former Polish citizens. Americans therefore decided to provide Jewish refugee camps. Survivors later left Germany in large numbers to make their way to Palestine as illegal immigrants during the British Mandate, then openly to the newly-established State of Israel. Others emigrated to the United States and elsewhere. Some Jews who were in the Soviet Zone of occupation had found refuge in Soviet Russia during the war.

After the end of the war in 1945, some German Jews returned to their native land — to East Germany as well as to West Germany — and it was evident that they had retained a profound attachment to their country of birth. Moreover, in the camps for Displaced Persons, some of them refused to be resettled in other countries. They believed that in a Germany in the process of democratization, the renaissance of a Jewish community would be a victory against Hitler; but these 'pioneers' of a Jewish renewal in Germany met a vigorous opposition: for how could a Jew think of living on an accursed soil, steeped in Jewish blood? The World Jewish Congress and other international Jewish bodies, and later the State of Israel, voiced their indignation and condemnation.

Jews in West Germany

Jews rarely live in total isolation from non-Jews in the host country; they are therefore affected by political and economic conditions in the wider society. After the Second World War, the occupying Allied powers began a process of denazification and of education along the principles of Western democracy. In 1947, the Marshall Plan undertook the economic reconstruction of West Germany. France, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America allowed the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in March 1949, with a constitution inspired by the Western democratic model. A few months later, in October 1949, the Soviet-occupied sector became the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The iron curtain came down. For the next four decades, the Jews living in Germany's two territories — and especially those residing in Berlin — found themselves in the heart of the cold war.

Those Jews in the Western zone (FRG) who lived at first in the camps for Displaced Persons managed, in spite of the difficulties of

their situation, to organize religious and cultural activities. They formed 'Jewish committees' and gradually, as they settled in German towns, they established communities. Jewish natives of Germany, who had either survived the extermination camps or had come back after they had managed to escape from Nazi Germany, now tried to return to their previous localities while others came in the 1950s, when the FRG was starting to pay reparations. In 1952, there were 17,427 Jews resident in West Germany; a decade later, there were some 23,000;³ and with the arrival of new immigrants, the total rose to about 30,000 in the 1980s. Sergio Della Pergola gives estimates which vary somewhat: he quotes the official census figures for 1987 which recorded 32,319 Jews in the FRG. The Central Council of Jews in Germany had 27,000 registered members in its various communities in 1989.⁴ This Central Council was established in Frankfurt in 1950, after protracted negotiations with about a hundred communities whose members had resettled in Germany and who now wished to unite themselves into one formal national organization.

Since the nineteenth century, Germany had legislated for the establishment of religious associations. The Weimar Republic in 1919 gave them a precise juridical status. The Basic Law of the GFR, and later of reunified Germany, reaffirmed the Weimar legislation with its article 140.⁵ Unions of religious associations have the legal right to impose taxes on their members — taxes which are collected together with general income taxes. Since the Central Council of Jews in Germany has acquired that legal status, it has an important role in the organization of religious and cultural activities for the Jews in Germany. It also supervises the social services provided by the Central Welfare Board of Jews in Germany. However, the Basic Law firmly recognizes freedom of conscience and it is up to the communities to grant or refuse membership of their association. Jewish communities are nowadays edging closer to traditional Orthodox Judaism and they follow the rules of *halakha* (Orthodox Jewish law) when they decide whether an individual can be considered to be Jewish. And that is a serious problem. There had been many 'mixed' marriages since 1945 — and even earlier. Moreover, either because of ideological convictions or because of a wish not to pay the tax collected by the government for the Central Council of Jews, many Jews or persons of Jewish descent have refused to become members of a Jewish community. In such cases, they were (and still are) legally bound to assert that they are 'without religion' in a declaration to a tribunal in their local area, which will then issue for them an official notification. Thus, the number of Jews resident in Germany is far greater than that to be found in the registers of that country's Central Council of Jews.

Most of those who have been concerned with German Jewry from

the end of the war until 1989 distinguish two main periods. The first begins in 1945 and lasts until the end of the 1960s while the second starts in 1970 and ends with the fall of the Berlin wall. That first period was marked by a great instability and stress. The *Shoah* was still vivid in the memory of every Jew who had decided to remain in Germany or who had returned to Germany. Antisemitism had not vanished and survivors regarded their non-Jewish neighbours with suspicion and reticence. Moreover, as noted earlier, Jewish international bodies and Jews in other countries voiced their opposition to a renewal of a Jewish settled presence in Germany. Those who had opted to live in the country were uncertain about their future and were said to be sitting on packed suitcases, ready to leave. The older persons often felt guilty to have chosen to return, while the younger generation silently developed that feeling of guilt. Some members of German Jewry were impoverished during these years, but the rest benefited in the 1950s and 1960s from the 'economic miracle' of West Germany.

However, a new situation developed in 1967–1968. By then, two new generations of Jews had been born in Germany; these young persons questioned their parents or their grandparents since they wished to be acknowledged as German citizens. Their economic integration was to be accompanied by the wider German society's recognition.⁶ During this first period, the Central Council of Jews in Germany was largely concerned with the reconstruction of Jewish communities and with the problems connected with the German government's reparations; but it also strived at the same time to have its representative status acknowledged by the regional and the national German authorities, while attempting to improve relations between Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants of Germany. The Council also remained watchful when manifestations of antisemitism were suspected.⁷ The reconstruction of Jewish communities was achieved, even if some of these may consist of no more than a few dozen members. The Central Council and other German Jewish organizations finally attained recognition in Europe, in the United States, and in Israel.

By the end of the 1980s, the Jews of Germany had different geographical and cultural backgrounds and the tensions between those of German origin and those from Eastern Europe had persisted. The clash between those who were natives of Germany, and who adhered often to the Reform movement, and those Eastern Europeans who followed an Orthodox, traditional form of Judaism was virulent — in spite of the assertion of *Einheitsgemeinde* (a community unified under one single administration). Meanwhile, although new synagogues and communal centres had been established, the majority of Jews in West Germany were secular and the number of marriages

between them and Gentiles rapidly increased. It was then that West German Jews — of varying degrees of religious observance and without any institutions specifically established to deal with a large wave of immigrating fellow-Jews — had to face the challenge resulting from the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The Jews of East Germany

The collapse of the German Democratic Republic at the end of the 1980s and the subsequent reunification of Germany revealed the existence of Jews from the other side of the Berlin Wall. There have been varying estimates of their numbers. According to Schmelz and to Della Pergola, there were some 500 in 1988⁸ while Ostrow states that on 31 December 1990, there were eight communities totalling 376 members in the Association of Jewish Communities of the German Democratic Republic. There were 209 in East Berlin; 52 in Dresden; 34 in Magdeburg; 32 in Leipzig; 24 in Erfurt; 11 in Chemnitz (named Karl Marx-Stadt by the GDR); eight in Halle/Saale; and six in Schwerin. A further 2000 to 3000 GDR citizens of Jewish origin had not joined the community.⁹ On 11 May 1945, three days after the signing of the armistice, some Jews had emerged from hiding and had come together to celebrate their first post-war prayer meeting in the Jewish cemetery of Berlin-Weissendorf, in the Soviet Zone. In November 1946, there were 7,900 Jews in Berlin; more than half of them (4,600) had Gentile spouses; 1,900 were concentration camp survivors; and a further 1,400 had survived by remaining hidden. They established Jewish communities.¹⁰

However, most of them later left the Soviet zone, while others arrived. The latter had escaped Nazi Germany and found refuge in the Soviet Union; some of them were dedicated Communists and on their return to Germany they became civil servants in the government of the German Democratic Republic. The Germans of the GDR considered themselves to be 'the resisters to Fascism' and the authorities granted 'privileges' to victims of fascism. However, such victims fell in two distinct groups: those who had 'actively' fought fascism and suffered as a result of that political stand and, on the other hand, those who were victims of fascism because of their racial or religious affiliation but who had not 'actively' fought against fascism. The former received an allowance which was higher than that allocated to the latter. But both groups had priority for housing and gainful employment if they subscribed to the political tenets of the German Democratic Republic.

That decision was hotly contested by both Jews and non-Jews. Officially the GDR declared that it was anti-fascist: antisemitism was taboo, but it persisted. Moreover, Marxist-Leninism had its own

position about Jewish history and identity and it was opposed to Judaism, just as it was opposed to other religions. It advocated assimilation and many GDR communists of Jewish origin held the same belief.¹¹ Others, however, begged to differ and they moved to West Germany. There had been an Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, which was established in 1952 and became affiliated to the Central Council of Jews in Germany in West Germany; but that union was short-lived after the 1953 Stalinist trials of Jewish doctors in the Soviet Union and the Slansky tribunal in Czechoslovakia.¹²

Jews and those of Jewish origin were closely involved in the cold war. The eight Jewish communities in the GDR had an ageing membership and the leaders of these communities were carefully supervised by the communist authorities. Indeed, in some cases, they themselves were members of the Communist Party. Then in the mid-1980s there was a new development: the younger generation, whose parents were Jewish, were feeling estranged from the communism of their parents and they established in East Berlin a new association for their group, which they named *Wir für uns* (We for us). These young adults wanted to get back to their roots, to discover the identity of their grandparents through the culture and religion of that older Jewish generation; they were dissatisfied with the political tenets of their parents but on the other hand, they did not wish to join the existing GDR Jewish communities which they considered to be based exclusively on the Jewish religion. In December 1989, they founded a Jewish Cultural Association.¹³

At the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Union started to open its gates: Jews could leave the country, in theory in order to emigrate to Israel. In fact, Jews from Soviet Russia were already living in the GDR in increasing numbers.¹⁴ That great wave of Jewish migration was a challenge and an opportunity for the two German Jewries. In the history of massive Jewish migrations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the migrants came from communities which had either strong Jewish religious traditions or ethnic or cultural affiliations. The Jewish communities in Western countries which had then to help them to settle might sometimes have been hostile to the incomers, but at least they recognized that the migrants were bringing a renewal of Jewish observances or of Jewish cultural activity. However, the new Soviet immigrants who came to Germany in large waves had been uprooted from their religious and cultural heritage by seven decades of Communist rule.

The Jews in Reunified Germany

After the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989, the process of reunification progressed with bounds. The five *Länder* and East

Berlin joined the German Federal Republic and the GDR ceased to exist. On the other hand, West Germany survives and its Basic Law remains and now rules the 16 *Länder* of reunified Germany after the signing of the treaty of unification on 3 October 1990.¹⁵ However, that political and constitutional unification did not entail a unification of the population groups which had been ruled during four decades by opposing political regimes. It was to take more time and effort to attempt to achieve some harmony — and indeed that aim has not yet been reached.

When German unification was established, the official Jewish organizations of both West and East Germany immediately united. Those of East Germany — East Berlin and the *Länder* of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, and Thürigen — joined, as members, the Central Council of Jews in Germany. That Council was then already concerned with the immigration of Soviet Jews and their resettlement. There were protracted negotiations between the authorities of East and West Germany at first, but eventually these new immigrants, with the assistance of the Central Council, obtained in January 1991 a special refugee status, that of quota refugee (*Kontingentflüchtlinge*). That status entitled them to become residents, to find employment, and to receive social benefits. That was a political decision. United Germany, concerned about its international image and standing, could not refuse to offer shelter and assistance to Jews who had suffered from antisemitism in Soviet Russia and who were now worried about the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The former Soviet Union then formally opened its gates but its Jewish citizens could not easily cross the borders of the new autonomous republics of the former Soviet Union; the various authorities imposed a series of regulations for various permits before allowing Jews to emigrate. Moreover, if they wished to go to Germany, they had to make applications to the German consulates of the New Independent States and wait for these applications to be sent to the Interior Ministry of Germany and processed there. From 1990/1991 until June 2002, about a quarter of a million (239,227) such applications were made. The majority were successful: 189,560; and 155,915 Jewish immigrants came to Germany.¹⁶ On arrival, they were sent to various *Länder* according to the quota allocated in proportion to the inhabitants in each *Land*.

Available Statistics

There are two sets of statistics available concerning Jewish immigration in Germany. The first is compiled by the Administrative Council of the Federal Republic (*Bundesverwaltungsrat*); it shows the quota

in each *Land*, and the distribution of Jewish immigrants, including the members of the household who were not Jews by religion or descent. According to a statement published on 30 September 2002, there had been 241,542 individual requests from the former Soviet Union for admission as quota refugees since 1990–1991. Several thousand such requests were rejected or were still in 2002 under consideration, while 159,027 immigrants believed to be Jewish came to Germany; about three-quarters of these (77.65 per cent) went to the *Länder* of the former German Federal Republic, while 20 per cent went to the five *Länder* of the former German Democratic Republic. Berlin, the area most favoured by the newcomers, was permitted to receive only 2.35 per cent of these new immigrants.¹⁷ However, West Germany is still more prosperous than East Germany and provides more possibilities of economic integration.

The second set of statistics is supplied by the Central Welfare Board of Jews in Germany (*Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland*). It must be stressed here that this Welfare Board has strict rules concerning the identification of a Jewish person, according to the *halakha*, formally affiliated with a Jewish community in Germany. In 1990, there were 29,089 such members but by the year 2000¹⁸ there were 87,756 while another source cites 93,326 in 2001.¹⁹ Thus there is a considerable discrepancy between the government's official figures and those established by the Jewish Board. However, that Central Welfare Board provides more detailed demographic data. Before the arrival of the Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, the outlook was somewhat gloomy: the prediction was that the total membership of 28,081 in 1990 would be reduced to 17,902 by the year 2002 and on the way to extinction. However, recent immigration has not greatly affected the age structure: as in 1989, 33 per cent were older than 60 in the year 2000; those under the age of 21 constituted 18 per cent of the total in 1989 and the comparative proportion in 2000 was 19 per cent. Thus, those Jews aged between 22 and 60, the economically-active age group, constituted the same percentage of the total: 49 per cent in 1989 and 48 per cent in 2000. Since this is an ageing population, 934 deaths were recorded but only 147 births in 2000.

But these statistics must be seen here in their proper context: the family of a non-observant Jew (indeed even of a self-described atheist) may ask for a religious burial, while parents may be slow to register a birth to the Jewish communal authorities. Moreover, a large proportion of Jews in Germany remain aloof from Orthodox communities and therefore only socio-demographic research would provide reliable material on the demographic reality of German Jewry. Nevertheless, changing conditions have greatly altered the Jewish structure as a result of the massive immigration of Jews from

the former Soviet Union; and that immigration is ongoing, in spite of some rise in antisemitism and of the present economic crisis in Germany.

Moreover, according to the Central Welfare Board's statistics, there has been a threefold increase between 1994 and 1999 in the membership of Jewish communities throughout Germany, while in the new *Länder* of the former GDR, it has more than quadrupled. The new immigrants are either sent to the towns which have existing Jewish communities, or to small localities where no Jew is known to live; in the latter case, those from the former Soviet Union have established their own organizations. Nowadays, the most numerous Jewish communities are to be found in Berlin (11,190 members); Munich (7,219) and Frankfurt (6,602).²⁰ There have been several studies published on the process of integration of Soviet Jews into the Jewish communities and into the wider German society, but most of these studies are monographs about one town or one region of Germany. However, the Moses Mendelssohn Zentrum of Potsdam carried out two pieces of research: one in 1993–1994 and another in 1998 on immigrants from the former Soviet Union. According to the latter study, the large majority (86.5 per cent) had been residents of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia while 6.2 per cent came from the Baltic countries. Most of them live in the larger cities of Germany and the native Germans refer to them as 'White Russians' — a term used to indicate the European area of the Confederation of Independent States (heirs of the former Soviet Union) as opposed to the regions of Soviet Asia. These distinctions are important when emigrants decide on the country of their choice: those from the European area of the former Soviet Union prefer a European country close to their native region and where they may have family links. Moreover, the Jews from the periphery of the Soviet Union, those from Soviet Asia, have remained closer to their Jewish roots and religious and cultural traditions than have the 'White Russian' Jews. Nearly three-quarters (72.7 per cent) of those who settled in Germany had acquired university or higher education qualifications in their native lands; they are engineers, scientists, doctors, pharmacists, as well as artists (musicians, writers) and journalists. But their qualifications are not recognized in Germany.²¹

Economic and Social Integration

People who choose to emigrate do so generally because they wish to improve their situation; they are motivated by political, economic, or family factors. Germany is the only country in Europe which has opened its gates to the Jews from the former Soviet Union and which has, moreover, promised to provide for them favourable conditions

for their economic integration. Thus, the newcomer arrives with great expectations of a higher standard of living, but is frustrated by German bureaucracy — a bureaucracy neither better nor worse than that of other Western countries — to obtain the promised help. For a start, one must learn the German language; but the immigrant finds a different alphabet — not the Cyrillic used in Russia. A knowledge of the language is an essential requirement in the process of integration and the six-months course provided for the newcomers seems inadequate. It is also more difficult for the older ones to learn a new language — and this in turn causes rifts between generations, and even within the same household. The older ones prefer to congregate with their fellow-immigrants while the younger ones are quicker to adapt and to seek employment, albeit with increasing difficulty nowadays. The older group come to depend increasingly on their children and grandchildren and lose their status as heads of household.

Of course, this situation is usually found among all movements of migration, but it is especially painful for the Soviet Jews whose superior qualifications, their degrees and diplomas, and their professional experience, are not generally recognized in Germany. Therefore, when they do find employment, it is in positions which are inferior to those which they were trained to occupy. Moreover, the employment in an economy directed to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism is quite different from that in a capitalist economy. Again, it is easier for the younger generation to adapt to the standards of the host society. Another difficulty is in the allocation to various *Länder*: an immigrant who decides to move to a *Land* other than that to which he or she has been directed loses the material and social help which the *Land* chosen by the authorities must provide. An immigrant will therefore leave this *Land* only if offered a firm promise of employment in another *Land*. However, unemployment of native Germans is much higher in the former East Germany than it is in the *Länder* of West Germany — so that geographical mobility is linked to economic mobility.

As to xenophobia and antisemitism in Germany as compared to the situation elsewhere in Europe, it is true that Germany, conscious of the country's past record, had forbidden open antisemitic manifestations. However, since the 1980s that taboo has become less strict. More and more Germans would like to draw a line on their past and these include not only the right-wing extremists but also those of the extreme left-wing who are nowadays anti-Zionists. And since German reunification, the German past has become even more complex because of the wish to draw a line not only across the Nazi past but also across the communist past of East Germany. Young Germans want to live in the present of a democratic society; but

some Germans feel the guilt of their parents or grandparents. That 'guilt' can make relations between Jews and non-Jews in Germany somewhat uneasy. The Jews who have decided to settle in Germany and tried to rebuild a Jewish presence in the country are aware that the non-Jewish Germans must bear the responsibility of having destroyed a German Jewry which before 1933 had played an important role in the economic, scientific, and cultural development of Germany. On the other hand, the present Jewish immigrants of Russian origin do not carry the same burden of memory.

Jewish Identity and Integration into the Resident German Jewish Community

The identity of Jews from the former Soviet Union was based on seven decades of a communist regime. These Jews were legally considered to belong to a 'nationality' and were so recorded in official censuses of population. Their passports were stamped with the word 'Jew'; but they were not allowed to practise the religion of Judaism. In the course of various changes in political practice of the authorities, and as a result of very large numbers of Jews taking a non-Jewish spouse, some were able not to have the word 'Jew' displayed in their passports. However, they retained the memory of antisemitic discrimination and they were aware that even if their passports did not identify them as being Jewish, the communist authorities continued to regard them as Jews. Eventually, some came to resent their exclusion from many official positions and in doing so, they returned to their Jewish roots.

The Soviet Union at first began to allow hesitantly a small trickle of Jews to emigrate to Israel; and when that permission to emigrate was officially granted, to be Jewish meant to have an advantage for the many Soviet nationals who wished to leave the country. The Soviet authorities by then were willing to allow some of their Jewish citizens to emigrate but they were reluctant to give free exit visas to non-Jews. The Central Council of Jews in Germany undertook, in the course of consultations with the German government, to verify the claims of Jewish identity of the self-described Soviet Jews who applied to emigrate. Here it must be remembered that from the outset of the re-establishment of Jewish communities in Germany, the communities recognized as Jews only those individuals who were Jewish according to the *halakha* — that is, those born of a Jewish mother. That policy is still followed, as strictly as possible, by the communities affiliated to the Central Council of Jews in Germany. However, Jewish institutions do not have an adequate number of competent officials to implement that policy when processing a massive influx of applications. In the last 50 years, since the end of the Second

World War, German Jews have had to rely on rabbis originating from Israel, the United States, or a European country.

Since the start of the wave of emigration from the former Soviet Union, the German Jewish communities appointed Russian immigrants who had been settled in Germany for some years to supervise the reception as well as the provision of educational and social services for the newcomers. Both professional and voluntary workers have been energetically active in their efforts to help in the integration of Russian Jews in Jewish communal life. However, these immigrants are far more interested in the benefits of the social services, in the numerous cultural activities, and especially in the opportunity of meeting fellow Russian Jews than they are in the observance of Jewish rituals or in participation in synagogue services.

Language is also a serious problem. How does one interact with established German Jews if one cannot speak their language? The larger communities employ social workers who are learning Russian. However, Russian Jews are as attached to Russian language and culture as German Jews were to their own language and culture. That was evident in the case of those who returned to Germany after the Second World War; and their children and grandchildren in turn were in positions of leadership of Jewish communities in 1989. The old hostilities between Jews of German origin and those of Eastern Europe have not totally disappeared. However, the immigrants from the former Soviet Union are uniting and organizing themselves; they publish Russian newspapers while some periodicals are printed in both Russian and German. They are also establishing their own associations, some of which are sponsored by the Central Council of Jews in Germany. Moreover, Russian Jews now account for the majority of members of many communities, including some of the old-established ones, and they have already stood for election to the councils of the communities. So far, only a few of them have won seats but their very presence is altering Jewish communal life in Germany.

What of the Future?

The process of integration of the massive influx of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union will take some time to achieve a measure of success. That would depend not only on the Jews themselves but also on the Gentile German population. For the Jews who settled in Germany after the Second World War and re-established their communities, this new wave of immigrants represents an opportunity for them to solidify their cultural creativity and to be rejuvenated. But the 'melting-pot' will occur only if the 'old ones' and the 'newcomers' attain a form of mutual understanding and respect.

Moreover, the future is even more dependent on the attitude of the wider German host society. New legislation, enacted in 2002, allows the immigrants to apply for German nationality after they have been resident in Germany for seven years, while the quota refugees will be allowed to retain their original nationality. It will be interesting to see how many Jews from the old Soviet Union will apply for German nationality and how many of them will have their applications granted. Finally, will German society happily tolerate the presence of a larger Jewish community within its borders? One can only use this well-worn phrase: only time will tell.

Acknowledgement

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NOTES

¹ See Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing diaspora. The Jews in Europe since 1945*, London, Penguin Books, 1997.

² See Michaël Marrus, *The Unwanted. European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985.

³ See Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust. Rebuilding Jewish Life in Germany*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 139. There is now a large bibliography on Jews in Germany from 1945 to 1989, in both German and English; it consists of some academic research, reports of discussions, autobiographies, and novels. Among most recent publications there is Ruth Gay, *Das Udenkbare tun. Juden in Deutschland nach 1945*, München, Verlag C.H. Beck, 2001, 310 p. The author stresses the religious and cultural vitality of the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.

⁴ Sergio Della Pergola, World Jewish Population, *American Jewish Yearbook*, vol. 99, 1999, pp. 562–563.

⁵ *Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, in force November 2001, published by the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn.

⁶ See Ignatz Bubis, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland (1945–1995)* (pp. 37–51), Michel Friedmann, *Deutschland und die jungen Juden. Einblick und Ausblick* (pp. 234–240) in Günther B. Ginzler, ed., *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland. 1945 bis heute*, Düsseldorf, Droste Verlag, 1996, Rachel Heuberger, *Jüdische Jugend in Deutschland* in Otto Romberg/ Suzanne Urban-Fahr, *Juden in Deutschland nach 1945*, Bonn, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1999, pp. 199–208.

⁷ Micha Gutmann, *Macht oder Ohnmacht der Nach-Shoah Generation: Jüdische Politik in Deutschland* in Günther B. Ginzler, ed. *op. cit.*, pp. 219–224; Michal Y. Bodemann, *Gedächtnistheater. Die jüdische Gemeinschaft und ihre deutsche Erfindung*, Hamburg, Rotbuch Verlag, 1996, pp. 32–38.

⁸ O. U. Schmelz and Sergio Della Pergola, World Jewish Population, *American Jewish Yearbook*, vol. 92, 1992, p. 502.

⁹ Robin Ostrow, German Democratic Republic, *American Jewish Yearbook*, vol. 92, 1992, p. 377.

¹⁰ Hermänn Simon, Die jüdische Gemeinde Nordwest. Eine Episode des Neubeginns jüdischen Lebens in Berlin nach 1945 in Andreas Nachama, Julius H. Schoeps, eds., *Aufbau nach dem Untergang. In memoriam Heinz Galinski. Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte nach 1945*, Berlin, Argon Verlag, 1992, pp. 274-276.

¹¹ Nora Goldenbogen, Juden in der DDR. Erwartungen-Realitäten-Wandlungen in Günther B. Ginzler ed., *op. cit.* (in note 6 above), pp. 130-136.

¹² Peter Kirchner, Akzeptanz oder Widerspruch? Zwischen Religion und Kultur. Porträt der Ostberliner jüdischen Gemeinde in Günther B. Ginzler, ed., *op. cit.* pp. 89-91 (in note 6 above). Kirchner was the president of the Jewish community of East Berlin from 1971 to 1990.

¹³ Mertens (Lothar), Die Kinder Moses im Staate Marx in Andreas Nachama, Julius H. Schoeps, ed. *op. cit.* (in note 10 above), p. 288.

¹⁴ Madeleine Tress, Soviet Jews in the Federal Republic of Germany: The Rebuilding of a Community, *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 37, no. 1, June 1995, pp. 39-54.

¹⁵ Alfred Grosser, Hélène Miard-Delacroix, *Allemagne*, Paris, Flammarion, 1994, pp. 62-63.

¹⁶ Bulletin *Kpyr* (Ring), October 2002 (kindly made available by the Moses Mendelssohn Zentrum, Potsdam).

¹⁷ Bundesverwaltungsrat. *Verteilung jüdischer Emigranten aus der ehemaligen Sowietunion*, III.K.1.04.17/00, Stand: 30.09.2002 (kindly made available by the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, Berlin).

¹⁸ Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland e. V *Mitgliederstatistik der einzelnen jüdischen Gemeinden und Landesverbände in Deutschland per 1. Januar 2001* (kindly made available by the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, Berlin).

¹⁹ See note 16 above.

²⁰ See note 18 above.

²¹ Julius H. Schoeps, Willi Jasper, and Bernard Vogt, *Ein neues Judentum in Deutschland? Fremd- und Eigenbilder der russisch-jüdischen Einwanderer*, Potsdam, Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999, pp. 44, 46, 49.